WOLLENS AND A SENVIRONMENTS

\$4 Fall 1987

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A WOMEN'S HOUSING MANIFESTO

THE KID IN A CARDBOARD BOX

SURVIVORS OF VIOLENCE



ு cription Fund

Inks to all those readers who woodenated to our subscription the for foreign exchangestanced readers in the Third world. Their efforts are sending was to Frances Chinemana (Zimbabwe) Prema Gopalan (India) The Mauchak Organization (Bangladesh) Mahila Milan (India)

November 9-10, 1987

NGO Committee on IYSH and New York University Conference on The International Year of Shelter for the Homeless: Agenda for Action.

To be held at the NYU Loeb Student Centre.

Contact: Caroline Pezzulo, Coordinator, 1 Sherman Square, Suite 27L, New York, NY 10023

November 9-11, 1987

Human Factors in the Built Environment Conference at Thames Polytechnic in SE London.

Contact: London Institute for Built Environment Studies, Research Coordinator, Rm. E16, Thames Polytechnic, Oakfield Lane, Dartford, Kent DA1 2SZ, UK

November 12-14, 1987

Policies and Programs for Tomorrow: Third National Farm Women's Conference To be held at the Bessborough Hotel, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Contact: National Farm Women's Conference, Room 105 Kirk Hall, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask. S7N 0W0

February 18-20, 1988
Canadian Urban and Housing Studies
Conference

To be held at the University of Winnipeg, hosted by the Institute of Urban Studies. Includes sessions on Women and the Urban Environment, and on Perspectives on Canadian Urban Policy, the CMHC, Housing and Development in the Canadian North,

Housing the Homeless, and Urban Planning and Development topics.

Contact: Canadian Urban and Housing Studies Conference, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 515 Portage Ave., Winnipeg, Man. R3B 2E9 (204) 786-9409

April 8-10, 1988

Organisational Psychology — National Women at Work Conference

An international working conference for feminist researchers, writers, lecturers and practitioners in industry, commerce, HE/FE, consultancy and the professions.

Contact: Administrator, Faculty Office, Thames Polytechnic, Oakfield Lane, Dartford, Kent, KA1 2SZ, UK

May 6-8, 1988

National Conference on Women in Politics Organized by Canadian Women for Political Representation, a non-partisan group working to promote and support women in politics.

Contact: Canadian Women for Political Representation, Box 2202, Station D, Ottawa, Ont. K1P 5W4 or call Janie Fortier, Chair (613) 567-8739

The International Feminist Book Fair, planned for June 14-21, 1988 in Montreal, is urgently in need of funds to organize the event. Contributions will help send out press releases, make the necessary international contacts and pay the xerox and phone bills. Contributors' names will be published in the official program of the Fair unless requested otherwise.

Send donations to: 3rd International Feminist Book Fair 420 est, rue Rachel Montreal, PQ H2J 2G7

June 22-26, 1988

Leadership and Power: Women's Alliances for Social Change

National Women's Studies Association tenth annual conference, to be held at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. The theme in 1988 focusses on how women of various backgrounds can work together. The conference goals include exploring coalition building by looking at culturally diverse leadership models that empower women.

Contact: NWSA '88, University of Minnesota, 217 Nolte Center, 315 Pillsbury Dr. S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55455 June 27-July 1, 1988

Housing, Policy and Urban Innovation International research conference in Amsterdam, under the auspices of ISA's Ad Hoc Committee on Housing and the Built Environment. Speakers include Ray Pahl (housing and formal/informal labour markets) and Lynn Lofland (changing neighbourhoods).

Contact: 1988 Conference, OTB/TUD, Postbus 5030, 2600 GA Delft, The Netherlands

July 5-8, 1988

International Association for the Study of People and their Physical Surroundings — Conference '88 Symposium on Women and Environments

The conference will be held in Delft, Holland, and the symposium will consist of a paper session on research in progress, a session presenting reviews of research, action and policies in various countries or regions and an open forum on priorities for research and action.

Contact: Denise Piché, Ecole d'Architecture, Université Laval, Québec, PQ G1P 7P4, or Sherry Ahrentzen, Dept. of Architecture, U. of Wisconsin — Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI 53211

W&E: The WEED Foundation

Founded in 1975 at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, W&E was supported by the Faculty until 1984, when the magazine moved to the Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto. From 1984 until October 1987 W&E was published jointly by the two institutions.

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Address correspondence to:

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Managing Editor: Judith Kjellberg Editorial Board: Gay Alexander, Kate Lazier, Regula Modlich, Anella Parker Martin, Susan Prentice, Barbara Sanford, Marie Truelove, Miriam Wyman

Editorial Committee this Issue: Susan Prentice (Coordinator), Gay Alexander, Elaine Bishop, Brenda Doyle Farge, Judith Kjellberg, Kate Lazier, Barbara Sanford

Book Review Editor: Marie Truelove Editorial Assistant: Lisa Pottie Circulation: Kate Lazier, Lisa Pottie Layout and Design: Barbara Sanford Typeset and Printed: Eveready Printers Cover Illustration: Ade Bethune

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A WORD FROM US

After almost eleven months of hard work, we're delighted to bring this special issue on women and shelter to your hands. This "theme" edition — a first for W & E — was galvanized by the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, and by our desire to explore the particular meanings that shelter and homelessness have for women

This issue is different in another way as well. For the first time *W&E* worked with a new structure for production and design; Editorial Board members collaborated for nearly a year with community and housing activists on its development. The more collective process, while time-consuming and occasionally overwhelming, has been a rich one.

The committee has paid particular attention to Third World issues, although we recognize that our coverage is limited to South and Central America. We have

also highlighted the structures that set the context within which housing occurs — and elaborated some of the often unspoken forces at play.

This issue of the magazine was supported by a grant from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, our federal housing agency. We appreciate the financial support received from CMHC; we hope that, having thus declared their interest in women's shelter, the Corporation will reach a deepened understanding and commitment to addressing the conditions which are so clearly exposed in these pages.

Housing is deeply and intimately connected to so many issues — conceptually, politically and in the lived experience and daily lives of women. W&E will continue to explore the connections and to build on the analysis, vision and strategy.

based on the women's recently adopted by the National Action Committee on water of Women. We have elaborated the demands to make a strong statement about women's housing needs. But a caution is in order.

We're aware that the following demands and discussion make the most sense in a western, urban context. The particular needs of Third World and rural women, while in many ways similar, are barely

addressed.

As we work together towards a clearer vision and set of strategies that can include the needs of all women across differences of class, race, nationality, ability and culture, we expect that these demands will change and broaden.

Adequate, secure and affordable housing must be recognized as a basic right. The provision of housing is ultimately a public responsibility.

> If we are to pay more than lip service to our commitment to housing as a human right — as the UN declared it a whole generation ago, in 1948 — then the implication is clear that responsibility for its provision — as with education, or justice, or health — is a collective one. But the paradox of housing also means that it stands for savings, capital gains, profits, a generator of economic development. When these ends are served housing does not meet our needs.

 $oldsymbol{2}$ Women are particularly disadvantaged in the housing market because of our lower incomes and because of our responsibility for children. Particular attention must be given to income adequacy, and affordable and suitable housing for low-income single women and single mothers.

> Who are our most vulnerable? In Canada, land of opportunity and high living standards, women still earn only 64% of men's earnings; 40% of single women and 40% of female-headed households live below the poverty line; 70% of the elderly poor are female. Twice as many men as women own their own homes; when we carry mortgages, five times as many women carry them on incomes below \$12,000. Women are the major users of social (government assisted) housing, where we also make up the vast majority of single parent households. If this is the case in Canada, and the US reflects a similar picture, what of women in Third World countries where standards of living are considerably lower and laws frequently

Man

prohibit women's ownership of property? Women are still the major child-raisers and care-givers around the world. The poverty of women means the poverty of children.

Housing should be universally accessible. Common barriers for women are both physical and social; the latter include household composition, presence of children, source of income, language.

> Women are not a special needs group: we constitute over half the population. The requirements of our daily lives child and elderly care, shopping carts and baby carriage mobility, public transit access — must be part of any planning before it gets to the drawing boards. Physical barriers reflect society's refusal to accept different needs as important: disabled people can live integrated and independent lives if we design environments which they can use fully. As our sensitivity grows to physical needs, so should our intolerance of widely held bigotries that increase the burden of finding housing, for women with children, for lesbians, for women of colour.

A sufficient number of publicly supported shelters should be provided in every community, with no time limits on stays, for women who are victims of violence, for women who are discharged from institutions. and for women who are otherwise homeless.

> Yes! We need shelters. Women must not be forced to stay in intolerable conditions for lack of a safe place to go. But by their very nature as emergency accommodation, shelters are unsuited to the longer-term use that they have — by default of anything better — had to provide.



s Housing festo

Shelter alone is not housing; therefore sufficient and adequate long-term housing must be a priority in every community.

> Lack of privacy, institutional regulation, the difficulty of planning for the future, the health hazards inherent in the transient lifestyle, the lack of self-worth which it fosters, all combine to make the life of the homeless woman one of physical and emotional hardship. We use the high levels of mental and physical illness among shelter and hostel occupants as evidence of their "marginal" position in society — but the condition of homelessness is itself a major contributor to illness.

Existing affordable housing stock must be preserved and maximized. Funds must be available for conversion of threatened rental housing to co-operative and non-profit tenure.

> Tenants need protection from profiteering. Demolition of privately owned lowrent stock, or its conversion to higherreturn uses has taken a heavy toll, especially of central city tenants. Public attitudes and municipal regulations should support more intensive use of houses.

Housing policies and programs must recognize and provide for the increasing numbers of non-traditional households. Alternative tenure arrangements for women, and low-cost financing should be promoted. Funds for co-ops and non-profit housing development must also be increased.

> Research and policy are slow to respond to the changing household; the traditional family is still the benchmark, while the numbers of single parent families, and young and old singles are growing. Women's low incomes and dependent positions

continue to dictate our disadvantage in home ownership, but there are many other ways for women to find security and independence in their living arrangements.

Access to child care and neighbourhood services must be recognized as a fundamental component of both new housing developments and established neighbourhoods.

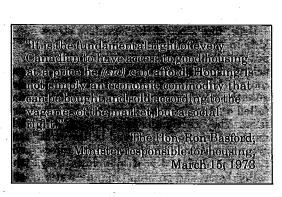
> Services should help, not complicate, our lives. Traditional planning and design can isolate us from the services we need. This is true in urban settings, and gets progressively worse for suburban and rural women.

Special support services must be accessible to women to meet our everyday needs as well as crises. Security of tenure should not be tied to the need for services.

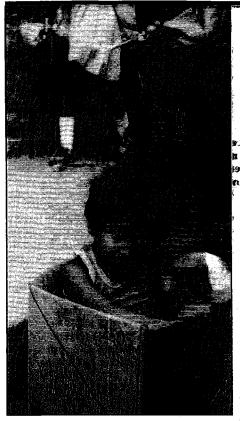
> Special support services for those women who need them must be accessible but security of tenure should not be tied to the need for services. The concept of supportive housing, which designs care and counselling services into a project, is one approach to second-stage or longer-term housing. When possible, however, it is better to separate housing from services to prevent ghettoization and to avoid eviction when services are no longer needed. Services should be "portable" — available at home if necessary, but normally outside the home.

Women should be involved in the design and delivery of housing, neighbourhoods and community services, as well as in the management of rental housing.

> The active participation of women in design not only produces different living spaces and linkages, but gives us power and control in our living environments. Women-organized self-help housing projects in Third World countries illustrate the dramatic changes that are possible.







Pepe at home in Tegucigalpa, Honduras

The Kid in the Cardboard Box

by Alison Acker

epe's home is a cardboard box labelled "California sherry — very dry."
But it's not very dry in the rain, or very warm on cold nights in Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

Pepe is just one of maybe a million homeless kids in Latin America, and one of many more millions in the rest of the Third World. He is five years old, and cannot remember what we would call a normal, family life in a home with a roof to it.

By day, he is part of droves of urchins, begging, stealing, fighting over a penny or a crust of bread. They dodge in and out of cafés, pinching the arms of unwary diners. "Gimme! Gimme!" they hiss. They cadge tortillas in the markets and drink from the fountain in the main square. And some of them spend what money they make on glue, congregating on the river bank to sniff and get high.

Pepe, like most of the homeless street kids in the Third World, is the child of peasants, people who once lived a self-sufficient life far away from the city. Of course they did not live well; they frequently went hungry, when the bean crop failed or there was no more corn for tortillas. They rarely ate meat or eggs and most of them had the round bellies that are a symptom of serious parasite infection. The thatched roof mud huts they called home had no plumbing, no water. Somebody, usually the women or children, had to carry water a long way from

the creek or the pond shared with cattle. But at least that hut was home for the family.

But that home had a transistor radio in it, and the commercials extolled the good life in the city, the world of McDonald's and Adidas, plastic and neon signs. To peasants worn out by back-breaking field labour, city life sounded like paradise. And so they moved to town.

In the city, Pepe's family could find no work and they had no home. They camped out on the sidewalk until the police forced them to move on. Pepe's father began to drink and was found, knifed, beside the

David is seven and already an accomplished criminal.

garbage dump. His mother took work as a domestic servant, for \$20 a week, with one day off and no chance of keeping her children with her. So she parcelled them out wherever she could. Three-year-old Pepe simply got lost. He joined the street kids who live like tribes, offering protection to the younger ones, and an education in street survival.

