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WOMEN, THE FORGOTTEN MAJORITY: ACHIEVING GENDER EQUITY AT THE CITY OF TORONTO – A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

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<u>Abstract</u>

A critical anti-racist feminist analysis is used to examine the City of Toronto's current approach to gender equity and to consider how the City can move forward based on the discussion of Toronto's issues and challenges and other cities' successes. Written from the perspective of one member of a 14-member City of Toronto women's advisory committee, it examines the City's approach to diversity in general and gender equity in particular. The analysis finds serious flaws in the City's current approach, related to a lack of gender equity structures and mechanisms, a lack of interest in, and resources allocated to, such structures and mechanisms, and a lack of civic engagement of women, which forms a part of the City's overall democratic deficit. Structures and mechanisms implemented in other cities in order to promote gender equity are explored in order to provide the City with successful possibilities to consider. A proposed six-stage model categorizes various levels of commitment that cities have demonstrated towards achieving gender equity. This model allows cities, such as Toronto, to assess their individual progress on gender equity relative to other cities and to better understand the need to increase their efforts. Lastly, recommendations to the City of Toronto to enhance its gender equity approach are discussed. Despite the limitations of this study, the author believes it was highly necessary to document and disseminate the issues related to the City of Toronto's approach to gender equity in order to open up productive dialogue between the City and the community and to motivate effective, equity-enhancing change in a timely manner.

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I. Introduction

Gender inequality, unfortunately, exists in many forms. It plays out in different ways at different levels, namely individual, family, and community levels and the municipal, provincial, and federal government levels. Around the world, even in so-called 'developed' countries, women do not experience equitable access to government programs and services and they do not have a proportional amount, i.e. 50%, of decision-making authority over government decisions. Feminists have worked collectively to bring attention to issues of concern for women at all levels of government, traditionally concentrating their efforts on the provincial and federal levels (Whitzman, 2002; FCM ICMD, 2004a). In recent years, improving gender equity at the local level has increasingly become a target of feminist action (Whitzman, 2002; FCM ICMD, 2004a). Globally, there has been a considerable increase in interest from both municipal governments and civil society in advancing gender equity at the local level.

Gender equality and gender equity have been defined in various ways. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) International Centre for Municipal Development (ICMD) (2004a) research report entitled, "Increasing Women's Participation in Municipal Decision Making: Strategies for More Inclusive Canadian Communities", defines gender equality and gender equity in the following manner:

Gender *equality*, equality between men and women, entails the concept that all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behaviour, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally. It does not mean that women and men have to become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender *equity* means fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities. (p. 6)

These definitions are vague in the context of municipal policy-making and do not make mention of the diversity within the population of women and the additional marginalization of women who are 'othered'. Since research has found that "women who are marginalized because of race, ethnicity, poverty, immigration status, age, sexual orientation or disability participate in municipal processes at low levels" (FCM ICMD, 2004a, p. 10), it is important that definitions of gender equality and gender equity acknowledge this phenomenon. Definitions that somewhat resolves these concerns are provided by San Francisco's CEDAW Task Force and Commission on the Status of Women (2000) in the document entitled, "Guidelines For A Gender

Analysis: Human Rights Within a Gender Perspective – Implementing the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women":

Gender equality between the sexes guarantees equal rights for both women and men. The objective of gender equality is to correct laws and practices that are discriminatory and to promote fairness in an affirmative way, especially to ameliorate the conditions of the most disadvantaged. Gender equity applies to the development of policies and the distribution of resources to differently situated women, e.g. race, class, immigration status, language, sexual orientation, disability, and other attributes. The goal of gender equity is to redress historic discrimination and ensure conditions that will enable women to achieve full equality with men (p. 3).

The definition of "intersectionality" provided by the City of Vancouver Women's Task Force (2005) in the City's new gender equality policy complements the above definitions of gender equality and gender equity from San Francisco:

In the development of its policies and practices, the City of Vancouver recognizes that people live multiple, layered identities derived from cultural, social, economic and political factors, and that the intersection (or combination) of these factors (or identities) create unique experiences and may compound the kinds of oppression faced by marginalized women and girls in City life (p. 11).

Gender Mainstreaming (or Gender Analysis)

Gender mainstreaming and gender-responsive budgeting are initiatives that feminists and other social advocates are urging policy-makers worldwide to implement in order to concretely forward gender equality and also race and class issues. Gender mainstreaming involves designing and analyzing policies with women's realities and the implications for women at the forefront of the process. Gender mainstreaming implies that a gender lens is employed at the starting point of policy creation or at the starting point in the analysis of existing policies and programs in order to design, implement or re-configure policies and programs in ways that will support women. Gender-responsive budgeting (or gender budgeting) is a part of gender mainstreaming that involves creating or analyzing budgets with women's realities and the implications and consequences for women at the forefront. Gender mainstreaming initiatives often take the form of a "gender audit" of policies, programs, and budgets. It is proactive in its approach to promoting gender equality in policy-making in contrast to conventional policy-making, which has addressed gender as an afterthought, if at all. Gender mainstreaming and gender-responsive budgeting are employed by various governments and non-governmental organizations around the world from local to international levels. However, at this

relatively early stage of gender mainstreaming, it has been argued that the extent of the effective implementation of gender mainstreaming and true power sharing between women and men are uncertain (Johnsson-Latham, 2004; Woodward, 2003). In any case, political will is identified as the most significant factor in ensuring that gender mainstreaming initiatives are successful rather than mere public relations exercises (Donaghy, 2004a, 2004b).

Gender mainstreaming has been defined in various ways. Woodward (2003), in an article on European gender mainstreaming, defines it as follows:

Gender mainstreaming aims to enable the state to deliver gendersensitive policy and transform gender relations. Its point of departure is an acknowledgement of the differences between men and women. It claims that the sources of policy injustice are found in the fact that existing structures are not gender neutral. Mainstreaming suggests that equal opportunities for women and men should no longer be achieved solely through equal opportunity earmarked policies. A multi-stranded and total approach is necessary. The various policymaking fields should be imbued with gender awareness to incorporate equality goals into traditional policy areas. (p. 66)

This definition does not make mention of the multiplicity of identities within the population of women, which is incorporated into a definition of "gender analysis" provided by San Francisco's CEDAW Task Force and Commission on the Status of Women (2000):

Gender analysis is a framework for analyzing the cultural, economic, social, civil, legal, and political relations between women and men. A gender analysis recognizes that women and men have different social roles, responsibilities, opportunities, and needs. It addresses the underlying relationship between women and men over time and across cultures. The dynamics of this relationship permeate how society is structured and how decisions are made. This framework takes into account the important links between gender and other social relations such as race, immigration status, language, sexual orientation, disability, age, and other attributes. (p. 3)

One of the broad ways of categorizing existing gender mainstreaming approaches is by whether they are more community-based or bureaucracy-driven. Two broad approaches to gender mainstreaming are the "expert-bureaucratic model" and the "participative-democratic model" as proposed by Donaghy (2004). According to Donaghy (2004), the expert-bureaucratic model "relies heavily on a 'gender/equality' expert being located within the bureaucracy, such as in a women's policy unit" (p. 396). Donaghy (2004) states that this model tends to be prevalent in countries such as Australia and New Zealand that "have a longer history of mainstreaming practices,...which have adopted the strategy as part of a longstanding institutional commitment to the promotion of gender equality" (p. 396). Conversely,

the participative-democratic model, "relies primarily on the participation of civic and community groups through a consultation process" (Donaghy, 2004, p. 396). This model is said to be represented in "more recently developed strategies, such as those that were developed as part of new United Kingdom devolution arrangements" (Donaghy, 2004, p. 396). Of these two gender mainstreaming models, the latter is clearly preferable as it advances a larger progressive and potentially empowering agenda of participatory democracy by engaging citizens in the path toward gender equality rather than relying primarily on 'expert' knowledge.

There is growing recognition of the importance of gender mainstreaming in bringing about policies that will be fair and supportive for women. At the international level, United Nations agencies are promoting gender mainstreaming widely. There is increasing momentum worldwide in the Global North and South to implement gender equity initiatives to alleviate poverty, redress human rights violations, and improve the economy. The work of the UN has contributed to, and stemmed from, international commitments to women's equality, such as CEDAW (1979), the Beijing *Platform for Action* (1995), and the *Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government* (1998). There is a growing worldwide interest in the implementation of gender mainstreaming at all levels of government, including the local level. There is increasing recognition internationally of the impact of municipal level policies on women's lives, for example, in areas such as housing, childcare, public transit, homelessness, recreation, planning, policing, and crime and safety.

Canada, Its International Commitments, and the Cities

The Canadian government has agreed to a number of UN equality and social justice related commitments. Two major gender equality commitments that Canada has adopted are: (i) the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979 and ratified by Canada in 1981 (Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action, 2005); and (ii) the UN Beijing *Platform for Action*, which Canada adopted in 1995. CEDAW is frequently described as "an international bill of rights for women" (UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005). The UN Division for the Advancement of Women (2005) states: "Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination". The following summarize some important points about CEDAW:

- Countries that have ratified or acceded to the Convention are legally bound to put its provisions into practice. They are also committed to submit national reports, at least every four years, on measures they have taken to comply with their treaty obligations.
- The Convention defines discrimination against women as "...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a

basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."

- By accepting the Convention, States commit themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms, including:
 - to incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women;
 - to establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; and
 - to ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises.
- The Convention provides the basis for realizing equality between women and men through ensuring women's equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life -- including the right to vote and to stand for election -- as well as education, health and employment. States parties agree to take all appropriate measures, including legislation and temporary special measures, so that women can enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms. (UN Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005)

While ratification of a large-scale commitment such as CEDAW might support the impression of Canada as a progressive country, its record in meeting up to such commitments is questionable. Roberts (1999) states:

Canada has made a series of commitments at the UN level that all levels of government will undertake sweeping changes, to bring about empowerment and equality for Canadian women. In reality, the changes have been less than sweeping at any level of government (p. 197).

The Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA) (2005) argues that many women in Canada are not familiar with CEDAW partly because "the Canadian government has not well-publicized its own obligations under this international treaty" (p. 2). Regrettably, if women are not familiar with such a legislative commitment, it is highly unlikely that they will make demands from the state for equality (Roberts, 1999).

In 1995, Canada, along with 187 other countries, adopted the Beijing *Platform for Action* (PFA), which set out a detailed plan for addressing women's poverty, economic security, and health (Yalnizyan, 2005). Related to the momentous United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 where there was widespread endorsement of the PFA, there has been an explosion of interest internationally in gender mainstreaming and gender-responsive budgeting (UN Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues, 2002; Woodward, 2003). The PFA identifies 12 critical

areas that require action to "empower women and ensure their human rights": women and poverty; education and training of women; women and health; violence against women; women and armed conflict; women and the economy; women in power and decision-making; institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women; human rights of women; women and the media; women and the environment; and the girl-child (UNFPA, 2005). The PFA can be viewed on the UN website at http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/plat1.htm.

While literature from governmental and non-governmental bodies around the world, including Canada, increasingly supports the importance of taking women's realities into account in policy-making, concrete action by the Canadian government has lagged significantly behind its international commitments. Correspondingly, there has been a lack of gender mainstreaming initiatives at the municipal and provincial levels of government. Implementing these initiatives at the local level is important as municipal level policy decisions affect the quality of life for women and shape opportunities. There is a significant body of academic literature that demonstrates the gendered impacts of local government policies, programs, and services, which contrasts with conventional notions of the role of local government as looking after 'gender neutral' roads, property taxes, and garbage (Whitzman, 2002). Furthermore, federal retrenchment of the social safety net has not occurred without serious implications for the provision of social welfare at the municipal level. As senior levels of government increasingly download social welfare responsibilities to municipalities, greater responsibilities for implementation of social welfare programs fall under municipal jurisdiction (FCM ICMD, 2004a).

Toronto is a member of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), which is a national association member of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) [formerly International Union of Local Authorities (IULA)]. The UCLG's Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government (1998) is an international commitment that various cities and national associations have entered into, which argues for an increase in the number of women in local government and a need to incorporate the needs of women in the development of policies and services. The Declaration affirms at the local level the commitment to women's equality made in the national level Beijing Platform for Action. This commitment is logical and necessary as the local government is often described as the level of government that is closest to people (UCLG, 1998; FCM ICMD, 2004a) and thus, it has the potential to have a visible impact on women's equality. Although women make up more than 50% of the population, there are numerous ways in which women are excluded from city affairs. Examples of this include the lack of women in consultation and decisionmaking processes, the lack of consideration given to women's concerns and issues in planning, budget allocations, and service delivery, and the under-representation of women on city councils. Thus, it is necessary to have a formal international commitment as such that steers cities, whose decision-making authority rests predominantly with male policy-makers, towards gender equity. To view the Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government, please refer to Appendix A.

Although the international level of interest in gender mainstreaming has never been greater, advocates for women's equality in Canada are highly concerned as the ten years since Canada's adoption of the Beijing *Platform for Action* have been dominated by severe cuts to social spending, which have disproportionately affected women. It is well established in the literature that senior levels of government in Canada have implemented sizeable budgetary cutbacks and dismantled social programs over the last 15 to 20 years (Lightman & Riches, 2000; Rice & Prince, 2000). The dismantling of the Canadian welfare state and federal and provincial downloading onto provinces and municipalities, respectively, have had dramatic implications for women's social and economic welfare (Morrow, Hankivsky & Varcoe, 2004). This continues to impinge on the ability of municipalities to provide for citizens, thus budgetary cutbacks and restructuring have exacerbated inequalities amongst citizens at the local level.

Recently, a gendered budget analysis of the last ten federal budgets (1995-2004) was conducted by economist Armine Yalnizyan (2005) for FAFIA. The analysis demonstrated that women have been adversely affected by federal budget cuts that occurred from 1995 to the present in areas such as income security and housing (Yalnizyan, 2005). The federal government's commitment to gender mainstreaming is questioned as it has yet to commit resources to conducting a gender analysis of all its macroeconomic policies and its budgets despite its 1995 agreement to do so (Yalnizyan, 2005). In addition, and related to, domestic policy, economic globalization has affected women's equality internationally. Although all forms of discrimination against women predate globalization, numerous scholars argue that globalization has contributed to diminishing citizenship for women in terms of human rights, social rights, and economic equality (Cohen, 1997; Flawthorne, 2004; Lamarche, 1999). At the local level, not only are globalization and neoliberalism implicated in the negative impacts of welfare retrenchment on women, they are manifested through "gentrification and the re-aestheticisation of the central city [as] a key means by which city governors and private developers seek to capture 'global' capital" (Hubbard, 2004, p. 681).

As discussed earlier, the Government of Canada, the Province of Ontario, and the City of Toronto have demonstrated inaction in addressing gender inequity despite their international commitments. These governments have yet to formulate policies that conduct a gender analysis of policies, programs, services, and budgets despite the evidence that shows the gendered impact of government policies and budgets and despite the fact that other cities, regions, and countries around the world have implemented gender mainstreaming policies.

Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM)

On a national level, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), the national voice for Canadian municipalities, has produced work that has been well received on the international stage but unfortunately has had less of an impact in Canada. The FCM International Centre for Municipal Development (ICMD), in conjunction with the City of Montreal's Femmes et ville (Women in Cities) program, published a pivotal municipal gender mainstreaming document entitled "A City Tailored To Women". First published in 1997, this document advocates strongly in

favour of municipal government responsibility for advancing gender equity. It discusses the inequalities that women face at the local level, international legislative mechanisms that commit cities to gender equity and various ways in which cities can forward gender equity. A significant portion of the document discusses various types of structures and mechanisms that the authors argue are necessary for promoting gender equity at the local level (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal's Femmes et ville Program, 2004). Examples of structures and mechanisms that cities can implement include women's advisory committees, gender equality policies, and women's/gender equality offices. The document also includes a brief synopsis of initiatives undertaken by various cities around the world.

In addition to the above document, which was geared towards cities in Canada as well as cities abroad, the FCM recently completed a one-year crossnational participatory action research project involving diverse Canadian women. The purpose of the research was to "contribute to changing municipal consultation practices and policies, so that the full diversity of Canadian women would have a meaningful voice in the decisions affecting their daily lives" (FCM ICMD, 2004a, p. 8). The research yielded a number of important findings, which are summarized as follows (FCM ICMD, 2004a, p. 9-12):

- 1. Canada is losing ground with countries around the world.
- 2. Women are under-represented in most municipal processes.
- 3. There is a need for more information about municipal governance and ways for women and municipalities to access and share information.
- 4. Significant barriers to participation were identified.
- 5. Marginalized women face more serious systemic barriers to participation.
- 6. Women are actively involved in their communities but may have given up on municipal government as a way of making change.
- 7. Municipalities, women and women's groups agree that there are clear benefits for communities and municipalities when women participate fully.
- 8. Policies and practices for gender mainstreaming and inclusive participation are not commonly used in Canadian municipalities.
- 9. Partnerships between municipalities and women's organizations are extremely effective but remain a largely untapped resource.
- 10. Effective and inclusive consultation processes lay the foundation for successful partnerships and joint projects.
- 11. Leadership development and mentoring are needed to enhance participation.
- 12. Municipalities and women's organization need tools, training, and resources to increase women's participation.

A resource kit, accompanying the research report, examines concrete ways in which gender equity can be forwarded at the municipal level (FCM ICMD, 2004b). The resource kit provides "a framework for planning and action to increase women's participation" and acknowledges the need to allow for flexibility in how each local community decides to use the resources (FCM ICMD, 2004b, p. 4). The resource kit allows cities to accomplish the following:

- Increase women's access to information about municipal government/services
- Address barriers to participation and improve access to municipal processes
- Use consultation processes that work for women and all citizens
- Develop leadership and capacity for women in their communities
- Build partnerships between municipal government and women's organizations
- Implement gender mainstreaming principles
- Increase women's participation in municipal decision-making processes (FCM ICMD, 2004b, p. 4).

Taken together, the three FCM documents provide an excellent resource to Canadian cities by: (i) supporting municipal governments to "assess the impact of all their decisions on the quality of life of women, and adjust their actions accordingly" (FCM ICMD, 2004); and (ii) giving cities the information they need to enable an increase in women's civic participation.

Conclusion

While there is an increase in gender mainstreaming initiatives around the world at all levels of government, demonstrating various levels of sophistication, there is relatively little analysis of the processes, structures, and power differentials that impede progress on gender equity. While promotion of gender mainstreaming at the international level is positive because it encourages governments to take a proactive role in securing gender equity, it is also necessary to examine the process of implementing gender mainstreaming and what factors promote and hinder the process of implementing gender mainstreaming in governments in order to ensure successful implementation. By identifying and exploring the obstacles, civil society and municipal governments can create opportunities for addressing them and civil society can hold elected officials accountable for addressing them. As discussed in the next chapter, this thesis uses a critical anti-racist, anti-poverty, feminist perspective to help pinpoint problematic structures and processes that constrain true progress on gender mainstreaming at the city level. As the largest member city of the FCM and the largest city in one of the world's richest countries, Toronto is in an excellent position to demonstrate and inspire progressive action on gender equity, if the city government is willing to commit to equality and democracy for 52% of its population.

