

- EVENTS

Until September 1986

Daughters of the Desert: Women Anthropologists in the Southwest, 1880-1980.

A museum exhibit demonstrating the contributions of women scholars to our knowledge of the Native American Southwest. Special attention is given to women who began their careers before 1940. South Building, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson AZ (602) 621-7338

July 6-12

Perspectives on Peace Education for One World

The International Institute for Peace Education is holding workshops at the University of Alberta on curriculum, teaching techniques, women's perspectives, and the use of drama. Registration fee \$125; \$50 for students.

Contact: IIPE, Sue Laws, Dept. of Secondary Education, Rm. 235, Education South, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alta. T6G 2G5 (403)432-5504/3665

July 21-28

Mobility and Transport for Elderly and Handicapped Persons

International conference in Vancouver, BC.

Contact: Susan Barker, Transport Canada, 26th floor Tower C, Place de Ville, Ottawa, Ont. K1A 0N5 (613)996-3663

August 15-29

Canadian Women's Study Tour of Nicaragua

Sponsored by Canadian Action for Nicaragua.

Contact: Lorna Hillman in Toronto (416) 534-7273

Fall Issue Deadlines

August 31st for Events
July 15th for all other copy

September 13-16
New Partnerships: Building for the
Future

Conference in Ottawa for the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless. Sponsored by Canadian Association of Housing and Renewal

Officials and the International Council on Social Welfare.

Contact: CAHRO, Box 3312 Stn. D, Ottawa, Ont. K1P 6H8 (613)594-3007

September 28-October 3
World Planning and Housing Congress:
Innovation

The 1986 congress in Adelaide, South Australia will explore dimensions of innovation — but women appear to be excluded (see p. 23).

Contact: Secretariat, World Planning and Housing Congress 1986, Box 2609 GPO, Sydney 2001 Australia

October 15-18

American Association of Housing Educators

Call for symposia, poster sessions, and papers for presentation at the annual meeting in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Submissions are welcome in a variety of topics of interest to researchers, educators, administrators, and change agents. Scholarships may be awarded for worthy students' papers.

Contact: Sharon Burgess, Family Resource Management Dept., Ohio State University, 1787 Neil Ave., Columbus OH 43210

November 5-8

Built Form and Culture Research:
Purposes in Understanding SocioCultural Aspects of Built Environments
This will be an international, interdisciplinary forum organized around two
questions. Why do we need to understand
issues such as cultural change/continuity,
meaning (religious, political, or popular)
in the environment, and the
developed/developing world relationships?
How do these understandings lead to
improved environments, better education,
or better research?

Contact: David G. Saile, School of Architecture and Urban Design, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045

November 6-8 International Congress on Women's Health Issues

This second congress in Halifax will look at the impact of culture, society and public policy on the health and care of women.

Contact: Phyllis Noerager Stern, School of Nursing, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia B3H 3S5

November 6-9

Atlantic Conference on Women and Housing

Conference sponsored by the Nova Scotia Association of Social Workers. Focus will be on sharing information and exploring innovative solutions for meeting the housing needs of women in Atlantic Canada.

Contact: Jane Brackley, c/o Atlantic Conference on Women and Housing, 1094 Tower Rd., Halifax, Nova Scotia B3H 2Y5

November 7-9

Feminists: Retrospect and Prospect Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW) annual meeting in Moncton, New Brunswick. Contact: CRIAW, Rm. 415-151 Slater St., Ottawa, Ont. K1P 5H3 (613) 563-0681

December 8-12

The Use of Human Rights by Disadvantaged Groups

UNESCO experts meeting in Quebec City will focus on specific groups such as the economically disadvantaged, women, the elderly and the differently-abled.

Contact: c/o Women's Programme, Secretary of State, 15 Eddy St., Hull, Quebec K1A 0M5 (819)994-3190

May 29-June 2, 1987

Public Environments: an International Forum on Environmental Design Research

EDRA 18 conference in Ottawa, cosponsored by Canadian government departments. Submissions deadline, October 1, 1986.

Contact: Conference Secretariat, 275 Bay St., Ottawa, Ont. K1R 5Z5

July 6-10, 1987

Women's Worlds: Visions and

Revisions
The Third International Interdisciplinary
Congress on Women will be held at Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland. A variety
of topics will be covered — language,
politics, the nuclear threat, relationships,
sexuality, work, religion and spirituality,
health, violence, education, and environmental/ecological issues. If you wish to
present a paper, send an abstract by the
first of October '86 to: 3rd Int'l Interdisciplinary Congress on Women, 44
Northumberland Rd., Dublin 4, Ireland.
Tel. 688244. Telex 31098



A WORD FROM US

Money and labour; two consistently scarce and overburdened commodities for all Canadian feminist periodicals. W&Es approach to the labour problem at least appears to be unique. Throughout our 10 years we have operated with graduate student assistants assigned to the magazine by the Faculty of Environvental Studies at York University. The contribution of these young women has been as remarkable as it has been insufficiently recognized. Without them, it would not have been possible for the magazine to continue, let alone to develop as it has.

Coming from a wide range of academic and personal backgrounds, their contributions to the magazine have been equally varied: they have set up and maintained the circulation system; they have designed and carried out marketing schemes; one set up our computer system; others have written, edited, researched, designed, drawn, proofread. Their presence has contributed a rich and rewarding dimension as they bring their talents, personalities and vitality to the magazine.

Impermanent as the students are, we nevertheless depend on them heavily — a dependence which has been brought home to us with a shock this Spring, as university and government budget squeezes and reallocations have closed off our previous methods of bridging the four-month gap in the academic year. We face a student-less summer.

We are also caught in the Secretary of State Women's Program budget freeze, making their further support of our first experiment with regular (part-time) staff uncertain. (For more on this situation which has such serious implications for many women's organizations, please turn to p. 26.)

We find ourselves in the common bind of Canada's feminist magazines; how to avoid dependence on insecure external support while sales only generate 60 per cent of our income needs.

We'll tell you how we coped in our next issue, but meanwhile there'll be a big welcome for our students when they return in September!

WOMEN AND ENVIRONMENTS

Vol.8, No. 2, Spring 1986

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Notes from a Feminist Conference at UCLA —



By GAIL LEE DUBROW CAROLYN FLYNN RENEE MARTINEZ JANE PETERSON SEEMIN QAYAM BARBARA SEGAL MARY BETH WELCH

Planning to End Violence Against Women

The Feminist Planners and Designers Group of the University of California, Los Angeles, organized the conference in order to explore the links between urban planning and architecture and the problem of violence against women. It was held on May 4 1985, and drew approximately 200 activists, academics and professional planners. A large number of professionals from outside the planning and design professions were included in the program, so that the conference gathered the people and resources most familiar with the issue.

Our purpose as organizers was two-fold. We hoped to link feminist activists in the grass-roots movement to counter violence against women with urban planning professionals in order to encourage a more activist feminist stance in urban planning and design. We also sought to illuminate the ways in which these professions - through ignorance of the current feminist understanding of violence against women - continue to design environments that are unsafe for women, and to plan in ways which lack understanding of the violence that women face daily, in the urban environment, in homes and workplaces, and in institutions. Most important, perhaps, was our desire to identify, both for feminists within the professions and for activists, the ways in which planning and design professionals can offer their skills to help counter

violence against women.

Some of the panels focused explicitly on the connections between planning and design issues and violence against women; issues including transportation planning, housing and the design of public spaces. Other panels addressed the range of issues involved in violence against women, such as pornography and prostitution.

We found a distinct overlap between grass-roots feminist activism and urban planning in the area of community organizing, and we were able to draw upon the expertise of feminist organizers from Third World communities, both in Los Angeles and around the country, in the discussion on community strategies to counter violence against women. A similar overlap between feminist activism and architecture existed in the area of design of battered women's shelters.

We wanted conference participants to move beyond a solely intellectual understanding of violence against women by confronting the implications of violence in their personal lives. So we showed films to small groups followed by discussions led by trained facilitators. In an evening event, poets, artists and singers offered their own interpretations of the conference theme.

The sections which follow include summaries of many of the conference discussions, and highlight some of the speakers.



Conference participants

See page 27 for conference speakers and contacts.

COUMIESY

Domesticating Urban Space

The phrase, "A woman's place is in the home" has defined much housing policy and urban design in American society. The query "What's a nice girl like you doing in a place like this?" has reflected the pre-vailing attitude toward women in public urban space. Both phrases have their roots in a Victorian model of public and private life. The first involves the patriarchal home as haven; the second defines the Victorian male double standard of sexual morality. Both are implicit rather than explicit principles of urban planning; neither will be stated in large type in textbooks on land use. Both attitudes are linked to a set of nineteenth century beliefs about female passivity and propriety in the domestic setting ("woman's sphere") versus male combativeness and aggression in the public setting ("man's world").