Pepe does not, of course, go to school, but he wouldn't have gone to school back in his original village. Free education, in most of the Third World, is words on paper, like democracy and freedom. If there is a local school, it is likely to be empty because governments cannot pay the teachers out of budgets that, typically, give priority to defence and leave education and health at the bottom. If there is a teacher, there won't be books, and Pepe could not hope to get beyond basic literacy.

The survival skills he learns on the street are an introduction to crime rather than a useful life. David, a seven-year-old from Tela, Honduras, is already an accomplished criminal. He's been jailed for stealing a gun; in fact, he is such an accomplished thief that his former accomplices keep turning up at the boys' home where he found refuge, asking to "borrow" him for the next job because he is so good at squeezing through windows.

David did have a family, and his family depended on him for their living. Crippled in some accident as a five-year-old, David learned to work the buses, begging. He was so good at his craft that he made more money than his mother could earn — \$5 a day — and the family depended on his earnings. When he failed to bring in \$5 one night, his father, unemployed, banged the door shut, and David was on his own.



David at the Dom Bosco Boys' Home in Tela, Honduras

TOS: ALISON AC

He was lucky to walk into the Dom Bosco Boys' Home, announcing that he was a boy, and he wanted a home. Whether he will ever adapt to school, and what we think of as a more "normal" life,

Carlita survived three years in the mountains by living on roots, berries and the occasional rabbit or bird.

is debatable. While there are so few jobs, so few possibilities of decent housing a really bright boy like David is going to find a life of crime much more attractive than going straight. But at least he found shelter, even if it is an institution.

Carlita, in neighbouring Guatemala, survived three years in the mountains in a cave dug under the roots of a ceiba tree. The Guatemalan army massacred all the men in her highland village, claiming they were "subversives." Some of the women were raped; some of the children were murdered. Carlita fled with her mother and two of her sisters to the Cuchumatanes mountains, where they survived on roots and berries, with the occasional snared rabbit or bird. Her mother died.

Carlita came down into a highland village, hand-in-hand with a tribe of other

In Guatemala, 60 per cent of the budget goes to the army and 6 per cent each to education and health

waifs. The older ones carried the little ones. There were kids who could not walk, and kids who could not speak, too traumatised by their experiences. And there was no children's home for them. They had to bed down in a shed behind the church.

Because of the violence in Central America, innocent victims are often held in suspicion. If your father has been killed by the army, then he must have been subversive, and you must be subversive, too, however young. Guatemalan officers have openly announced that their war to root out "communism" extends to children old enough to carry a message, or a grenade.

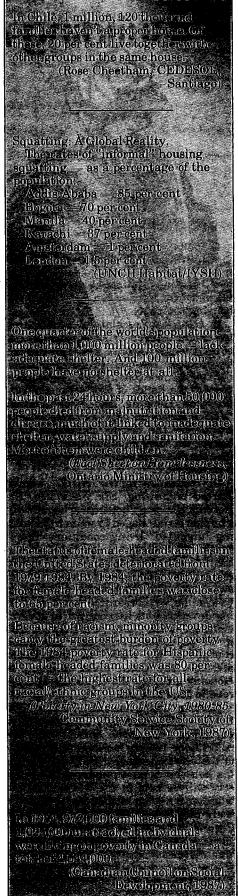


Carlita lived in a cave dug under the roots of a tree in the mountains of Guatemala

The same war on the innocents is an economic war that keeps the people in poverty. In Guatemala, for example, 60 per cent of the budget goes to the army and six per cent each goes to education and to health. Public housing is not even a category in the budget. Housing means making your own mud hut if you can afford to buy the land for it, or squatting on empty, public land, first raising the national flag in the hope that it will prevent an eviction. Every city in Latin America has its ring of shacks, the "mushroom cities" where the marginalized eke out a desperate living. Without electricity, water, sanitation, schools, police or regular employment, they are breeding grounds for discontent and despair.

That kid living in a box may look cute; in reality, he's already an outcast of a society that does not, or cannot afford to, care.

Alison Acker is a Professor of English at Ryerson Polytechnic in Toronto, a journalist and solidarity activist. Her book Children of the Volcano features interviews with children and young people from Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. It was published in 1986 by Between the Lines in Canada and is also available in the US and Britain.



Building A Women's Community in Costa Rica

by Yutta Fricke

in Costa Rica's San Jose, women are organizing a model community to provide shelter. The Heredia Housing Cooperative Project demonstrates how housing initiated, designed and managed by women can help solve the

housing shortage.

In San Jose, escalating immigration has caused a severe crisis in housing. The government's response has been to fund low-income, low-quality developments. Control of these construction projects has been in the hands of the National Institute for Housing and Urbanization (NIHU). Residents of NIHU projects have input into the design of neither their homes, nor their communities. It follows that they have no feelings of ownership or responsibility.

In resistance to the NIHU, women started organizing. Six years ago, the Heredia Housing Cooperative began with a hunger strike staged by women demanding "dignified" living conditions. Specifically, they wanted to purchase government land and take over the design and construction of their community. Their own studies showed that they could create welcoming, well-organized, low-cost housing developments (in contrast to government-sponsored slums), and they could do it at one-seventh the cost per home charged by the NIHU. In 1985, under pressure, the Costa Rican Ministry of Housing accepted the challenge and agreed to fund Heredia.

Heredia will eventually house 3,000 families — 15,000 people. Residents have participated from the outset. Most are cultivators, factory workers or members of the service industry. Fifty per cent of the households have female heads. Property will be held in the woman's name, whether or not her husband is present — a truly rare phenomenon. Señor Fernando Caceres, a member of the cooperative, assured me that this exceptional situation was well-received by the men, because of the women's leadership in the project. Eighty-five per cent of the non-hierarchal organizing group is female.



Female housing preoccupations are evident throughout the project design. For instance, because most child traffic fatalities occur when children run from

Dialogue is impossible when the government is deaf.

their houses onto the street, Heredia homes have their entrances at the side of the house. One priority for the women is that each home have a small patio, where children can play. Every five houses share a communal yard offering more play space. Houses and properties are also much larger than in the NIHU model, totalling 100 square metres per property, of which 60 square metres are occupied by the house. The houses have three bedrooms, a bathroom and a kitchen/living area.

Together, the home owners pay for other shared space, including park areas, community kitchens, daycare centres, health centres, schools and a community hall where weekly meetings are held. As well as a biblioteca (library), the cooperative will also build a jugateca, a gamelending activity centre for the children.

Though some of these structures are already in place, the Heredia housing cooperative is still at an early stage. Of course with men and women constructing their houses communally, some only on weekends, the process is slow. At each stage of the housing development, future residents occupy provisional houses which they will pass on to the residents of the next stage when their own permanent homes are constructed. And so the project continues ...

... But with great difficulty. Though the cooperative has separated from the NIHU, it is nonetheless obliged to buy its building materials from the Institute. NIHU is not only charging ridiculous prices, I was told, but the services are very slow, resulting in costly delays. NIHU wants to control who moves into the neighbourhood, violating previously established occupancy agreements.

In the first week of June, 1987 eight women began a second hunger strike to protest the power of NIHU over the Heredia housing cooperative. "Dialogue is impossible," they charge, "when the government is deaf." But the women have hope, and strategy. Eventually, their voice will be heard says Doña Maria, another cooperative member. One day to "live with dignity" will be more than a dream - it will be called the community of Heredia.

Yutta Fricke is a program officer at MATCH International. She recently completed a master's degree in Education and Development, focussing on social change in Nicaragua and Peru.

"I was hit plenty by my husband over the years. I had a couple of concussions, broken ribs, and I'm still deaf in one ear from him always hitting me on that side of my

(Canadian woman)

"My husband is an evil man. He beats me all the time and has never provided for the children. He doesn't ever bring money and if I try to claim it, he just insults me.'

Survivors of Violence: Global Organizing

by Sherry Galey



o matter where in the world they live, women can't count on being safe in their homes. Violence hits women of all nationalities and classes. It includes psychological, physical, verbal, sexual and economic forms of violence that threaten the peace, security and dignity of women.1

In Canada, a recent study by the Advisory Council on the Status of Women has revealed that an estimated one million women (one in eight) are affected.2 Although national studies have not yet been undertaken by developing countries, the testimony of Third World women leaves no doubt that the problem is as wide-

Violence reflects and reinforces women's subordination and prevents their full participation in development. MATCH, Canada's only women's international development agency, has responded by adopting an explicitly feminist approach to development — one that places a high priority on projects that address women's specific needs.

Meeting the needs of battered women, and stopping woman-battering requires a range of strategies. The response must be determined by the particular social and cultural context. Women worldwide agree that the following general measures are necessary. They include:

Services to deal with women in crisis,

such as emergency shelters, and sensitive legal, medical, and psychological services;

 Changes in the justice system to recognize that violence against women is a crime:

• Programs and policies to increase women's long-term economic and social independence (eg: employment, housing, income security);

 Public education programs to change attitudes and increase community support;

• Programs to treat offenders.

Over the last seven years, the women's movement in Canada has been largely responsible for raising public awareness about battered women and generating the pressure needed to bring about many of these changes. But services are still inadequate. For example, even though the number of shelters has tripled to 264 in only seven years, for every woman served by a shelter, one is turned away.

The picture is even bleaker in the Third World. In most countries there are no shelters or support services for battered women. But women are beginning to take matters into their own hands and organize community solutions. For example, in Lima, Peru, and Madras, India, women's groups have established shelters for battered women with MATCH's help. Both of these are powerful models of what women can do to confront major social problems with limited resources.

In 1984, the first battered women's shelter in Peru opened its doors in one of Lima's shantytowns. It is run by Rosa Duenas, a city councillor and a leader of the group Voz de la Mujer ("Voice of Women").

It is very small. It has two bedrooms, a kitchen, a room used for discussion groups and a courtyard for income-generating activites, and can accommodate only a few women at a time. Consequently its services are not publicized. If they were, Rosa says, they would have to construct a building at least ten storeys high to meet the demand. Even so, women come from all over Lima (population three million), many to be turned away for lack of space. "I don't know what will happen to them," savs Rosa.

But the shelter does not limit itself to helping residents. It provides counselling, organizes educational activities, incomegenerating projects and discussion groups for women.

Women generally come to the shelter with small children. They are unemployed and economically dependent on their husbands. They have suffered psychologically as well as physically. Most have legal problems of child custody and support which need solving.

At the beginning, the shelter survived on donations — the house itself, food from religious organizations, and social, legal and medical services. The women of Voz de la Mujer decided that their services had to be regularized and properly coordinated, administered and evaluated so they hired staff.

The women are aware that they can't help all women in need. They feel it is important, however, to show that women from popular sectors have the power to make society recognize the problem of violence if they organize themselves to help each other.

The battered women's shelter in Madras, India was established by the Joint Action Council for Women (JACW) in collaboration with a non-governmental women's hospital. It is part of an integrated scheme for women in crisis which includes an employment training program and counselling services (The Sahodari help centre).

MATCH provided funds for the renovation of the warehouse-like building donated by the hospital. The shelter has a capacity for thirty women and ten children. The shelter is now partially funded by the Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare.

Initiatives like these are few and far between in the Third World. They cannot meet the need. But they serve an important purpose in drawing attention to the problem, and providing models for solutions.

1 It can go as far as murder. In India, women are sometimes killed if their families cannot provide adequate dowries. While against the law, this practice is still culturally condoned. 2 From Battered but not Beaten, by Linda McLeod, published by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1987.

Sherry Galey is Program Coordinator of MATCH, Canada's only international development agency concerned specifically with women.



Fighting Violence in the Global Village

102,000 could make "sisterhood is global" come alive. MATCH, Canada's only women's international development funding agency, is looking for funds for a project to link Canadian and Third World women activists. The project is designed to bring women together to analyze, strategize and organize on women and shelter. What makes this project unique is its emphasis on one of the common causes of homelessness for women: violence.

Sherry Galey, MATCH's Program Advisor, says that "Women in Canada have a great deal to learn from and share with Third World women on the issue of battered women. The problems are often similar and we can learn from each others' solutions." For example, she says that Third World women organizing against violence in rural areas have much in common with women doing the same thing in Canada. Third World women can help Canadian women to develop special approaches within ethinic communities. They also have a great deal of experience establishing services without government assistance and mobilizing within their communities. They often opt for innovative measures such as lobbying for all-women police stations (in Brazil) or mobilizing against offenders. In return, Canadian women can share over a decade of experience of establishing and maintaining women's shelters and other services.

MATCH, which celebrates its tenth anniversary this year, already supports a women's emergency shelter in Lima, Peru, has funded two projects in India, and is developing projects in Africa. The current Women and Shelter proposal will do many things. It is designed to raise public awareness about violence, by

comparing and contrasting the experiences of Canadian and Third World women. It will review and assess existing projects, programs and policies which are supposed to be tackling violence. On a practical level, it will bring Third World and Canadian women activists face-toface in workshops. Through the project women will be trained in the establishment and operation of shelters. They will document case studies of innovative organizing efforts. And future networking, partnerships and exchanges between Third and First world feminist activists will begin. The strength of the project is the blend of analysis and practical skillsbuilding that links theory and practice, as well as linking First and Third World women to each other in personal relationships.

Across the many and real differences of class, nationality, language and culture, women also share much. United by a passion for social justice, women are looking for tools to help them improve the lives of women and children made homeless by many kinds of violence. For a global project to bridge the chasm between First and Third worlds, \$102,000 is a bargain.