II. Objectives & Methodology

It is the view of this paper that there is a need for the City of Toronto to address specific issues with its current approach to gender equity, as well as to introduce new, effective ways of engaging women and advancing gender equity. The City must not only remedy the issues with its existing approach; it also needs to introduce new structures and mechanisms that would enhance gender equity and allow for regular assessment of its progress towards gender equity. The objectives of this thesis are as follows:

- To assess the City of Toronto's current approach to gender equity from a critical feminist, anti-racist, anti-poverty stance informed by anti-oppressive organizational change tools.
- To describe successful gender mainstreaming initiatives in other cities in order to provide the City of Toronto with possibilities to consider. There is value in fostering discussion about different policy approaches worldwide, not only to educate, but also to motivate, our City into action.
- To propose a six-stage model that typifies varying degrees of womeninclusive cities and to categorize Toronto and the other cities within the model in order to motivate the City of Toronto (and other cities) to become proactive, democratic, fair, and equitable in their approach to gender equity.
- To recommend directions and strategies to the City of Toronto for improving its approach to gender equity.

To this end, the rest of this thesis is divided into four chapters on each of the following: Toronto's current approach to gender equity (chapter three); new structures and mechanisms in other cities that the City needs to consider (chapter four); a six-stage model of gender equitable cities by which the City can measure its progress towards toward gender equity (chapter five); and recommendations (chapter six). Chapter three will examine general approaches to diversity taken by cities, the City of Toronto's approach to diversity in general, the City's approach to gender equity in particular, the attempted introduction of gender mainstreaming at the City, and the challenges involved in forwarding gender equity at the City, particularly with respect to its Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity. Chapter four presents information on structures and mechanisms that the City needs to consider as well as examples of cities that have attempted to advance gender equity through the implementation of these structures and mechanisms. Specifically, the chapter discusses gender equality/gender mainstreaming policies, action plans for implementing such policies, women's/gender equality offices, and communications and information mechanisms. This will provide the City of Toronto with successful possibilities to consider. Chapter five proposes a six-stage model for assessing the degree to which cities are inclusive of women through the types of equity-enhancing initiatives they demonstrate. Chapter six discusses strategies and directions that are

recommended to the City in order to enhance gender equity at the municipal level in Toronto.

The analysis employs a critical feminist, anti-racist, anti-poverty perspective, which is informed by anti-racist feminist thought and anti-oppression organizational change tools. An anti-racist feminist perspective takes the view that women's equality is necessary to achieving social justice in our communities and society, but in order to ensure social justice, feminist thought and action must acknowledge the multiplicity of identities within the population of women and the need to redress inequalities stemming from gender and racial discrimination. According to Hamilton (1996), for anti-racist feminists,

an understanding of what shapes women's lives must intertwine an analysis of racism with the Marxist focus on class and the radical feminist focus on the sexual hierarchy. The 'circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past' must include those relations that are the living legacy of colonialism, imperialism, and slavery. (p.22)

Sunderji (1996) defines voice as "a significant and meaningful presence in the social, political, cultural, and economic institutions of society" (p. 135). From an anti-racist, anti-poverty feminist perspective, equality and equity for all women, but particularly racialized and poor women, involves enabling them to have voice, influence over affairs that concern them, and freedom from barriers that prevent them having voice and a good quality of life. This connects with a feminist critique of how cities are built and run, particularly the notion that "the importance of *listening to the voices and lives* of everyday women cannot be overemphasized" (Whitzman, 2002, p. 96). In addition, my identity as a racialized woman born to immigrant parents in Toronto informs my application of an anti-racist, anti-poverty feminist perspective to Toronto's gender equity approach.

The critique has been influenced by anti-oppression organizational change tools, particularly Minors' (1996) anti-racist tool, and feminist-Marxist-anti-racist economics (Matthaei, 1996). Minors (1996) formulated a six-stage model, which was created to assess anti-racist organizational change in human service organizations. The model, however, is useful for assessing any type of organization that serves marginalized populations, such as city governments. Please refer to Appendix B for more detailed information on Minors' (1996) tool. The critical feminist, anti-racist, anti-poverty approach taken in this paper is congruent with Matthaei's (1996) concept of feminist-Marxist-anti-racist economics. Matthaei (1996) argues that it is necessary for feminist economists, Marxist economists, and anti-racist economists to 'join forces' so as to effect equitable social change "since gender does not exist independently of class and race" (Matthaei, 1996, p. 36). Furthermore, Matthaei (1996) argues that "the theoretical merging of Marxism, feminism, and anti-racism allows the development of a more inclusive, and more liberatory, understanding of our economy" (p. 36). Matthaei (1996) acknowledges the problem of highlighting only three axes of oppression, and she advocates for "an anti-oppression or counterhegemonic economics" (p. 24).

This study has various limitations. In its attempt to examine ways in which the City of Toronto's approach to gender equity could be improved upon, it is written from the perspective of one community member who is part of the 14-community member City of Toronto Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity. Various time and other constraints made interviews of other members of the Working Group impracticable. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there exists a significant degree of consensus amongst community members that the Working Group arrangement is not working for us or for the women of Toronto for whom we are supposed to work to effect positive change. In discussions amongst ourselves, it was discovered that there was a considerable degree of overlap in our specific individual concerns. In addition, the review of other cities' initiatives was based primarily on policy documents and specifically those that were accessible in English. Thus, the review does not reflect information on the initiatives that an 'insider' would have, and it does not provide information on the enormous progress that has been made in many non-English speaking cities of the world.

Despite the limitations of this paper, it was important to document and disseminate the issues, concerns, and possible solutions in a timely manner so as to help stimulate City—community dialogue on the issues that are impeding genuine progress on our gender equity objectives. In this manner, this paper is a work in progress. It is hoped that this project will serve to further stimulate discussion and enhance awareness of the issues and challenges involved in promoting gender equity at the local government level, but most importantly, help to stimulate concrete action that will ultimately improve the welfare of Toronto's most disadvantaged women.

III. The Status of Gender Equity at the City of Toronto

Cities and Diversity

Samuel & Schachhuber (2000) discuss three different ways that individuals and organizations can respond to diversity: (i) "the natural response", which entails rigidity, passivity, and rejection of the need and responsibility for change and adaptation; (ii) discrimination against those who are seen as "causing all the 'trouble", and (iii) adjustment/adaptation to new reality, which involves searching and finding "real answers", which are based on "the need to take personal and institutional responsibility for implementing the necessary changes in personal behaviour, in political processes, in management decision making, in organizational systems and in service delivery" (Samuel & Schachhuber, 2000, p. 29).

Derived from the third response to diversity, "adjustment/adaptation to new reality", there are at least three broad ways proposed here for cities to strategically attend to diversity, including gender equity. The first type promotes diversity publicly through celebrating it in order to promote it as a positive attribute of the city. Examples of this celebratory approach to diversity include: official diversity-affirming slogans, multicultural community events, production of posters that promote diversity, proclamations celebrating days or months commemorating a particular group, and awarding citizens who make a positive contribution to equality. These initiatives attempt to positively influence public attitude towards the diversity that exists within the population.

Inequalities are a persistent reality within diverse social entities such as cities. These inequalities tend to fall along the lines of social differences among people, specifically one's gender, race, level of ability, sexuality, income, and phase of life. Diversity, which is linked to inequality, is thus linked to discrimination and marginalization. Thus, the second general way for cities to address diversity is through initiating policies, programs, services, and structures that redress discrimination experienced by citizens. Discrimination originates from a variety of sources including: intolerant individuals or groups, unresponsive or dismissive municipal, provincial, and federal government policies and structures, employers, police, and the education system. Examples of this type of anti-discrimination approach include the implementation of gender mainstreaming initiatives, anti-racism training for police and city employees, and accessibility design standards to accommodate persons with disabilities.

The third way for cities to address diversity strategically is to provide funding to local non-profit organizations serving women, low income individuals, immigrants, refugees, racialized populations, persons with disabilities, homeless people, and/or seniors. These organizations aim to redress social inequalities through improving access to food, housing, ESL programs, employment and training, counselling, social and recreational opportunities, and other necessary resources. This approach is beneficial as it can provide much needed funding to a range of organizations that provide valuable services to marginalized peoples. Examples of the funding approach might involve providing grants to a fledgling

organization that assists newcomers in a city to access employment opportunities; an established organization that assists city seniors in living in their homes by providing access to transportation, meals, and social opportunities; and a small local charity that provides financial assistance to low income individuals and families requiring help with unaffordable household energy costs.

Ideally, cities use all three of these complementary approaches to strategically address diversity in order to raise public awareness, to support the important work of the non-profit social services sector, and to proactively combat various forms of discrimination, particularly those forms which are perpetuated through the city organization itself. Actively working against discrimination is not only a humanitarian obligation of city governments, but also an essential pathway to a more harmonious, prosperous society that all can enjoy.

The problem with simply emphasizing the celebratory and non-profit funding approaches to diversity lies in their potential to mask over structural issues of inequality; they can foster an impression among citizens and the city organization that diversity is something to be merely celebrated and addressed through the work of non-profit organizations but not to be proactively addressed through municipal measures that combat various manifestations of gender and race discrimination in the city. This appears to be the case in Toronto. This is approach is congruent with the "multiculturalism" approach to policy (Das Gupta, 1999; James, 1996). From a critical, anti-racist, feminist perspective, Das Gupta (1999) argues that multiculturalism is a "highly problematic and contradictory policy which has at times been beneficial to, and frequently regressive of, the interests of immigrants and people of colour" (p. 187). By taking the focus off of inequalities and directing it towards celebration and 'tolerance', celebrating diversity city-wide without initiating sufficient measures to address inequality can unfortunately support city-wide silence and denial around admitting the existence of systemic problems and consequently getting on with resolving them. Diversity can be marketed to the public in a way that promotes tolerance between different segments of the population but also influences people to believe that discrimination and inequality are not significant problems in a city. However, as special celebrations pass and funding dries out, inequalities persist. When discrimination is not widely perceived as a significant problem in a society, there is little impetus to effectively address it. While publicly affirming diversity through celebration and funding are positive steps for a city to take, alone they are ineffective in opening up community – city government dialogue about discrimination and addressing the multiple ways in which inequality is perpetuated.

The City of Toronto's Approach to Diversity

In Toronto, women make up 52 percent of the population (City of Toronto, 2005a). In addition, Toronto is considered to be one of the most culturally diverse cities in the world (City of Toronto, 2005b). Racialized peoples constitute 43 percent of the population in a city where more than 100 languages are spoken and more than 200 countries are represented (City of Toronto, 2005a). The City of Toronto publicly places a high value on diversity. The City's official motto "Diversity Our Strength"

(City of Toronto, 2005c) is testament to this value. Unfortunately, Toronto's diverse population, is, in practice, associated with deepening inequality as social and economic disparities increase among citizens along gender and racial lines (Khosla, 2003). As Khosla (2003) states:

The City of Toronto proudly markets itself as one of the most diverse in the world. But the social and economic patterns forming within this cultural mosaic are rarely considered. And an examination of the specific implications for women within those communities has been all but disregarded. (p. 7)

Indeed, gender inequality and its intersection with racial inequality are complex issues facing the city. They are both the cause and consequence of a wide array of discriminatory practices, none of which are amenable to quick or simplistic solutions. The Greater London Authority (2003) illuminates the problematic use of "diversity" in its definition of the term published in its Gender Equality Scheme, a document which includes London's gender equality policy and action plan. Diversity is defined as:

the differences in the values, attitudes, cultural perspectives, beliefs, ethnic backgrounds, sexuality, skills, knowledge and life experiences of each individual in any group of people. This term refers to differences between people and is used to highlight individual need. It can be used inappropriately as an alternative to equal opportunities. It avoids reference to discrimination and the impact that power imbalances have on different communities. [italics added] (p. 73)

In Toronto, the approach to diversity primarily appears to encompass the celebratory and the funding approaches via various City grants programs for non-profit social service and equity-seeking organizations. An example of the celebratory approach is the City's annual commemoration of International Women's Day on March 8 and the granting of the Constance E. Hamilton award, which recognizes women for their contributions to women's equality in Toronto (City of Toronto, 2005d). However, while the City participates in annual celebrations, it lacks a strategic gender mainstreaming policy to address the year-round gender and racial inequities faced by Toronto women. While it is certainly a positive step for cities such as Toronto to recognize and celebrate the achievements of marginalized populations, many cities recognize that this is not enough and have proactively participated in the evolution of gender mainstreaming, and more broadly, equality mainstreaming, perspectives into policy-making as will be discussed in chapter four.

Diversity issues in Toronto are addressed through the City's Diversity Management and Community Engagement (DMCE) Unit, which is a part of the Strategic and Corporate Policy/Healthy City Office of the City Manager's Office (City of Toronto, 2005e). As the main link for diversity and equity issues between the City and the public, it is imperative that the DMCE Unit builds a strong connection with the public through high quality communications strategies to show that the City

is serious about equality. While the internet provides one such opportunity for the City, there is a lack of information on the City's diversity webpage (http://www.toronto.ca/diversity), its main tool for communicating with the public, regarding the precise functions of the Diversity Management and Community Engagement Unit. Thus, the City does not make it clear to its diverse public exactly what the goals of the Diversity Management and Community Engagement Unit are and whether the populations that it purports to serve agree with these goals and have a say in how the Unit's objectives are achieved. The following information about the Unit was found in minutes from the first meeting of the Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity on March 30, 2005:

[It] continues to work on a huge array of access and equity issues including immigrant issues, refugee issues, literacy issues, anti-racism, race relations, anti-hate, women's issues, disability issues, Aboriginal issues, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues. This includes legislative monitoring, policy and program development. Their work also includes providing leadership and direction to foster internal change through the development of divisional workplans on access and equity; liaising with communities and governmental bodies for the advancement of access and equity; management of other programs such as the access and equity grant program, the human rights award program, and the public education awareness program. (City of Toronto, 2005f, p.3)

The very title of this office is problematic as it suggests that diversity is something in need of 'managing' or keeping in line for the purpose of maintaining social order. The "managing diversity" (MD) perspective, which emerged in the United States in the 1980s, has become the dominant model from which organizations attempt to accommodate the needs of diverse groups (Baker, 1999, as cited in Barnoff, 2002). The MD perspective emerged out of a corporate context motivated by business motives (Barnoff, 2002). It focuses on "valuing diversity" to effect change in organizational culture (and in the case of Toronto, also the public perception) but it is not a perspective that seeks structural changes in an offending organization (Barnoff, 2002). Khosla (2003) discusses issues with the City's 'diversity management' in her research on the precarious positions of low income racialized women in Toronto, at which time Mel Lastman was the mayor:

The Mayor and City Council use the language of "diversity management" to justify a barrage of bureaucratic initiatives that paper over the hard issues. So far they have only succeeded in creating a buffer zone between themselves and a rising chorus of residents seeking action on the many and serious implications of racialized poverty. The City's own reports show that poverty rates among Toronto's communities of colour are double and triple those faced by people of European descent. For racialized women the situation is

alarmingly severe. In a number of communities more than threequarters of sole support mothers and single women are poor. (p. 8)

Additionally, Barnoff (2002) states, "By using the language of 'diversity', concepts such as racism and sexism disappear" (p. 75). In practice, then, it is uncertain whether people of diverse backgrounds are fully enabled to succeed in Toronto or whether diversity is something that is simply 'managed' in order to maintain an ordered, peaceful society.

Policy-makers need to ensure that diversity policies do not simply acknowledge and raise awareness around discrimination and existing inequalities but that they also address and make a serious attempt to eliminate them in conjunction with the community. As a city publicly committed to diversity, Toronto needs to implement strategic ways of assessing gender and racial inequality and progress towards equality in order to achieve a diverse city in which people are treated fairly and are enabled to meet their needs and realize their goals.

The City of Toronto's Approach to Gender Equity

The City of Toronto establishes initiatives to enhance women's welfare but it has done so in a piecemeal, ad hoc fashion, rather than in a strategic, directed manner that examines and addresses all aspects of women's realities that are impacted by municipal policy. While there are certain policies in place that target issues affecting women primarily, such as the TTC (public transit) night safety program, there is a lack of a strategic approach to securing women's equality at the municipal level that is evident in varying degrees in other cities around the world. According to Khosla (2003), "there is no program at City Hall designed to fund or specifically support women's initiatives" (p. 30). Cities such as London, UK, and San Francisco, USA, which will be discussed later, have progressed much further in this respect. As mentioned earlier, the City of Toronto has participated in various commemorative initiatives supporting women's equality. The City has participated in various women's safety initiatives, such as the City-funded arms-length organization Metro Action Committee on Public Violence Against Women and Children's (METRAC) safety audits (Whitzman, 2003) and the Toronto Transit Commission's (TTC) 'Request Stop' safety program for women travelling on buses at night (City of Toronto, 2005g). The City has had various short-term women's committees in the past, but it is difficult to ascertain tangible accomplishments of the committees and the City towards gender equity as a result of these committees (Whitzman, 2003). The committees' terms expire at the end of the Council term; thus, there is no continuity between the work that is accomplished by one committee and the work that is started by the next committee. There is no permanent structure and no staff at the City that are dedicated to addressing women's issues and engaging women unlike other cities such as New York, London, UK, and Paris, as will be discussed in chapter four. Thus, there is a danger in 're-inventing the wheel' every three years with new committees and never progressing to the implementation of gender mainstreaming given the short-term duration and superficial impact of current initiatives.

Although there are 1.3 million women living in Toronto, making up more than half of the population (City of Toronto, 2005h), women are rarely mentioned in Toronto policy documents that are produced inside and outside City Hall (Khosla, 2003). The City's 2002 official plan, for instance, makes no mention of women in the entire document (Bashevkin, 2005a; Bashevkin, 2005b). Unlike several cities, Toronto does not have a women's page on its website to provide a centralized resource for women seeking information or services. As argued earlier, the internet has become the main tool of communication with the public; therefore, it is imperative that the City website uses this tool to provide women with information and to demonstrate a strong commitment towards important social issues, including issues affecting women. Khosla (2003) discusses the invisibility of the issues affecting low income women on the agenda of Toronto City Council:

...at City Hall there is little discussion of issues facing poor women, let alone the mounting numbers who are women of colour and immigrant women. They are rarely, if ever, considered in decisions on community programs, policies and spending priorities. In recent years, maps, statistics and reports used by City Councillors to set policy have become decidedly gender neutral and fail to detail the widening gaps for, and among, different groups of women. (p. 7)

This is an unfortunate consequence of a predominantly white, middle-class male Council charged with the responsibility of representing the needs of all citizens. It is also a reflection of a growing trend towards sanitizing social issues in order to present problems in the most politically correct manner, which smoothes over rough patches that might illuminate key facets of a problem. Even well-intentioned left-leaning male councillors and mayors run the risk of having important issues such as 'the environment', 'a clean city', or 'a vibrant waterfront' high on their agenda, while other vital issues that more closely concern women, particularly low income and racialized women, such as the lack of subsidized childcare spaces and community supports, consistently fall lower on the list of priorities. A key way to make women's issues matter at City Hall is to increase women's representation within the City's decision-making body, namely City Council (Toronto Women's Call To Action, 2004). Different governments have instituted mechanisms for increasing women's representation as will be discussed in chapter six.