When nineteenth-century men (and women) argued that the good woman was at home in the kitchen with her husband, they implied that no decent woman was out in city streets, going places where men went. Thus, it was "unladylike" for a woman to earn her own living. Because the working woman was no one urban man's property (her father or her husband had failed to keep her at home), she was every urban man's



J.N. Hyde's "Running the Gauntlet," New York City, 1874

property. She was the potential victim of harassment in the factory, in the office, on the street, in restaurants, and in places of amusement such as theaters or parks. While the numbers of employed women and women active in public life have increased, many of these spatial stereotypes and patterns of behavior remain. Just as haven houses hobble employed women, so the double-standard harasses them when they are alone or with their children. Men do not escape this problem. As husbands and fathers they share the stresses of isolated houses and the violent streets they and their wives and children must negotiate. But rarely do men attribute the problems of housing and the city to the Victorian patriarchal views that reserved urban, public life for men only.

Excerpted from Dolores Hayden, Redesigning the American Dream. New York: W.W. Norton, 1984: pp. 209-210. With permission of the author.

Urban Planning, Urban Design and Violence Against Women

Dolores Hayden of UCLA opened the keynote panel by exploring the historical roots of public and private violence against women, locating its origins in what she termed "a Victorian model of private and public life." This model restricted women to the home, while implicitly defining the urban, public sphere as the proper domain of men. Hayden argued that many of these Victorian spatial stereotypes and patterns of behaviour continue to prevail in urban public space. In Hayden's view, removal of sexist images and gender advertisements on billboards, which reinforce narrow conceptions of male and female roles, would be "well within the traditional tasks of urban planning," and a significant step toward making the streets of the city safer for women.

Gerda Wekerle, describing her experiences in 1982-83 on the Metropolitan Toronto Task Force on Public Violence

Against Women and Children, Subcommittee on Urban Design, addressed the difficulties involved in inserting a feminist perspective into the public policy process. Lack of police data on the physical settings where violent crimes occur, for example, is an obstacle to the formulation of urban design guidelines which might reduce opportunities for violent crimes in public places. Wekerle spoke of the need to improve data collection procedures, and placed a priority on integrating women with knowledge and experience in the area of violence against women into the public debate about urban planning and design. (See Women and Environments, 6(2), April 1984 for more on the Task Force.)

Kerry Ann Lobel, who has served both as a member of the Santa Monica Planning Commission and as a former Director of the Southern California Coalition on Battered Women, criticized the traditional adver-

sarial relationship which has evolved between planners and the organizers of battered women's shelters. Activists and advocates for survivors of domestic violence often have found planners unsympathetic or ill-informed about the special needs of battered women and their dependent children for safe shelter. Yet the potential is great for community organizers and planners to work together as "partners for change," as Lobel put it, since much of the knowledge and many of the skills which planners possess are valuable to the shelter movement. Community organizers need to have a clear understanding of the zoning issues involved in locating shelters, and a firm grasp of the range of public resources available to them. Planners can offer concrete assistance to the shelter movement by identifying sites and vacant city property for potential use as battered women's shelters, and help shelter providers move beyond stop-gap efforts toward intermediate and longer range planning to meet community shelter needs. All of the panelists concurred with Lobel's assessment that the potential exists for a fruitful collaboration between planners and activists in the movement to provide safe shelter for battered women.

More Than Just Shelter: Planning to End Violence in the Public Environment

Keynote panelist Catlin Fullwood, current Director of the Southern California Coalition on Battered Women, pointed out that prior to the battered women's movement, perpetrators of violence in our homes and communities were seen as outsiders. The myth of the black rapist has encouraged white communities to believe that by walling themselves in, they could keep violence out. But this myth fails to account for the daily violence women face in homes and on city streets in every community.

Ned Levine and Martin Wachs of UCLA's Urban Planning Program presented findings on public violence against women, based on their telephone survey of 1,088 Los Angeles households. Focusing on bus crime, Levine and Wachs found that 70 per cent of victims were women, a disproportionate number even when weighted against the number of female riders. One out of every four elderly people had been victimized in the previous year; elderly women are frequent targets. The most frequent crimes were purse snatching, pickpocketing and jewelry snatching.

Levine stated that "although the fear of crime is strong, as reflected in public opinion surveys, we actually know little about the environmental conditions that contribute to crime. Meanwhile, we perpetuate the fear and belief that crime is endemic to 'high crime areas,' often seen as areas where low income people and minorities live." From a planning perspective, this belief allows little in the way of public intervention short of isolation and segregation of the area, a rationalization for racism rather than a solution for crime.

Levine and Wachs found, however, that bus crime can be pinpointed to a limited number of geographically dispersed dangerous intersections in Los Angeles. Because they found that a cluster of social and environmental conditions tend to heighten criminal opportunities at particular bus stops, the researchers have suggested that planners can significantly decrease opportunities for crime by changing the location of bus stops and, in some cases, by better organizing crowded transfer points. By designing an information system which can detect the specific locations where crime occurs, we can target police surveillance and make better physical plans for services.

Reverend Ann Hayman, Director of the Mary Magdelene Shelter for Prostitutes, and Molly Lowery, Director of the Los Angeles Men's Shelter, addressed the violence that women who live and work on the streets face. Because of the lack of safe shelters for prostitutes, they depend on pimps and have little opportunity to escape what is frequently a violent life. In Los Angeles County, one prostitute a month is murdered according to police reports, twice as many as ten years ago. Prostitutes report that the sex itself has become more violent. Hayman noted the pervasive role that violence has played in prostitutes' lives. They tend to come from backgrounds where there has been incest, sexual abuse and domestic violence. They are run-aways or pushed-aways who continue as prostitutes because of economic necessity.

The Mary Magdelene Shelter is a residence program that provides counselling, job training, and other services which help women create new lives. The shelter, now six years old, can accommodate six women. More than 35 women have left prostitution with the assistance of this residence program, most of whom live near the shelter and maintain contact.

Molly Lowery, long-time Los Angeles shelter rights activist, discussed the special problems of homeless women by describing three typical experiences:

 Miriam was evicted soon after losing her job as a professional nanny at age 67. While homeless, she was raped in the motel she paid for by hocking her wedding ring. A shelter found her a position as a live-in companion.

• Terry lived with her three children in a car for months after she left her abusive alcoholic husband. Eventually, with the assistance of a shelter, she was able to find a job and save enough money to put down first and last month's rent on an apartment.

• Jean has been homeless and in and out of mental institutions for years. She is frequently a victim of street violence. People throw garbage at her. She has tried various homes, but none has been appropriate to her needs. Is there a home for Jean?

Most problematic, according to Lowery, are the chronically homeless women such as Jean, for 90 per cent of these women have mental health problems. However, it is often difficult to determine whether mental health problems contributed to homelessness, or homelessness contributed to impaired mental health. Moreover, homeless women develop formidable defence strategies to counter constant vulnerability to muggings, rape, beatings and verbal abuse. The reality is that few will bother them if they are filthy or appear to be mad.

The existing shelter system is not designed to serve the needs of chronically homeless, mentally ill women. Lowery described one unique program, the Downtown Women's Center, developed by Jill Halverson in Los Angeles. Halverson converted a warehouse into a comfortable daytime shelter which allows women to get off the streets. Nearby, Halverson is constructing an overnight shelter which incorporates many homelike features, for example individual mailboxes at the door of each separate room.

Lowery concluded that we, as planners and service providers, have to stop thinking that people need to get through crises in two weeks. We have to stop thinking of the chronically homeless as trash while trying to hide them. "Violence is possible and probable when we objectify human beings. When we depersonalize and dehumanize them... our own attitudes kill women on the streets, because we slow down any process for getting them the resources they need by making them invisible."



Catlin Fullwood, Southern California Coalition on Battered Women

PHOTO COURTESY: UCLA DAILY BRUIN

Mary Vogel-Heffernan on **Designing Battered** Women's Shelters

Mary Vogel-Heffernan is an architect, researcher and activist living and working in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area. Herself a former battered woman, Vogel-Heffernan combines personal, political and professional perspectives in her work on violence against women. She has designed the rehabilitation of three shelters for battered women, the first completed in 1981 for Women's Advocates of St. Paul.

Vogel-Heffernan's goal has been to translate the ideals of the battered women's movement into built form. For her, the battered women's shelter should be "a physical expression of the value that women and children have a right to live free from violence."

The Women's Advocates' shelter, a \$450,000 substantial rehabilitation subsidized by Section 8* funds, linked two Victorian single family houses to create a shelter for 28 people. For Vogel-Heffernan, the process of renovating the shelter was a struggle financially, emotionally and architecturally. It would have been simpler to build a new building. But there were assets in the two houses that the Women's Advocates were unwilling to give up; the intrinsic beauty of the houses and their com-

* Dept. of Housing and Urban Development subsidy program



Mary Vogel-Heffernan

patibility with the existing neighbourhood; the residential location, close to public transportation; and the houses' inherent homelike qualities.

To preserve the warm qualities of a Victorian house in a large group shelter, Vogel-Heffernan tried to save as much of the domestic detail as possible. For example, due to fire requirements she had to build two sets of stairs, in the front and back, removing the original central staircase. By setting the front stairs back from the wall, she was able to save the front round window. She also preserved the neighbourhood scale of the houses by making the link unobtrusive; from the street the facility appears as two separate houses.

But there are difficulties in combining security with a place for family living. For example, children need to play outdoors freely. Fire safety requirements for easy egress conflict with security requirements for protection from intrusions. Because 100 per cent security is not possible in any homelike shelter, design issues centre around slowing down the would-be intruder.