Susan Prentice

If you are aware of any sources of funding to which MATCH can apply for the Women and Shelter Linking Project, please write them at:

Sherry Galey MATCH International Centre 200 Elgin, #205 Ottawa, Ontario Canada K2P 1L5

Enduring Private Housing

by Valerie McDonald

It is common knowledge that there is a housing crisis in Metropolitan Toronto. All tenants are affected by an impossibly low vacancy rate and rising rents. However, single parents receiving government assistance face a particular disadvantage in this tight market.

Last year, Opportunity for Advancement, an agency serving sole-support mothers on government assistance, conducted a survey of the housing conditions of women in their program. The following statistics from that survey highlight the impact of the housing crisis on low-income, sole-support mothers.

Of women living in private or nonsubsidized housing:

 The average portion of income spent on rent was 59 per cent.

 The average portion of income spent by women not sharing accommodation with other families was 63 per cent.

- Twenty-nine percent of the women surveyed spent more than 70 per cent of their income on rent.

- Eleven per cent spent more than 80 per cent of their income on rent.

— The average amount left after rent was paid was \$113 per month per person, which amounts to \$26.28 per week or \$3.72 per day.

Of women living in publicly subsidized housing:

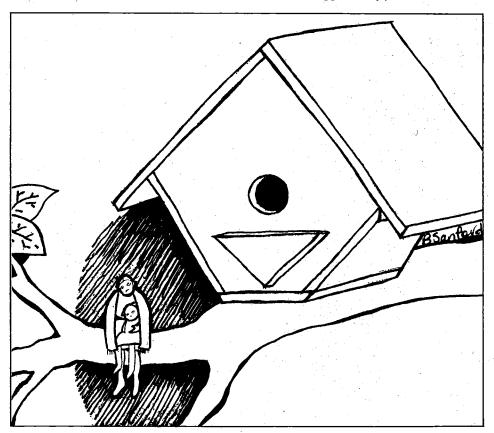
- An average of 26.3 per cent of income was spent on rent.

 The average amount left after rent was paid was \$171.54 per month, \$39.89 per week, or \$5.64 per day.

When asked about their housing, 68 per cent of those in public housing responded between "Okay" and "Excellent", and 32 per cent said "Not great" to "Horrible." In comparison, 32 per cent of those in private housing felt their accommodation was "Okay" to "Excellent" and 68 per cent said was between "Not great" and "Horrible."

A second study of women currently enrolled in programs is underway to provide a comparison with the 1986 survey.

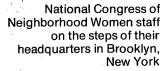
Valerie McDonald lives in Toronto, and works with Opportunity for Advancement.

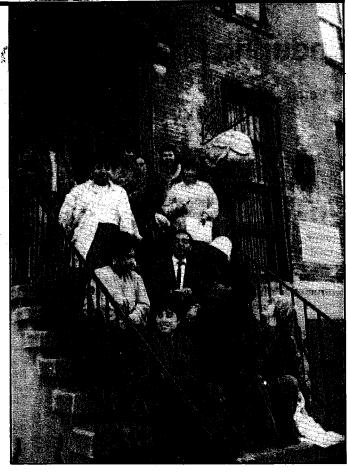


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NEIGHBOURHOOD WOMEN DO IT TOGETHER

by Rochelle Wyner





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hen their landlord knocked on the door and told them they had one month to vacate the premises, the National Congress of Neighborhood Women bought their own brick building nearby for \$32,000. The mortgage payments were less than their monthly rent had been. Thus, early on, they had learned a lesson about the importance of controlling their own space.

National Congress of Neighborhood Women (NCNW) opened its first office 13 years ago in a storefront in the Greenpoint/Williamsburg section of Brooklyn. Their mission was to revitalize their neighbourhood, a mixed residential and industrial area of New York City. They also sought to improve their lives and expand opportunities for themselves and their neighbours in education and job training. They wanted recognition for the strengths and accomplishments of grassroots women. The women's movement was too middle class for them; the neighbourhood movement too male-dominated. They would start their own movement a national group, grounded in a local community.

Jan Peterson, the original organizer of NCNW, and now its Executive Director, recalls: "We can say the same about who we are now as who we were then: women who are on block associations, ladies auxiliaries, PTAs, political clubs, church and civic organizations — women at the local level, who were holding poor neighbourhoods together."

These women who first joined together to help their immediate community have become one link in what is now a growing international network and voice for low-income community-based women's groups providing support, technical assistance and role models. They represent the old and the young, urban and rural popula-

The women's movement was too middle class; the neighbourhood movement too male-dominated. So they started their own movement.

tions, Black, Hispanic, Chicana, Native American.

NCNW's first hands-on experience with housing for women resulted from battered women coming into the office who needed a safe place to escape to with their children. NCNW located a small maternity hospital in Sunset Park, Brooklyn and, working with the Mayor's Task Force on

Rape and the Brooklyn YWCA, arranged for its purchase for \$5,000. Women's Survival Space was NCNW's first partnership project with grassroots women actively involved, and it was the first woman's shelter in New York City! Although NCNW no longer runs it, the shelter is still in operation.

In 1978, with a grant from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), NCNW surveyed a representative sampling of 30 neighbourhood organizations to analyze the role of women within these groups. They found that most movements for better housing were started by women. Yet when funding came in from either public or private sources, women were excluded from the planning, design and implementation of the programs.

The next year NCNW brought together representatives of 40 urban and rural neighbourhood groups from across the US for a conference entitled "Neighborhood Women Putting It Together." Women spoke out about their neighbourhood and leadership needs; housing, its design and operation, was a major topic. The conference participants called for changes — larger kitchens, more closets and storage space, laundry rooms, daycare facilities and on-site social service and recreational programs. They also called for buildings designed with

more public spaces for community use. And they urged that women, the majority of tenants in public housing, be included in the planning, design, construction and management of public housing, recommending that HUD train women to take an active part in these areas.

During this and subsequent conferences, many successful and innovative housing models planned and created by and for low-income women were identified including Cochran Gardens Tenant Management in St. Louis; Operation Life in Las Vegas; Woodland Community Land Trust, Clairfield, Tennessee; Syracuse Neighborhood Women, Syracuse, New York; Center for the Pacific-Asian Family, Inc., Los Angeles; the Southern Mutual Self-Help, Jeanerette, Louisiana.

Bertha Gilkey, a single mother, pioneered Cochran Gardens in St. Louis as the first model for tenant management of public housing. Gilkey demonstrated that even deteriorating buildings could be turned around and well managed by residents trained to enforce high standards developed by the tenants themselves.

All the buildings at Cochran were renovated; design changes were made to reduce management problems; townhouses, playgrounds and a community centre were built. Also central to Cochran's success was the development of businesses which created jobs and income for the tenant-management corporation while providing needed services such as a tenant-owned and managed health clinic, catering company and building maintenance operation.

About the same time, at its home base in Brooklyn, the NCNW Task Force on Housing proposed that several small buildings in the abandoned Greenpoint Hospital complex be used to house groups at high risk of becoming homeless. The

They found that most movements for better housing were started by women. Yet women were excluded from the planning, design and implementation.

feminist architectural firm of Adam/Marks designed intergenerational housing plans which would serve single female parents and women over 50. The project is still in the development process.

As Chair of the NCNW National Steering Committee Bertha Gilkey held a training session on public housing in 1984 at Cochran Gardens for 50 grassroots women leaders. This training model has

since been used successfully with tenants in several cities. Rosemary Jackson, President of the NCNW Board and Director of Camden Urban Women, enlisted the support of New Jersey officials last year to begin tenant management training in several ailing public housing projects.

So when NCNW began planning a major conference on women and housing for the United Nations International Year of Shelter for the Homeless, 1987, they chose Camden as the conference site. Jackson felt strongly that this event should be held in Camden: "Within a nation of affluence we are like an underdeveloped country. Camden is the prime example of all the ills of housing, and while they are here for the conference people only need to take a step outside of Rutgers and take a look to either side of them. They'll see everything we're talking about."

"National Congress of Neighborhood Women has been working since 1974 in several areas that have led us to this conference," said Jan Peterson. "It was our position, way back then, that women's leadership needs were key to the community development process — just like in developing countries. That's why our coordinating an international event is appropriate."

At the conference, women who have developed and operated emergency, transitional and permanent housing projects for women will share their strategies and outline practical housing policies and programs. Also taking part will be representatives of the building industry, government, the UN, and professions such as architecture and city planning who have acted as "principled partners" working with community groups. New housing models for the future have been designed for an exhibition at the event.

Rosemary Jackson, of the Conference Planning Committee, expresses hope that the city of Camden will reap the benefits of having grassroots leaders and visionaries in housing living and working together for several days in a city that needs better housing so badly. Concludes Jackson, "One day we want them to say that something good did occur here — and that women made it happen."

Any organization or individual who wants more information on how to become a member of NCNW may write to: National Congress of Neighborhood Women, 249 Manhattan Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11211.

Rochelle Wyner is a freelance writer who lives in Long Island City, New York. She writes about areas of concern to women and children.

Housing Options for Women

Oct. 10, 11, 12, 1987

Official US Conference in Camden, NJ, in collaboration with UN Habitat in Nairobi, and coordinated by the NCNW.

Stay tuned for a conference report and follow-up.



Women in Need

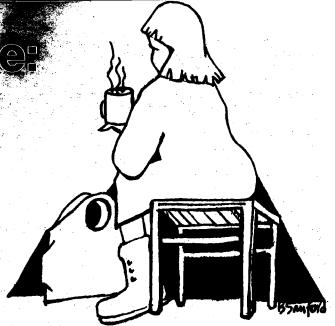
There is finally a sheltering agency that realizes that shelters are only a tiny part of the solution to homelessness. That agency is Women In Need in New York City. It was founded in 1982 by a group of women working in New York's Bowery who saw a need to help homeless women in particular. They very quickly discovered that there were few safe and dignified emergency shelters for women and that many homeless women had children who were not being cared for.

WIN's first project was to help set up the St. Mary's Emergency for homeless women with children in 1983. Since then it has grown at a fantastic rate and has initiated many services. Through its projects WIN tries to deal with all the problems facing homeless women. WIN provides food and counseling services, a variety of daycare facilities, an alcoholism clinic and a drop-in-centre. Of course ensuring that women find housing is one of WIN's primary interests and in 1983 Monica House was opened as a transitional residence for women and their families. WIN also began leasing four apartments to be used by woner who are ready to take the first steps in finding permanent housing in 1936 Casa Riffar was opened offening permanent resistance to women and children in the Bronx and more necessary the Alexand der Abraham Residence has been established to provide women, with homesilteen

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Reflections of Home Women in Shelters

by Josephine Imbimbo and Rachel Pfeffer



ome has been described as a place of refuge, privacy, security, a centre of control, a temporal organizer of experiences. It is a means of orientation and location in a geographical space. It encompasses one's feelings toward place of birth and childhood, national identity and community. A sense of home is central to one's psychological well-being: its loss can be devastating. "The person at home has a place where the possibility of rest is taken for granted and secure. Without a place for regeneration, a person's life almost surely disintegrates."1 The loss of home affects men and women differently, as homeless women are at a greater risk of being victimized and have more difficulties in finding employment and housing.

The Olivieri Center offers a place for women during the day "with no questions asked." About 80 women, ranging in age from 25-70, use it regularly. Services include meals, showers, medical and psychological treatment, counselling, social activities and assistance in getting social assistance benefits or finding a city-owned apartment.

The main floor of the centre is a multi-purpose cafeteria, furnished with brown metal tables and chairs lined up against the wall. Here the women eat, talk and often sleep. The staff have their offices on the second floor. These are small and noisy; the walls between them do not reach the ceiling. As two caseworkers share the same office, private counselling is difficult. The basement is used for the staff lounge, as well as for laundering and storing clothing donations and supplies. It

is always filthy and smells of lice spray.

The physical environment of the shelter, the constant noise, smoke and lack of organization, make it impossible to have any privacy. This is of concern to the staff, who believe it has adverse effects on the women. "The main cause of all the anger here is [that] women are forced to sit down there all day with no chance of privacy," remarked one staff member. "Being in this space would be like sitting in a train during rush hour, every hour of every day," said another.

We facilitated four workshops on the concept of home. The majority of the women who attended were quite articulate and participated zealously in the

ligion, share their lives with friends and family, and carry out personal routines without fear of rebuff. Home is the place where one creates a unity of self.

Workshop 2. Residential Histories: The women described the places where they had lived in the past, the extent to which they had considered them home, and why. They recounted their childhood homes vividly and with great detail. For most, these memories evoked positive images; a time when the family was intact, a time when there were few restrictions and when "happiness ruled." As the women moved to different places, they described how their feelings of home changed. Race, class, and religion influenced how the

A sense of home is central to one's psychological well-being. Its loss can be devastating. The Olivieri Center offers a place for all women, with "no questions asked."

workshops. These required imagination and a detailed memory of their past.

Workshop 1. The Concept Home: The women described home in terms of: a) physical setting . . . a home in the country, near trees and grass; b) interior design ... the size, number, and types of rooms, colours, furnishings and decorations; c) amenities ... a secure space, warm and separate from others, which is accessible to the community for daily activities; d) activities . . . a place to cook, rest, clean, think, read, bathe, meditate, create, relax, write, and to develop skills; a place to buy things for, decorate, and manage like a business; and, e) feelings and relationships . . . in their homes the women said that they would feel love, happiness, and rejuvenation, practice rewomen felt that they fit into a community or neighbourhood. This in turn affected their perception of that place as home. All of the women left gaps in their histories, ranging from several weeks to ten years. They seem to exclude those sections that were related to their becoming homeless.