Khosla (2003) provides timely advice regarding the manner in which Toronto addresses gender inequity in the future:

The need for proactive approaches in the City has never been greater...in the past fifteen years feminized and racialized poverty and segregation have created a ballooning underclass in Toronto...Only a concerted effort for meaningful action by policymakers, analysts, advocates and residents can reverse the trend. (p. 13)

Introducing Gender Mainstreaming at the City of Toronto

Currently, the City of Toronto does not systematically assess its policies. programs, services, or budgets for their impact on women and gender equity. Introducing gender mainstreaming policy at the City will ensure that gender analysis becomes a routine part of the policy process. As an approach to addressing systemic gender discrimination, gender mainstreaming at the municipal level necessitates a variety of important considerations. Any progressive gender equity initiative must start with an understanding of the intersectionality of oppressions or marginalization faced by particular groups of women. Women who should receive special attention within gender mainstreaming initiatives are those who belong to one or more of the following marginalized groups: racialized, immigrant or refugee, disabled, low income, GLBT, and seniors. These women experience, in general, greater socioeconomic disadvantage. Gender mainstreaming policy must be relevant to women's multiple roles as mothers, caregivers, paid workers, unpaid workers inside the home, students, volunteers, and citizens. Municipal level gender mainstreaming must examine the City's roles as a policy-making body, a provider of services, and an employer accountable to the needs of the diverse public. It must address the wide array of issues that affect women in unique ways. Various areas of municipal jurisdiction that are issues for women include; safe, decent affordable housing; safe, affordable, accessible public transit; safety and crime; responsive, women-supportive policing; the availability of subsidized childcare spaces locally; availability of local recreational opportunities for women; the increasing feminization and racialization of poverty; adequate representation of women on City Council and in City jobs; racial and sexual harassment; and all forms of woman abuse.

Cities across Canada are said to fall behind their international counterparts in gender mainstreaming (Women & Environments International, 2004). This phenomenon prompted the International Centre for Municipal Development (ICMD) of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) to conduct research on women and cities in cooperation with City of Montreal's Femmes et ville (Women in the City) Program. The two partners produced a valuable document entitled "A City Tailored to Women: The Role of Municipal Governments in Achieving Gender Equality", as discussed in chapter one, which outlines cities' international gender equity commitments, gender equity initiatives in various cities, and the types of structures and mechanisms that are important to the ongoing process of gender mainstreaming (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). The document is intended as "a resource that municipal governments can use to assess the impact of all their decisions on the quality of life of women, and adjust their actions accordingly" (FCM ICMD& City of Montreal, 2004). The City of Toronto, which is the largest member city of the FCM, has demonstrated little action so far toward implementing the types of gender mainstreaming ideas presented in the useful and progressive document.

Although there is acknowledgement of women's inequality in Toronto by the city government, the political will necessary to address the problem appears to be lacking. For instance, in a speech given on International Women's Day on March 8, 2005, the Mayor acknowledged that the poverty rate for women remains high and

that women are over-represented among low-wage earners living below the poverty line (City of Toronto, 2005h). He acknowledged that "we have much work to do yet and we cannot afford to be complacent" (City of Toronto, 2005h). He proceeded to mention the City's increased funding last year for Access and Equity Grants, which are grant monies for organizations for women and other human rights-protected groups. He also mentioned that the Mayor's Roundtable on Access, Equity and Human Rights, a committee of City and community members representing various marginalized groups, had begun to meet this year. Be that as it may, several feminists in the city feel a sense of frustration at what they perceive as the City's lack of substantive action. For instance, if it is true that "we cannot afford to be complacent", it does not make sense that it took the City so long to establish the voluntary Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity, for which Toronto feminists dedicatedly lobbied over a year. Although the increased grant funding and the Roundtable on Access, Equity and Human Rights appear to be steps in a positive direction, they are not terribly progressive when they are compared with gender equity initiatives in other cities. In Toronto's 'weak mayor' system, the mayor has only one vote on City Council decisions; thus, the intention here is not to place blame solely on the current mayor who began his term at the end of 2003, but rather to demonstrate the contrast between the publicly expressed concerns of the City's leadership and the overall complacency in the policy environment. It is hoped that Toronto's approach to gender equity will improve after the Ontario provincial government unveils Toronto's new powers in the revised City of Toronto Act, which is expected to come into effect late in 2005.

The City of Toronto's Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity is a recently established citizen advisory committee under the Mayor's Roundtable on Access, Equity and Human Rights. It represents the City's attempt, via pressure from civil society, to facilitate the implementation of gender mainstreaming at the municipal level. The Working Group is made up of diverse group of women living in Toronto who are committed to forwarding gender equality from an anti-racist, anti-poverty standpoint. Toronto Women's Call to Action (TWCA), the driving force behind the establishment of the City's Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity, is a civil society group that was established in order "to end the growing invisibility of girls' and women's voices and issues from the political agenda in the City of Toronto" (TWCA, 2004, p.1). TWCA has lobbied the City for various policy measures that would enhance gender equality, including an effective advisory committee, gender-responsive budgeting, and the incorporation of women's concerns into local planning (Bashevkin, 2005a). They have advocated for anti-racist, anti-poverty gender mainstreaming that eventually translated into the City's establishment of the Working Group with an anti-racist, anti-poverty perspective clearly expressed from the outset. This feminist, anti-racist, anti-poverty approach is congruent with Matthaei's (1996) concept of feminist-Marxist-anti-racist economics discussed in chapter two. The members of the Working Group recognize the importance of acknowledging and addressing the intersecting oppressions of gender, race, and class for women living in Toronto. This is logical as Toronto is one of the most culturally diverse cities in the world (City of Toronto, 2005b) and

unfortunately also a city with significant income disparity and homelessness (City of Toronto, 2005i). As discussed in chapter one, women who are racialized and/or are poor are understood to be particularly vulnerable to the effects of public policies due to the added burdens of institutional racism and classism and poverty. An approach that employs gender, race, and class lenses is critical for addressing the broad social inequalities that are present in the city.

Although the City's Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity appears progressive on paper, and is made up of a racially diverse group of women, there are significant limitations to its potential effectiveness. Some key limitations are listed below, followed by a brief discussion of each:

- 1. Lack of a budget
- 2. Lack of staff dedicated to the Working Group, and more broadly, to women's issues
- 3. Lack of access to vital contextual information needed to initiate work
- 4. Lack of sustainability of the work accomplished by the Working Group after its term is over
- 5. Strained communication between the City and the Working Group
- 6. 'Suggest-and-advise' role of the Working Group will not ensure that the voice of women is heard.

Firstly, the Working Group does not have a budget allocated to its work. In addition to volunteering our time during meetings and to work between meetings, we are expected to pay all of the costs for transportation¹, childcare, and dependent care in order to attend meetings. The lack of a budget to cover the volunteers' costs inadvertently serves to marginalize community members who are on a lower income and/or who are juggling numerous responsibilities. Practical obstacles, such as childcare and transportation, are identified as a barrier to women's participation by Canadian municipal governments, women's organizations, and women (FCM ICMD, 2004a). In order to accurately represent the diversity of citizens within the city, a budget is necessary to ensure equal access to participation in municipal decision-making for women from all socioeconomic backgrounds. Secondly, there are no staff at the City of Toronto dedicated to working with the Working Group and, more broadly, to working on women's issues and enhancing women's participation. In fact, we have been instructed by a City staff person to limit the amount of work that we

¹ At the time of completion and successful defense of this thesis, the author was not aware that the City had been offering public transit tokens to community members who required them. The City had not widely announced the availability of tokens to the entire group. As a result, not all members received reimbursement for transportation since the inception of the Working Group. Transportation costs to attend smaller, informal meetings to accomplish work between formal meetings are not been reimbursed.

request from City staff as they have numerous existing commitments that prevent them from taking on additional responsibilities.

Thirdly, the Working Group lacks access to vital contextual information that is needed to ensure the effective initiation of its work. Prior to embarking on an important journey, it is necessary to have information about the destination and some sort of direction to gain a sense of what actions are feasibly achievable within given constraints, namely time, resource, and ideological constraints in this case. This helps to prevent the aimless expenditure of time and energy on activities that have no realistic chance of advancing. The Working Group's terms of reference states, "The Working Group will have access to city reports, statistics, and all information relevant and necessary to do its work" (City of Toronto, 2004). However, we have not been adequately oriented to past women's equality initiatives at the City of Toronto, current equity measures of the City, or the extent of the tools and resources available at the City for use in our work. Requests for various information from the City have not always been welcomed as City staff have communicated a visible degree of hesitation in meeting our requests for information and in supporting our ideas for implementing gender mainstreaming.

Members of the Working Group have suggested that a report on the status of women in Toronto needs to be prepared in order to provide the baseline data needed to proceed with the introduction of gender mainstreaming at the City. However, we are not authorized to make a direct request of City staff to undertake such projects as City Council must first approve the initiation of this report. Moreover, we have not been provided with information on the process of how we could proceed to get Council's approval for the initiation of this report, which is one of several unfortunate unknowns associated with membership on the Working Group. The Group is directed to focus on gender mainstreaming within the equity accountability agenda of the City by feeding into a master 'equity lens', which the City intends to employ in order to concurrently take into account all human rightsprotected groups in policy-making. This endeavour of the City, in conjunction with members of civil society, is of considerable magnitude, and it is one that should engage members at all stages and aspects of the process in a transparent fashion. It appears, however, that community members of the Working Group are expected to participate via an unidimensional forum that is devoid of sufficient historical and institutional context and opportunities for members to express and work from their own visions of what they need to accomplish together. Essentially, community members have been recruited from civil society to work for free on a pre-set gender mainstreaming assembly line; they are there to volunteer to help assemble the end product – the equity lens – but not necessarily to participate in debating, designing from scratch, approving, and having input into the implementation of the final product. A statement made by a member of FCM's cross-national research Project Steering Committee adequately captures in a concise manner the sentiment shared by some Working Group community members with respect to the mysterious equity lens: "Are we talking about bringing more women to the table, or changing the shape of the table?" (FCM ICMD, 2004a, p. 25).

Fourthly, Working Group members have expressed concern about the sustainability of the work to be accomplished. This is an important concern as City committees, such as the Working Group, dissolve at the end of the current Council term; the discontinuity with the committees in the next Council term can amount to a waste of time, energy, and resources, which has generally been the case with previous women's committees at the City (Whitzman, 2003). Lack of continuity into the next Council term is a likely fate for the current Working Group as it began to meet in March 2005 with the next municipal election scheduled for November 2006. This will not have allowed ample time to accomplish necessary tasks as a voluntary group.

Fifthly, processes of interaction between members of the Working Group and the City have been strained in the short time that the Working Group has existed, stemming from a discrepancy between the agenda of the City and that of the community members. Feminist members of civil society tend to seek a more 'radical' view of change compared to the comparatively conservative measures that the City is prepared to offer, and the resulting tension between the two parties has become evident. There is a disconnect between how community members envisage the achievement of gender equity at the local level and how the City views the situation and its obstacles. It is uncertain at this time how this discrepancy will be resolved, or if it is even possible to reach a suitable compromise, in order for the City to move ahead on gender equity. Sixthly, as a body that has only the power to suggest and advise, the Working Group's anti-racist, anti-poverty stance will not necessarily be translated into women-friendly, anti-racist, anti-poverty policies, programs, and services. The Working Group is, therefore, a mechanism designed to give voice to feminist, anti-racist, anti-poverty advocates without ensuring that this voice is acted upon at the municipal level.

Like the current Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity, past City of Toronto women's committees have also experienced difficulties in fulfilling their purpose. Carolyn Whitzman (2003), who has extensive knowledge and experience of Toronto women's organizing, provides some history on past women's committees at the City of Toronto and other cities in Canada. Whitzman (2003) explains that past committees in Toronto have been under-resourced and transitory, have provided only a token appearance of progress, and have had little results in the form of impact on policy that improves the status of women. Unfortunately, the problematic operation of Toronto's current Working Group in its short existence shares similar fundamental challenges inherent to other municipal level women's committees in Canada. Whitzman (2003) explains that working within existing institutional structures, such as a committee, "limits the ability to critique from the inside. There is always the threat of co-optation and compromise. Women end up 'appealing' and 'negotiating', rather than 'demanding' change. The work is often discouraging and slow" (p. 115). In reference to women's activism at the local government level, Whitzman (2003) states:

...it always involves time taken away from other work, family, and self – an often frustrating process, and a questionable end result.

Most significantly, the choices are rarely simple, the way ahead usually unclear, and the ability to learn lessons from past experiences limited. (p. 115)

This appears to be true of Toronto's Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity and the City of Toronto's approach to gender equity. The quality of participation in municipal government offered to women by the City, via the Working Group, is inadequate. The literature on citizen participation offers an analysis of what it does and does not mean to effectually participate in the true sense of the word. Lee (1999, p. 45) suggests four assumptions that true participation is predicated on:

- 1. The participation of the people must be meaningful, not token or simply of the benefit of decision making elites (Arnstein, 1969).
- 2. Decisions made with the serious and meaningful input of the people who are both to be affected by the decisions, and who implement them will tend to be better, more realistic decisions.
- 3. People who feel they have been a part of a decision have more at stake in seeing the decisions implemented well.
- 4. Participation of people in the decisions that influence their lives is healthy. People will tend to act more positively if they have a sense of influence over their lives.

Given the experience of the Working Group thus far, Lee's (1999) assumptions would suggest that the City of Toronto needs to reassess its definition of citizen participation so that both women and the city can benefit from women's participation.

Challenges to Achieving Gender Equity at the City of Toronto

Various challenges exist to achieving gender equity, specifically the implementation of gender mainstreaming, in Toronto. However, through open, thorough discussion about the factors that hinder democracy-enhancing gender equity initiatives, an opportunity exists to address the barriers and to work towards processes that will open up the city government to the people it exists to serve. Some of the key challenges to achieving gender equity in Toronto are summarized as follows:

- The Working Group experiences particular limitations as discussed earlier.
- There is a lack of sustainability between the end of one temporary initiative, e.g. women's committee, and the start of the next temporary initiative, which reflects the City's short term view towards achieving gender equity rather than the long term view that is greatly needed.

- Toronto's municipal bureaucracy (like any) is slow and difficult to change, which might be part of a wider organizational resistance to change. A City employee explained that it takes a long time to change things since there are approximately 30,000 employees to coordinate.
- Insufficient human resources (and the potential overwork of staff) prevents certain work from being accomplished. This is perhaps one of the reasons behind the absence of a report on the status of women in Toronto, which is urgently needed to provide useful baseline data to quantify and qualify what we are trying to remedy.
- Toronto's 'weak mayor' system makes it more difficult for mayors to forward socially progressive ideas, such as the promotion of gender equity, as this system entitles him or her to only one vote on City Council.
- A severe shortage of funding due to municipal, provincial, and federal cutbacks has perhaps resulted in insufficient resources for addressing various forms of gender inequity in Toronto. The current fiscally conservative era creates major difficulty in introducing equity policies and programs as they are perceived as expendable 'extras' that become easy targets for cutbacks when governments feel the need to decrease spending (FCM ICMD, 2004a).
- There are significant attitudinal barriers that inhibit progress towards gender equity. There is not enough political will at the City to make gender equity a high priority. This is not surprising given that we live in a patriarchal society, which preserves the status quo at the cost of those who are in need. Research has found that one of the perceived reasons for municipal government inaction around gender equity in Canada is that local governments are often described as "old boy's networks" that may be "stuck in the status quo" and "accept that low or no representation by women is 'normal' and be reluctant to make change to increase women's participation" (FCM ICMD, 2004a, p. 35). The resistance towards gender equity measures opportunely serves to maintain the support of the conservative electorate.
- The amalgamation of the former City of Toronto with surrounding municipalities, as mandated by the Ontario provincial government, is part of the complexity. The City is "still harmonizing" between old and new structures of the boroughs of Toronto pre- and post-amalgamation (McConnell, June 8, 2005, Working Group meeting).

The relatively open manner in which several other cities discuss the extent of inequality facing women in their cities is sharply contrasted with Toronto's comparative organizational resistance towards women's issues and participation. Other cities, as will be discussed in chapter four, are not afraid to admit to problems

and, consequently, they have progressed with outlining and implementing directions and strategies for change. In Toronto, the necessary preliminary step of acknowledging the extent of the inequalities faced by the diverse population of Toronto women is sorely lacking. Agócs (1997, p. 920) suggests the following typology of forms of institutionalized resistance to change, which appears to be relevant to the City's approach to gender equity:

- 1. Denial of the need for change.
 - a. Attacks on the credibility of the change message.
 - b. Attacks on the messengers and their credibility.
- 2. Refusal to accept responsibility for dealing with change issue.
- 3. Refusal to implement change that has been agreed to.
- 4. Repression: action to dismantle change that has been initiated.

Given Toronto's institutional resistance to gender equity, it is unfortunately not surprising that gender and race disaggregated data is not systematically collected and analyzed and that the City has no status of women report that discusses the extent of the gender inequity issues. The lack of such a City report is an unfortunate 'catch-22'. Without the report, advocates for women's equality lack the statistics and case examples needed to support their case for municipal level gender mainstreaming and to encourage the City to take a proactive approach to gender inequity. However, without a demonstrated urgent need to produce such a report, i.e. supporting statistics on women's inequality, the report is not likely to become a high priority for the City. Without such a report, it is not possible to accurately track progress towards gender equality. In contrast, the Mayor of London publishes an annual status of women report, which is shared with women during his annual women's conference. This informs women and the city organization of the extent of change that is achieved, and provides transparency regarding the current status of women. This is further discussed in chapter four.

It is not until there is open, accurate discussion at City Hall of the extent of women's marginalization in Toronto that true progress on gender equity can be made. In possibly the most diverse city on the entire planet, it is unfortunate that Toronto is not a trend-setter in gender mainstreaming and equality mainstreaming best practices; instead, a passive, minimalist approach appears to predominate. Although Toronto is a relatively young city when compared to cities that have advanced further on gender mainstreaming, if it aspires to be a world-class city, it is imperative that it at least keeps pace with the quality of equity initiatives of other cities. Table 1 summarizes the preceding discussion of conditions that inhibit success in initiating gender equity at the municipal level, and it suggests alternative conditions that support success, which will be elaborated in chapter four.