At the Women's Advocates' shelter, in addition to the panic buttons built into the structure, sight lines are clear since the site is set back from the street, on a hill. There is a generous front yard, so anyone approaching the residence can be easily observed. But, Vogel-Heffernan added, "the importance of security is not only actual security, but feeling secure." This is accomplished through care and sensitivity to issues such as the need for visibility between mothers and children. One accommodation to that need is the link between the two houses, which serves as a lounge where mothers can watch their children play outdoors.

Functionally, the design of the residence needed to combine places for administration, sleeping, counselling, privacy and community. Lounges are designed at different levels, so that separate childplay areas are possible which can be supervised from quieter adult areas. The kitchen is open enough to allow supervision of children in the adjacent dining room. The communal spaces are open and full of light.

Battered women shelters are not a solution to violence against women, but they are a means to stop the violence against individual women. A feminist-designed shelter is a place where women and their children know they are valued and loved, and where they can grow strong.



Beth Richie

Beth Richie, Coordinator of Social Services within the Victim's Intervention Project, East Harlem Council for Social Services, is a member of the Women of Colour Caucus of the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence. Women of colour organized the caucus in response to the isolation and segregation they faced within the national movement. Despite their inclination to organize separately, they recognized that there was not enough money and support for two battered women's movements. But they struck an agreement with the movement: in return for continuing to work within the national movement, they demanded that combatting racism and fostering diversity be recognized as movement priorities. Richie articulated the sentiments of many Women of Colour when she said, "Racism is violence in my life."

Beth Richie works at the East Harlem Victim's Intervention Project (VIP), a community-based response to violence against women. East Harlem is a predominantly low-income Black and Hispanic community in the north-east corner of Manhattan. When Richie first

came to East Harlem as a social worker, she discovered that although institutional services existed, many women were reluctant to seek help. Moreover, grassroots-based shelters located outside the East Harlem area, were based on a white women's model for domestic violence intervention and took the women out of their families and their community. Thus, Richie explained, they made a plan of their own. "We could not



Beth Richie, Victim's Intervention Project, East Harlem

rely on traditional responses or interventions to domestic violence. Women who are sexually assaulted in our communities do not have the choice of using the criminal justice system. We've devised a way of holding our community accountable for the violence which occurs within it; we've done that because our community is the safest place that we will ever be. And we're safer there, struggling to end violence in our lives, than if we extend ourselves to the general world that repeatedly violates us."

In order to take responsibility for the violence within the community, they decided not to hide the problem of domestic violence. Rather than setting up a shelter with a confidential address, the VIP publicly identifies the homes where violence has occurred. Through a 9 am to 5 pm hotline and system of "safety watchers," a program of information, communication and intervention has been established. When someone notifies the hotline that women or children are being abused, safety watchers go to the home and remain until the violence has stopped, usually encouraging the perpetrator to leave. According to Richie, "the violence is stopping, at least episodically. And community awareness is being raised like you wouldn't believe.'

A Plan of Our Own

The panel entitled "A Plan of Our Own" demonstrated the power and creativity of community-based projects in Latina, Black, and Asian communities. All panelists explained the unique character of their people and emphasized important issues for planners to recognize. Throughout the discussion they voiced an overriding concern that community-based projects must maintain their identities and community control. Such grassroot projects have been places of power and safety for the communities. Grassroot control is the best way to assure safety for Women of Colour.

Panelists described how Women of Colour have effectively been excluded from mainstream services by and for white women. As Catlin Fullwood (Southern California Coalition on Battered Women) noted, such exclusion can be subtle: "You go into a shelter, and there's no one there that looks like you. There's no one there who speaks your language, there's no one there that you have any connection with." Fullwood added that despite accomplishments of white feminist projects, these services did not acknowledge the needs of Women of Colour, lesbians, disabled women, women from different cultures, and women with different languages. She emphasized that the movement was passively

allowing violence to continue for Third World Women.

So Women of Colour began creating safe places of their own. Teresa Contreras (East LA Hotline) and Nilda Rimonte (Every Woman's Shelter) discussed important examples in their communities. During times of crisis and when discussing intimate matters, women need to be able to use their own language. In response to this need, the Every Woman's Shelter staff speaks nine languages; they serve the Los Angeles Asian/Pacific Islander communities which use 40 languages. The successful East Los Angeles Rape Hotline has been used as a bilingual model for projects nationwide.

Another important issue raised is the role of law enforcement in Third World communities. Unlike white communities which have lobbied for increased law enforcement to protect against violence, police presence in Third World communities is problematic. "We want batterers, perpetrators of violent crimes to stop and be held accountable," Fullwood explained "But, do we want to unleash law enforcement into our communities? It's hard enough for a woman of colour to leave her community, to go out into the world, into the dominant culture and say 'I am battered, I am a victim of violence against women.' Many communities perceive this as an act of extreme disloyalty. To call law enforcement, who have been known to be brutal in Third World communities, is to bring violence."

Contreras highlighted an additional concern of Chicano/Latino communities regarding law enforcement. In Southern California undocumented workers and political refugees number in hundreds of thousands. For these communities police presence represents separation and violence; fearing deportation, women would rather remain silent than seek help. In immigrant communities language and cultural barriers further complicate the issue of police intervention.

Minority community projects have provided a place where Women of Colour can confront the violence against them without betraying their families or communities. Such projects are founded on respect for the values and traditions of each community, thus the success of their community education programs which attempt to change attitudes and increase awareness about violence against women.

Despite the need for a broader range of services and more community education, most community-based projects are plagued with funding difficulties. Resource constraints force programs to limit services. Currently, most available public funds have strict cost/benefit criteria which overlook qualitative progress, especially that of raising community awareness. According to Fullwood, government funding is a mixed blessing. Projects want increased funding but not on terms that dilute grassroots control.

Partners for Change: An Agenda for Planners, Designers and Feminist Activists

The broad range of issues covered during the UCLA Feminist Planners and Designers' Group conference "Planning to End Violence Against Women" reflects the complex social and economic forces which render our environments unsafe for women. What follows is a discussion of some of the ways in which urban planners, architects and feminist activists can work together to counter this problem. Some of these suggestions arose from the conference itself; others resulted from the many discussions we as conference organizers held both in planning the conference and in preparing this article.

Clearly, to accomplish all that follows would require a fundamentally new social order: one which is oriented towards providing for people's human needs rather than protecting their property, and one which recognizes the complex inter-relationships of sexism, racism and the profit-oriented economy which generates much of the urban environment in which we live. With the caveat that we see violence against women as rooted in a larger social and economic system, let us stress that we see many specific, material ways in which planners and architects can help — ways which may not end violence towards all women but will certainly help many individuals carry on a larger struggle.

Much of the conference focussed on violence in the public urban environment, and the actions which planners and architects can take to counter it. For example, organizers can help communities demand the removal of sexist billboard images which reinforce narrow conceptions of male and female roles and add to the possibility that women will be seen as vulnerable or objectified. Transportation planners can use an understanding of the violence women face as bus commuters to change the location of dangerous bus stops, or to design new shelters for crowded transfer points. Architects can integrate parking with the central activities on a site rather than placing them on the periphery and hiding them with hedges and foliage; deserted and poorly lit parking lots are frequent places for rapes and muggings.

More generally, architects and urban designers can incorporate into their work an awareness of the social consequences of design: streets with inadequate lighting and unsafe public entries to buildings are often accessible only to men after dark. In a social climate where women's freedom is restricted anyway (women are often encouraged to stay home rather than travel alone) unsafe urban design can exacerbate the sense that the city is for men, the home for women. Feminist activists have organized "Take Back the Night" marches in cities throughout North America to counter this notion.

Several speakers at the conference shared their experience as community organizers working to aid survivors of violence against women, as well as to counter directly the incidence of violence in their communities. There are many ways for urban planners to work with these activists. For example, planners in social service agencies can try to increase funding levels for battered women's shelters, as well as for all local community organizations which work to counter violence against women. Planners can also encourage more flexible measures of program effectiveness which recognize racial and ethnic diversity, and support alternative grassroots strategies, as well as the absolute need for communities to retain control over their own programs and organizations. Community organizers can urge existing groups to expand their concerns to address violence against women. Neighbourhood Watch groups are the obvious example; the Victim's Interventions Project in East Harlem can serve as a

Finally, organizers of a battered women's shelter need information about local zoning issues and building codes which will regulate location and renovation. Planners can keep aware of shelter activities and can assist with such questions, as well as help identify possible sites and vacant city property for shelters. In many communities, a Commission on the Status of Women could be a lobbying force to allocate state and local planning department resources and staff to these issues.

Housing was a major issue at the conference, particularly because shelters and housing play such a key role in the life of a battered woman. The lack of affordable housing for women with children often makes it impossible for a battered woman to leave her situation. While individual planners can not change the funding climate

to provide large numbers of affordable units, they can support and develop proposals for HUD-sponsored "transitional housing" for battered women who have just left their husbands. Transitional housing projects are designed with the assumption that housing is not merely shelter, but a social context in which a continuum of needs - for social support, job training, and child care — can be met. The widening definition of the role of housing is also evident in the principles of self-empowerment and personal transformation on which the feministbased battered women's shelter is built, a model which planners can use for new shelters, whether for battered women, the homeless, runaways or prostitutes, in which a home-like, nurturing atmosphere replaces an institutional one.