They did discuss, however, how they felt about being in a shelter. One woman explained that she felt at home in the Center because she had peace of mind; a roof over her head and a place to deal with herself and her problems. Most of the women did not like certain aspects of the Center; for example, the dirty bathrooms, the treatment by some of the staff, restrictions, kitchen fumes and the lack of sleeping space. However, they recognized that this was all part of the shelter system.

Josephine Imbimbo and Rachel Pfeffer are researchers in the Environmental Psychology Program at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

Workshop 3. Modelling: We asked the women to construct their ideal homes. One woman drew a floor plan of a Tudorstyle house, consisting of two floors with many rooms, a balcony and an attached loft apartment. She included plants and fishtanks as part of the interior design. Located in the country, her home contained a stable for horses and a garage for the sports cars that she intended to own. Acknowledging that her chances of obtaining such a place were slim, she also drew the type of place that she would like to have now. It is a one-room apartment with a separate bathroom, furnished with a sofa-bed, tables, chairs, and a wall unit to hold her stereo, TV, books and knickknacks. The other women also constructed models of their homes and explained the importance of every detail.

Workshop 4. Evaluation of homes for the Homeless: We showed photographs of an exhibit billed "Homes for the Homeless." We asked the women to evaluate these designs of architects and artists, which included modular units and mobile homes, group homes complete with social services and cafeterias, houses on stilts,

While the shelter does provide services to people in need, the lack of control or choice in making everyday decisions, combined with the scheduled program of activities, create for both women and staff an institutional social system. The women are expected to sign up for showers and to eat at prescribed times. They are moved regularly from one end of the shelter to the other, and are only allowed to go to the clothing room or to see their social worker at set times. Offices on the second floor are typically off-limits to the women. The shelter affords little opportunity for the women to have private conversations or to be out of the view of the staff, even in the shower area. They are also required to ask for toilet paper each time they go to the bathroom.

All too often, the program of the Center is not organized in a way to offer the women an opportunity to plan their personal lives in the most efficient manner, a critical step towards personal autonomy.

The shelter establishes a reward and punishment system, as do most institutions.2 If the women agree to the controlled, scheduled and limited setting and to in part through alterations in physical design, daily scheduling, meals and medical treatments, family responsibilities and personal lives. Most important, this process must take into consideration and utilize the need of homeless people for independence and a feeling of control over their lives.

· Some shelters have employment programs. In such cases, it should be kept in mind that no one likes to work for slave wages. (At the Center women who did cleaning and cooking jobs were paid \$.63 per hour.) If a fair wage cannot be paid, it would be better to use the money in some other way. Skill development should also be conceived of more broadly than as floor washing, cooking or cleaning.

 Shelters have been used as the repository for services. This is by political design, not by necessity. In fact, going through the shelter system usually decreases a person's sense of power and does not make him/her better equipped to gain and to keep housing. It would be possible to provide services to the currently homeless population after homes have been found for them. Unfortunately, policy makers have supported the social service sector in maintaining the shelter system as the best way to handle homelessness, rather than putting pressure on those who control the housing sector or to support the policy which makes having a home a right instead of a privilege. \Box

"Being in this space would be like sitting in a train at rush hour, every hour of every day."

and rooms with rows of army barrack beds. Their overwhelming reponse was that of anger. One photo depicted a woman sleeping on a step with the caption, "Homeless people call home any place that they can rest their head." The women were insulted and thought that anyone who would call a step "home" has unhappily become disconnected from herself. They wanted homes to encourage a family, social and community life.

After seeing the photos, the women said they realized how little the public understood of them and how dangerous this lack of understanding is. They began to discuss tactics by which they could either change the public's image of them or to make their housing needs known to the City.

How do the staff feel about the women? Aside from housing, the staff consider mental health support as the women's most urgent need. Physical health supports are also very important. Obtaining a job and money, developing self-confidence and independence, receiving understanding, attention and affection, are also considered to be high priority needs. They are aware of the women's anger and resentment about being in a shelter. They know that none of the women like it and that they would rather have places of their own.

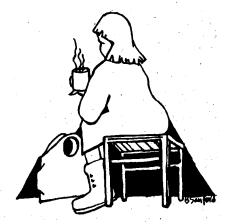
the social service system, they can stay in the shelter. If they do not co-operate, do not fill in the forms to receive SSI benefits, or do not abide by the rules, they are often ignored or asked to leave.

By and large, the women seem content with the arrangements at the Center. We do not know if they are really content or if they are merely resigned to a situation which they feel they cannot change. One loses the ambition to be self-determined when expressive behaviour is controlled and restricted.

In the light of our research and of our dedication to the empowerment of women, we believe that shelters do not and cannot solve the problems of those who are without homes. The economy of the City and a lack of housing and employment are at the root of these problems. Homeless people must deal with the system that was set up to deal with them. The paradox between the freedom to choose what they want and society's desire to control their decisions invades their lives. Shelters can provide emergency services, but using them as "the" solution to homelessness will only augment the problem.

However, existing shelters could be more efficiently used:

• Efforts should be made to acknowledge and to meet the needs of shelter residents,



- 1 K. Dovey, "Home and Homelessness," in I. Altman and C. Werner, eds., Home Environments: Vol. 8, Human Behavior and Environment, 1985; D.G. Hayward, "Home as an Environmental and Psychological Concept," Landscape 20(1) 1978; J. Horwitz and S. Tognoli, "Role of Home in Adult Development, Family Relations 31, 1982: 335-341; J. Horwitz et al, eds., Childhood City Newsletter, Dec. 1978 (available from Center for Human Environments, 33 West 42nd St., New York); D. Seamon, A Geography of the Lifeworld, London: Croom-Helm, 1979.
- 2 E. Goffman, Asylums, New York; Doubleday, 1961; L.G. Rivlin and M. Wolfe, Institutional Settings in Children's Lives, New York: John Wiley, 1985.

Housing the Homeless Moth

by Christine Benglia Bevington

onceived as new infill housing on vacant lots owned by the City of New York, the project consists of a four-storey building with the second and third floors devoted to homeless and near-homeless single parent families. It is proposed as an alternative to the sordid "welfare hotel" environment, which so many women and children now endure. The design addresses three related issues: housing, child care and work.

Minimum possible housing standards

The fully independent apartments are of an area comparable to that of a mobile home or of a hotel room: 377 sq. ft. for the 2-children unit, 435 sq. ft. for the 3-children unit. These are clustered around a 592 sq. ft. space shared by four single parent families living on the same floor.

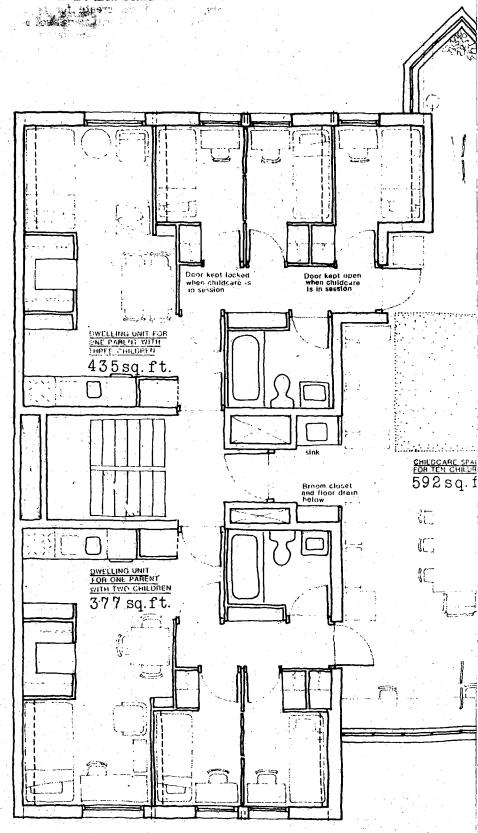
Each child is guaranteed a minimum of 45 sq. ft. of personal space whether sharing a bedroom with a sibling or not. Children may expand their living space either by opening their "front door" into their parent's quarters (if she is at home) or by opening their "back door" into the childcare space (if she is at work).

When at home a parent may choose to conduct her family life entirely in private within her small quarters, or she may expand into the larger space shared with the three other families, depending on what has been agreed for the maintenance and management of the childcare/play area.

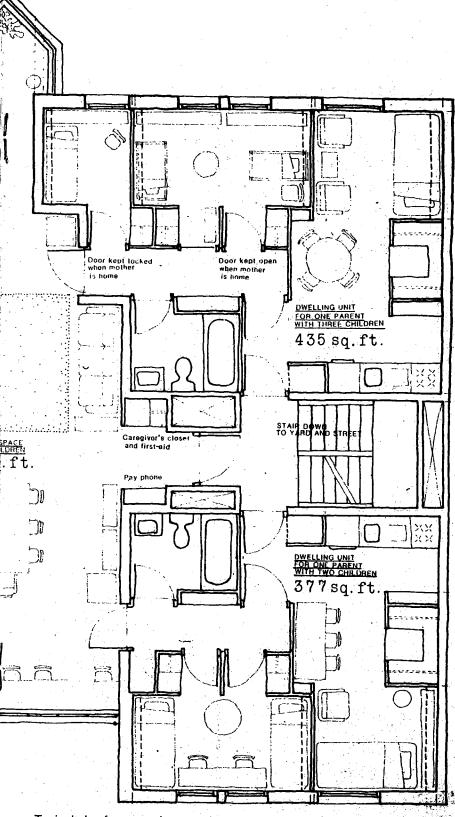
Childcare/play area

The childcare area is a floor-through space equipped to serve a maximum of 10 children and supervised by a licensed caregiver chosen or approved by the four parents.

Although the parents' quarters may be locked during working hours, their children's bedrooms remain accessible to



her and Child



Typical plan for second and third floors

eliminate the need for building and maintaining toilet facilities, individual cubbies, nap areas, and isolation rooms normally required in childcare centres. The childcare space has exits into two stairs as a secondary egress for each unit, and to provide access to the caregiver, to school children, or to anyone related with the childcare program without going through the parent's private quarters. The stairs also provide access to the building's backyard landscaped for play.

The initial tenants would be encouraged to participate in the interior design of the childcare space as well as in the design of a childcare program which best supports their child-rearing values. A "quilt-plan" of design options is proposed as a tool to facilitate the process. It is anticipated that a properly remunerated caregiver's salary would be at public expense, but that the need for other social services would be considerably reduced. (Foster care, counseling, special education, shelter services, bonuses to landlords, etc., are not considered economically sound alternatives to the lack of a supportive home environment).

Possibility of work

It is expected that a childcare amenity fully approved by parents and conveniently located at home would vastly improve their chances to join the workforce or prepare to do so. Some parents may find remunerated work on site if they can qualify as family caregivers or child-care aides. Others may develop construction skills in the process of finishing their units, decorating the childcare area, and building playground equipment. Still others may be trained in building maintenance, management, and development. Whether a parent works on site or at large, better prospects of economic independence are possible if her children are taken care of in a manner which will not demolish the vision she holds for their

The housing form consisting of locating children's rooms between their parents' quarters and a semi-private childcare/play space is here adapted to the very lowest standards as an emergency, but it is easily applicable to housing for families of all income levels.

Christine Bevington practices Architecture for Child, Woman and Man, in New York City.

THE AMERICAN DREAM COMES HOME TO ROOST

One Woman's Solution to Homelessness

by Marjorie Bard

fter I had been forced from my home by an abusive husband and been refused assistance by police, service providers, and Bar Associations, Í retreated to the safety of my car. I sat, shaking and mentally paralyzed. Then I

began to drive.

I drove for days. I parked in shopping mall lots and slept on the back seat. I washed in the ladies rooms of better hotels. Eating my way through a grocery store ceased being embarrassing as I watched other shoppers "sampling" produce. I discovered that eight taster-spoons at an ice cream shop equal a scoop. Other specialty stores offer generous samples, assuming that the muncher is not just a moocher.

Malls are life-savers. I could sit or walk for hours and be anonymous. I could eat by beating the "bus person" to a vacated but still food-laden table in the fast food sections. Some restrooms in mall department stores have separate lounges with sofas. I could read a magazine or nap. If I said I was looking for a friend in the mall theatre I managed to see a free movie, or just sleep. I slept a lot. Depression caused intense fatigue.

Fortunately I still looked presentable. No one knew that I was homeless.

I ended up in Maine and spent several months on a small, deserted island. When I look back on that particular period of homelessness I try to think of it as an adventure. It was a time of experimenting with an alternative lifestyle which was both frightening and hilarious. Survival was not difficult. It was but a daily challenge, and one more pleasant than the conditions in which I had been existing for

As I reflect on the serious nature of being homeless I cannot forget the multipurpose use of my car! If it had been a mobile home or a car-pulling trailer, I

would have felt quite independent and not like some tumbleweed at the mercy of a badge-wearing gust of hot air. Instead I was always fearful that the police would arrest me for being homeless. Going to "a shelter" never entered my mind. I would have found the experience more unsuitable than living out of my car, as humiliating as that was.

What happened to me is all too common. I discovered through swapping stories with other women on the road, and later

Over a ten-year period I have logged 163 cases of women who have successfully survived for varying lengths of time in cars, vans or campers.

as an academic and a shelter "support staff" member, that a major factor in the rising female homeless phenomenon is the victimization processes that result in loss of prior status and possessions. Often this is as much the fault of "the system" as the initial abuser. An amorphous population of homeless women dwells in malls, cars, abandoned and under-construction buildings, parks, sheds, hospital complexes, and on campuses.