<u>Table 1: Conditions that Inhibit and Promote Success in Initiating Gender Equity at the Local Level</u>

	Conditions that foster failure	Conditions that support success
General approach towards gender equity	passive, reactionary, inactive, denial of the extent of the problem, lack of accountability, organizational resistance to change, and a lack of demonstrated commitment to seeing change occur from leadership	proactive; creating dialogue amongst all stakeholders, i.e. consulting communities; consulting cities who have progressed further for guidance; gender mainstreaming policy and action plan and accountability mechanisms and structures to ensure implementation
Nature & duration of City's responses to gender inequity	piecemeal, <i>ad hoc</i> , temporary, superficial 'solutions'	sustainable, permanent effective solutions
Decision-making authority	predominantly white, middle-class, male Council charged with responsibility of representing the needs and interests of the entire, diverse population = insufficient political will for dealing with issues that affect low-income, racialized women the most	a decision-making structure that represents the diverse population of Toronto, in particular the fact that women constitute 52%, and racialized women and men compose 43%, of Toronto's population = sufficient political will to address issues that address the needs of the population
Consultative structures	not supported with finances, adequate human resources and informational resources; lack of open, straightforward communication with the City; citizens are consulted at only a certain stage of the policy process while excluded from others	budget and dedicated staff and provision of necessary information to ensure objectives are met; communication is open, debate and critique are welcomed rather than dismissed or perceived as offensive; citizens are consulted at all stages of the policy process

Legislative framework for gender equity	non-existent; an assumption that a legislative framework for bringing about gender equity at the city level is unnecessary	ratification of IULA's Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government (e.g. Montreal, Ottawa, Vancouver) and/or CEDAW (e.g. San Francisco) to show the citizens of Toronto, the city organization, the province, the country, and cities of the world that the City is seriously committed to equality for women
Informational foundation/ resources	no collection of gender and race disaggregated data on usage of City programs and services and important social issues facing the city	collection and analysis of gender and race disaggregated data & qualitative data; initial status of women report to provide baseline data, and subsequent reports to chart progress towards gender equity goals/indicators

IV. Gender Mainstreaming Structures and Mechanisms in Other Cities

Internationally, gender mainstreaming initiatives have become a successful reality in cities of both the North and the South. Although cities' approaches differ on a number of levels, certain decisions lay the necessary foundation for successful gender mainstreaming by municipal governments. Effective gender mainstreaming at the municipal level requires cities to concretize legislative commitments to women's equality through instituting structures and mechanisms that support the initiation and ongoing processes of gender mainstreaming in a sustainable manner (FCM & City of Montreal, 2004). Creating a conducive institutional environment, including sufficient staff and funding, is necessary for integrating gender mainstreaming processes into a city's administration and advancing gender equality (FCM & City of Montreal, 2004). Although Toronto faces challenges in achieving gender equality at the municipal level, it is not sufficient for Toronto to simply address the specific issues discussed in chapter three; the City also needs to implement particular structures and mechanisms that will support the ongoing process of bringing about gender equity. Barnoff (2001), who has conducted research on anti-oppressive organizational change in Toronto social service organizations, states:

...the removal of organizational barriers does not automatically lead to successful organizational change. The removal of barriers is but one important piece in the process. Once barriers are removed, processes and mechanisms must be put in place which can enable successful change to occur. In my experience, much organizational effort has focused on the removal of barriers, but much less energy is devoted to instituting enablers. Both are necessary, (p. 70).

Municipal structures and mechanisms that play a crucial role in creating such an environment include the following:

- a consultative structure, such as a women's/gender equity commission or advisory council
- a municipal gender equity policy
- an annual or multi-year gender equity action plan
- an administrative structure, such as a women's/gender equity office
- participatory structures, such as task forces that address specific issues such as women's safety, housing or transportation, that promote full participation of women by addressing the barriers that women face in participating, which are related to scheduling, accessibility of the location, and the availability of childcare
- communication and information mechanisms

 a gender perspective in municipal management, such as activities that raise awareness and training in gender perspective (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004).

This chapter reviews some of the gender equity structures and mechanisms that have been established in various cities. The cities that are discussed provide examples of how gender mainstreaming can be effectively initiated through setting the stage via instituting structures and mechanisms within the local government. Consultative structures, while an important part of an overall gender mainstreaming strategy, are not discussed here as the focus of this review is on structures and mechanisms that are not yet in place at the City of Toronto. The review is not intended to be exhaustive, but provides an idea of the types of gender equity structures and mechanisms that are currently in place in different cities. Although the internal successes and failures of the structures and mechanisms are not evident from municipal policy documents (and are outside the scope of this project), the fact that these structures and mechanisms have been established under predominantly male leadership speaks to at least some degree of progress that has been made towards gender equity in those cities when compared to the City of Toronto. However, as discussed in chapter one, the expert-bureaucratic and participativedemocratic models for implementing a gender mainstreaming strategy vary drastically in the degree of power that women citizens are accorded in the policy process (Donaghy, 2004). Thus, it cannot be assumed that the existence of seemingly appropriate structures and mechanisms in a city ensures that diverse women have input into policy.

This review provides a basis for the six-stage model outlined in chapter five, which classifies various cities according to their current level of commitment to gender equity. The model assesses the actions that cities have taken in instituting structures, mechanisms, and women-friendly programs and services that promote gender equity at the local government level. The specific structures and mechanisms that will be discussed in this chapter are: municipal gender equality/gender mainstreaming policies, gender equality action plans, women's or gender equality offices, and communication and information mechanisms.

The model will allow cities and local feminist civil society organizations to assess a city's progress towards gender equity through comparing their city's general approach to those taken by other cities in the world. Thus, it will provide a 'yardstick' with which Toronto and other cities can assess their progress and introduce appropriate changes.

Municipal Gender Equality/Gender Mainstreaming Policies

A gender mainstreaming policy provides an initial foundation for devising processes, structures, and mechanisms that promote gender equity outcomes. The gender mainstreaming policy itself must result from existing municipal processes, structures, and tactics that engage diverse women in the policy formulation. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) and the City of Montreal in their pivotal document, "A City Tailored to Women: The Role of Municipal Governments

in Achieving Gender Equality", outline the important purpose of a municipal gender mainstreaming policy:

A commitment to the principle of gender equality is followed by the development, adoption and implementation of a Municipal Policy on Gender Equality. This policy sets out the goals, means and resources needed, as well as the municipal structure that will be responsible for carrying out an annual gender equality action plan. The policy is cross-sectoral by definition and will apply to all areas of municipal activity, including the urban plan, housing, transportation and public safety. It may include specific targets such as fighting poverty, violence against women, women's safety, access to housing and home ownership, or access to recreation. Since the municipality is also an employer, the policy will provide for equal access to jobs and salaries, as well as measures for work-family reconciliation to promote gender equality among municipal employees (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004, p. 19).

London, UK

The Greater London Authority (GLA) is mandated under the GLA Act 1999 to systematically work towards the "equality of opportunity" in its functions and in the formulation of policies and proposals included in any of its strategies (GLA, 2003). Although the GLA is not required to produce a specific gender equality plan, its gender equality policy document states:

...the GLA is committed to delivering gender equality and it wants to ensure this commitment is backed up by good information, rigorous planning, and implementation of policies and initiatives. This can be done through action plans and performance monitoring. A Gender Equality Scheme will assist us in doing this" (GLA, 2003, p. 41).

This women-friendly sentiment undoubtedly emanates from Mayor Ken Livingstone's longstanding connection to the women's community, which has led to prioritized action on women's issues (Bashevkin, 2005b). The Mayor of London's progress on gender equality has been facilitated to a large degree by the work of the Mayor's Policy Advisor on Women's Issues, Anni Marjoram (Bashevkin, 2005a; Bashevkin, 2005b). For instance, Marjoram convened the Mayor's successful annual "capitalwoman" conference, which started in 2001 (to be discussed later in this chapter). Capitalwoman and various other forums for consultation and engagement with women and women's organizations have informed the development of work plans (GLA, 2003).

The GLA's "gender equality vision" informs its gender equality initiatives. The GLA operationalizes its vision through its "Gender Equality Scheme" policy document, which elaborates specific areas that need to be addressed and strategies for addressing them. The Gender Equality Scheme identifies 15 specific expected

outcomes, 10 high level gender equality priorities, an action plan, and information about consultation, impact assessment and monitoring. Please refer to Appendix C for specific outcomes and Appendix D for high level gender equality priorities. Each high level priority is followed by a discussion of achievements so far and specific future tactics for addressing the priority. The Gender Equality Scheme, which is available on the London municipal website (see references), is an invaluable resource to cities intending to become women-friendly. The Gender Equality Action Plan, which is included in the Gender Equality Scheme, is discussed later in this chapter.

San Francisco

San Francisco's initiation of a gender equality policy differs from London's through San Francisco's use of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as a starting point for introducing initiatives and justifying policy changes. London's approach was legislatively rooted in the central government's GLA Act 1999, which requires the London city government to address social inequalities and report on progress made towards alleviating inequalities. The City and County of San Francisco passed an ordinance in 1998 to implement CEDAW at the local level (San Francisco CEDAW Task Force/Commission on the Status of Women, 2000). The Ordinance requires City departments to conduct a gender analysis in budget allocations, service delivery, and employment practices (San Francisco CEDAW Task Force/Commission on the Status of Women, 2000). The Ordinance stipulates local principles of CEDAW, details regarding the implementation of the principles in the city, and the establishment of a CEDAW Task Force.

To begin the process of implementing the CEDAW Ordinance, San Francisco's Commission on the Status of Women (COSW) hired Strategic Analysis for Gender Equity (SAGE), an international consulting group, to work with the CEDAW Task Force to formulate gender analysis guidelines and implement the guidelines with two selected city departments (San Francisco COSW & CEDAW Task Force, 1999). The goal of the gender analysis is for all departments to proactively examine the diverse needs of the population that they serve and employ, and to address those needs in their daily operations (San Francisco COSW & CEDAW Task Force, 1999). The guidelines were prepared with input from the two selected departments, the COSW staff, the CEDAW Task Force, organized labour, and community groups (San Francisco COSW & CEDAW Task Force, 1999). After successfully piloting the gender analysis guidelines with the two selected departments in 1999, the CEDAW Task Force and COSW publicly launched the resulting highly practical policy document, "Guidelines For A Gender Analysis: Human Rights with a Gender Perspective", in 2000. It is accessible online (see references) at no cost for cities to access and adapt for their use.

The objectives of the San Francisco gender analysis are: to fully integrate women's needs and concerns in the policies and practices of City government; to document the differential impact of services, employment practices, and budgetary allocations on women and men; and to facilitate ways for the department to address

these areas together with department staff, unions, customers/clients, and women's and community groups (San Francisco CEDAW Task Force/COSW, 2000). San Francisco's gender analysis methodology leads the user through a five-step process:

- 1. Collecting quantitative and qualitative disaggregated data (i.e. gender, race, etc.) and reports in three areas of a department's work: budget allocations, service delivery, and employment practices
- 2. Conducting the gender analysis using human rights principles
- 3. Formulating recommendations to remedy human rights deficiencies and gender inequities
- 4. Implementing recommendations through an action plan
- 5. Monitoring the action plan and CEDAW implementation, which requires departments to report on the progress and implementation of the action plan (San Francisco CEDAW Task Force/COSW, 2000, p. 6).

Although the document is laid out succinctly, cities are given the following advice about the complexity involved in undertaking the gender analysis process at the municipal level:

Completing this gender analysis is by no means simple and needs the commitment of departments to this process. It is a learning experience that takes time and resources. The gender analysis guidelines are tools to encourage and institutionalize a gender sensitive approach to public policy. The aim is not to produce yet another departmental report but to put a process in motion that will integrate gender into policy decisions, program planning, and employment on an ongoing basis. (San Francisco CEDAW Task Force/COSW, 2000, p. 5)

Yet another positive aspect of San Francisco's gender analysis framework is that it takes into account "the important links between gender and other social relations such as race, immigration status, language, sexual orientation, disability, age, and other status" (San Francisco CEDAW Task Force/COSW, 2000, p. 6). Thus, the City of San Francisco does not aim to redress gender inequality at the exclusion of other types of social inequalities. The City of Toronto's proposed equity lens, which was discussed in chapter three, similarly seeks to take all marginalized groups into account in the policy process.

Although the gender analysis guidelines document was designed specifically for San Francisco, it has inherent value for all cities working towards becoming women-friendly. The success of gender mainstreaming in both London and San Francisco demonstrate the importance of an initial legislative framework implemented by the city government and/or mandated by a higher level of government in order to motivate municipal action on gender equity issues. Similarly, the Province of Ontario can have a positive impact on gender equity in Toronto, via

the new City of Toronto Act, by legislatively requiring the City to strategically address gender and other social inequalities. This approach has been successfully implemented in London, UK, where the GLA Act 1999 has made it mandatory for London's city government (GLA) to address inequalities based on gender, race, disability, age, sexual orientation and religion. Section 33 of the GLA Act stipulates that the GLA is required "to secure that 'due regard' is given to the equality of opportunity with respect to both the exercise of its functions and in the formulation of the policies and proposals included in any of the strategies" (GLA, 2003, p. 52). The GLA is also required to produce an annual report, which "must contain an assessment of the arrangements made to promote equality of opportunity" (GLA, 2003, p. 52). The new City of Toronto Act should include a similar legal requirement; otherwise, there is no mechanism to ensure accountability and no guarantee to the diverse population of women and other marginalized groups in Toronto that action will be taken.

Vancouver

The City of Vancouver recently adopted a gender equality policy in June 2005. The City of Vancouver approved \$60,000 of funding at the beginning of 2005 for its Women's Task Force, which allowed the Task Force to hire a consultant to facilitate a six-month process of developing the gender equality policy with input from Vancouver women and women's groups (City of Vancouver's Women's Task Force, 2005). The Women's Task Force, which includes broad community representation, held several meetings and workshops in 2004 to discuss issues and concerns of women in Vancouver. Based on a preliminary assessment of the ways that the City could more effectively address gender inequality, the Task Force decided that "it would be more comprehensive, effective and sustainable to approach gender equality through the development of a policy framework and an action framework rather than to approach the issue...from a single-issue perspective (e.g. women's safety, childcare, civic engagement)" (City of Vancouver's Women's Task Force, 2005, p. 18). The gender equality policy consists of a vision for gender equality, principles, aims, and actions. Prior to adoption of the gender equality policy, the City of Vancouver had adopted the International Union of Local Authorities' (IULA) Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government.

Gender Equity Action Plans

A gender mainstreaming policy requires a plan to implement it (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). Without a strategic action plan to implement a city's gender equity policy, the well-intentioned policy risks never advancing beyond the pages it is printed on. Thus, the action plan is an essential component of an overall municipal gender equity strategy. In order to promote the successful implementation of municipal gender equity policies, several cities have introduced strategic action plans to hold departments, offices, and elected leadership accountable in meeting legislative commitments. There are at least two general types of gender equality action plans. The first type, which is the focus of this subsection, is the action plan

that concretizes a city's commitment to strategically address gender inequality. The second type of action plan, which is as equally important, is initiated later in the gender mainstreaming process and involves concretizing equality-promoting recommendations that derive from the gender analysis of policies, programs, and services. The action plan required in step four of San Francisco's five-step plan, outlined in the previous subsection, is an example of this second type of action plan.

In the FCM and the City of Montreal (2004) document "A City Tailored to Women", the function of an annual gender equality action plan is described in the following manner:

The gender policy is concretized in an annual action plan adopted by council or the municipality's executive structures. The plan lays out actions and goals, budgets and resources to be allocated, partners involved, a timetable, and the expected results. It is executed by the municipal administrative structure in charge of gender equality, in conjunction with women's groups, local community and public organizations, and women citizens. A mechanism that coordinates the various services, boroughs or districts ensures coherence in the work...and encourages the flow of information and the sharing of good practices. A regular review of the actions helps determine new priorities and any needed adjustments. (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004, p. 19)

London, UK

The Greater London Authority (GLA) instituted the Gender Equality Scheme in 2003, which included the Gender Equality Action Plan. The action plan outlines the proposed work on gender equality within each of the three broad areas of the city government's work: (i) Activities that deliver the Mayor's key objectives to make London: a city for people, a prosperous city, a fair city, an accessible city, and a green city; (ii) Listening to Londoners, i.e. activities that develop consultation and engagement with stakeholders; and (iii) Managing the organization, i.e. work concerning the governance of London, including the work of the London Assembly (GLA, 2003, p. 13). The action plan is comprehensive in the manner in which it marries the obligations of the city government with the need to improve the status of women.

Examples of proposed tactics under the first broad area include: quantifying the number of single women and women-headed households (if possible by age, sexuality and ethnicity) within the 'hidden homeless' population; holding regular consultations with survivors of woman abuse to ensure their views inform the developments of the London Domestic Violence Strategy; and identifying gender inequality and policy development needs in London and producing an annual report on the status of London's women (GLA, 2003, pp. 13-18). Examples of proposed tactics under the second broad area, listening to Londoners, include: ensuring women and women's organizations are represented in all engagement and consultation activities, and continuing to ensure that gender equality issues are

included where appropriate on the agendas for the Mayor's meetings with government ministers (GLA, 2003, pp. 21-22). Examples of proposed tactics under the third broad area, managing the organization, include: working with the GLA group to develop relevant gender equality indicators and targets around employment and service delivery; promoting high quality statistics on gender-related topics; and accessing and researching information resources on gender equality issues (GLA, 2003, pp. 23-24). To measure progress towards goals and to promote accountability, the GLA produced the "Gender Equality Scheme Review" in 2004 to outline the city's progress against its stated outcomes, priorities, and action plan. The Mayor is required to report annually on progress made on issues concerning women as well as other marginalized populations.

San Francisco

San Francisco's Commission on the Status of Women (COSW) and CEDAW Task Force established an action plan to implement the City's 1998 CEDAW Ordinance. The "Five-Year Action Plan" was introduced more than four years after the Ordinance came into effect, during which time extensive gender analysis work was jointly conducted by the COSW and CEDAW Task Force in addition to the application of the gender analysis guidelines to various City departments and follow-up assessments. Thus, San Francisco took a different approach than London, which developed an action plan as part of its initial gender equality policy document. London's plan prescribes proposed actions under selfconstructed "high level priorities", whereas San Francisco's plan was organized according to CEDAW principles. San Francisco's plan consists of CEDAW principles with specific corresponding goals and strategies, and priority goals and strategies are highlighted. The terms of the CEDAW Committee are stated, including its role, membership composition, and its responsibilities, including creating a fiveyear action plan within a prescribed timeline. To view the action plan, please refer to Appendix E.