We see many ways in which academics in urban planning and design can help counter violence against women. Researchers can incorporate existing feminist scholarship on violence into their work on transportation, housing, the built environment, community development and regional planning. Researchers can also pioneer new approaches to their studies - whether on the built environment, housing policy, or community planning — which further investigate the relationship between violence against women, and architecture and urban planning. Finally, researchers can work closely with grassroots feminist organizers so that their needs for research on particular issues can help set a more activist research agenda.

Academics can also incorporate the issues raised during the conference into their teaching, reaching the next generation of planners and designers in their formative stages. In a transportation planning class, for example, an assignment can be to design an escort service for a large university with the objective of increasing women's safety without limiting their freedom. Teachers of community development can ask their students to develop a program which would allow women to escape violent situations, move to safe and affordable housing, support their families, and still remain in their own community. Architecture and design teachers can stipulate that students consider office workers' personal safety in the design of office buildings, reevaluating offices, hallways, entrances, and parking structures in this light.

In sum, we believe that real change can come through daily, incremental actions. There are many possibilities for a fruitful collaboration between planners, architects and feminist activists to work to end violence against women, many more than suggested here. We hope that the conference "Planning to End Violence Against Women" was a positive step towards making that collaboration a reality.

Perceptions of

in the Urban Environment

By BELINDA LEACH ELLEN LESIUK PENNY E. MORTON

en and women perceive their environments differently, but it remains unclear why women are fearful in an environment where men tend to feel comfortable. Mazey and Lee¹ found that while both men and women are susceptible to danger, popular belief holds that men are better equipped to deal with it because of their strength and more aggressive personalities. This suggests the traditional argument that women belong in the home, and should prompt feminists and policy makers to consider the dangers women face outside their homes.²

Indications that administrators and women are aware of the problem of assaults on women on university campuses surface from time to time. For example, York University in Toronto is going into its fourth year of operation of a campus escort service, while another Canadian university, McMaster, is considering an escort service for women, but advises its female students to avoid walking alone or working late on campus. The University of Toronto Students' Association plans to publish a campus map indicating where telephones, porters and other 24-hour services are available. Such measures are intended to

reduce women's fears and improve their perception of the environment as a relatively safe place.

The study discussed here, carried out between January and April 1984, examined women's perceptions of fear at night on a Canadian University campus, and attempts to relate this fear to environmental features. It was hoped that the results could be used to try to develop some policy recommendations which would assist women in moving around the campus safely.

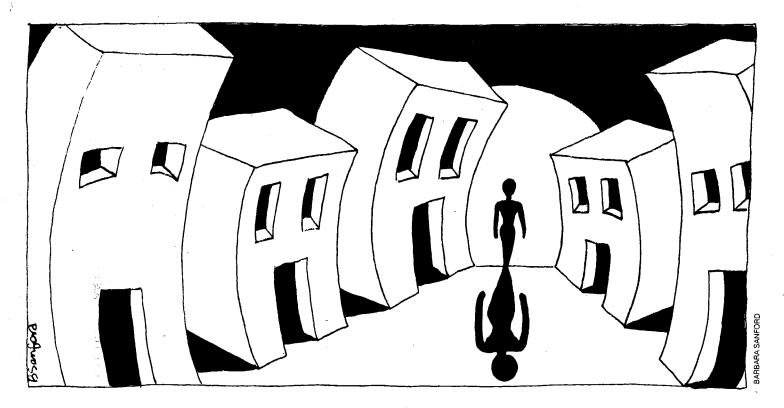
One of the discomforts women face outside their homes is harassment in various forms, the most common being street hassling. Mazey and Lee relate this kind of harassment to the environment, arguing "that streets, sidewalks, and other spaces, where men roam freely, become zones of hostile space for women." Street harassment may appear to be harmless fun to men, but a study carried out in the US in 19813 discovered that 15 per cent of this activity is deliberately aimed at humiliating women. Fear of harassment, and no less legitimately of rape, leads to a general female apprehension of the environment and in particular of areas traditionally associated with men. As a result, women are effectively denied access to these areas.

Gordon et al⁴ undertook an empirical study dealing with women, crime and the quality of urban life in the US. The authors took as their point of departure a 1972 poll which showed that 50 per cent of women, compared to only 20 per cent of men, were afraid to walk in their neighbourhoods at night. Women's fear of rape, the apparent

unwillingness of society to deal with it effectively, and the consequent restriction on women's behaviour is often seen by feminists as a form of social control. As Gordon et al. express it: "the fear of rape keeps women off the streets at night, keeps women at home, keeps women passive." In Gordon's study, 49 per cent of the women and only 4.5 per cent of the men felt very unsafe when walking alone at night. Fortyeight per cent of the women, compared to 25 per cent of the men, responded that they were thinking of their own safety all or most of the time. Most women perceived themselves to be physically vulnerable (slower and weaker) compared both to men and to a mythical "average" woman. To deal with these perceived disadvantages, women develop lifestyles that include restrictions on their freedom and an increased use of safety precautions, such as staying at home or avoiding parts of the environment, which supposedly reduce their chances of being victimized.

This is the background of gender differences in perception of the environment, and the very real reasons for those differences, against which the study of the Carleton campus in Ottawa was conducted. Like many of its contemporaries built in the 1960s, Carleton University is a suburban campus. It is bounded on two sides by waterways and on the third by a major road. It is landscaped so that exits from buildings may be on one floor at one end of a building and on another floor at the other. Trees and bushes add to the attractiveness of the campus. A railroad track bisects the

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entire area. The campus is set apart from the general city traffic flow so there is little through traffic. A complex network of underground tunnels connects all the buildings on the campus. This study was limited to the tunnel system and above ground routes since attempting to include the interior of buildings would have overcomplicated collection and analysis of data.

A questionnaire was administered to 114 female students, asking them to identify locations they perceived as fearful and to give their reasons for this. It was decided to concentrate on the responses of women since a pilot sample revealed that most men felt no fear on the campus. The sample was representative of Carleton's student population in terms of age, faculty, use of buildings and use of the campus during the evening. Upon collection of the questionnaires, the number of mentions for each location was tabulated, the objective being to measure the frequency that fear was perceived in any one area. The locations were mapped and the reasons given were analyzed in terms of the physical characteristics of the landscape to which this fear might apply.

Respondents mentioned pathways, bus stops, parking lots and tunnels most frequently as spaces in which they perceived fear at night: pathways because they were remote from buildings and felt to be too deserted in the evening; bus stops because they were considered poorly lit and deserted; parking lots because they were relatively dark and empty. A six-storey parking garage was described as having the

same characteristics. The enclosed stairwell and limited exits were cited as additional reasons for avoiding it. The entire boundary of the campus along the Rideau Canal was frequently mentioned, as was one area in the centre of the campus. On investigation, both these areas were found to be badly illuminated, largely deserted at night and heavily wooded.

The underground tunnel complex was perceived to be potentially dangerous by a large number of respondents because it was not well travelled and was poorly lit. Women described the tunnels as having many hiding places and some women felt there was no means of escape in the event of danger. Many respondents stated that they would never use the tunnels at night. They also felt that graffiti on the walls increased the threatening nature of the tunnels. Overall, it appeared that they evoked more fear than the above ground pathways.

It is interesting that the above ground area most frequently avoided is also a tunnel, one which runs under the railway tracks. There are three light standards in its vicinity but all are some distance from the tunnel openings. The tunnel itself is lit inside, but on examination it was found that two of the lights were out. The area around the tunnel entrances is heavily surrounded by bushes obscuring the exit. When a person enters the tunnel, it is not possible to see the other end because it dips in the centre. Respondents also mentioned that the sound of their footsteps echoing gives one the

sense of being followed. Although it is located in a well-travelled area, pedestrians tend to avoid the tunnel. The path which crosses the train tracks is used instead.

Overall, the three most cited reasons for perceiving fear on the campus after dark were poor lighting (mentioned 60 times), isolation or few people around (mentioned 58 times), and the possibility of hiding places (mentioned 14 times). Another reason, listed 6 times, was the absence of an escape route in case of danger. The results suggest that, in some cases, although areas may in fact fairly well lit, the respondents perceived the lighting to be inadequate. The absence of people may also suggest the lack of a visible security service.

At the time of the study some areas of the campus were under construction. These were avoided because they were dark and confined. Other general comments included fear of mugging at the automatic teller machine, fear of unfamiliar places, and the fact that the university is accessible to individuals not involved in campus activities. One respondent said she had seen a "flasher" but since she did not state the location, it was not possible to determine if this supported other respondents' fears. Several respondents stated they had heard about assaults, but did not expand on the nature of the incident or the specific location. Seven respondents indicated that they experienced no fear on campus. One admitted she never used the campus at night and others felt that if they were to experience an unpleasant situation, their perceptions would change.