While some women have histories of mental instability, many more exhibit "strange behaviour" only after they have been living on-the-streets for some time. A car, that symbol of independence, has been described as a lifeline to sanity so often that I cannot ignore its importance.

And I shall never forget my own experience ...

This acceptance of the importance of a

car led me to recognize that shelter for homeless women does not begin with creative, idealistic models for dream houses, planned communities, or the building of larger shelters. It begins with a practical strategy for providing those in need of immediate quarters with a viable alternative to swinging-door missions!

We acknowledge that there are too few specialized shelters for battered, homeless women. There are more clients than can possibly be served. Services are often less than adequate, sending women back to the streets. Also there are many women who are not candidates for shelter living even were space available. Not all women want to enter a shelter or would consider doing so.

Battered homeless women are in a double bind. They have multiple problems and needs which, while similar to other homeless women, are distinct with respect to the particular process of victimization which has led to their loss of material possessions and sense of personhood. Innovative models need to address their un-

ique circumstances.

Over a ten-year period I have recorded 163 cases of women who have successfully lived for varying lengths of time in cars, vans, or campers. The condition of the vehicle is not an issue. The women state only that they need the means to renovate. Battered homeless women who once lovingly tended a home seek to create and maintain a personalized living space. The mobility of the car also has symbolic significance: "I can't lose another home because I can take this one with me.' While many express a desire for traditional homes, I was astounded at the number who opt to move up to mobile homes or trailers instead of a shared dwelling or apartment-style building.

For my doctoral dissertation I de veloped a four-level model for immediate housing following enforced homelessness. Level 1, a car park program, is meant solely for women who have been sleeping on sidewalks or in alleys. It is an alternative to lying in others' vomit and urine while being target for further abuse. My field informants identified the needs: safe, private, continuous, and weatherproof shelter with a legal address. This last is critical if the woman is to be eligible for assistance.

In every district there are compounds where unused cars, vans, campers, and even mobile homes are stored. There are also abandoned vehicles stranded in all areas. Everywhere there are vacant lots and odd land parcels away from residential sections on which no building is planned. This land can be cleared and attractively fenced within a short time with the cooperation of council members who vote necessary variances. Previously useless vehicles, cleaned and painted, can be placed aesthetically among hedges. Gardens can be planted for pleasure or growing food. A trailer can house a residentmanager - a successful survivor of similar circumstances with management skills to maintain a healthy physical and emotional environment. Another trailer can provide food distribution. Portable toilets and showers can be used until more permanent structures are built. The minimal costs can easily be shared by public and private funding sources.

Level 2 is for women who are ready for more independent and longer-term living conditions but who cannot find affordable housing or do not want public housing units. Small trailer parks on similar lots would accommodate singles, women with children, or double occupancy. Such parks can provide some on-site services, amenities such as shared dining for those who cannot or should not cook, and spontaneous and planned social activities. The

costs can more easily be borne by public and private sectors than more elaborate housing options.

When discussing a home-of-one's-own battered homeless women often include emphatic statements rejecting living space that is a room surrounded by other people. Many view the long hospital-halls of massive apartment buildings as cold and depressing. Multiple neighbours

... shelter for homeless women does not begin with creative, idealistic models for dream houses

... It begins with a practical strategy for providing those in need of immediate quarters with a viable alternative to swinging-door missions!

might suggest sociability; yet such institutional conditions are equated with isolation. Prison life is a common metaphor for the experiences that the women have endured.

These comments provide insights into the type of environment that may enhance the healing process. Urban woman who have lived in tightly packed cities may not know other types of living than the highrise complex. They expect to move into such a building. Their rural and less-congested urbanite counterparts, knowing the alternatives, express particular displeasure at such massive complexes. Their expressed needs and expectations and the cultural/ethnic and social context

from which these arise must be valued in considering the most suitable living spaces.

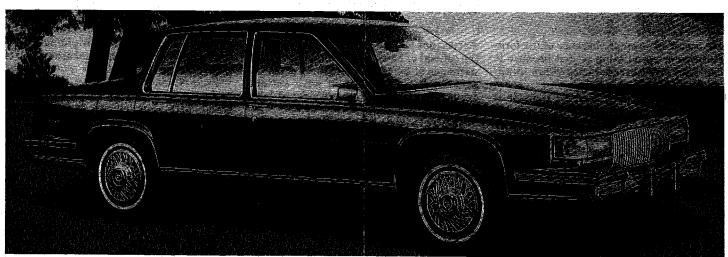
Benefits emerge from small communities which offer home and garden space, communitas, and the opportunity for cottage industries. The population of younger women will shift as they find jobs, marry, or change location. However, older women would not be pressed to move on. Some of the trailer parks may become seniors' communities, thus helping solve another social challenge.

I stress communitas and economic development. These hold the potential for reintegration. Communitas provides the opportunity for storytelling, the catharsis of which is healing and a precursor to action. Finding and keeping a job, locating agreeable living quarters, joining clubs, or going back to work or school need an initial process of sharing fears and plans with others of similar circumstance. Leadership and a growing interest in outside affairs will evolve naturally.

Economic development serves both practical and image-building purposes. Each trailer park can become partially self-sufficient, a positive direction for residents. It may also provide a source to match funds with local funders. Such initiative instills favourable self-image, fosters a positive attitude and is preparation for an independent future.

I hope this article has planted the seed. In her own tiny community with peer counselling, comprehensive service programs, and motivation for and source of productive income, a battered homeless woman is more likely to find healing than in a traditional shelter structure and atmosphere.

Marjorie Bard is now attending law school after completing her PhD at UCLA.



A 1988 American Dream

Out of the kitchen, into the squats

women of the

by Kate Lazier

t was another dreary London day; I was on the last leg of a trip around Europe and contemplating my return home. Sally, my hostess, listlessly opened the morning mail as we drank tea.

"Oh, just another eviction notice," she said as if it happened every day. "Damned council." Squatters acquire a sixth sense which can distinguish between notices that can be ignored and those which must not be. Sally knew this one meant a trip to the squatter's office on Monday to seek help in finding a new place to live.

Squatting is the occupying of property without payment. Not a very ladylike activity, but a very common one and there is no doubt that women and the western women's movement are benefiting from it. The UN Habitat report estimated that a tenth of the global population lives in urban squatting communities. Most of this is in developing countries where people in need of shelter claim public or private land and build on it. Almost all of the major cities in Asia, Africa and South America have squatter settlements on the outskirts.

Squatting has occurred in North America mainly in Vancouver and New York, but it is far more popular in Western Europe. In England, Denmark, Italy and the Netherlands it has become more and more widespread over the last 20 years and is the focus of intense political action and organization. In the developed world squatting generally takes the form of empty publicly-owned buildings that are occupied — empty because of tax foreclosures or speculation or just because it can take city bureaucracies years to upgrade substandard housing.

Squatting happens because there is a lack of affordable housing at the same time as there is empty property. Given the relative economic disadvantage of women, it is not surprising that the number of homeless women and mother-led families is rising. In 1976 a group of about 50 women set up the Teresa Batista Commune in a squatted palazzo in Milan. They saw their action politically — "We have seized the housing which this city denies us because we make a living from precarious jobs at low salaries and because we are the worst hit by unemployment."

THE SQUATTER . To squat is to challenge authority. To squat is to challenge property. Don't apologize. It is your right to house yourself. We must create our own culture. It is OUR city, OUR world, OUR lives. These are our houses. BEWARE OF AUTHORITY. BEWARE OF DOUBLESPEAK BEWARE OF POLITICIANS. IT IS YOUR HOUSE Squatters' paper published in Islington, London, 1976

Consider "Woodruff" house in the Netherlands, a squat for old women that started in the 1970s. A number of women in a discussion group, wanting to escape oppressive marriages, elderly people's homes and demanding children, decided to live together. Initially they tried doing it the "right" way. But, frustrated by discussions with local government and by the refusal of banks to grant loans to poor women over 60, they determined to squat. And armed with a set of wire cutters drawn from a delicate embroidered bag, they did.

There are large numbers of women living in mixed and in all-women squats. Women living with other women have found the experience to be especially empowering. Not only do they benefit from the economic freedom of not paying rent, but they often have the opportunity to learn new skills and gain new independence. Because men are not around, women are forced to become involved in traditionally male domains like plumbing, carpentry and electricity. And as

squats are usually in fairly bad condition there are many repairs to keep them busy!

For the most part people squat for a place to live, but many European women's services have been housed in squats. Battered women's shelters, women's centres, women's art spaces, bookshops and printing presses have all been established in squats — services that might not have been possible had the organizations had to pay rent.

From Casa Delle Donne, a women's centre and house in Rome, to Orca, a trendy little women's café in Amsterdam, to my friend Sally moving from house to house in London's Bloomsbury, squats have helped women independently and collectively to build a strong community based movement.

W & E member Kate Lazier helped produce this issue before leaving to study in France

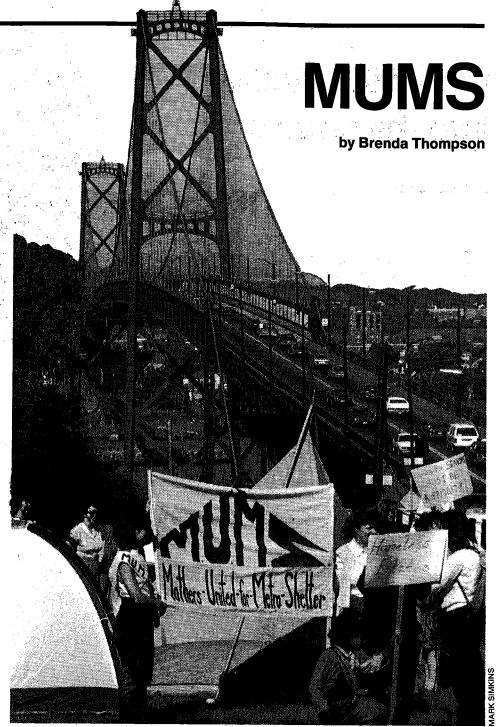
others United for Metro Shelter, MUMS, is a grassroots organization that started in Halifax in 1984. At that time the metro Halifax area had a vacancy rate of 0.06 per cent and a Provincial Minister of Housing who refused to admit to a housing crisis. The result was a Catch-22 situation for many low-income women. Their alternatives: raising their children in rat-infested cramped apartments, putting their children into foster homes, or cheating, stealing or prostituting themselves to raise enough money to house and feed their children. Many women who had left bad marriages tried, but could not conquer such overwhelming problems. They were forced to return to abusive husbands.

However, two women facing this situation believed the alternatives were simply intolerable. These two, Heather Schneider and May Ocean, put their energy and imaginations together and formed the group that become known as Mothers United for Metro Shelter. They quickly become recognized as a group of gutsy women who acted on their words. MUMS demonstrations have included the Homeless Estates, in which tents were set up on a traffic island to meet congested supper-hour traffic, serving the Nova Scotia legislators in Province House with a three-month eviction notice, and a mock funeral to protest the closing of Collins House, the only shelter for homeless women and their children in Halifax.

Last May the MUMS held a rally and performed skits for a conference of 500 clergy. They showed how low-income single mothers constantly must deal with sleazy landlords, biased court judges and discriminatory food banks. The skits were humorous. The point of the sting of poverty hit the hearts of the audience who left the rally ambitious to be even more effective in their work with the poor people of their communities.

Now MUMS is pleased to announce MUMS Two. In June, Terri Drysdale, a MUMS member, moved to Calgary with her two sons. Within a week she had rallied low-income women, formed a MUMS Two and held a demonstration to protest outbacks made in shelters for homeless women and children.

enMost recently MUMS held a demonstration in front of the office of the Nova Stotia Minister of Social Services. I, as one of the women from MUMS, had written an anticle for a local newspaper in which I was highly critical of the Minister's judgmental and prejudiced attitude towards people in poverty. Even as I wrote of the fear of retribution" experienced by women who speak out, the retribution that I feared took place.



The MUMS' Homeless Estates

The Minister, Edmund Morris, publicly accused me of being a ghostwriter for the left-wing party (the NDP) and of launching a vicious and venomous attack on his "persona." Then he breached confidentiality by raising questions about the paternity of my three-year-old daughter with information from my application for Family Benefits. The MUMS were quick to support me, have offered to help with fund raising for my legal action against the Minister and are currently circulating a province-wide petition demanding his resignation.

The MUMS have many plans. We plan to continue to fight for better housing for

single mothers and low income families. We also plan to broaden that fight to include the roots of our housing problems — discrimination, poverty and the social assistance system. We are determined to keep up our reputation as strong women who not only talk about discrimination and inequality, but do something to respond to the female face of poverty!

Brenda Thompson is a member of MUMS. She is currently planning court action against the Minister of Social Services in Nova Scotia.

No One Spoke For Drina

by Brenda Doyle Farge

spent ten days observing the inquest. Drina Joubert, a transient woman, died of exposure in the cab of an abandoned pick-up truck. It had been particularly cold that December in 1985 and she had been living in the truck for some time. Drina's death attracted a lot of public attention because she had been relatively young (41), came from a middleclass background and had possessed beauty, intelligence and talent—all attributes we are told should lead to "success." How could a woman with so much going for her die in this way? Toronto was stunned.