Seoul

The city government of Seoul, South Korea, has instituted a 'Four-Year Plan on Women's Policies' (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2005a). This plan has involved the active implementation of women's policies through over 40 projects in five areas, including: the promotion of a gender equal culture, the development of female human resources and enhancement of women's social participation, the enhancement of welfare for marginalized women, improvements in the quality of childcare services, and the promotion of children's welfare (Seoul Metropolitan Government, 2005a; 2005b). Tangible, quantifiable improvements, which are expected to occur by 2006 from the major projects of the Four-Year Plan, are laid out in the form of baseline 2003 data and projected 2006 data (please refer to Appendix F). In addition to forecasted quantitative data, the Seoul Metropolitan Government has comprehensively outlined various concrete tasks that it has undertaken and/or plans to undertake in the near future in order to meet the

objectives of the Four-Year Plan. Concretizing expected outcomes in such a manner is necessary to ensuring success in achieving gender mainstreaming policy goals.

Women's or Gender Equality Offices

A permanent structure dedicated to addressing women's inequality is found in various cities around the world. Such a structure, which usually takes the form of a women's office within the city's organizational structure, is responsible for carrying out the annual gender equity action plan and helps to ensure that women's issues are addressed and kept on the municipal agenda (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). Without such a structure, there is a lack of accountability to ensure that women's issues are addressed in an effective, systematic manner; women's issues are subsumed under a department with a broader mandate that is faced with competing demands for staff time and resources. Some examples of permanent structures at the city level that facilitate gender mainstreaming are discussed below.

San Francisco

San Francisco has a Department on the Status of Women, which aims to "foster the advancement of the status of women and girls, particularly those issues that impact marginalized women and girls, both within City and County government and in the private sector" (City and County of San Francisco, 2005a). The Department employs five staff members, including one executive director, three policy analysts, and one grants administrator (City and County of San Francisco, 2005a). To advance the status of women, the Department engages in the following activities:

- Promoting access and developing policy within City and County government agencies, ensuring equality for women and girls.
- Advocating, monitoring, and proposing legislation to improve the quality of women's and girl's lives.
- Promoting programs that increase public awareness and understanding of violence against women. Administering funds for the provision of emergency shelter for women and their children, and other support services to survivors of domestic violence and sexual assault.
- Monitoring complaints of unlawful and unequal treatment of women.
 Promoting public education and awareness to prevent sexual harassment and discrimination against women.
- Providing technical assistance, information and referral to individuals, community organizations, businesses and government, related to women's and young women's rights and services.

- Maintaining an updated free Job Resource Library which is open to the public.
- Working with community organizations and coalitions to promote issues which improve the quality of life for women and girls. (City and County of San Francisco, 2005a)

Paris, France

The Observatoire de l'égalité femmes/hommes was created in 2001 in Paris, France, and is another example of a permanent structure for addressing gender inequality (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). The Observatoire is responsible for implementing gender equity policy, assessing the needs of women citizens, and monitoring equality in employment within the city administration (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). A team of eight staff work in conjunction with a network of approximately 20 gender officers in the boroughs. The Observatoire has the following goals: conducting studies and analyses to determine the main areas of inequality; suggesting ways and means of reducing these inequalities; and evaluating the actions undertaken (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004, p. 39). An early study demonstrated major work-related inequalities between women and men's salaries, working conditions, and unemployment, which prompted an action plan to remedy the issues (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). Additionally, a gender analysis of the division of jobs within the city administration prompted the initiation of an action plan regarding professional equality (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). The Observatoire's other priority areas include violence against women, sex work, and current-day forms of slavery (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004).

Communication and Information Mechanisms

Effective communications strategies and methods of disseminating information are crucial to conveying a city government's commitment to gender equality and to providing essential information to citizens in an accessible manner when they need it. Effective communications provide transparency and accountability regarding the progress made towards equity goals. Since progress on issues of equity is significantly determined by the public's perception of whether or not the city is making headway on the issues, the quality of communications strategies becomes important. However, at the same time, there is a danger in cities relying on communications strategies to inaccurately overstate their accomplishments. A strong communications strategy provides numerous advantages for both the city government and the women who are served by it. Various cities have innovatively and creatively participated in communications strategies that, at their best, not only provide women with necessary information and opportunities for participation, but also provide the city government with opportunities to promote itself and its efforts, to receive feedback on these efforts, and to integrate feedback into future policy. Communications strategies have included a combination of websites, publications, campaigns, conferences, and more.

Women's Webpage

At the very least, an easily accessible women's page included as part of official city websites is the basic minimum communication medium that a city should provide for women. Cities with women's webpages include New York City, London, Manchester, San Francisco, Montreal, Seoul, and Glasgow. These websites are used to inform the public of various initiatives undertaken by the city government and of ways in which women can participate and access information and resources.

Public Awareness Campaign

New York City has initiated a clever public awareness campaign featuring the slogan "New York Loves Women" commemorating Women's History Month 2005 (New York City Commission on Women's Issues, 2005). The campaign is intended to raise awareness about resources available to women in New York City. Hundreds of advertisements, adapting the logo design from the city's famous "I Love New York" campaign, have been featured in bus shelters, telephone kiosks, and lamppost banners throughout the city, as well as in numerous newspapers and magazines. Various City agencies, women's organizations, cultural and educational institutions, and businesses have distributed thousands of buttons featuring the "New York Loves Women" slogan throughout the city. Large corporations sponsor various initiatives.

Directory of Women's Resources

Some cities make available a directory of women's resources. The New York City Commission on Women's Issues has electronically published "Women's Organizations: A New York City Directory". Similarly, Manchester, UK, produced a Women's Directory available in hard copy and online versions, which provides women with information on relevant services, groups, and organizations in the city (Manchester City Council, 2005). In San Francisco, the Department on the Status of Women has recently announced the release of its free 2005 Directory of Social Services for Women available in hard copy (The City and County of San Francisco, 2005b). The availability of information in hard copy in the age of the internet is necessary for women who do not have internet access but need to access services, particularly low income women and senior women.

Women's Conference

The Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, holds a unique annual women's conference, called "capitalwoman", which engages women by allowing for open dialogue about issues affecting diverse women and acts as a forum for London women to express ideas and concerns (Greater London Authority, 2004). It coincides with International Women's Day, and it is open and free to all women (Greater London Authority, 2004). Its slogan is "a day of diversity, celebration and debate" (Greater London Authority, 2004). The conference enables women to

question the Mayor, policy makers, and women's representatives directly regarding issues that concern them (Greater London Authority, 2004). The capitalwoman conference tackles difficult issues such as policing and creating an anti-racist city, child care, education, and public transit safety. Guest speakers participate from a wide variety of organizations supporting women. The conference not only provides an opportunity to women to give the Mayor feedback and voice concerns that need to be addressed; the conference is a valuable strategic opportunity for the mayor to outline progress that has been made on women's issues (Bashevkin, 2005a). Participation has grown from 300 attendees in 2001 to nearly 2,000 attendees in 2005 (Greater London Authority, 2004). The annual capitalwoman conference brochure contains the annual State of London's Women report. Conference costs are offset by sponsor advertisements on the capitalwoman website and in capitalwoman publications. Sponsors include various public and private sector organizations and unions.

Newsletter

Glasgow's municipal government established a newsletter in 2001 entitled "Equality Bulletin" in order to disseminate information and foster debate across organizations that are involved in working on equality issues within the city (Glasgow City Council, 2005a). The Equality Bulletin is published several times a year. It is complemented by a weekly e-bulletin, which provides equality news and information on funding. Glasgow City Council also developed a quarterly publication, "Inclusion Update", which features news, events, and initiatives on economic and social inclusion in Glasgow and how the Council is taking action (Glasgow City Council, 2005b). It is free and available in a wide variety of formats, such as hard copy, online, large print, audio tape, and computer disk. This is important in promoting access to information for all citizens.

Conclusion

This chapter examined some key structures and mechanisms that cities have instituted in order to improve their record on gender equality. Specifically, it reviewed gender equity policies, action plans, administrative structures, and communication and information mechanisms. Table 2 summarizes the structures and mechanisms in other cities that promote gender equity as presented in this chapter. These structures and mechanisms are essential to ensuring successful gender mainstreaming. A global movement to bring women onto the city agenda is creating greater opportunities for women to participate in their local governments and for cities to become informed about, and redress, gender inequalities that are sustained at the municipal level. A wealth of ideas and information derived from what these and other cities have accomplished is at the City of Toronto's disposal if it wishes to commit seriously to securing a substantive place for women's equality and welfare on the municipal agenda. A serious commitment begins by communicating a credible message to Toronto's women that the City cares about women, their concerns, their rights, and their voice.

Table 2: Summary of Gender Equity Structures and Mechanisms in Other Cities

Type of Structure or Mechanism	Description	Significance	Examples of cities that have implemented it
Municipal gender equality/gender mainstreaming Policy	Provides an initial foundation for devising processes, structures, and mechanisms that promote gender equity outcomes; Crosssectoral by definition and applies to all areas of municipal activity (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004, p. 19)	Sets out the goals, means, and resources needed to achieve gender equity outcomes, as well as the municipal structure that will be responsible for carrying out an annual gender equity action plan (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). Without such a policy, there is no formal commitment from the municipal government to address gender inequality.	London, UK San Francisco, USA Vancouver, Canada
Gender equality action plan	Gender equity policy is concretized in an action plan adopted by council. Plan lays out actions and goals, budgets and resources to be allocated, partners involved, a timetable, and the expected results. It is executed by the municipal administrative structure in charge of gender equality, in conjunction with women's groups, local community and public	Without a strategic action plan to implement a city's gender equity policy, the policy risks not being implemented. Accordingly, several cities have introduced action plans to coordinate various services and boroughs/districts to ensure coherence in the work and hold departments, offices, and elected leadership accountable in meeting legislative commitments. (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004)	London, UK San Francisco, USA Seoul, South Korea

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	organizations, and women citizens. (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004, p. 19)			
Women's or gender equality office	Carries out the annual action plan and helps to ensure that women's issues are addressed and kept on the municipal agenda (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004).	Without such a structure, there is a lack of accountability to ensure that women's issues are addressed in an effective strategic and systematic manner, i.e. women's issues are subsumed under a department with a broader mandate that is faced with competing demands for staff time and resources.	San Francisco, USA Paris, France	
Communication and information mechanisms	Various mechanisms for communicating initiatives, information, and progress on women's issues to the public. Also included are mechanisms through which the public can provide input and feedback to the city government. These mechanisms include websites, public conferences, newsletters, surveys, and print advertisements.	Effective communications strategies: - are crucial to conveying a city government's commitment to gender equality and to providing essential information to citizens in an accessible manner - provide much-needed transparency and accountability to citizens regarding progress made towards equity goals provide the city government with opportunities to promote itself and its efforts, to receive feedback on these efforts, and to integrate feedback constructively into future policy.	London, UK San Francisco, USA New York City, USA Glasgow, Scotland Seoul, South Korea Montreal, Canada Manchester, UK	

V. Towards A Six-Stage Model of Assessing Cities' Progress on Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Equity

This chapter will present a model with six stages that categorize the quality of the gender mainstreaming approaches taken by cities with an emphasis on the implementation of various structures and mechanisms that facilitate gender equity initiatives. This model is adapted from Arnold Minors' (1996) six-stage model of anti-racist organization development, although the proposed stages do not correspond directly to the levels of organizational commitment to equality in Minors' (1996) stages (for more information on Minors' model, please refer to Appendix B). The goal of the following model is to provide a 'yardstick' for measuring a city's progress towards gender equity by outlining stages that typify a set of conditions that indicate a particular degree of commitment to, and progress towards, gender equity. The proposed model will provide a way for city governments and feminist civil society organizations to assess a city's progress, or lack thereof, on gender equity. Such models are useful in this manner as they can motivate action by providing a simplified picture of the array of possible approaches available to be taken by an organization. Similarly to Arnold Minors' (1996) construct, this model can be used as "a tool" to allow organizations, or in this case, cities and members of civil society, "to assess the extent to which they are inclusive and as an aid to move towards more equity and access" (Minors, 1996, p. 196). This is important because although there is varying level of discussion at the City of Toronto and other cities worldwide about gender equity, there are not enough results in the form of policies, action plans, and implementation strategies that promote gender equity at the local level.

The model outlines stages that represent the realities of current cities' approaches but it also discusses future ideals to strive for, which would allow cities to become more women-friendly. It is important to note, however, that the model is a work in progress, and the plan is to further develop and refine the model in the future to include a broader number of cities and more detailed information on the initiatives undertaken, tangible results, the journey to their current approach, and motivating factors. The stages are summarized in Table 3 on pages 68-72.

The model acknowledges the ability of cities to progress or regress on their commitment to gender equity as affected by certain factors. Factors that can push forward or retard success at different stages include the following:

- i) political will/ideological compatibility of current government, possibly longstanding or as a result of new leadership following an election
- ii) strength of the voice of women/feminist civil society organizing in the city
- iii) available funding/resources
- iv) institutional support/resistance, i.e. level of buy-in from senior staff/bureaucracy (WAMS, as cited by Greckol, 2005)

v) the presence of local level 'crisis' issues that divert time, resources, and attention away from long-term equity issues

Stage 1: The Excluding City

This is a city that does not have women's issues or gender equality on its agenda. It has a reactionary political climate, where there is denial, ignorance, and a resulting lack of any discussion of gender equality and women's issues. There is no women's advisory committee or any other structure or mechanism that allows for the implementation of gender equity initiatives. The lack of commitment likely reflects a lack of commitment at the national level. For example, unlike most democratic countries around the world, the US has yet to ratify CEDAW, which has likely had an influence on the lack of importance assigned to women's equality at the local level in many American cities. Likewise, a lack of concern for women's needs and issues can also be found at the local government level in countries that have signed such agreements but have not implemented significant changes at the national level, such as Canada. If inequality is addressed at all in the excluding city, it is done using a "managing diversity" (MD) approach as discussed in chapter three (Barnoff, 2002). Although the city might not deny equality as an ideal, there is no explicit discussion of structural, systemic barriers to equality and ways in which to remedy them.

Stage 2: The Passive City

A city at stage 2 demonstrates little commitment to strategically addressing issues around women's welfare. An MD approach to addressing social inequalities predominates. There is minimal acknowledgement of the need for gender mainstreaming of policies and services. The city may have a status of women committee but it is not established without a struggle, for example, as a result of a persistent lobby effort by civil society. There is no budget allocated to the initiative, no municipal government staff dedicated to it, little political will and little, if any, progress towards purported goals. Organizational resistance to change is a significant issue at this stage. The work of the committee lacks organization and strategy due to significant resource deficits. Community members are not adequately supported in their roles as volunteers; for example, they are not provided adequate informational resources from the city government, and they are not assisted in overcoming practical obstacles to participation, such as being offered compensation for the costs that they incur from participating (e.g. transportation and child care).

Toronto is an example of a city at stage 2 as it appears to have made progress by instituting a women's advisory committee but the committee is not sufficiently aided by the City in making positive changes. Additionally, Toronto practices the MD approach in the way it addresses social inequalities through its "diversity management" efforts. Public attention to women's issues is limited to the City's annual commemoration of International Women's Day. The result is an illusion of progress while true systemic change lags as a consequence of insufficient political will and resources.

Stage 3: Starting the Process of Change

A city at stage 3 demonstrates a fair level of commitment to women's welfare. There is some political will, and a significant effort is made to raise awareness of women's issues. It has a status of women committee, a budget allocated to the initiative, dedicated staff, and there is some discernible progress towards goals. The approach to gender equity might resemble the "expert-bureaucratic model" as opposed to the "participative-democratic model" (Donaghy, 2004), but a significant effort to raise awareness of women's issues is useful nevertheless. This is facilitated through various communication and information mechanisms including women's pages on the city's official website and various publications on municipal women's initiatives. The city government is in the process of initiating strategic action, perhaps by working on a gender mainstreaming policy and action plan to implement it. Compared to stage 2, institutional resistance to gender equitable change is at a lower level. As well, the voice of feminist civil society is stronger at this stage. The relationship with the city might be described as a 'productive tension' as progress has begun but much has yet to be accomplished. Although there is significant variation amongst their paths to gender equity, examples of stage 3 cities include: Vancouver, Glasgow, Manchester, New York City, and Seoul.

If a city's approach to gender equity resembles the expert-bureaucratic model, there is a risk of the city government engaging powerful, high-profiled women in the community in order to achieve gender equity objectives instead of including a broad representation of women. This appears to be the case in New York City. Under the expert-bureaucratic model, efforts are directed at widely promoting informational resources and various campaigns to support women more so than working on changing the municipal policy process. It is also under this model that gender tends to become the exclusive focus within the gender equity process, while the ways in which women are multiply oppressed, for example via racialization and poverty, are overlooked. Although the gender equity approach may involve several established mechanisms that have produced tangible deliverables, they are not necessarily geared towards improving gender equity for all women; they may be inadvertently geared towards middle- to upper-class women while not engaging poor/working-class women.

Stage 4: Establishing an Environment that Produces Results

A stage 4 city demonstrates a good level of commitment to women's welfare as there is significant political will to achieve gender equity at the municipal level. The city acknowledges, and aims to redress, the intersectionality of oppressions experienced by women who belong to additional marginalized groups. This city has at least one women's committee and a budget and staff allocated to the initiative. It has a gender mainstreaming/gender equality policy for addressing gender inequity within the organization (e.g. employment, policy process, women's representation on council) and its programs, services, and budgets. It has a strategic action plan for implementing gender mainstreaming, and it is in the process of actively implementing this action plan via departments that are mandated to annually

undertake gender equity initiatives. The city has a permanent administrative structure for women's issues and/or a special policy advisor on women to ensure that the tangible work of gender mainstreaming is carried out effectively. There are ongoing opportunities for women to provide feedback and input to the city government regarding issues, concerns, and needs that they face through such forums as public women's conferences, effective advisory committees, and surveys that impact on policy. Additionally, the city has various outlets for providing information to women on resources and progress that has been on gender equity; thus, there is an effective communication loop to and from the city and women. An effective communications strategy includes publications, websites, and conferences. The voice of women is at a critical mass, which motivates real action on gender equity. There is a strong working relationship between feminist civil society and city government. Underlying the efforts of cities at this stage is a premise that society as a whole is improved when true equality for women is achieved and when women are adequately supported in meeting their goals and needs. Examples of stage 4 cities include London, UK, San Francisco, and Montreal.

Stage 5: Sustaining Success

This city has undertaken stage 4 activities for several years and with success. It maintains a strong level of commitment and continues to build upon its initiatives. The city is proactively implementing equity-promoting recommendations based on ongoing gender analyses of policies, services, and budgets. The city has maintained effective municipal gender equity structures and mechanisms for several years, such as a gender equality policy and action plan, a women's office, women's advisory committees, and various communication and information mechanisms. The city systematically monitors progress on its gender equity initiatives. All barriers to women's participation have been addressed. A permanent administrative structure facilitates ongoing dialogue and a strong connection between anti-racist, anti-poverty feminist civil society and city government. A strong relationship has been maintained between civil society and city government for many years. A critical mass of women and sufficient political will maintain municipal gender mainstreaming momentum. London, San Francisco, and Montreal show promise of entering this stage if they continue to build on their current momentum.