The precautions women take in the evening while on campus are very similar to those cited in the Gordon study. These authors stressed the self-protective behaviour women resort to, including not leaving home and avoiding parts of the city after dark. Although the questionnaire for

exacerbate women's fears.

In an attempt to protect women students, the Carleton Students' Association proposed a walk-home service, where men would be available to escort women to their destinations. This "solution" simply reinforces women's dependence on men (or other women) for protection. The Ottawa

effect and, in addition, gives a woman selfprotection. It then seems reasonable to promote actively, at the very least, on-campus self-defence courses for women students and staff.

3 Women could be made more aware of both the risks they take and of the strategies they can adopt to decrease those risks. Bringing women's fears of the environment into full consciousness while at the same time presenting them with positive ways to deal with them will lessen their status as potential victims. Either the Women's Centre or the office of the Status of Women Coordinator could become the focus for the development and implementation of programs to effect both 2 and 3.

4 The existing committee dealing with changes in the campus' physical environment (lighting, landscaping, bus stops, parking lots, new developments, etc.) should be expanded to include a woman with a feminist planning perspective, and familiar with problems encountered by urban

women.

1. M.L. Mazey and D.R. Lee, Her Space, Her Place. Washington: Association of American Geographers, 1983.

2. For an opposing view, see L. Lofland, "Women and Urban Public Space," Women and Environments 6(2) April 1984.

3. C. Bernard and E. Schlaffer, "The man in the Street: Why He Harasses," Ms. Magazine, May

4. M.T. Gordon, S. Rizer, R.K. LeBally, L. Heath, "Crime, Women and the Quality of Urban Life," Signs 5, 1980: 5144-60.

5. Within the last year, a chainlink fence has been erected along parts of the railroad tracks to prevent people from crossing over them and force them to use the tunnels constructed underneath the tracks

An air of confidence decreases a woman's risk of becoming a victim. An ability to defend oneself has the same effect.

the Carleton study did not request this information, it generated spontaneous disclosures of the types of precautions women use on campus. These included travelling with someone else, avoiding the tunnels completely, and ensuring there was someone to meet them after evening classes. This reliance on others and avoidance of certain areas clearly supports the findings of Gordon et al.

The concerns of women revealed in this study are not reflected in the policies of decision-makers. In response to rising energy costs, lighting on campus has been dimmed and, in some cases, entirely eliminated. In a successful attempt to beautify the campus, the university has unwittingly created possible hiding places by planting conifers and shrubs. Because the railway tracks are private property, the university administration has tried to promote the use of the tunnel under the tracks.5 These three examples may, in fact,

City police stated that a woman walking alone is both a necessary and sufficient condition providing the opportunity for assault. This implies that if women never travelled alone there would be no assaults. Superficially this may be true, but such a view serves only to promote women's perceptions of themselves as potential victims. These measures are similar to those implemented at the other universities mentioned above and, like those, are simply stop-gap solutions, inadequate to deal with the problem.

The following policy recommendations are considered both more useful and more appropriate to a feminist perspective on women's fears of urban violence:

1 It is well known that an air of confidence decreases women's risk of becoming a victim. Since badly lit areas appear to elicit fear, better lighting would decrease fear, increase confidence, and reduce the risk of becoming a victim.

2 An ability to defend oneself has the same

Campus Transport for Women in Wisconsin

The need for safe transportation for female students is currently being met by two University of Wisconsin campuses. Separate volunteer-run, non-profit organizations known as the Women's Transit Authority (WTA), provide safe, no-cost rides to women who have no other means of transportation at night. Started in 1973 by a small group of women in the city of Madison (population

171,590), WTA has provided safe rides every night of the year from 7 pm to 2 am. Driving and dispatching is done by approximately 150 volunteers who use cars, vans and occasionally taxi cabs for over-flow to pick up women who phone for a ride within a four mile radius of the state capitol building. Since its inception. hundreds of thousands of women have been provided with safe transportation. The WTA office, located in a community building off campus, also works in cooperation with related services such as the Rape Crisis Center and Madison's Dane County Advocates for Battered Women, by giving rides to women in dangerous situations. Funding is from the City of Madison and the University of Wisconsin, as well as from individual donations.

In an urban setting of 629,256 residents, the WTA at the University of

Wisconsin campus in Milwaukee offers transportation Monday through Friday, 7:30 pm to 11 pm to both women students and faculty during the Fall, Spring and Summer sessions. As with the Madison service, the primary users are low-income females. Drivers of two station wagons provide rides in an approximate 2 mile radius of the campus. Funding is currently from allocations by the University Student Government.

Both of these WTA services work to prevent assaults that may occur when women walk alone. They operate to give equal access to educational opportunities as well as increasing women's mobility at night.

Kathy Lestina Graduate of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning University of Wisconsin, Milwanker - **By Our Bootstraps:**

Community Economic Development for Women

Community economic development (CED) as an approach to solving problems created by poverty and unemployment can be an especially constructive model for women who wish to break out of the cycle of dependency and powerlessness that has reinforced the "feminization of poverty" in North America.

Broadly, CED includes any development strategy that creates and strengthens organizations in low-income neighbourhoods so that a community becomes more self-sufficient in gaining access to capital, goods and services. Examples include formation of credit unions, job creation strategies, housing and other kinds of cooperatives, community-owned shopping centres and health facilities, retail businesses and social service ventures.

The National Economic Development and Law Center (NED&LC) in Berkeley, California, is a public interest law and planning organization which for 16 years has provided technical assistance to community based groups and policy advice to government agencies across the United States. NED&LC recognizes the particularly disadvantaged position of low-income women, and takes the position that the feminization of poverty requires CED practitioners to "examine their current activities and policies in light of research showing how poor women and children benefit, or don't benefit, from social and economic programs designed to ameliorate the economic conditions of low-income people.'

The Centre publishes a bi-monthly Report which frequently focusses on topics of specific interest to low-income women; a special issue in 1984 on Women and Community Economic Development surveyed a range of approaches, resources and examples, and is "must" reading for anyone interested in CED strategies for women.

Tasks that have kept women at low economic levels and dependent on men or welfare can be used to create thriving businesses. Taking domestic work as an example, MOM (Mothers of Many, a Southern rural organization) has developed and is marketing MOM's Cleanall, a household cleansing product which they hope will generate profits to support a learning centre for poor pre-school children, and an after-school enrichment program.



MOM's choice of business venture was based on the fundamental economic development principle of "import substitution;" replacing national brands with a local product creates community employment and keeps income within the area.

The Good Neighbor Settlement House, serving primarily low-income women and their families in the border town of Brownsville, Texas, is typical of many non-profit organizations that provide goods or services that can be sold to new markets. It is exploring the feasibility of a Women's Exchange, which would market and collect a commission on the handiwork of women in its young mothers' club, through which women learn various arts and crafts skills.

A battered women's shelter in Hawaii is developing a wholesale plant nursery with the immediate objective of providing training in horticulture and small-business management to shelter residents. The project's long-term goal is to provide income to support the shelter's services.

Successful housing development requires that an organization have certain assets, including access to working capital, development experience and community connections; joint venturing with a more experienced or wealthier partner is a way that many community organizations have developed low-income housing. Using a combination of public and private money, the California Progressive Black Business and Professional Women, Inc. developed a three-building, 88 unit housing complex for low-income elderly in Oakland. Encouraged by its success, the organization incorporated as a community development corporation

and has made its expertise available to local groups.

Another California experience is in Oakland, where a medical centre has joined with the local community to form the Drew Economic Development Corporation, which is developing — among other projects — a 50-unit housing complex to serve institutional staff and community residents. This is an innovative project (designed by Dubnoff and (Dolores) Hayden) that links affordable housing with child care for single parents and families in which both parents work.

The project is being funded by a complex mix of government and private foundation sources. As US federal government support for social and community development programs is slashed, frozen or wiped out, local governments become a more significant actor in the economic development process, and the situation exists for closer linkages with other resources controlled by the cities

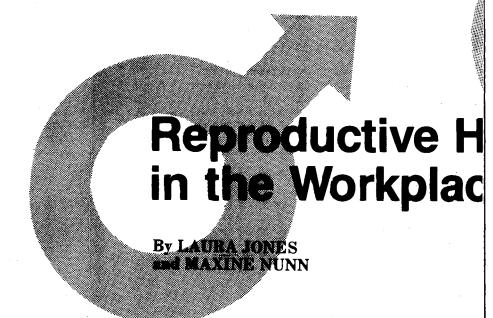
The concept of CED is not perfect, but it's exciting when it works well. The model of women, heretofore dependent, unemployed and powerless, taking control of their own lives, creating and operating their own projects and businesses, and passing their skills on to others, seems a much more positive solution to poverty than the debilitating cycle of inadequate welfare payments.

The National Economic Development and Law Center is at 1950 Addison St., Berkeley, CA 94704 (405) 548-2600. Subscription to the Report is \$20 for individuals, \$40 for institutions.

"Just a quick look at the industries in our own community . . . reveals all kinds of potential reproductive hazards Lead fumes in the electronics industry, mercury in the battery plant, more solvents in the paint plant, ethylene oxide in the local hospital. And the list goes on.