After eight days of listening to witnesses I had learned very little about Drina. Most witnesses represented agencies with which she had had some contact over the last two years of her life. They came from the Queen Street Mental Health Centre, the Addiction Research Foundation, the Ministry of Correctional Services and Metropolitan Toronto Hostel Services. Some were doctors who had treated Drina and some came from hostels and drop-in centres for transient women. Each agency gave a version of its relationship with Drina over the last months of her life. Each described this relationship in terms of institutional diagnoses and procedures. The picture of Drina which emerged from this process was not of a once-living, breathing woman, but of someone who had fallen "under the jurisdiction" of various agencies of the state and whose life and death were now defined by these institutional relationships.

How are we to understand the increasing numbers of people like Drina in western nations — nations with unprecedented wealth and technology? Are these people victims of their own personal shortcomings or are there larger structural and historical forces at play? Why is it that they are particularly vulnerable to involvements with institutions and agen-

cies of the state? Are we to understand this simply as their own inability to care for themselves and the state's benevolent, though paternalistic, attempts to care for them, or do such agencies have other, less beneficent functions?

The terms "marginalized," "disadvantaged" or "underprivileged" which we use to describe people like Drina provide a clue. The word "marginalized," for example, implies a spatial concept of society — a series of concentric rings in which there is an inner circle of the ad-

Drina died of exposure in the cab of an abandoned pick-up truck . . . Toronto was stunned.

vantaged and privileged and an outer circle of the dis-advantaged and underprivileged. It also implies an active, dynamic process, one in which some are pushed outward to the edges, ultimately becoming "out-casts."

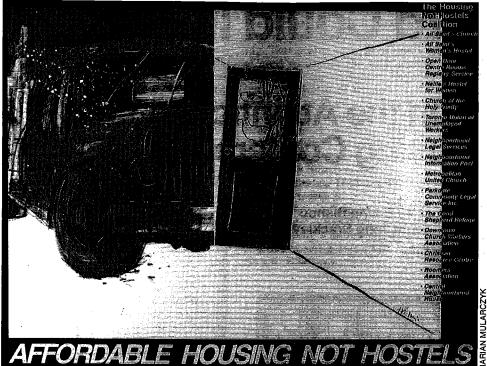
This concept of marginalization, however, hides more than it reveals. The forces, institutions or individuals who do the "marginalizing" or "disadvantaging" remain unnamed. What is left is social Darwinism made palatable, "commonsense" notion that, "some get ahead — it's only natural and inevitable." The specifics of those marginalized are also buried. The importance of gender, class, race, ethnicity, age and so on are masked by this concept. The circumstances which create differential advantage are swallowed up, mystified, unobserved. But just as losers are necessary for winners, marginalized people play an important, however unenviable, role in our competitive society.

Disadvantaged groups have always been an essential ingredient of capitalism. To remain profitable, capital requires an abundance of cheap labour which can be hired and fired as the pace of the economy demands. Women and immigrants have traditionally played this role, as have a variety of others who, for complex personal or structural reasons, have found themselves unemployed and unemployable. There is no mystery here. The logic of capitalism produces disadvantage for some just as surely as it produces advantage for others.

In a system of differential rewards, a system of incredible inequalities, there must be some mechanisms to regulate and control those who lose out. In earlier times those mechanisms were mainly of confinement in prisons and workshops, of brutal public punishments and of transportation to overseas colonies. By the 18th and 19th centuries other means of control were developed as society began the process of "moralizing, normalizing, and individualizing" its labour force through new agencies of the state.

Forms of overt coercion are in ordinary circumstances muted. Most people conform to the codes of "acceptable" behaviour which society and the state have enshrined. But those who do not receive the "pay-off" in advantages must still be regulated and controlled. It is the systems of state/social agencies which claim to assist "the downtrodden" which, together with the criminal justice system, are the main regulators of modern society.

Each agency has the power to label, thus to define socially "acceptable" behaviour according to its own special area of responsibility. These labels and definitions have the effect of placing responsibility on the shoulders of the



"individual" and of hiding the political and economic aspects of his/her plight. They also are, in most cases, indicative of "treatment" measures — drugs, shock, incarceration ... methods of restoring "docility."

While each agency appears to govern a discrete area, a closer examination shows their interlocking nature. For example, many of the women who use Toronto's hostels on a regular basis have had some brushes with "the mental health system." The vast majority of transients, if they have any income at all, depend upon welfare or family benefits. People encountering the criminal justice system are more often than not from disadvantaged backgrounds and many have some history of substance abuse and/or "mental illness." In both Canada and the United States ra-

"Treatment" is a method of restoring docility.

minorities are vastly over-representdin prisons. Rather than their being disinct from one another, then, it can be seen that these agencies form a complex web of could responses to a particular segment of could be a second to the could be a s

One of the great ironies of capitalism is at although it has elevated "work" to moral status of an ethic, it has at the

same time created conditions which systematically create unemployment. It is this relationship to work and the morality of work which makes the recipients of "assistance" so vulnerable. By definition, they are the ones who are least able to compete for jobs, but because of this they are also morally disenfranchised.

People who are unemployed are not immune to the widely accepted views of themselves as "social parasites" and "welfare bums." Those who are involved with other agencies can similarly come to view themselves as "criminals," "alcoholics" and "mentally ill." The authority and practices of our social agencies reinforce this moral view of behaviour, which in turn disenfranchises these people; so long as their conditions are viewed as the result of their own behaviour—not due to structural factors—they can have no cohesive political position or effect.

For Drina Joubert the labels which were attached to her during her life followed her into her death and inquest. The jury found that her death was due to "an accident caused by alcoholism, mental illness, and homelessness and the failure of our support system to deal with these problems." The implication that a better co-ordinated support system would have "dealt with" Drina's "problems" begs the larger question of a morality and of economic and political practices which lock many into a no-win situation. It is this systematically imposed limitation of vision, of definitions, which makes the "marginalized" so vulnerable.

Drina's inquest did provide evidence of her own resistance to the kinds of "assistance" offered her. Stories were told of her refusal to be housed in certain ways, of her great anger over "treatment" methods at the Queen Street Mental

Resistance lives. It may yet find a common and effective voice.

Health Centre and of her adamant conviction about the type of help she actually needed, convictions which were apparently dismissed by her "helpers."

Observers at the inquest who lived lives like hers also demonstrated their resistance to the professional explanations given by witnesses. During breaks they would dismiss the professionals' testimony as "bullshit" and would talk contemptuously of the "system" with which they had to struggle. Their energy was impressive but somewhat saddening. They did not accept the discourse of the professionals, but by default it won the day.

The regulation of people who live outside the mainstream of our society is conducted primarily through social/state agencies of care. The moral view underlying their practices and the discourses with which they label, and disenfranchise, their clients, merely adds to the latters' vulnerability. In a state-orchestrated ritual such as the inquest into Drina Joubert's death, little more can be discovered about such people than the traces formed during their lives by the practices of their regulators. Nonetheless, resistance to these practices does live and could yet find a common and effective voice. What is needed is a new discourse, one with an analysis and practices which allows people the dignity which has been systematically denied them.

For further reading:

P. Corrigan and D. Sayer, The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.

P. Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

D. Smith, "No One Commits Suicide: Textual Analysis of Ideological Practices," *Human Studies* 6, 1983; 309-359.

Brenda Doyle Farge is a doctoral candidate in community psychology at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, in Toronto.

How Hard Could It Be?

Reflections on the Atlantic Women and Housing Conference

by Elaine Bishop with Jane Brackley

My friend Jane Brackley asked as we talked in her living room about putting on a first — a conference in the Atlantic Region of Canada focussing specifically on women and housing. Two years later we knew — it was hard! We learned a lot, perhaps more about the challenge of conferences than about housing. But with the help of an incredible group of women, we had done it.

Our motivation grew out of our own experiences and frustrations in developing shelter alternatives for women. We knew that across the Region other women were engaged in the same struggles with minimal opportunities to learn from each other's successes and failures. The unique character of the Atlantic Provinces with their resource-based economy, predominantly rural population, pockets of poverty, and some of the oldest housing stock in Canada demanded special initiatives.

Our vision was to have a conference that was accessible to all women. We hoped that women who were planners, users (as all women are), and providers of housing could jointly explore common problems of affordable, appropriate housing in the unique context of Atlantic Canada. This required a process that allowed us to participate rather than be talked at. It meant funding to allow poor women to attend by paying all costs and ensuring a sense of serenity that children who could not come were well cared for.

We chose a modified Search Conference process, hoping that it would provide the sort of accessible, liberating process we had envisioned.¹

Pre-conferences were held in each province. The format for these differed but similar echos ran through them all. This was to become a striking feature all through the event; regardless of which Province, or of the size of the community,



the story was the same: women did not have accessible, affordable, adequate housing. It cost too much. There wasn't enough. Children weren't wanted. Women could not control their housing. Nothing new!

The conference actually took place April 2-5, 1987 at Memramcook Institute, St. Joseph, Acadie (New Brunswick). One hundred and twenty-eight women and two men attended.

During the Search Process people became impatient. It felt as if we had covered this ground before. Again we went

Elaine Bishop was an organizer of the Atlantic Women and Housing Conference. She is the past director of an emergency shelter for women and children in Halifax. Jane Brackley works for the Social Planning Department of the City of Halifax and was involved in the establishment of the Second Stage Housing Project and an emergency shelter for women in Halifax.

over what we already knew. We adapted the process to try to respond to frustration and moved into task groups more quickly. These task groups formed and are continuing to act on the goals they set themselves at the conference. The public housing tenants are attempting to organize a two-week workshop on tenant management for November 1987 (with the participation of women from the National Congress of Neighborhood Women's October conference); Networking has joined forces with Education and Resources in compiling an Atlantic Directory for use by women's groups involved in shelter issues; the Political Action group is working towards sponsoring workshops in each Province for women who want to enter politics, particularly at the municipal level; the Design and Community Planning group will be putting out a guide to women and child-sensitive design, and the Finance group is developing a proposal for funding to develop a manual on

... times of satisfaction and times of deep discouragement.

alternative funding sources for innovative projects.

Response to the conference was mixed. As one of the organizers I went through times of satisfaction and times of deep discouragement. Our analysis was that the Search Process could not respond creatively to the class, racial and other differences amongst the participants. Consequently women who were not from a background that encourages articulate discussion of issues were again silenced.

The key weakness seemed to be in the organization of the workshops. The Search Conference process suggests that "all stake holders" should be represented in each group. Yet this encourages a replication of the oppression and silencing experienced by raised poor, lesbian, working class, black, Native, differently abled and other women. It ignores the reality of the conflictive nature of the social oppression under which women live.

In another conference I would create workshops based on commonalities. Then, listening could be exchanged on the basis of those whose oppression is great speaking before those who have privilege. After respectful listening participants then could choose whether or not to proceed to dialogue

Yet I am convinced that despite the problems that arose, it was worth while. It was a first — the first conference on women and housing to be held in Canada that we are aware of. Not just a workshop or side show tacked onto another conference but a time for women to come together themselves around this issue. And

it's not finished yet! Some funds were left over — partly due to a Newfoundland fog that prevented some women from arriving. This allows us to give small amounts of seed money to the task groups. More than this, the Atlantic region has an inspiring group of women — those who attended as well as those who are interested and concerned — who will continue to lead, inspire, work, play and dance to ensure that they, their children, their friends, and everyone in the Atlantic region has housing.

A conference that contributed to this was well worth it!

A conference report will be available: Contact Jane Brackley, Atlantic Women and Housing Conference, Department of Social Planning, Box 1749, Halifax, Nova Scotia, B3J 2A5. □

1 For a complete discussion of the Search Conference process, see Search Conferences, published by the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Lumbers Building, 4700 Keele St., Downsview, Ontario.



New Partnerships: Canadian IYSH Conference in Ottawa, September 1987

While information overload became a way of life for the three days of this huge and densely programmed international gathering, those of us interested in women's housing issues were able to track our own path through the forest of sessions. It led us to the workshop series on the Canadian housing scene organized by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), a series which covered both english and french overviews of housing as a women's issue; the impact of programs and policies on women's housing needs; Canadian examples of women-developed housing solutions; the effect of hostels on women who use them; the housing needs of women fleeing family violence; and the advocacy and self-help activities of a grassroots group, the Halifax MUMS.

The most moving and memorable of the NAC workshops was presented by women from hostels in Vancouver and Toronto; the atmosphere in the packed room became tense with emotion as the women talked about their own experiences of what it means to be homeless.

There was also a clear Third World path through the conference, which gave us a powerful sense of how much we have to learn about organizing from women in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia, who are caught up in the daily struggle for survival. From Prema Gopalan in Bombay, for instance, organizing with the women of pavement-dwelling families to plan and build their own permanent housing; from Rose Cheetham in Chile, organizing communities to build, grow, produce, cook, eat together so that they can maintain their lives. It's the women who lead, and the women who, having met the basic needs, go on to apply their organization to wider and wider aspects of their fown, their families' and their communities'

Proceedings will be published spring; contact Heather Lang CAHRO, PO Box 33,12, Station K1P 6H8. The NAC world to included — for more inforcontact NAC, 344 Bloom Toronto M58 1W9.

I Call It Oppression

Although the Conference did accomplish an extensive examination of the housing crisis, the three days left a bad taste in my mouth.