Stage 6: The Women-Inclusive City

Excellent progress on women's issues is due to the success of gender equity-promoting structures and mechanisms, strong political will, an organizational culture that is fully supportive of women, and strong, progressive civil society influence. All necessary structures and mechanisms have been in place for many years and have successfully resulted in substantial gains on all municipal gender equality indicators. An anti-racist, anti-poverty gender perspective is apparent throughout the city organization, and not limited to gender equity structures and mechanisms. Anti-racist, anti-poverty gender mainstreaming has ensured that women have access to decent affordable housing; healthy, affordable, locally available food (food security);

affordable, high quality childcare close to home; safe, affordable transit systems; and adequate recreational programming. The police work for, and with, women in implementing and evaluating safety initiatives. Planning is not done primarily by white, male planners but by a diverse group of planners and diverse community input. Councillors and city government staff accurately represent the proportion of women and other marginalized populations living in the city (e.g. racialized peoples, Aboriginal peoples, people with disabilities, and GLBT population). Feminist civil society and the city government are equal partners. This city does not currently exist but it is an important, worthy ideal for cities to strive towards. Table 3 summarizes the six proposed stages of the model. In addition, the FCM ICMD and the City of Montreal (2004) provide a useful and concise checklist for municipalities to assess how women-friendly their cities are (please refer to Appendix G).

Table 3: Six-stage model of assessing cities' progress on gender equity and gender mainstreaming

Stage	General approach, political will/political climate	Supportive structures, mechanisms & funding	Voice of progressive women/civil society at municipal level	Tangible results/progress	Examples
Stage 1: The Excluding City	reactionary political environment; women are not on the agenda; lack of discussion regarding women's issues and gender inequality; although city would not deny equality as an ideal, there is no explicit discussion of structural, systemic barriers to equality; if diversity is addressed at all, a managing diversity (MD) approach is employed	none	weak	none	several cities in North America and around the world
Stage 2: The Passive City	MD approach predominates; little commitment to strategically addressing issues around women's welfare; minimal acknowledgement of the need for gender mainstreaming; organizational resistance to change	women's advisory committee/council - however, no staff or funding is dedicated to it; community members lack support in the form of information/resources and compensation for costs incurred for participating	building momentum as they lobby for effective gender mainstreaming; discernible friction with city government, which is unresponsive to pressure to introduce gender mainstreaming	illusion of progress; factors that impede true progress include the lack of political will and dedicated resources; celebratory initiatives (e.g. International Women's Day) contribute to the illusion of progress while true systemic change lags	Toronto
Stage 3: Starting the	fair commitment to women's welfare; some political will; a	women's advisory council or commission with a	significant voice, although not a critical mass;	some discernible progress towards goals; in the	Vancouver, New York City,

Process of	significant effort is made to	budget and staff;	relationship with city	process of initiating	Glasgow,
Change	raise awareness of women's issues, although the approach to gender mainstreaming/equity might resemble the "expert bureaucratic model" as opposed to the "participative democratic model"; decreased institutional resistance to change; intersectionality of oppressions may or may not be acknowledged	communication and information mechanisms including women's pages on city websites and publications	government might be described as a 'productive tension' as progress has begun but with much yet to be accomplished; if the city's approach to gender equity resembles the "expert bureaucratic model", the city government risks engaging mainly powerful high-profiled women in order to achieve gender equity objectives instead of a broad representation of women in the city	strategic action, perhaps by working on a gender mainstreaming policy and action plan to implement it and/or, at a more basic level (esp. with expert bureaucratic model), informational resources and various campaigns to support women.	Manchester, Seoul
Stage 4: Establishing an Environment that Produces Results	good commitment to women's welfare; significant political will; acknowledgement of the intersectionality of oppressions; underlying premise that society as a whole benefits when true equality for women is achieved and when women are adequately supported in meeting goals and needs	at least one women's committee with a budget allocated to the initiative and dedicated staff; gender mainstreaming policy for addressing gender inequity within the organization and its programs and services; a strategic, systematic action plan for implementing the policy; ongoing opportunities for women to provide input/feedback to the city government about issues.	critical mass; strong working relationship between feminist civil society and city government	have a gender equity/mainstreaming policy in place and an action plan to implement it; the plan is in the process of being implemented via departments, which are mandated to annually undertake gender equity initiatives using a gender perspective and report back on progress	London, UK, San Francisco Montreal

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		concerns, and needs; effective communications strategy via publications, internet, public conferences; permanent administrative structure and/or special policy advisor on women			
Stage 5:	has undertaken stage 4	same as above, but	same as above, but	proactively involved in	London, San
Sustaining Success	activities for several years and with success; maintains a strong level of commitment and continues to build upon initiatives	maintained for several years; all barriers to participation of women have been removed; permanent administrative structure facilitates ongoing dialogue and strong connection between civil society and city government	sustained over several years	implementing recommendations based on ongoing gender analyses of policies, services, and budgets. The city systematically monitors progress on its gender equity initiatives.	Francisco, and Montreal show promise of entering this stage if they continue to build on their current momentum
Stage 6: The	excellent progress on diverse	all necessary structures and	same as above; civil society	Anti-racist, anti-poverty	This city does
Women-	women's issues due to the	mechanisms have been in	and city government are	gender mainstreaming has	not currently
Inclusive City	success of gender equality-	place for many years; an	equal partners	ensured that women have access to decent affordable	exist but it is an
	promoting structures and mechanisms, strong political	anti-racist, anti-poverty gender perspective is		housing; food security;	important, worthy ideal to
	will, an organizational culture	applied throughout		affordable, high quality	strive towards.
	that is fully supportive of	organization, and is not		childcare locally; safe,	James Co Transitor
	women, and strong	limited to gender equity		affordable transit systems;	İ
	progressive civil society	structures and		adequate recreational	
	influence; fulfils international	mechanisms; there is		programming. Police work	
	gender equity commitments,	adequate funding for		for, and with, women in	
	i.e. CEDAW, the Beijing	structures and mechanisms		implementing and	

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Platform for Action, and the	to operate successfully		evaluating safety initiatives.
	to operate successituity	(
IULA Worldwide Declaration on			Planning is not done
Women in Local Government			primarily by white, male
			planners but by a diverse
			group of planners and
			diverse community input.
			Councillors and City staff
			accurately represent the
			proportion of women and
			other marginalized
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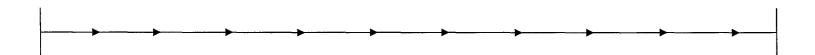
Stage 1 Stage 2
The Excluding City The Passive City

Stage 3
Starting the
Process of Change

Stage 4
Establishing an
Environment that
Produces Results

Stage 5
Sustaining Success

Stage 6
The Women-Inclusive City



Factors that discourage success:

- low political will, incongruence between political ideology/environment and gender equity
- weak civil society organizing
- lack of municipal funding/resources
- organizational resistance to change
- presence of local level 'crisis' issues that divert time, resources, and attention away from long-term equity issues, which if addressed substantively, could prevent part or all of the city's 'crisis' issues

Factors that encourage success:

- sufficient political will, congruence between political ideology/environment and gender equity
- strong civil society presence
- adequate municipal funding/resources
- supportive organizational culture
- absence of 'crisis' issues, which allows the city to focus on equity initiatives

VI. Recommended Directions and Strategies for Improving the City of Toronto's Approach to Gender Equity

As discussed earlier, there is a need for the City of Toronto to address the issues with its current approach to gender equity as well as to learn from other cities' experiences and introduce necessary municipal gender mainstreaming structures and mechanisms. The following recommendations have been generated from the preceding analysis, which employed Minors' (1996) anti-racist organizational change tool (refer to Appendix B) as part of a critical anti-racist feminist perspective used to assess the City's current approach to gender equity. It should be noted that some of the recommendations have also emerged within discussions of the City of Toronto's Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity. Recommendations are discussed as follows under two categories: (1) changes that need to be made to the City's current approach in conjunction with the introduction of new gender equity structures and mechanisms; and (2) new gender equity structures and mechanisms that need to be instituted at the City.

Recommended Changes to the City's Current Approach As New Gender Equity Structures and Mechanisms Are Introduced

The following recommendations are generated from chapter three:

1) Collect and analyze quantitative gender and race disaggregated data on City programs, services, and social issues. Use the analysis of gender and race disaggregated quantitative data and qualitative data to develop a report on the status of women in Toronto in conjunction with the Working Group in order to compile necessary baseline data.

Collection of gender and race disaggregated data is one of the first essential tasks in any gender equity initiative. As discussed earlier in chapter three, the City does not systematically collect gender and race disaggregated data on the usage of its programs and services and significant social issues affecting Toronto. To make changes that promote gender equity, baseline data is needed to demonstrate the details about what, where and how changes are most needed and by whom. Khosla (2003, p. 20) states, "When social and economic trends are not tracked by race and gender, policy makers can too easily ignore the specific character and interests of the City's growing underclass". In addition, the FCM ICMD and the City of Montreal (2004) state:

Municipal governments must have specific information that sets out the different realities of men and women, since this is the only way of tailoring programs and measures to the specific needs of each group. The use of gender-disaggregated data ensures, among other things, that inaccurate interpretations are avoided. (p. 24)

It is important to combine quantitative and qualitative data to provide the fullest picture of the status of women in the city. Qualitative data from interviews with

diverse women in Toronto regarding their experiences of municipal programs and services would be valuable in deepening our understanding of how women experience life in Toronto and what changes they need to see. The issues to examine include: affordable housing, public transit, safety, policing, food security, childcare, recreation, poverty, civic engagement, representation on City Council and in City jobs, issues facing newcomers, racial and sexual harassment, and all forms of abuse. Using the quantitative and qualitative data, the City needs to publish an initial status of women report to provide baseline data, and subsequent reports to chart the City's progress towards gender equity goals and indicators.

2) Facilitate the Working Group's efforts to research municipal gender mainstreaming best practices as well as other tasks by providing staff to assist with work.

It is beneficial to consult other municipalities that have advanced further on gender equity issues in order to gain ideas and insights from contemporary lived experience. It is often useful to learn from others' successes but also to learn about how they overcame challenges. Accessing information about how other cities are taking action is made easier in the global village we inhabit. However, it is not realistic for community members to spend several hours of volunteer time researching best practices thoroughly or performing other tasks that take a sizeable amount of time and resources. As discussed in chapter three, the City does not have staff dedicated to advancing gender equity and assisting the Working Group. To be productive, the Working Group needs the assistance of City staff. It needs the assistance of a staff member who is available and interested in doing the work and who is open to sharing information with the Working Group but will allow the Working Group the space to conduct its own affairs as per its mandate.

3) To facilitate their volunteer participation, provide a small budget to the Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity to cover, at minimum, transportation costs² and childcare and dependent care expenses incurred by community members.

As discussed in chapter three, the City currently discourages some women from participating as volunteers on committees because it does not allocate sufficient resources for transportation and child and dependent care, which would support their participation. One of several barriers to participation identified by women participants in the FCM ICMD's (2004a) cross-national research is "practical obstacles" such as transportation issues, lack of childcare, and lack of money.

As mentioned on page 21, after the completion and successful defense of this thesis, the City informed *all* members of the Working Group that public transit tokens are supplied to members of the Working Group requiring them (for the two formal meetings that remained).

Lower income women and men are excluded from various City equity committees because the City does not have a policy in place for providing even a small budget to facilitate participants' involvement. Women and community members from other marginalized groups are not only expected to participate on a voluntary basis in a limited 'suggest-and-advise' role; they are expected to do so on their own time and using their own money. The net effect of the lack of a budget serves to support the involvement of more privileged members in the marginalized population, i.e. middle-class women who are more likely to be white, at the cost of excluding lower income women who are more likely to be racialized. Ironically, inequality is being addressed using means that are inequitable. Marginalized citizens who seek to work with the City to improve equity and redress historic inequalities should not be expected to pay for the opportunity to do so. Their input is valuable and necessary for building a truly inclusive city that will benefit all.

4) Create an environment that improves the communication and information flow between the City and Working Group. The Working Group needs access to contextual information regarding the City that is necessary for its work. If the City and the Working Group are to have a productive relationship, barriers that are impeding open communication must be addressed. This may be facilitated through an open discussion of what progress each party wants the Working Group to have made by the conclusion of the Group's term. Additionally, community members of the Working Group and other equity committees need to be consulted at all stages of the equity policy process.

As discussed in chapter three, there are communication difficulties evident between the City and the community members. A budget and a staff member who has dedicated time available to work and provide information are both important in ensuring that the Working Group is able to make progress on gender equity at City Hall. However, another necessary ingredient for effective gender equity work that is not so obvious is an environment that allows for open communication and flow of information. Communication between the City and the community must be open. Debate and critique of the policy process and this civic engagement exercise must be welcomed rather than stifled, dismissed or taken personally. Because we live in a democracy, community members should be able to raise concerns about the Working Group without feeling silenced and unheard. This silencing, and the failure to consider and address members' concerns about the process, acts to further marginalize equity groups that the City engages precisely to open up the dialogue and enhance involvement. The lack of information provision, vague communication, and unresponsiveness to community members' concerns all serve to reinforce a sense that the City has a hidden agenda. This is unsettling as there is little sense of reassurance that the Group will, in fact, meet its objectives or if it will merely serve as a public relations exercise. Dissimilar expectations of the City and the community

members of what is to be the 'end product' of the Working Group likely underlies the communication difficulties. Furthermore, it was mentioned earlier that the City's underlying expectation is for community members on the Working Group to feed into a master 'equity lens' that the City is constructing, which has not allowed citizens in on the entire picture. Citizens need to be consulted at *all* stages of the equity policy process on an ongoing basis, rather than inserted at the point of the process where, when, and how it suits the City.

5) Implement policies and programs that support an increase in the number of female councillors.

It is the view of this paper that a municipal democratic system needs to be both representative and participatory. As discussed in chapter three, adequate representation of women on City Council is necessary for ensuring that there is sufficient political will to address the issues and needs of the population. Merely allowing women to 'suggest-and-advise' while a predominantly male city council makes the final decisions is an unfortunate reflection of our patriarchal society and is unacceptable. Representative democracy must be practiced by cities, such as Toronto, in order to ensure that policies, programs, and services meet the needs of the electorate. Increasing the number of female councillors at City Hall is an excellent way to ensure that women's voices are heard.

Toronto's councillors have a dual role. They are policy-makers and, at the same time, they are representatives who are supposed to stand for or reflect the needs and interests of Toronto's diverse population. The status quo, a predominantly white, male Council with a relatively passive diverse female advisory group, cannot be considered an effective democratic arrangement. As feminist civil society members in France argued, "a democracy without women is not a democracy" (Praud, 2002). Women face several obstacles to becoming political representatives. It has been argued that women "generally have less political capital", which Pitre (as cited in Speirs, 2001) defined as "money, networks, and political experience" (p. 2). Women also face challenges in becoming councillors as it is a time and energy consuming endeavour compared to regular full-time or part-time paid employment, which already conflicts other household and caregiving responsibilities for which women tend to bear a disproportionate burden (FCM ICMD, 2004a). Yet another significant barrier to women's involvement is an "old boy's club" environment sustained by male politicians, which serves to undermine women's motivation to participate (MacIvor, 1996). As discussed in chapter one, racialized women face additional barriers to political involvement (FCM ICMD, 2004a), which stem from systemic racism and often classism, which impede their ability to become involved. Results from a research survey on Canadian municipalities show that only 1% of elected women are from racialized groups, less than 1% are women with disabilities, and less than 1% are immigrant women (FCM ICMD, 2004a). Leadership development and mentoring are necessary for increasing participation for diverse women (FCM

ICMD, 2004a). Women who are marginalized report that they need skill development and leadership training to successfully participate in municipal processes (FCM ICMD, 2004a).

In order to start the process of promoting women in municipal politics, Toronto Election Services should partner with the non-profit sector to institute widely advertised workshops for women on entering municipal politics. Such workshops can be found in various cities, such as Vancouver. This mechanism would encourage more women to enter municipal politics. An indicator of success would be how close this and other initiatives close in on the 20% gap between the current percentage of female councillors (32%) and the population of women in Toronto (52%) over time. With more women on City Council, improving the welfare of women and increasing their input into City decisions will become greater concerns at City Hall. In conjunction with this mechanism, the City should work with diverse women to address specific challenges that they face in running for political office. Another idea used in other cities and countries is a quota system, which ensures that a certain percentage of electoral seats are occupied by women. This is evident in such cities as Paris and Mumbai, India

Recommended Gender Equity Structures and Mechanisms to Institute at the City

The following recommendations are generated from chapter four:

6) Adopt the Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government as various large Canadian cities have done. Use this commitment to send a positive message to the people of this city as well as to engage in the global municipal gender equity dialogue where Toronto is currently absent.

As discussed earlier in chapter one, the Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government is an important commitment that many cities around the world have entered into. Unfortunately, Toronto has not ratified the Declaration as cities such as Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver have (FCM ICMD, 2004b). Toronto is a part of the FCM, which is, in turn, a member of the international organization of municipalities now responsible for the Declaration, United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). The FCM has adopted the Declaration but commitments made by the FCM, such as this one, do not commit the City to taking action. As discussed in chapter four, it is imperative that cities adopt gender equality policies in order to advance gender equity. By adopting the Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government, the City of Toronto would send a strong message that it is seriously committed to equality for women, not only to the citizens, the city administration, and the provincial and federal governments, but also to the international community consisting of the cities of the world, including those that are actively engaged in municipal gender equality initiatives. There is a potential to not only make change here in our city, but also to demonstrate to the international community, as the largest city in one of the world's richest countries, the utmost importance of cities committing to gender equity.

7) Establish a gender mainstreaming/gender equity policy, for example, such as London's Gender Equality Scheme and San Francisco's Guidelines For A Gender Analysis.

As discussed in chapter four, it is important to establish a permanent gender equity policy and an action plan that set goals with clearly stated deadlines for implementation as well as explicit timelines and indicators for ongoing monitoring and evaluation in active consultation with diverse women. For example, San Francisco's "Guidelines For A Gender Analysis: Human Rights with a Gender Perspective" (San Francisco CEDAW Task Force/Commission on the Status of Women, 2000) is a good place for the City of Toronto to start. As discussed earlier, a gender mainstreaming policy provides an initial foundation for devising processes, structures, and mechanisms that promote gender equity outcomes. Recall that the FCM and the City of Montreal (2004) stated the following regarding the roles and importance of a municipal gender equity policy:

This policy sets out the goals, means and resources needed, as well as the municipal structure that will be responsible for carrying out an annual gender equality action plan. The policy is cross-sectoral by definition and will apply to all areas of municipal activity, including the urban plan, housing, transportation and public safety. It may include specific targets such as fighting poverty, violence against women, women's safety, access to housing and home ownership, or access to recreation. Since the municipality is also an employer, the policy will provide for equal access to jobs and salaries, as well as measures for work-family reconciliation to promote gender equality among municipal employees (p. 19).

8) Establish a status of women office at the City. Such an office is "..the only way to get anything done."