But the potential of the hazard really hits you when the mother of a damaged child walks through your door to tell you about her exposures when she was pregnant. Then you understand just how devastating it can be.'

Bonnie Heath, Director of LAMP Occupational Health Program.



has been estimated that as many as 500,000 chemicals are in use today by industry. All but a few hundred of these have come on the market since World War II, with some 3,000 new chemicals being synthesized each year. Yet only three per cent of these chemicals have been subjected to rigorous testing for potential carcinogenic or reproductive effects. In addition, scientists and medical professionals admit that they know little about the reproductive effects of most substances. It is not surprising, therefore, that workers often find themselves unwittingly exposed to substances and conditions which may damage their health or their capacity to have healthy offspring.

Workplace exposure to a variety of chemicals and different forms of radiation can affect reproduction in a number of ways, depending on the substance and the duration involved. Effects can range from reduction of libido and sexual potency, to

imately the third to the twelfth week of gestation, the fetus is very susceptible to damage by teratogenic substances like lead, mercury, cadmium and benzene. This period is one of rapid growth during which the fetal cells become differentiated and body parts are formed. Maternal exposure during this time in particular, may result in termination

of the pregnancy or gross abnormalities in the child. Some teratogens, like radiation, directly affect and damage the fetus.² Federal and provincial legislation in Canada fails to safeguard workers from potential reproductive hazards. Testing for reproductive effects is not required by law and there is little regulation of potentially hazardous substances in the workplace. In Ontario, the most heavily industrialized province in the country, only four substances known to cause reproductive effects (lead, mercury, vinyl chloride and

male or female sterility and miscarriages, to

severe birth defects in children. These birth

defects can occur in two ways. First, ex-

posure to certain substances, known as

mutagens, can cause genetic changes in

sperm and egg cells before conception.

Depending on the severity of the changes

which result, mutagens can cause disease or birth defects in future children, or prevent

fetal development and lead to miscarriage

or stillbirth. Other substances, known as

teratogens (defect-causing agents), are of

concern after conception takes place, and

may damage a fetus even before a woman is

aware that she is pregnant. From approx-

ethylene oxide) are controlled in the work environment. Guidelines for other chemicals of concern do exist but they are not legally enforceable, and many workers contend that standards are too low to ensure safety.

Although further regulatory legislation in Ontario is pending, the process is extremely slow and cannot deal adequately with the mass of chemicals already in use, not to mention the additional ones being introduced at a rate of almost 10 a day.

Enforcement of such legislation is also a problem. At present there are only 25 government health and safety inspectors monitoring some 25,000 industrial establishments in the largest Ontario city, Toronto.

There is little emphasis on occupational health problems in medical schools and few, if any, faculties offer specialization in teratology, the study of abnormal fetal development and malformations.

One of the few medical clinics which deal with occupational illnesses and reproductive problems is LAMP in Etobicoke, Ontario. LAMP (Lakeshore Area Multi-Service Project) is a social-service centre, community health facility, and a source of information and assistance to residents in the area. In operation for nearly 10 years, LAMP's more than a dozen participating agencies offer a wide range of services including counselling, health care, children's day care, home support, recreational and social services for seniors, and a dental clinic.

The authors are community health educators in Toronto. Laura Jones was successful earlier this year in pressuring a local public school to improve air quality by replacing sealed windows with ones that open.



Two years ago LAMP also initiated an *Occupational Health Program* which offers information, diagnostic and treatment services to people who suspect they are suffering from work-related health problems. The staff at LAMP recognizes that work-related illnesses are not limited to industrial settings. Offices, health-care institutions, schools, artists' studios and numerous other work environments, including the home, can harbour toxic substances. Any individual who is concerned about occupational health can contact the clinic for help—no referral is necessary.

Workers who are in contact with provincially regulated substances are required by law to undergo medical examinations prior to beginning a job, and at regular intervals throughout its duration. This is another LAMP service. Costs are covered by Ontario's Health Insurance Plan, the provincial Workers' Compensation Board, or in some cases by employers.

The centre's clients are encouraged to become actively involved in their own health care, and decisions about treatment and referrals are made cooperatively by both LAMP staff and clients.

Workers who are concerned about their health often find that they need to improve their knowledge about occupational health hazards. For this reason, the centre makes a wide variety of written materials available to clients and organizes public meetings on occupational health and safety issues. Topics covered to date have included PCB's (Polychlorinated biphenyls), solvents, occupational carcinogens and most recently, reproductive hazards in the workplace.

Stan Gray heads the Ontario Workers' Health Centre in Hamilton. It is open to all workers, union or non-union, from any industry. According to Gray, half of the centre's clients are women. Many of them work in traditional women's job ghettos. "(There) are cleaners who are affected by solvents, the electronics industry where women are affected by lead and freon... office workers, textile workers suffering the effects of cotton dusts and women who are victims of sexual harassment."

Before setting up the Ontario Workers' Health Centre, Gray was the director of the Hamilton Workers' Occupational Health and Safety Centre, a clinic funded by Local 1005 of the United Steelworkers of America. It was there that he first became aware of the problems associated with

reproductive hazards. According to Gray, they quickly became an important focus when a female worker by the name of Saskia Post approached him and his staff. A mother from Brampton, Ontario, she was exposed to a mixture of styrene, vinyl chloride, and ABS (a complex of acrylonitrile butadiene and styrene) during her ninth week of pregnancy while tending a machine which vacuum-formed plastic items. She worked in a room with poor ventilation, had no access to a respirator, and was not supplied with safety instructions.

Post subsequently gave birth to a son who was severely retarded and almost completely blind. In response, she sued her employer, English Plastics Inc., for \$7 million in damages. Her actions have done much to publicize the need for improved working conditions to minimize reproductive hazards. This is a precedent setting case, for it is the first time that a suit has been brought forward on behalf of a baby who has suffered damage while in utero.

It is important to keep in mind that reproduction may be affected when either the female or the male parent is exposed to a damaging agent. For instance, women who work with anaesthetic gases in operating rooms and dental offices experience higher than normal incidences of spontaneous abortions, stillbirths and children born with birth defects. A recent study on female anaesthetists found that they had twice the rate of infertility compared to the unexposed female population.

However, these gases can also cause reduced male fertility and sperm abnormalities, resulting in increased incidences of miscarriage, premature births and birth defects (30 per cent above the national average according to one study) in wives of male operating-room and dental personnel.

Exposure to mercury, PCB's, solvents

POINTS AT WHICH WORKPLACE HAZARDS MAY AFFECT REPRODUCTION

PRIOR TO CONCEPTION

Menstrual disorders Interference with sexual functions

Lowered fertility

Mutations — genetic damage in male & female germ cells can be passed on to children and result in disease or birth defects. Can also cause miscarriage or stillbirths.

AT CONCEPTION

Difficulties in conceiving a child (e.g. by interfering with the sperm's ability to fertilize the egg)

DURING PREGNANCY

Teratogens can cause miscarriage, stillbirth, cancer, disease, or birth defects as a result of substances crossing the mother's placenta and reaching the developing fetus (e.g. certain drugs, chemicals and viruses) or by direct action, such as radiation exposure

ON THE NEWBORN

Toxic effects on development of baby as a result of chemicals transmitted to child in mother's breast milk

ON THE CHILD

Toxic effects on development of child from exposure to substances omitted into the environment around a workplace, or brought home on a parent's clothes

Excerpted from "Workplace Hazards to Reproduction," by Jennifer Penney, in *Health Alert*, November 1978; reprinted in *Healthsharing*, Summer 1985.

and pesticides can cause infertility in both men and women.

Vinyl chloride fumes from the production of plastics can cause chromosomal and gene abnormalities. Female workers in plastics plants and the wives of male workers are more prone to miscarriage and stillbirth than other women.

Corporate policy eliminates "potentially pregnant" workers rather than hazards.

In the United States, the electronics industry is the largest employer of all manufacturing sectors. Nearly one million women now work in electronics production in the US alone, and hundreds of thousands more work for US companies in countries like Mexico, Taiwan and the Philippines.4 Despite the rapid development of this industry, not a single study has been performed on the health of workers in the hitech industry. That also means that few, if any, of the chemicals that female microelectronics workers are exposed to have been tested for reproductive effects. The hazards associated with widely used glycol ether solvents are particularly worrisome. These chemicals are known to impair sperm development and cause severe birth defects in the offspring of test animals exposed to low doses.

Though not a "reproductive hazard" as such, infant exposure to dangerous chemicals through breast milk is a related problem. A nursing mother in Halifax, Nova Scotia, inhaled tetrachloroethylene, a dry cleaning solvent, during lunch hour visits to her husband's workplace. Their baby developed a serious liver disease due to the presence of the solvent in the mother's milk. Many substances, including mercury, cadmium lead, carbon disulphide, PCB's and some pesticides pass into breast milk.

One reproductive hazard which is regulated in Ontario workplaces is lead. However, the government regulation differentiates between men and women. For men, blood-lead levels may not exceed 0.70 mg/L. The allowable standard for women of child-bearing age is substantially lower – 0.40 mg/L. In addition, many industries in Ontario and elsewhere exclude women completely from jobs with high lead exposure.