I must call what I experienced there oppression, or more precisely — double oppression, as it was at the hands of my trusted "sisters." I am speaking here of the attitude exhibited by so many of the women present at this gathering — that by definition, we as women of the poorer, working class are in need of their education and guidance — a patronizing attitude which we find insulting coming from the male dominated social hierarchy, but we find even more offensive coming from women who profess to be actively searching for alternatives.

We question the solutions of the professional middle class. For one thing, housing is a class issue. Decent accommodation is built for those who can afford it. For the rest of us affordable" housing all too often comes in detestable form. Most women know this. But needs defined from a middle class perspective are not necessarily the needs of the poor woman.

For the working class women, the collision to most of our needs is very basic; economics. We will never be able to lift the veil of oppression for many women if we continue to circumvent

this, and try to problem solve in a symptomatic manner. It's time interest groups stop defining our problems for us, and start asking us — the economically oppressed — what exactly we want done. In all probability, the answers heard will be very similar and simple.

Poor people are seen as a blight upon the landscape. We have not been recognized as having a culture of our own. Forced down our throats has constantly been a middle class doctrine that presupposes we would all be much happier if only we would encompass an ideology based on someone else's value system.

Our battle to change the direction of economic "planning" must incorporate all classes and any strategies we choose must have a strong feminist framework that empowers all women and respects each of us for our abilities. We all want to participate. We all want to empower ourselves. Poor women have much to contribute to the development of a feminist framework for social transformation. We are a legitimate voice!

Elizabeth Blaney, New Brunswick representative on the Atlantic Women and Housing Conference planning committee

— OUT IN THE FIELD

Holding Our Ground

A film made by Anne Henderson for the National Film Board of Canada about the resourcefulness of a group of women squatters in the Philippines — the "Pilipina" — who work together on their housing problems and from there go on to tackle the land reform issue.

The 60-minute documentary is available from the Board; in Canada consult your phone book for the nearest NEBS of fice; in the US contact NFB, 1251 Avenue of the Americas, 16th floor, New York, NY 10020 (212) 586-5131.

Canadian Network for Women and Housing

The Housing Committee of NAC (National Action Committee on the Status of Women) is producing a quarterly newsletter as part of an effort to build a nationwide network — and eventual coalition — on women's housing issues. To get on the mailing list, write to: Housing Committee, NAC, 344 Bloor St. West, #505, Toronto M5S 1W9 (416) 922-3246.

Papers Wanted on Women, Children and Housing

Information on existing or proposed designs for homes or neighbourhoods that will serve the needs of both women and children are solicited for a review chapter on "Designing Housing and Neighbourhoods for Children in a Changing Society," to be published in 1988 in Volume 3 of the Plenum Press series on Advances in Environment, Behaviour and Design. Basic research on children's and parents' experience and use of current housing and neighbourhoods - both functional and dysfunctional — is also invited. Please send reprints or descriptions of work in progress to: Louise Chawla, Whitney Young College, Kentucky State University, Frankfort KY 40601. The chapter will be co-authored with Robin Moore of the North Carolina State University School of Design.

A Rural Model: Melfort Safe Homes Follow-up Program

The staff of the Melfort Safe Homes Network in Saskatchewan are proving that follow-up is crucial and viable in rural areas. The network allows women to stay in private safe homes for up to five days. While they are staying in a safe home, the women are driven to the Melfort day centre every day by commollors. At the centre, counselling, no formal, information, support and the company of other abused women are available.

After the five days, women may be taken to adjuntation houselffthey require further residential protection and support. If they do not go to a transition house, they are asked if they want the counsellors to stay in touch. Women who answer in the affirmative, and who are living in Melfort, are invited to continue coming to the day centre to participate in programs or just talk. A self-help group, run in 10-week cycles, is available. Staff members visit women living out of town to provide counselling and support.

The network keeps in touch with women until they feel they no longer need support. Staff have continued to provide support to some women for a year after they left the safe home.

Contact: Vi Nelson, Box 2066, Melfort, Saskatchewan, SOE 1A0, Tel. (306) 752-9464

Reprinted from Vis-à-Vis Winter 1987

The Homelessness Information Exchange

The HIE is a national US service that collects and disseminates information and

technical assistance, through newsetters, bulletins, training materials, etc. Information in the Exchange's four databases — as yet incomplete categorized according to the subpopulation it addresses, including women, children and families. The information categories are: Model Projects - summaries of emergency and transitional housing programs; Funding Sources — public and private financing options; Experts — Experienced practitioners who are designing and operating programs; and Bibliography — resource materials on women's economic development, housing and housing design alternatives, research on characteristics and needs of homeless women, children and families, assessment studies on types of needed services, and program evaluations. Fees are charged on a sliding scale, with a subsidized rate for direct service providers. The Exchange is sponsored by the Community Information Exchange, a technical information and networking service for neighbourhood organizations and their public/private partners in community economic development.

For more information, contact: Dana H. Harris, Director, Community Information Exchange, 1120 G. Street, Northwest, Suite 900, Washington DC 20005 (202) 638-2981

Sheltering Ourselves Developing Housing for Women Cincinnati, August 1987

It seemed that women converged from across the continent for this event; that they had worked together before; and that they anticipated hard work and concrete results.

Almost two hundred women gathered on the University of Cincinnati campus in the August heat, aware of the critical need for decent, affordable housing for women, and determined to problem-solve as much as time and resources allowed.

As a Canadian guest, who had come to share my experience in the development of women's housing co-ops, I was inspired by the energy and the strength that comes from a cohesive network, built over years of working together, even at great distances.

We heard four women talk about their own situations — trying to keep families together and survive in poverty and woefully inadequate space, sometimes with constant harassment from abusive landlords, sometimes vulnerable to rape and robbery in unsafe environments. We needed to tell each other these stories to remind us why we were there, but we'd all heard them too many times before.

The highlight of the event (other than a great concert featuring women artists) was a modified "charette" exercise, in which we split into design and financing sub-groups to "develop' two proposals from local non-profit housing groups. This concrete work ('scuse the pun!) gave us a great sense of accomplishment and actually provided practical help to the two projects.

Following the conference, a smaller group met to begin actualizing a vision of an international women's development group which would focus on housing projects for women, and support women in the development and construction field. There will be more on this in these pages as the planning proceeds!

Gay Alexander

Housing As If People Mattered

Housing as If People Mattered: Site Design Guidelines for Medium-Density Family Housing

Clare Cooper Marcus and Wendy Sarkissian Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. 324 pp. US \$55

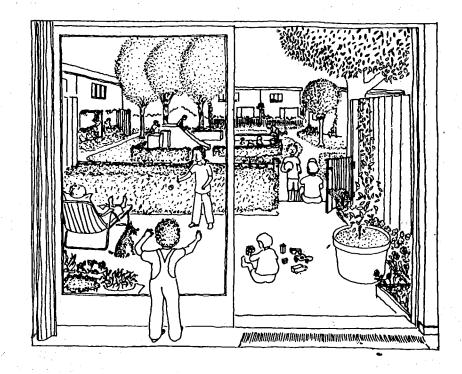
Reviewed by Jacqueline Leavitt

This is an important contribution to the growing literature about women and the built environment; indeed the authors help to define the area further. In general terms, they make the link between physical and social planning. The thrust and renewed vigour this linkage is enjoying of late may be partially traced to scholars who have integrated feminist awareness into their work; Cooper Marcus and Sarkissian do this by drawing connections between women's needs and guidelines for medium-density family housing, a focus resulting from a choice to build on what they and others have demonstrated, that female-headed households find greater satisfaction in denser built-up areas where they can more easily carry out their multiple tasks.

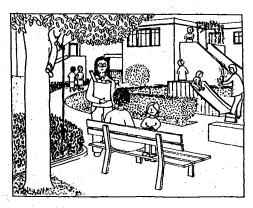
From the title to the introduction about who the authors are, how they live and what has influenced them, to the glossary comparing terms in selected English speaking countries, this book takes what can be a very cut and dried set of standards and infuses them with life. Photographs, diagrams, cartoons and sketches complement the text. Each section and subpoint is a thumbnail sketch about the myriad details that make up the built and natural environment. The book is so rich that I think it exists on several different levels.

First, there are the guidelines, drawn from a synthesis of about 100 housing case

Jacqueline Leavitt teaches in the Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning, UCLA. She was the first prize winner of the New American House competition and the 1987 recipient of the American Planning Association's Diana Donald Award for her research, writing and teaching apout women's issues.



studies, usually post-occupancy evaluations. Embedded within that is a subtheme, about methods — those used in particular studies they reviewed, but also a primer on how to approach design guidelines. It is important to note the kinds of studies the authors favoured. The postoccupancy evaluations were of people living in low-rise, medium- or high-density family housing, and survey techniques had to rely on recognized methods. The authors preferred studies which drew from interviews rather than mailed questionnaires and, among those, ones that used both attitude surveys and behavioural observations. The reader learns about the daily lives of people "from the wealth of details" extracted from the studies. After synthesizing the information on 254 key items, from density and form to dumpster selection, Cooper Marcus and Sarkissian suggest "possible" design responses, an open-endedness which



leaves room for readers to draw their own conclusions.

The second level in the book is a critique of the design-client relationship which includes the historical context that gave rise to design guidelines in the first place. The theme is primarily developed in the first two chapters, which call for a radical reformulation of how design is structured. For all those who have wondered about architectural awards for buildings yet to be inhabited, or if inhabited fail to work, the authors' suggestion that contracts with clients can be continued after occupancy will appear sensible. Designers would maintain a connection with their work so that modifications could be made in response to residents' needs, after they have actually lived in the building(s).

Finally, there is the book that presents a woman's perspective on issues of housing and social services, overlapping with a theme of low-income housing. This may be the most important aspect for readers of W & E. The authors go beyond stating that needs of user groups should be met to suggesting how the build environment can be responsive. Women and children are prominent among the user groups studied; two out of 14 chapters are devoted to the needs of children of different age groups, with one chapter on common open spaces and the other on purpose-built play areas. The authors identify the basic needs of children and inform us about pedestrian precincts, sidewalk activities, varying spaces, common spaces, leftover spaces. They summarize the issues of children's rights and children as planners.

- REVIEWS

Copper Marcus and Sarkissian review studies about on-site facilities for adults from providing for casual social needs to encouraging neighbouring. Their response: provide options and design for relatively small numbers to share common space. They also highlight issues of balancing privacy and community, individual and communal spaces, topics which designers and planners for nontraditional households have been grappling with, myself included. They point to the need to ensure privacy as a precondition for people "to reach out to community." The authors also tackle the difficult problem of institutionalization, an issue in designing battered women's shelters. Often the desire to create a homey atmosphere is compromised because of issues of security and safe environment.

Most of my quibbles are minor. Chapter 3 is a list of design guidelines, virtually an expanded table of contents. The first two chapters are highly readable as a critique and explanation of design guidelines, and the inventory interferes very slightly with that. The list is the closest the book comes to an index, which may make referencing cumbersome for some readers. Although the authors praise John Zeisel's innovative annotated site plans, an approach I also applaud and have used, there is no explanation of how to "read" site plans. One assumption may be that the text is sufficiently explanatory or that those without design experience, let us say clients, will learn from designers with whom they are working.

These points are all secondary to the fact that this book is an excellent guide. I do want to raise a more major concern, one that the authors cannot resolve. They define 10 different user groups who can use the guidelines, including tenants and design students. But the book is priced at US \$55 for hardbound copies. This may cause teachers to think twice about using it. In addition, as the blurb points out, "resident feedback has too often appeared only in specialized journals and monographs." I agree there is a more general market for the book among laypeople,

especially among those who way be fighting large developments, and for whom the price may also be a drawbook. I hope the publisher will issue the book in paperback. I can see it in my minds every well-thumbed, opening at will to one page or another as it is referred to again and again.

The illustrations from Housing as if People Mattered are reproduced with the permission of the publisher.

Housing and Homelessness

Housing and Homelessness: a Feminist Perspective

Sophie Watson with Helen Austerberry London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986. 186 pp. ±7.95, \$21.50



Watson and Austerberry worked together for six years with homeless women in London and their writing communicates in a very low key way some of the fire that must have burned in them as they worked; my own embers were certainly smouldering by the time I finished reading this clearly argued, absorbing and very readable analysis of women's homelessness.

Three major thrusts unite the study's structure. The first is its focus on single women, while the focus of housing policy and supply has been and still is, despite its relative decline, the traditional family. The central place that our society gives to the family, with its support for the sexual division of labour and the dependent position it assigns to women, underwrites the continuation of the social and economic outcasting of those who don't fit the mould.

Left to fend for themselves, women — poorly paid young single women, middleaged and elderly single women, separated wives, widows — face a grim world where their incomes put them at the bottom of the heap in the private housing sector and their singleness throws them out of luck in the public housing stakes.

This situation connects us to the second thrust, the light that Watson and Austerberry throw on "concealed" homelessness, the condition of an unquantifiably large



number of women who, while "housed," have no place to call their own and little hope of ever having one. This includes women who live with relatives and friends, in tied housing (accommodation which goes with the job, in schools, hospitals, hotels, etc.) and women in furnished rooms and hostels. These concealed homeless have a roof over their heads

I feel nameless. I feel I don't exist. I'm just a thing.

(frequently at great financial cost, since hostel and tied accommodation can be comparatively expensive) but their tenure is precarious, they lack control over their space and the likelihood of ever scraping together enough money to escape from that situation is negligible.

So we come to the third thrust, a continuum of home-to-homelessness which Watson and Austerberry have constructed as an aid to defining what homelessness really is — and it can range, according to women's own perceptions and future prospects, from accommodation that does not really meet their needs all the way to "sleeping rough."