As discussed in chapter four, an administrative structure that is responsible for ensuring that gender equity is reflected in the City's policies, programs, services, and budgets is essential for making progress on gender equity and keeping pace with municipal gender equity approaches worldwide. Other large cities with permanent women's offices include San Francisco and Paris. A City women's office would have the responsibility of overseeing the execution of an annual gender mainstreaming action plan and ensuring that diverse women's issues are addressed and kept on the municipal agenda (FCM ICMD & City of Montreal, 2004). The office would serve as an accountability mechanism to ensure that women's issues are addressed in a manner that brings positive results and to keep the city administration on track with meeting gender equity goals and initiating improvements.

9) Establish an effective engagement and communications strategy to: (a) inform Torontonians of what actions are being taken by the City and its partners to advance gender and other types of equity; and (b) receive feedback and input from women and other marginalized Torontonians on their experiences of life in Toronto.

As discussed in chapter four, a crucial component to advancing equity is to engage citizens effectively in municipal processes and to open up communication between the City and the community. There are numerous examples from other cities of communication and information mechanisms that the City can adopt. This recommendation assumes that there are actions worthy of making a concerted effort to publicize to Torontonians. As discussed in chapter four, the Mayor of London's successful annual capitalwoman conference provides the women of London an opportunity to engage in open dialogue regarding issues that they experience and to provide feedback on municipal programs and services, which serves to inform the Mayor's gender equity initiatives, and also allows the Mayor to inform women about actions being taken to improve life for women in London. Glasgow's "Equality Bulletin" is a unique newsletter that shares information and creates dialogue across organizations involved in work on equality issues within the city (Glasgow City Council, 2005a). This is complemented by a weekly e-bulletin, which provides equality-related news and information on funding. The City needs to, at least, start a women's page on the City's website as London, San Francisco, Seoul, New York City, and several other cities have done so as to provide a centralized resource for women on services and programs available in the city and women-friendly initiatives that the City is involved in. Strategies such as these communicate to the public that there is at least a basic minimum level of commitment from the city government to redressing inequities faced by marginalized populations.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that an important underlying principle for the effective inclusion of women's issues in City policies is that of citizen participation. Participatory democracy necessarily involves listening closely to those who are the most vulnerable amongst the citizens and working with them to construct solutions. It is essential that the people who are marginalized in social, political and economic arenas have sufficient opportunities and forums to become involved in solutions to the issues that affect them and affect us all as a city (Daenzer, 1997; Dumbrill, 2003; Lee, 1999; Reitsma-Street & Brown, 2002). Substantive, meaningful, ongoing public input is essential to ensuring that City responses to social issues are effective solutions, rather than the City's best guess at solutions. Perfecting smaller committee structures, which are supposed to make City Hall more accessible to the people, is a key approach to concretizing the City's commitment to transparent, accessible government. One of the greatest benefits of the active participation of citizens, particularly those who are marginalized in our society, is the empowerment of individuals as they come together to work on issues (Daenzer, 1997; Dumbrill, 2003;

Lee, 1999; Reitsma-Street & Brown, 2002). The equity issues that they face, which they have come together with the City to address, have arisen in a historical context that has long denied equality to minority populations in political and economic arenas. If citizens are feeling frustrated as part of the engagement process, this serves to further alienate and thus marginalize them. A quotation from a letter written by a female Toronto citizen to a councillor in 1999 still holds equally true today: "Society's emotional health is, in part, achieved when such diverse groups have a clear voice that will be heard, not lost in a bureaucratic grab-bag that hasn't the time or personnel to adequately address their issues" (Anonymous, 1999).

Regrettably, a "lack of faith that women can make a difference and frustration with political systems" is frequently cited by Canadian women as a barrier to participation in municipal decision-making (FCM ICMD, 2004a, p. 30). Participating voluntarily on an advisory committee should not be a frustrating experience for citizens who have volunteered to make a positive difference in their city and who bring to the table a wealth of knowledge, resources, and skills to accomplish the tasks at hand. Engaged citizens are not looking to be baby-sat, but they are not looking to work aimlessly on poorly resourced 'make work' projects that create the impression of citizen participation but have little or no sustainability or tangible results. They are tired of continuing to participate in ineffectual methods of engagement used in the past that have little relevance for them and the goals they seek to achieve today. They want City staff to assume their 'support' role/function but not to overstep that role by directing citizens in their meetings, perhaps as a result of having been instructed to guide citizens down a pre-selected path. Citizens know co-optation when they see it. By failing to providing the optimum environment for citizens to engage in their city government, citizens are easily jaded by the experience, the process, and the representatives of the City who failed in their duty to serve the public by wanting the public to instead serve their agenda.

It is not an easy task for a system of governance to retro-fit its policies, structures, and mechanisms with an equality lens that combats all forms of discrimination when the system was not originally designed with equality in mind. Historically, the system was built on a foundation in which racism, patriarchy, classism, ableism, ageism, and homophobia were all unfortunately embedded. Regrettably, these same societal forces (albeit in a context of critique and challenge) are still in effect today. Thus, constructing and implementing equity policy is a complex, arduous task with several roadblocks on the way to the end goal of equality and social justice. What is clear is that in order to infuse equality into the City organization and its spheres of influence, it is necessary to listen to the people who are excluded. As simple as this sounds, there is a danger in formulating grand plans that are not rooted in diverse people's day-to-day lived realities. It is not likely that the people who are struggling the most to make it in this city are going to be able to overstretch their resources to be able to make their voices heard at City Hall. If they are able to voice their concerns, there is no guarantee that they will truly be heard. Thus, it is the duty of the City to reach out to those people who are not represented on Council, in the bureaucracy, or in the voluntary citizen-based committees that are meant to represent all of the citizens in a particular marginalized group.

If the City ever intends to become a leader in building inclusive cities (Inclusive Cities Canada, 2005), it is imperative that the City work to rid itself of the subtle, yet consequential, toxins that are currently inhibiting citizen participation and the realization of a participatory and representative democracy. A true measure of how inclusive we are as a city is how we recognize and address the needs, dreams, and dignity of disadvantaged groups. We need everyone's input and contribution to help our city grow. We must not allow various excuses to impede rights and opportunities for diverse groups if we want to ensure that Toronto is a city that promotes full participation. Open dialogue about issues that plague our city is absolutely vital if we are ever to find effective, timely solutions. It is not a negative thing to admit that we in Toronto are behind on gender mainstreaming and equality issues in general; in fact, it would be preferable as it would permit the necessary exploration of solutions by the City and civil society, preferably working collaboratively instead of antagonistically. As long as politics get in the way of admitting and discussing that a problem exists, we will not be able to address the issues effectively. Open dialogue both ways between the City and civil society is absolutely essential if we ever wish to become an international trend-setter in equity policy and a world class city. There is a need to create a political culture where an unwillingness to admit problems does not interfere with solving problems. Denial of problems will not make them disappear; problems only become more pronounced with time as public awareness increases and the problem worsens over time due to neglect in addressing it. One of the most pronounced differences between the equity policy documents of Toronto and those of cities proactively working on gender equity around the world was the frankness with which other cities spoke of the issues facing their city, which typically related to vast social and economic disparities. It is only through first acknowledging the existence of an issue and opening dialogue around the issue that it has a chance of being solved.

This paper examined ways in which the City of Toronto can make changes to its current approach to gender equity and can institute appropriate structures and mechanisms to make the city more liveable for diverse women. It is hoped that this document can assist to open up City—community dialogue regarding progressive alternatives to the current approaches to addressing social inequalities. It is also hoped that the City of Toronto will significantly increase its efforts to genuinely infuse gender, racial, and other types of equity into its processes and policies, not only for the sake of the city's increasingly marginalized citizens, but also to lay a foundation for a more inclusive, productive, and harmonious society for future citizens. A crucial determinant of Toronto's success at improving its image on the world stage, and its future as a city, depends on how the City chooses to deal with persisting and increasing social inequalities and whether it will choose to become a progressive example of good municipal governance on the world stage.

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Appendix A - IULA Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Government

Preamble

- 1. The World Executive Committee of the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA), the worldwide association of local governments, meeting in Zimbabwe, November 1998;
- 2. Recalling the Worldwide Declaration of Local Self-Government adopted at IULA's 31st World Congress in Toronto, 1993;
- 3. Recalling the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the United Nations Declaration on Women and Platform for Action adopted in Beijing in 1995, in particular the principle, recognised in Article 344 of the Beijing Platform for Action, that international organisations, such as IULA, have an important role to play in implementing the UN Platform for Action;
- 4. Recognising that the reasons as to why women are not represented equally in local government are multiple, and that women and men throughout the world live under different conditions and women do not have the same access to and control over economic and political resources as men;
- 5. Considering that local government, as an integral part of the national structure of governance, is the level of government closest to the citizens and therefore in the best position both to involve women in the making of decisions concerning their living conditions, and to make use of their knowledge and capabilities in the promotion of sustainable development;
- 6. Emphasising that the mission of IULA cannot be realised without the equal and systematic integration of women into democratic local decision making and that democracy cannot be realised without adequate representation, participation and inclusion of women in the local governance process;

WE, THE MEMBERS OF IULA, REPRESENTING LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WORLDWIDE, FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT:

7. Democratic local self-government has a critical role to play in securing social, economic and political justice for all citizens of every community in the world and that all members of society, women and men, must be included in the governance process;

- 8. Women and men as citizens have equal human rights, duties and opportunities, as well as the equal right to exercise them. The right to vote, to be eligible for election and to hold public office at all levels are human rights that apply equally to women and men;
- 9. The problems and challenges facing humanity are global but occur and have to be dealt with at the local level. Women have the equal right to freedom from poverty, discrimination, environmental degradation and insecurity. To fight these problems and to meet the challenges of sustainable human development, it is crucial that women be empowered and involved in local government as decision-makers, planners and managers;
- 10. Local government is in a unique position to contribute to the global struggle for gender equality and can have a great impact on the status of women and the status of gender equality around the world, in its capacities as the level of governance closest to the citizens, as a service provider and as an employer;
- 11. The systematic integration of women augments the democratic basis, the efficiency and the quality of the activities of local government. If local government is to meet the needs of both women and men, it must build on the experiences of both women and men, through an equal representation at all levels and in all fields of decision-making, covering the wide range of responsibilities of local governments;
- 12. In order to create sustainable, equal and democratic local governments, where women and men have equal access to decision-making, equal access to services and equal treatment in these services, the gender perspective must be mainstreamed into all areas of policy making and management in local government.

Local government as a service provider and enabler of sound living conditions

- 13. Women have the right to equal access to the services of local governments, as well as the right to be treated equally in these services and to be able to influence the initiation, development, management and monitoring of services. The provision of services such as education, welfare and other social services by local governments, should aim to see women and men as equally responsible for matters related both to the family and to public life, and avoid perpetuating stereotypes of women and men;
- 14. Women have the equal right to sound environmental living conditions, housing, water distribution and sanitation facilities, as well as to affordable public transportation. Women's needs and living conditions must be made visible and taken into account at all times in planning;

- 15. Women have the right to equal access to the territory and geographical space of local governments, ranging from the right to own land, to the right to move freely and without fear in public spaces and on public transport;
- 16. Local government has a role to play in ensuring the reproductive rights of women and the rights of women to freedom from domestic violence and other forms of physical, psychological and sexual violence and abuse;

Local government as an employer and in a strategic position to influence local society

- 17. Women have the equal right to employment in local government and equality in recruitment procedures. As employees in local government women and men have the right to equal pay, equal access to benefits, promotion and training, as well as the right to equal working conditions and treatment in the evaluation of their work;
- 18. Women's often heavy workload of paid and unpaid work is a barrier to their ability to take part in decision making. Local government has an important role to play in providing affordable, professional and safe care services for children, older people and people with disabilities, be that directly or in partnership with the private or the voluntary sectors, and in promoting the sharing of household tasks by women and men on an equal basis. Men have the equal right and responsibility to care for their children and relatives and should be encouraged to do so;

WE, THE MEMBERS OF IULA, REPRESENTING LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WORLDWIDE, COMMIT OURSELVES TO:

- 19. Ensuring that the conditions within our local governments and associations allow our beliefs as stated in this document to be realised;
- 20. Strengthening our efforts to make equal the number of women and men in decision-making bodies at all levels and in all policy areas, and our efforts to ensure women's qualitative participation in councils, committees and other groups related to decision-making in local government;
- 21. Applying the mainstreaming principle by integrating a gender perspective into all policies, programmes and service delivery activities in individual local governments and their representative associations at national, regional and international levels, and to developing methods for monitoring and measuring this mainstreaming work;

- 22. Looking for new ways to ensure that women are represented and actively participate by formal as well as informal means in the process of local governance;
- 23. Strengthening international and national cooperation between local governments, supported by national, regional and international associations of local governments, in order to further the exchange of experiences, as well as to devise and develop methods, policies and strategies that help offset barriers to women's participation in local decision-making;
- 24. Outlining, implementing and monitoring action plans for promoting equal opportunities in the municipal workplace, encompassing equal opportunities of recruitment, promotion, remuneration, as well as equal working conditions;
- 25. Working for changes of attitudes related to gender issues by awareness-raising in the education system and within the political and administrative structure of local governments;
- 26. Working actively with other actors of society, including national gender systems and organisations, the private sector, non-governmental organisations, professional groupings, women's groups, research institutes and trade unions in accomplishing the goals of this declaration;

WE CALL UPON NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS TO:

- 27. Acknowledge that local government has a critical role to play in creating sustainable democracies and gender equal societies, and therefore, to grant constitutional, legal and financial autonomy to local governments to enable them to meet their democratic responsibilities;
- 28. Support, encourage and create opportunities and resources for local governments to work for and promote gender equality;
- 29. Recognise national associations of local governments as important partners in the development, promotion and support of gender equality at the local level, and in the exchange of experiences at the international, national and local levels;
- 30. Work in partnership with local government associations and their members to implement the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW);

- 31. Guarantee and enforce the right of women to a legal capacity identical to that of men and to the same opportunities to exercise that capacity, by ensuring equality and non-discrimination before the law and in practice;
- 32. Guarantee and enforce the right of women to participate in the democratic system, by ensuring women the equal right to vote, to be eligible for election and to hold public office;
- 33. Develop and augment knowledge in the field of gender by ensuring that statistics collected on individuals are gender disaggregated and analysed with a gender perspective, and to make available resources for academic research with a gender perspective, that can be of use for the development of gender equality in local government;

WE CALL UPON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO:

- 34. Implement the Beijing Platform for Action, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and this declaration;
- 35. Recognise the local level as the level of governance closest to the citizens with a critical role to play in attaining the objectives of gender equality agreed upon by National Governments through the United Nations, and therefore;
- 36. Work with Local Government and its institutions at all levels to promote the equal participation of women and men in local decision-making in all its forms, formal and informal;
- 37. Support programmes initiated by local governments and their associations aimed at increasing the representation of women in local government and local positions of leadership.

Harare, November 1998

Appendix B – Anti-Oppression Organizational Change Tools & the City of Toronto's Approach to Gender Equity: Minors' (1996) Six-stage Model of Anti-Racist Organization Development

Anti-racist and feminist organizational change tools are used to analyze non-profit or public sector social service organizations in order to assess the level of inclusion and participation of marginalized populations in an organization. Organizations' decision-making processes and structures, employment practices, policies, and programs are assessed for their degree of inclusiveness of women, racialized populations, Aboriginal peoples, seniors, people with disabilities, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered individuals, and low-income individuals. The results of such analysis are intended to introduce changes within the organization that would promote equity and social justice. The analysis is intended to encourage people who hold decision-making authority within the organization to make changes to policies, programs, and services in consultation with service users. An important central goal is to increase democratic decision-making through instituting processes and structures that permit the sharing of power with service users who traditionally have been accorded little, if any, input into policies that affect them and the quality of programs and services that they use.

Anti-oppressive organizational change tools can be applied to government structures and processes in order to assess the degree of democracy, inclusion, and participation practiced by a government. The tools can be used to expose bureaucratic structures and processes that have the effect of excluding citizens from participating in decisions. A major challenge of using organizational change tools to enhance the democratic functioning of organizations lies in the difficulties of convincing people with power in senior level positions to share that power and of convincing power-holders that service users are experts on their own lives who deserve and should rightfully have significant authority over decisions that concern them. Unfortunately, true progress cannot be made without undergoing the difficult task of addressing difficult issues. The purpose of using anti-oppression organizational tools is two-fold: firstly, to assess particular oppressive aspects of the organization according to the tool, and secondly, to formulate and implement methods of addressing the issues that are raised.

Minors' (1996) Six-Stage Model of Anti-Racist Organization Development

A useful anti-racist organizational change tool was created by Toronto-based anti-racism/organizational consultant Arnold Minors. Minors' (1996) tool provides organizations with a framework for assessing the extent to which they are truly inclusive in their organizational mission, structure, values, employment practices, availability of services, and ability to deal with differences. This tool is useful in concurrently assessing not only racial discrimination, but all forms of discrimination practiced by an organization. The tool can be expanded to assess all organizations, or parts of organizations, that serve people, not only social service organizations. The stages of Minors' (1996) model are summarized as follows:

1. The Excluding Organization (p. 199):

- inflexible structure designed to maintain dominance of one group over all others
- only hires staff, recruits volunteers, and serves members from the dominant group
- inflexible modes of service delivery and service inconveniences, which discourage racialized women and men from accessing services
- believes strongly in preserving established interests and works hard to deny the existence of people with different beliefs, histories, or values

2. The Passive Club (p. 200):

- policies, procedures, and practices are subtly designed to maintain the privilege reflected in the dominant values of society
- people traditionally excluded get very little support from the system
- only a small number of racialized people are hired and only when they have the 'correct' perspective
- no attempt is made to adapt and respond to client needs
- organizations at this stage make few attempts to support people from marginalized groups or involve them in the decision-making process

3. Token Acceptance (p. 201):

- organizations begin to design procedures that will provide access to all
 qualified people; promote themselves as non-discriminatory with the implicit
 promise being that anybody can succeed; in practice, however, very little
 changes
- emphasize the need to preserve the merit principle by getting 'qualified people', but these same organizations often support mediocre or incompetent white employees
- periodically, a 'token' racialized person is promoted into management;
 however, those promoted are usually 'team players' with substantially higher qualifications than their colleagues
- top managers in large organizations order middle managers to 'fix' the bottom levels; usually front-line staff resist because they know that changes in their behaviour will not be supported by supervisors
- managers do little to change management practices that support and maintain institutionalized racism
- superficial changes occur in service delivery, e.g. hiring 'multicultural' frontline workers to work with 'their communities'; these workers are frequently marginalized.