At first glance, these exclusionary practices appear reasonable. Women who anticipate having children would no doubt be

reluctant to take on a job which may increase the risk to mother and child. But others, who have no immediate plans for a family, resent being considered potentially pregnant by employers and government bodies. In the US, exclusionary practices have prompted labour and women's organizations to form the Coalition for Reproductive Rights of Workers (CRROW). In its statement of purpose, CRROW committed itself to "exposing the corporate policy of eliminating workers rather than hazards. It will seek an end to the unacceptable choice between a job and a right to reproduce."

There is also concern that these exclusionary and/or differential approaches to employee protection from reproductive hazards put men at risk. Lead, like many other agents, can adversely affect both sexes. The Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Co. in Manitoba has set different lead-exposure limits for men and women and the company confines its blood-lead testing to women only.

It has also been pointed out that women are only "protected" in this manner if they work in traditionally male occupations.

Only 3 percent of the 500,000 chemicals in use today have been rigorously tested for potential carcinogenic or reproductive effects.

Lynn Kaye, of Canada's National Action Committee on the Status of Women asserts that such protection is not extended, for example, to women teachers and nurses who are exposed to rubella and other diseases known to cause medical disturbances to the developing fetus.

While speaking at a National Association of Women and Law Conference last year, Marianne Levitsky of Times Change Women's Employment Service enumerated some suggestions offered by various labour and women's groups for changes in this area:

- Exposure limits for hazardous substances should be lowered to a level that would protect the most sensitive;
- Workers should have access to information on all known or suspected reproductive effects of the substances to which they are exposed:
- No person should be denied a job because

it is presumed that they will adopt a reproductive role. Both sexes should have the right to refuse unsafe work during defined sensitive periods. During such times they should have the right to other work or to equivalent compensation without loss of original job, income, benefits or seniority.

The workplace must be made safe. The solution is not to remove women from certain jobs, but to make occupations safer for everyone. Proposed "Right-to-Know" amendments to the Ontario Occupational Health and Safety Act are a step in the right direction. If passed, these changes will require employers to make information on known hazardous substances (some 5,000 of the 500,000 in use) publicly available. Data sheets on these substances, including accident procedure information, will be required in workplaces where they are being used. Warning labels will also be required, as well as training programs for workers handling hazardous materials.

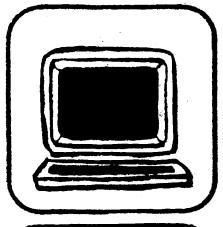
In the US, 31 states and a number of cities and other localities have passed their own worker Right-to-Know laws. A federal Right-to-Know standard also exists. It requires manufacturers, importers, and distributors to provide workers with information on hazardous substances and labelling of chemical containers.

Enforcement of proposed and existing health and safety legislation must be stepped up as well as programs for evaluating existing workplace hazards. Generic legislation limiting exposure to whole categories of hazards at a time needs to be introduced and more thorough testing should be done *before* a new chemical is introduced into the workplace. Where information is available, less toxic substances should be substituted for known hazards wherever possible. Where substitution is not feasible, exposure must be minimized in every possible way.

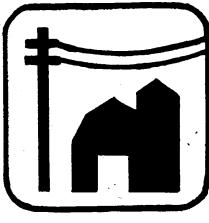
These recommended changes will cost money, but they are essential if reproductive damage is to be prevented. The cost and personal pain of sterility, miscarriage, still births and birth defects is immeasurable. Prevention is imperative.

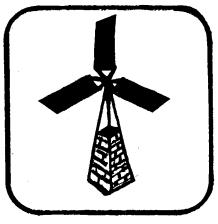
- 1. J. Penney, "Workplace Hazards to Reproduction," Health Alert, Nov. 1978.
- 2. *Ibid*.
- 3. D. Field, "Beyond Male Bias in Occupational Health," *Healthsharing* 6(3) 1985.
- 4. A. Spake, "A New American Nightmare?," Ms 14 (9) 1985.
- 5. M. Langton, "Double Exposure: The Fight Against Reproductive Hazards in the Workplace," *Healthsharing* 1(4) 1980.
- 6. Ibid.
- 7. J. Edgar, "Your Right to Know," Ms 14(9) 1985.

Women's Attitudes Towards New Technology



By JEANNE FAGNANI



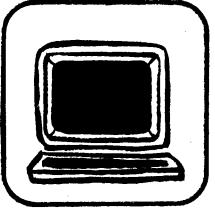


Women in professional fields are becoming increasingly affected in their work by the introduction of new computer-based technology. To a large extent their professional advancement depends on their ability to respond to the changes that this technology imposes, and the success of their adaptation will in turn vary according to the requirements of their particular profession as well as to individual circumstances such as age, likelihood of promotion, socio-cultural origin, etc. These observations, however, could apply equally to the experience of their male colleagues; so, if there are differences for women, where are they to be found?

Growing numbers of women, particularly in the tertiary, or service, sector of the economy, are entering the area of public computer information and computerized office information systems. Professions which are traditionally male and which require the use of sophisticated technology, such as engineering and scientific research, are increasingly attracting young women who, however, remain greatly under-represented in these areas. While sexual inequalities are becoming less pronounced in many sectors, women are still largely excluded from the technological world, at least at the conceptual and decision-making levels. But what are their attitudes towards these new technologies and others? Marginal as women have been and still are to scientific fields, and







REMNE SCOTT

confined for the most part to the role of user, are their attitudes different from those of men?

In examining these questions, we have used the results of an annual national survey conducted in France by the Association pour l'Etude des Structures de l'Opinion Publique (AESOP). The survey covers a wide variety of subjects, including political, economic and social topics as well as questions on values. The 1982 and 1984 surveys, which we have used, included questions on controversial technological issues such as nuclear power and solar energy, the supersonic airliner Concorde, as well as the new computer-based technologies, all of which are sources of debate and conflict in French society.

The sample (of 2153 in 1982) covered a broader spectrum of respondents than those only concerned by new technology. The value for us lies in our ability, through factor analysis, to link responses on a range of subjects and to relate these in turn to a series of individual characteristics. While this allows us to detect some common denominators in women's attitudes, these are only partial indicators which cannot be used to predict other behaviour.

A strong gender difference emerges from an examination of the responses to the questions on new computer-based technology and on the Concorde. Thirty-seven per cent of men disagree with the statement "Computers threaten our liberties" against only 26

per cent of women, who are also more skeptical about the usefulness of the Concorde ("the Concorde should be built"): 25 per cent in favour against 31 per cent of men, who are more inclined than women to admire technological prowess.

Men are also more open to the charms of public computer information systems: 43 per cent think that "it will help people in their everyday life" against 33 per cent for women.

In fact, solar energy is the only technological advance which produces equality in enthusiam: seven out of every ten people (male and female) hope that solar power will be developed to its potential.

"French women are much more hostile to the peaceful use of nuclear power than their male counterparts."

Women seem more suspicious or skeptical about the benefits of the new technologies. They are also more reluctant to express themselves decisively. Their uncertainty is reflected in their higher level of the "perhaps agree" response, as if they feel

themselves less justified than men in stating opinions on questions of which they have little knowledge, or on areas that are still unfamiliar to them.

Women are also less inclined than men to accept the sacrifices which technological advance sometimes requires. Forty-five per cent were categorically opposed (against only 29 per cent of men) to the proposition "Experiments on live animals are necessary for the sake of medical progress." However, the more educated women are less negative (40 per cent against) on this question than women without degrees (51 per cent), as if the former refuse to allow themselves to use sentimentality or grounds that they consider stereotypically feminine.

Even so, the gender difference persists among the most highly educated people: 40 per cent of these women versus 22 per cent of men are against this sort of experiment, indicating that university graduation and equivalent professional status, while helping to reduce sexual discrimination, do not remove ideological differences.

In this respect, gender reactions to nuclear power stations are very revealing. As in all developed countries, French women are much more hostile to the peaceful use of nuclear power than their male partners. In spite of the rapid progress of the ambitious nuclear power station construction program with its high capital investment costs and the protests of the anti-nuclear movement, a

Responses to some AESOP questions

	Disagree %		Perhaps disagree %		Agree completely %	
	M	\mathbf{F}	M	F	M	F
We should continue to build nuclear power stations	38.4	54.8	27.4	28.5	33.9	16.4
Computers threaten our liberties	36.6	25.8	22.9	30.3	40.3	43.6
Computer information systems will help everyday life	19.4	21.4	37.5	45.0	42.7	33.3
Experiments on live animals are necessary for medical progress	29.2	45.1	23.7	23.4	46.8	31.3
One no longer feels safe	21.4	14.3	16.3	12.9	61.9	72.5

large proportion of men are in favour of continuing the program — 34 per cent against 16 per cent of women. For 45 percent of men, "the construction of nuclear power stations has been a good thing," against 27 per cent of women who, in addition, show more hesitation than men in expressing a strong opinion (40 per cent "perhaps agree" against 29 per cent of men).

But while differences are seen at every level of post-secondary education, they are most pronounced at the higher levels.