Interviews with homeless women attempt to uncover women's own definitions

of "home" and "homelessness," in their ideas of what home is or could be. Potentially the most moving material in the book, its fragmented and almost impersonal presentation rather blunts the effect. It's bad enough, though:

"All I want is a one-bedroom flat where I can ask friends around."

"I'll consider it home when I have my own toilet and bathroom and don't share it with 30 other people."

"I've got to the stage in my life, where home is just wherever I am."

"I feel nameless. I feel I don't exist. I'm just a thing. That's what I feel like living here."

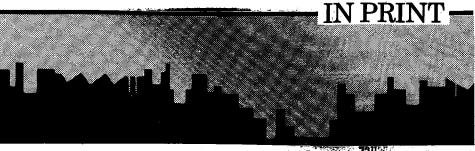
"To be homeless is to be unable to switch off the light when you want. Cough when you want. Get up when you want."

Watson and Austerberry have illuminated their three central points with a substantial review of the situation of homeless women since the early 19th century. Measures to alleviate homelessness have varied with fluxes in ideological attitudes, but consistent themes emerge which are still with us: for example, the notion that there are deserving and undeserving homeless, the linking of women's homeless condition to their sexuality, and the role played by religious and voluntary groups in providing shelter and hostel accommodation. Consistent also throughout the historical period as well as this volume is the intimate connection between women's housing situation and both her position in the labour market itself determined by her family, education and class status — and a housing system built around owner-occupation.

If it is not difficult to identify the causes of women's homelessness, firmly rooted in our social-economic-political order, what of solutions? Small hopes that the system will change, but Watson and Austerberry do put their finger on some associated barriers which may be less immovable: women's poor knowledge of how to find accommodation, or what their rights are; punibye or uncaring attitudes among professionals who are paid to help; the bad physical condition of much public housing; lock of interest on the part of trade unions; rd - always - not enough affordable ces to live.

Watson and Austerberry have gone feparate ways now, but they have behind a valuable piece of work which be read with attention by every who has anything to do with the on of housing. The study is Engthe experience is universal.

> Kjellberg is Information Officer at Community for Urban and Community , and Managing Editor of W & E.



Housing for Canadian Women: An **Everyday Concern**

Diane Morisette

Background Paper for the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Box 1541, Stn. B, Ottawa K1P 5R5, March 1987, 40 pp.

The first section, Obstacles to Decent Housing, gives examples of the "specific problems encountered by various groups of women in their search for adequate and affordable housing," including brief examinations of the problems of single parents, homeless women, aging women, geographic isolation, ethnic origin and disability. The second section, Federal Social Housing Policy, focusses on the past role of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and foreseeable problems with their new eligibility requirements for public housing. The final section, Women's Place in New Forms of Housing, argues that social housing construction is the most promising long term answer, rather than government subsidies to the private sector. The author concludes by urging women to become closely involved in the development of social housing programs, since they are the main users, and by criticizing the decrease in funding and delay in building innovative forms of social housing in Canada.

The Lost and the Lonely Homeless Women in Montreal

Aileen D. Ross Study distributed by: The Canadian Human Rights Foundation, Suite 340. 1980 Sherbrook St. W., Monreal PQ H3H 1E8. \$7.95

A 1982 study of some 500 women who visited two women's shelters in Montreal in 1977 and 1978. Describes the multiple problems the women face, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, loneliness, depression, poor health and rejection, problems which are inadequately dealt with by the federal and provincial governments, the courts, the churches, hospitals and social agencies.

Seven Background Papers prepared for "A Place to Call Home: A Conference on Homelessness in British Columbia," held in May 1987, are available from:

The School of Community and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, 6333 Memorial Road, Vancouver, BC V6T 1W5

Homelessness in Canada; The Report of the National Inquire some And Mary Ann McLaughling of Ottawa: Canadian Gouncil on Social Development, 1987.
Write to: Publications, CCSD, 55 Parkdale, P.O. Box 3505, Stn. C., Ottawa, Ont. K1Y 4G1. Or Call: (613) 728-1865

A two-phase study which began with a "snapshot survey" of temporary or emergency shelter on January 22, 1987, followed by a series of local workshops which addressed related issues. According to the survey, 61 per cent of people, who stayed in the shelters were men, most of whom stayed in large hostels that serve men only. Children aged 15 and under represented 11.5 per cent of the total, and women the remaining 27.5 per cent. The 1,271 women and children staying in shelters for battered women represented 16.4 per cent of the total number of people in shelters that participated in the survey. The study contains many other useful statistics, and makes both general and specific recommendations.

Open More Doors

Mothers United for Metro Shelter (MUMS)

Available for \$5 from: MUMS, PO Box 1416, Halifax North Postal Stn., Halifax, **NS B3K 5H7**

The Halifax MUMS speak out against the housing crisis through excerpts from interviews with more than 20 women on their housing searches and their experience with discrimination, malnutrition, abuse and rejection.

Transition Houses and Shelters for Battered Women in Canada

National Clearinghouse on Family

January 1987, 22 pp. Available free from the Clearinghouse, Health and Welfare Canada, Ottawa, Ont. K1A 1B5

The Homeless Transient in the Great Research Depression; New York State 1929-1941 Joan M. Crouse

Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986. 319 pp.

Transients during the depression were a new breed of educated, highly employable men and women uprooted from their middle- and working-class homes by an unprecedented economic crisis. Their story is told from the perspective of the

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federal, state and local governments and from the viewpoint of the social worker, the community and the transient. The emphasis is on the male transient, but significant attention is paid to the particular problems female transients faced.

The Search for Shelter

Nora Richter Greer

Washington: The American Institute of Architects, 1735 New York Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 1986. 131 pp. US \$15.

Recognizing the role that the architectural profession has played in contributing to homelessness through urban redevelopment and gentrification, the AIA hopes that The Search for Shelter will help architects and others plan housing for the homeless. The information is from two conferences organized by the American Institute of Architects' Housing Committee in 1985. Equal attention is paid to the problems faced by homeless women, men and children. The most important and interesting section of this book is the series of case studies on emergency shelters, special needs/transitional shelters and long term housing, including technical, cost and design information. The emphasis in this section is on the variety of design and services, and the importance of shelter which helps to preserve and restore individual dignity.

Homelessness in America: A Forced March to Nowhere

Mary Ellen Hombs, Mitch Snyder Washington: Community for Creative Non Violence, 1982, 1983.

This book is very readable, combining informative statistics with an informal style, and many individual stories of both homeless men and women. It describes the shelters and services provided in New York, Richmond, Atlanta, Chicago, and Washington, and also surveys services in 29 American cities.

Hardship in the Heartland: Homelessness in Eight American Cities

Dan Salerna, Kim Hopper, Ellen Baxter New York: Institute for Social Welfare Research, Community Service Society of New York, 1984.

This book contains no specific chapter on the problems of homeless women, but the authors are aware of the differing needs of homeless men and women. The statistical breakdown is usually gender specific. Hardship in the Heartland provides case studies of shelter services in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Denver, Tulsa, Madison, Milwaukee and Cincinnati, and describes specific projects for men and women. However, it offers in its recommendations no specific ones for alleviating the problems of homeless women.



Housing the Single-Parent Family: A Resource and Action Handbook

Mary Lou Petitt, Peggy Hutchet State of New Jersey Report, March 1987

An updating of a 1981 handbook, it presents an overview of the housing impact resulting from the growing numbers of single parents in the State. Examples of various housing programs in New Jersey and in several other states are included which deal with the differing stages of housing need that single parents experience. A separate section on action and organizational strategies and resources is featured, and a bibliography lists studies which can help in developing programs.

Copies are available free from: Peggy Hutchet, Bureau of Housing and Community Development, Dept. of Community Affairs, 707 Alexander Rd. CN 806, Trentin, NJ 08625 (609) 987-2168.

The Rise of the Urban Homeless R.H. Ropers

Public Affairs Report 26 (5/6) 1985.

Available free from the Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley CA 94720.

Presents a national profile of US homeless. Uses Los Angeles figures to compare characteristics of men's and women's age, race, education, marital and employment status, etc.

NGOs and Shelter; a package of information. All documents produced at the IYSH Regional Forum held in Nairobi in December 1986. Send \$12 US and postage (\$14 Airmail) to: NGOs and Shelter, Mazingira Institute, PO Box 14550, Nairobi, Kenya.

"The Housing Difficulties Women Experience and Some Remedies" S. Button, E. Kelly, J. Turner, L. Reith, A.

Glithero, M. Page
Housing Pavious 3(5) December

Housing Review 3(5) December 1986-January 1987: 196-204

A UK Housing Centre seminar report which focusses on the particular housing problems women face. Individual papers include "What Makes Women Feel Safe," "Meeting the Housing Needs of Women Leaving Home Because of Violence,' "Single Women and Homelessness," and "Designing for the Smaller Majority safe and convenient design for women and children in a man's world." Lorna Reith's "Single Women and Homelessness" focusses on the often special reasons women become homeless and what services are available for them. She stresses the importance of the role of local authorities in research and housing provision.

"The Components of Strong Ties Among Homeless Women"

J. Clyde Mitchell

Social Networks 9(1) March 1987: 37-47

Provides the results of a "study of a small sample of women who were the focus of attention by the Homeless Families Social Work Team in Manchester." Based on interviews carried out with ten women who had been homeless and were rehoused with their families, the focal point was "the extent to which people undergoing the crisis of homelessness were able to secure personal support from others to whom they were connected." Unfortunately, what follows is an examination of the study's method rather than what is learned about homeless women's strong ties.

Already In Print: More on Housing and Homelessness from W & E's In Print section since 1980

Winter 1987 9(1)

"Housing and the Family: The Marginalization of Non-Family Households in Britain," Sophie Watson, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 10(1): 8-28, 1986.

"Women and Environment: Shelter, Urbanization and Change — A Feminist Perspective," Fran Hosken, Women's International Network (WIN) News, 13(1) Winter 1987: 8-28.

"Women and Housing: An Annotated Bibliography, Sylvia Novac, CPL Bibliography 178, October 1986. 26 pp.

Fall 1986 8(3)

Women and Safe Shelter: a Resource Directory for Women Seeking Safe and Affordable Shelter/Housing. Available from Women United for a Better Chicago, Box 578141, Chicago IL 60657.

Spring 1986 8(2)

A Manual on Transitional Housing. Women's Institute for Housing and Economic Development, Inc., Feb. 1986. Order from WIHED, 179 South St., Boston MA 02111. "Women and Housing or Feminist Housing Analysis," Sophie Watson, Housing Studies 1(1) January 1986: 1-10.

Winter 1986 8(1)

Refuges for Battered Women: Ideology and Action," Jan Pahl, Feminist Review No. 19 March 1985:25-43.

Housing and Economic Development: A Women's Perspective. Available from Non-Governmental Liaison Service, Room DC2-1103, United Nations, New York, NY 10017.

Women and Housing," Canadian Housing 2(3), Fall 1985: 20-26.

Housing. Special Issue of WEB Quarterly Simmer 1985.

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grams, Agency for International Development, Washington DC 20523.

"Women and Abandoned Buildings: A Feminist Approch to Housing," Jacqueline Leavitt, Susan Saegert, Social Policy Summer 1984: 32-39.

The Unsheltered Woman: Women and Housing in the 80s, ed. Eugenie Ladner Birch, Rutgers University, Centre for Urban Policy Research, 1985. Reviewed by Gay Alexander in Spring 1986.

"More Than Just a Roof Over Our Heads," Gay Alexander, Status of Women News December 1984.

"Spaces: Building in a New Direction," Glenda Jowsey, Herizons August 1984.

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Women in Housing: Access and Influence, Marion Brion, Anthea Tinker, London, Housing Centre Trust, 1980.

Fall 1984 6(3)

A Development Primer, Women's Institute for Housing and Economic Development, Inc.

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Women and Housing, Janet McClain, Cassie Doyle, Canadian Council on Social Development series, Toronto, James Lorimer, 1984. Reviewed by Louise Clarke in Fall 1984.

The Housing Needs of Single Parent Families in Canada, Fran Klodawsky, Aron N. Spector, Catrina Hendrix, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1983.

Housing and Single Parents: An Overview of the Literature, Fran Klodawsky et al., Bibliographic Series No. 15, University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, January 1984.

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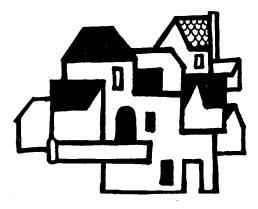
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June 1980 4(1, 2)

Housing for Single Parents: Issues and Visions, Lynn Yandell, M. Arch. thesis, Berkeley CA, Dept. of Arch., University of California, 1979.



Some Journals to Watch for more on Women's Housing and Homelessness

Canadian Housing will be carrying proceedings of the Canadian IYSH Conference "Building New Partnerships."

Urban Resources will publish reports from the August 1987 Cincinnati conference "Sheltering Ourselves: Developing Housing for Women" (see p. 26). Urban Resources, Metropolitan Services, University of Cincinnati, Mail Location #175, Cincinnati OH 45221.

The March/April issue of *Perception*, journal of the Canadian Council on Social Development, was a special issue on homelessness.

Damaris Rose reviews Watson and Australianity's Housing and Homeless aress" in *Celhians de géographic du Québac* 3488, September 1987; Chemie Stubbsnewiews it in *Mouring Studies* 2(11) 1937.

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