4. Symbolic Equity (p. 202):

• changes come in the form of symbols rather than substance; assumption that equity will be achieved if barriers in employment practices are removed, which ignores the impact of organizational culture on how welcomed

- members of marginalized groups feel as staff, service users, board members, and service volunteers
- committed to eliminating discriminatory practices by actively recruiting and promoting racialized women and men, yet all members of the organization are expected to continue to conform to the norms of the dominant group
- it is not unusual for leaders of the organization to try to avoid real equity by assigning accountability for an equity initiative to a staff person who has no real power, in which case staff are programmed to fail because they lack the authority to effect real change. Likewise, no manager is held accountable for delivering results in specific equity issues.
- organizations begin to ask how they can respond to the needs of their clients, but the typical response is to reshape existing programs to fit the emerging needs of new clients as stage 4 organizations do not yet understand that, in order to make services and employment/volunteer opportunities more equitable, they must change power relations within the organization and with the community.

5. Substantial Equity (p. 203)

- new flexible, responsive structure ensures that marginalized groups who were previously kept out of the decision-making process help shape and reshape the organization's mission, systems, and modes of service delivery
- leaders review their policies periodically; may even revise a previously sacred mission statement
- some stage 5 organizations decide that hierarchies with their 'power over' rather than 'powerful with' are no longer appropriate
- may set up task groups to identify community needs and wants
- institute monitoring processes to ensure that services are delivered in ways that people belonging to marginalized groups describe as equitable
- diverse women and men work together at all levels of the organization to develop strategies and establish short- and long-term action plans.

6. The Including Organization (p. 204):

- reflects the contributions and interests of various groups in its mission and operations
- members of the community participate at all levels and help make decisions that shape the organization and influence its direction
- the organization sees itself as part of the broader community; its members support efforts to eliminate all forms of social oppression and to enhance the worth of all
- actively seeks the views of various communities (not only geographic communities) and designs and refines its structure to reflect and respond to the expressed needs
- equitable, responsive, and accessible at all levels
- although stage 5 organizations have appropriate structures and systems in place, they have not yet achieved the goals of equity and participation for all

While stage 6 activities represent the ideal "including organization", Minors (1996, p. 197) cautions that it is important to "face 'what is', in order to design stageappropriate activities that will move the organization to 'what it wants to become'". Otherwise, premature attempts to undertake advanced initiatives in an organization in an early stage can result in frustration for people working with the organization and resistance to change within the organization (Minors, 1996). This information is helpful for contextualizing the institutional resistance that community members have experienced as part of the City of Toronto's Working Group on the Status of Women and Gender Equity. Because the City of Toronto is not as socially progressive as several community members had hoped, our experiences of working with the City in this short time have been somewhat frustrating and unproductive. Several members realized after interacting with the City, as part of this arrangement, that the organization was not yet ready for the types of changes that we, as members of civil society, were envisioning. After a short period of time, community members realized that it was not realistic to encourage the City to take on large steps/changes when commitment to smaller steps had not yet been taken. As a result, several of us have lowered our expectations and made our goals smaller and more realistically attainable, given the political environment, time and resource constraints, and institutional resistance to change.

<u>Appendix C – Greater London Authority's Gender Equality Scheme – Specific</u> Outcomes

Specific outcomes arising from this work will be:

- More visible police presence on the streets of London.
- Improvements in services for women who have been raped through the development of specialised, separate rape facilities (rape havens) and improved monitoring and increased reporting of rape crimes.
- Improvements in security on buses, taxis, Docklands Light Railway and in mini-cabs.
- More accessible bus services.
- Affordable bus fares.
- Improvements in services for women and children experiencing domestic violence and improvements in education and awareness about domestic violence.
- More women employed at all grades in the GLA and the GLA group.
- More accessible and better quality childcare facilities in London.
- Improvements in civil rights for same sex and unmarried mixed sex couples.
- Improvements in the economic regeneration opportunities for women through partnership work with the LDA.
- Continued programme of Mayoral engagement with women, including capitalwoman conference, feeding into all strategic work of the GLA.
- Promotion and development of improved conditions of service and equality pay audits by employers in London.
- An increase in affordable housing.
- Improvements in services for homeless women and improvements in monitoring standards in temporary housing.
- Targeted research and campaigns on women's poverty, low earnings and economic position.

Appendix D – Greater London Authority's High Level Priorities for Gender Equality

The GLA's high level priorities for gender equality:

- Implementing the London Domestic Violence Strategy
- Working with Transport for London to improve the quality and safety of the public transport system in London and keep fares down
- Working with the Metropolitan Police Authority (MPA) and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) to develop and improve community safety throughout London
- Providing a partnership register for lesbians, gay men and unmarried mixed sex couples to register their partnerships, monitoring this service and taking a lead role in campaigning in London and nationally civil rights for same sex and unmarried mixed sex partners
- Developing and implementing the Mayor's Childcare Strategy
- Holding capitalwoman, an annual Mayoral conference on the Saturday nearest International Women's Day (8 March) attended by the Mayor to engage directly with women in London. Production of the accompanying capitalwoman brochure including the annual State of London's Women report
- An extensive programme of engagement and consultation with a range of women stakeholders in London from a variety of backgrounds
- Working in partnership with the GLA group to ensure that women are employed (at all grades and in all positions) in numbers that reflect the actual population of women in London (52 per cent). Ensuring that the Metropolitan Police and the London Fire Service work towards meeting their target of employing women as 19.5 per cent of police officers and 15 per cent of firefighters. The GLA also works to ensure that the functional bodies that make up the GLA group, including the GLA, offer conditions of service and a working culture that enhances the recruitment and retention of women employees at all levels
- Working, within the Mayor's powers, to increase the availability of affordable housing, reduce homelessness and meet the needs of homeless women
- Analysing, highlighting and campaigning on inequalities in women's economic position and women's poverty, and working with the LDA to improve women's economic position and lessen poverty

Appendix E - City and County of San Francisco - Five-Year Action Plan

CEDAW ACTION PLAN

(Approved February 1, 2003 by Commission on the Status of Women)

CEDAW VISION

The local implementation of the United Nations Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) will result in women and girls fully exercising their human rights including an adequate standard of living, education, bodily integrity and health; while acknowledging the multiple identities of women and girls including race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, sexuality, nationality, age, family status and immigration status.

Full implementation of CEDAW would ensure dignity and respect for women and girls in both public and private spaces; and end systemic forms of discrimination and violence towards women and girls in the United States.

This strategic plan is intended to provide a roadmap for moving expeditiously towards the implementation of CEDAW in the City and County of San Francisco. The overall vision is that, ultimately,

- All aspects of public and private sector will fully integrated CEDAW into their systems and structures; and
- Everything that happens to San Francisco women and girls will be interpreted and acted upon using the CEDAW conceptual framework, analysis and language.

FIVE YEAR ACTION PLAN

CEDAW principles are capitalized and bolded in Roman Numbers. Goals are lettered; priority goals and strategies are in bold. Strategies are numbered.

I. IMPLEMENTATION OF WOMEN AND GIRL'S HUMAN RIGHTS (CEDAW GENERAL PRINCIPLE)

A. Integrate the CEDAW analysis and framework into all of the Commission and Department on the Status of Women's work.

1. Train all staff and Commissioners about CEDAW so that they are able to utilize the framework in all of their work.

- 2. Conduct a gender analysis of the DOSW and report the findings to all staff and Commissioners.
- B. Increase the number of women in decision-making roles and positions of authority.
- 1. Regularly report on the number of women serving on city Commissions.
- 2. Increase the number of women appointed to Commissions and promote the importance of Commissioners reflecting the diversity of San Francisco.
- 3. Educate all San Francisco Commissioners on CEDAW principles and the local ordinance.
- C. Review federal, state, and local laws and public policies to identify systemic and structural discrimination against women and girls.
- 1. Identify three specific areas of the law where laws and/or policies interpreting the law result in systemic discrimination of women or girls.
- 2. Work with local, state or national advocacy organizations to recommend changes in the law that would effectively end the discrimination or prevent discriminatory laws from being created (such as Ward Connelly's Privacy Referendum).
- 3. To identify policy and program best practices that could be implemented in San Francisco which would result in eliminating the systemic discrimination against women and girls, or minimizing the impact of national or state laws that are discriminatory.
- D. Integrate gender into every city department to achieve full equality for men and women through the city-wide budgeting process.
- 1. Develop a simplified gender analysis process that works for all areas of and including organizational/department budget, programs and services, and employment practices. The gender analysis process should allow for analysis by gender as well as by race/ethnicity, age and other identities.
- 2. Integrate gender analysis into annual planning, budgeting, and evaluation processes for San Francisco city departments.
- 3. Ensure that all city departments are trained to utilize the gender analysis to ensure that women and men achieve full equality in the department's services, programs and employment.

- 4. Promote awareness that women's rights are human rights by educating staff from city departments about the relevance and benefits of CEDAW.
- E. Increase the public awareness of CEDAW principles and the local CEDAW Ordinance in the San Francisco communities.
- 1. Develop CEDAW expertise within local strategic partners including advocacy, civil rights, and community-based organizations.
- 2. Increase the understanding of CEDAW principles and the local CEDAW Ordinance through conducting local forums, trainings, and workshops.

II. RIGHT TO AN ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING

- F. Increase the opportunities for non-traditional and higher-paid employment for women.
- 1. Increase the number of women employed by the City and County of San Francisco who are working in higher paid non-traditional jobs/classifications. While doing so, ensure representation of women of color equal to the population statistics.
- 2. Review city recruitment polices and recommend practices that would result in increasing the diversity of the city's employment pool.
- 3. Increase the number of women transitioning from welfare programs who are employed in non-traditional jobs earning wages that meet the Self Sufficiency Standard for San Francisco.
- 4. Develop mentoring/training programs within job related groups to support women entering the field and achieving success.
- G. Develop and expand work/life policies that impact on women at all levels; ensure their availability to all women employees.
- 1. Assess the current understanding of city employees regarding work/life options currently available, and determine priorities for city work/life policies.
- 2. Increase the knowledge and awareness of San Francisco City and County employees regarding available work/life options.
- 3. Increase the knowledge and awareness of the private sector regarding the benefits of work/life policies, focusing on small business and non-profit organizations.

- H. Increase women's access to financial resources, including bank accounts, loans, mortgages, and other forms of financial services.
- 1. Identify patterns of discrimination against women consumers by financial service providers, including banking, loans, and other financial services.
- 2. Increase the financial services and resources available to self employed women and/or women owned businesses.
- 3. Increase the financial competency levels of women and girls, focusing on low-income communities.

III. RIGHT TO BODILY INTEGRITY, WHICH INCLUDES MENTAL, PHYSICAL, AND SEXUAL SAFETY WELL-BEING

- I. Increase civil and criminal justice, social service and other intervention strategies and make them more accessible to women and girls who experience violence.
- J. Increase the viable, accessible options for preventing violence against women and girls.
- K. Monitor and evaluate the effectiveness and accessibility of the service delivery system (both governmental and nonprofit agencies) for both the prevention of violence and intervention services.
- 1. Implement the recommendations of the Justice & Courage Report.
- 2. Train managers from the agencies funded by the DOSW about CEDAW. Work with these agencies to incorporate the CEDAW analysis and framework in their work.
- IV. RIGHT TO ACCESS ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, INCLUDING RESOURCES ADEQUATE TO ENSURE MENTAL AND PHYSICAL WELLBEING, NOT JUST ABSENCE OF DISEASE
- L. Increase access to health care and wellness information to all women and girls, regardless of insurance, family status, economic status, or immigration status.
- M. Monitor and evaluate the health care systems (including governmental, private for profit and nonprofit agencies) to ensure they are comprehensive and accessible.
- N. Increase the knowledge and visibility about the impact of the environment on the health and well being of women and girls.

V. HUMAN RIGHTS OF GIRLS TO EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES

- O. Ensure that equitable conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to educational institutions of all categories; evaluate factors impacting the full participation of girls and young women in school based academic and extracurricular programs focusing on activities that encourage skills development in science, math, technology, vocational training in skilled labor and other forms of transferable skills.
- P. Ensure access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of girls and their families, including information and advice on family planning.
- Q. Ensure that girls enjoy the equitable opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education.
- R. Ensure nondiscriminatory application of human, social, and justice system services to all girls.

CEDAW Committee

Existing CEDAW Task Force will sunset June 30, 2003. A new CEDAW Committee will be formed as a subcommittee to the Commission on the Status of Women (COSW). CEDAW Committee chair will be a commissioner and committee would report to COSW. Members would all be appointed by the COSW with nominations from current CEDAW Task Force Members. COSW will report to Mayor and Board of Supervisors on the work of the CEDAW Committee.

Role of CEDAW Committee:

- Provide a consistent focus on City and County of San Francisco implementation of local CEDAW Ordinance, ensuring that implementation reflects human rights principles.
- Evaluate the implementation of the strategies and priority areas established in the CEDAW Five Year Action Plan.
- Advocate for the resources necessary to fully implement the local CEDAW
 Ordinance and to successfully meet the goals established in the Five Year
 Action Plan.
- Actively support the Commission and Department on the Status of Women in fully integrating CEDAW into their mission, priorities and work.
- Provide connections between local CEDAW work and state, national and international work on CEDAW.

Membership:

1

- The Committee will have seven voting members and three non-voting "exofficio" members.
- Committee members will be expected to have a commitment to the values
 and principles of CEDAW, and knowledge and experience in one or more of
 the following areas: human rights issues, education, employment/economics,
 violence against women, or health. Committee members will represent the
 public stakeholders, ensuring that implementation of the local CEDAW
 Ordinance positively impacts the lives of San Francisco women and girls.
- The seven voting members will include the President of the Commission on the Status or his/her designee and six at-large members.
- The six at-large members will be nominated by the CEDAW Task Force and appointed by COSW as follows: two members representing Mayor, two members representing President of the Board of Supervisors, and two members representing the Commission on the Status of Women.
- In addition to the seven voting members, there will be three non-voting exofficio members. These members will not be included as committee members for the purposes of establishing quorum or voting. These members will include: the Mayor or his/her designee, the President of the Board of Supervisors or his/her designee, and the Executive Director of the Department on the Status of Women or his/her designee.

Current CEDAW Ordinance extended to June 30, 2003.....

12.K.4 (c) Five-year Citywide Action Plan. Provided sufficient funds are available, the Commission and the CEDAW Task Force shall jointly develop a five-year Citywide Action Plan. The Citywide Action Plan shall address how to integrate human rights principles into the City's operations, how to further implement the local principles of CEDAW as described in Section 12K.3, any and all deficiencies found in the gender analyses and the measures recommended to correct those deficiencies. The Commission and the CEDAW Task Force shall present the Action Plan to the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors on or before December 30, 2002. The Board of Supervisors Committee responsible for considering the City's budget shall hold a hearing to receive the Citywide Action Plan and public comment thereon. The Commission shall monitor the implementation of the Citywide Action Plan.

<u>Appendix F – City of Seoul Four-Year Plan – 2003 Baseline and 2006 Projected</u> <u>Data</u>

Major Projects of the Four-Year Women's Policies of Seoul

We will do our best to make the changes in the quality of women's lives visible and tangible during the next four years. Be sure to check the index in 2006.

Major Indices	Detailed Indices	2003	2006	unit
1. Resolve childcare issues of working couples	rate of fulfilled demand in working couple homes	87	90	%
	childcare facilities for after school hours	235	342	number of facilities
	increase in facilities providing extended hour childcare	201	537	number of facilities
	increase in facilities providing integrated care for disabled children	60	73	number of facilities
	childcare facilities for infants	42	131	%
2. Support and develop female human resources	employment rate for those who finished skill training courses	20	30	%
	level of satisfaction in using educational institutions	79	85	%
	educational personnel for skill training	34,000	41,500	number of facilities
3. Increase participation of women in society	increase in the development fund for women	8.3	16.6	one million dollars
	participation rate of women in committees	35	40	%
and promote a	ratio of female civil servants	24.9	26	%
gender equal culture	educational personnel for raising equality consciousness	51,000	68,000	number of persons
4. Improve welfare for marginalized women and children	level of satisfaction of using shelters	76	80	%
	rehabilitation education for teenage girls	3,000	4,500	number of persons
	educational personnel on children's safety	49,000	91,500	number of persons

Appendix G - How Women-Friendly Is Your City?

How advanced is your city in terms of gender equity?

What remains to be done to achieve women's full and equal participation and their access to services and resources?

Judge your city's performance – and what you still need to do.

To how many of the following items can you check YES?

Do a self evaluation!

ln	
(your city's name)	
()	

Political Structures, Mechanisms and Resources		
2 ontown officerities and and accounted	YES	NO
National laws on women's rights and gender equality		1
National laws on gender quotas or parity at the municipal level		
Affirmative action policies in municipal political parties		
Parity in committees, commissions and para-municipal enterprises		
Network of elected women representatives		
Council-adopted policy on gender equality (developed through public consultation and carried out via annual municipal plan of action)		
Public consultation policies with mechanisms to encourage women's participation		
Policies and commitments to fight violence against women and increase their safety		
Gender perspective in all programs (including annual municipal budget and sectoral budgets)		
Support of national and international municipal associations (training, networking, etc.)		
Administrative Structures, Mechanisms and Resources	YES	NO
Gender Equality/Women's Office (with adequate human resources and		
budget), within central administration, in charge of gender mainstreaming		
Annual gender equality action plan (with specific goals, indicators, budget)		
Training in gender mainstreaming (for elected officials and staff, men and women)		
Access to gender-disaggregated data on all urban issues		
Gender impact assessment of urban policies, programs and service delivery		
Equal opportunity program for hiring (with specific targets for different		

types of jobs)	T	Τ
Information service in boroughs, neighbourhoods or districts		1
Process to handle citizen requests and complaints from women and men	1	
	 	
Participation and Partnership Structures and Mechanisms		,
	YES	NO
Women's advisory council, commission or committee within council to		
monitor implementation of gender equality policy		
Thematic council commissions (with public hearings)		
Public consultation process in boroughs, neighbourhoods or districts		
Public consultation process with specific mechanisms to encourage		
women's participation		
"Women" advisory councils in the boroughs, neighbourhoods or districts	l	
City-wide civic education campaigns		
Projects and activities improving women's access to services and resources		ĺ
(e.g. walking safety audits, Local-to-Local Dialogues between men and		
women elected officials and women's groups)		l
Permanent partnership committees on specific issues (safety,		
transportation, housing) bringing together women's groups, community		İ
organizations and other public stakeholders, men and women	<u> </u>	
Regular city-wide public assemblies as well as at the borough,		
neighbourhood and district level		
Total		

Results of Your City's Evaluation

How many of these 27 optimal gender-equality and good-governance measures are already in place in your municipality?

If you checked YES to between 0 and 7 items, you need to get cracking and study what other cities are doing.

You're on the right road if YES was your answer to between 8 and 16 items. Keep up the good work.

YES was your answer to between 17 and 27 items? Congratulations! But please don't rest on your laurels.

If you think your city would make a good case study, please fill out the online questionnaire at the City of Montreal's Femmes et ville site (in French, English or Spanish) at:

www.ville.montreal.gc.ca/femmesetville

Thanks for your input!