Attitudes towards new technology reflect the range of values and attitudes towards our social and economic system and its institutions. Some studies have shown that women are more sensitive to the problems of peace and security which are linked to the new computer-based technology, and are more preoccupied than men by its impact on future generations. Women more frequently link technology to the dangers of social disturbance and war than do men. 6

Others think that women tend to be "more moral and less pragmatic" on this question. Ruth Schwartz Cowan suggests a more political interpretation: Through their hostility to nuclear power women express their animosity to the "tough-minded ideology of the scientific-technocratic state. Women have traditionally operated on the fringes of that state, so it is not surprising that they resent it and, when given the opportunity, fight against it."7 In fact, the motives which lead women to distrust or oppose the nuclear construction program are quite mixed, as the results of our factor analysis showed. There is a strong correlation between women's hostility to nuclear power, their anxiety about personal safety and global security, and their attachment to traditional values, to family in particular.

Blue collar women's rejection of nuclear energy is often associated with a concern over the consequences — real or assumed — for jobs, a position which echoes the traditional distrust of the working class towards the introduction of new technology in their trades. On the other hand, for women in teaching and managerial positions, with their higher levels of education, nuclear protest is accompanied by a questioning of traditional values, by a strong interest in social reform⁸

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This article is a translated version of a paper delivered at a colloquim "Les Femmes et les Nouvelles Technologies," centre Européen pour Bruxelles, Belgium, February 1985. Translation by Judith Kjellberg.

After Chernobyl

In the past few weeks much of the northern hemisphere has been subjected to acute anxiety as a result of the Chernobyl nuclear accident in the Soviet Union. As mothers, women have particular fears. We fear for the health and safety of young children, knowing that their rapidly growing bodies are especially susceptible to the effects of radiation. We also feel confused and unprotected.

Government monitoring of radiation levels appears to be quite casual, with the public being informed only after the most hazardous moments have passed. Is sitting in the sun on a fine spring day hazardous? Will "they" announce later that the milk has been contaminated. after our children have been drinking it? Why has government not moved rapidly to emergency monitoring, with frequent announcements on health and safety? We were told that rainwater was contaminated, and that we should refrain from drinking it - only as a precaution. Can we believe the reassurances? Since we know so little about the hazards of low doses of radiation, it is difficult to assess their potential effects. And if we

in Canada are so concerned, the anxieties of European women with young children must be devastating.

Would the response to such an emergency be different if women were in decision-making positions? Would we have built nuclear power plants in the first place if women were evaluating the risks and benefits? The literature indicates that women are more likely to be critical of nuclear power and less trusting of its safety; and some of the most vocal critics of nuclear energy are women — Helen Caldicott, for example, and Rosalie Bertell.

This accident raises many questions about nuclear energy. How do we assess the ability of decision-makers to evaluate risk? Are we being properly informed? Can we continue to be complacent about the building of nuclear reactors close to our cities? Do we know about plans for evacuation in case of accident? Where could we go to escape, with reactors dotting the landscape of Europe and North America? Even if we defeat nuclear power in our own backyards, we are subject to hazards from our neighbours — as the Swedes have found. Nuclear radiation knows no boundaries.

 $Rebecca\ Peterson$

and by a desire for liberalization in our way of life. These women adopt political attitudes which are very close to those of their male counterparts, in contrast to women at the lowest educational levels.

In addition, the more educated women are, the more confident they are about voicing opinions on computer-based technology. Growing familiarity with this smaller-scale technology in the work setting has largely contributed to its demystification; their work can be re-cast, and they feel more at ease about voicing opinions in those areas which were previously the preserve of men.

The findings of the AESOP inquiry allow us to suggest therefore, that the reserve or distrust that many women still hold towards new, small-scale technology will eventually disappear — as their levels of schooling and employment rise. Nevertheless, it is likely that women will continue to be more sensitive than men to the risks (real or imagined) of technological progress for a long time to come, and that they will continue to give particular attention to its "evil" effects. Their attitudes are indissolubly linked both with the norms and values which still govern the institution of the family and, especially, with the differences produced by a genderbased system of education.

- 1. For example, while more women than men are hostile to nuclear power, these numbers are not reflected at protests against nuclear construction sites in France.
- 2. Cf. J. Reed, J.M. Wilkes, "Sex and attitudes toward Nuclear Power," paper presented at meetings of American Sociological Association, 1980.
- 3. Cf. J. Fagnani, J.P. Moatti, "The Politics of French Nuclear Development," *Journal of Policy* Analysis and Management 3(2) 1984: 264-275.
- 4. Among post-graduate women, 53 per cent are hostile to the continued construction of nuclear power stations, against 28 per cent of men of the same educational level. These percentages are respectively 48 and 35 for women and men who have only primary education.
- Eg. R. Kasperson, "Public Opposition to Nuclear Energy," Science, Technology and Human Values
 1980: 11-23.
- 6. Even so, the AESOP inquiry shows that women are hardly more anti-militaristic than men.
- 7. R.S. Cowan, "From Virginia Dare to Virginia Slims: Women and technology in American culture," *Technology and Culture* 20(1) 1979: 51-63.
- 8. The most highly educated women are most often in favour of workers' rights (72 per cent against only 59 per cent for similar men).

Housey's Rapids Women's Club

By REGULA MODLICH

An enchanted landscape: peaceful river under old trees, the country road winding alongside in gentle sunlight, an occasional homestead. Scattered communities such as this are still common in North America, living by their strong traditional values of independence, property and privacy. What is life like for women behind these fences bordering rural highways?

The tiny Housey's Rapids Women's Club. 200 km north of Toronto, has been a feature of the northern landscape for more than 50 years. The wooden hall at the edge of a small lake, kitchen adjoining one side and mudroom on the other, serves a 130 square km area, home to some 150 families, most of which are not engaged in farming.

One afternoon a month, several women assemble in their own informal community. The agenda typically includes discussion of news, common concerns, plans and activities. They invited me to one of their meetings, and it offered surprising insights

to my urban eyes.

Why were these women living in such isolation? Most had made the decision to move, jointly with their husbands, after earlier experiences in this kind of environment. Many grew up there or were children of cottagers. Yet most of the women had spent some years in the city. When the opportunity arose, or when the time came to raise their own families, they wanted a secure environment, clean air, and a calmer pace of life.

There is little time for boredom or TV watching in the lives of these isolated women. Many of the younger ones work in nearby towns. The others grow their own food and raise livestock. Their own car is a vital life-line. Hobbies are also important many prepare crafts, quilts or baked goods which support their popular annual midsummer bazaar. Returns from this event support donations to the local hospitals, provide gifts to those about to be married. awards to the best graduate of the local highschool.

Many of their husbands are handymen, not necessarily employed in 9 to 5 jobs in nearby towns. Asked if they ever get underfoot, the women quickly asserted that they had established a clear separation of work areas to prevent friction and interference. All had established a space within their homes to pursue their own activities. Moreover, the men recognized their wives' efforts - one deeded the land for their club

house and many helped build the "hall."

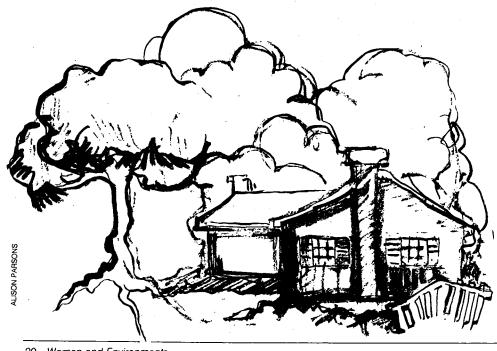
The Housey's Rapids women are also involved in environmental and social issues. "Yes, we are more active in community affairs than our men," they stated without hesitation.

The first item for discussion at the meeting was the threat of a group of young men organizing war games on a nearby property. (War games are an increasingly popular leisure activity in which adults play war, with paint replacing ammunition.) The only way to stop the proposal, it seems, is to find a technicality in the zoning bylaws — North American communities certainly have peculiar ways of deciding what they'll permit or prevent within their boundaries!

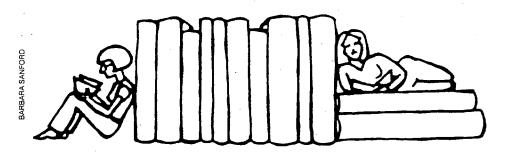
The women are proud of their natural environment. They successfully fought Ontario Hydro to reduce spraying under the transmission lines, and the return of wildlife is a cause for celebration. While sharing the pro-environment and anti-aggression sentiments of the feminist movement, in the area of family life traditional values still prevail. Child care was an issue for only one woman - the youngest, who had schoolaged children. Most of the older members protested that it was aspiring to an excessively high standard of living that encouraged young local women to work rather than care for their children.

Do they miss city life? Well, yes, every now and then. That's when they go to town for a day and "supersaturate on people," happily returning in the evening to reclaim their solitude. As one woman said, "you've got to love loneliness." Another put it this way: "The worst thing to happen to me was when this woman built her house on the hill across from us and I could see her light at night. But we planted some trees so I don't

see any lights at night again." To each landscape, it seems, belongs a way of life, and issues unique to individual environments and communities. The mass media try hard to homogenize us all, but this brief insight into a largely ignored lifestyle seems to suggest we still have the power to resist. \square



Regula Modlich is a Toronto planning



Women and Wilderness

Anne LaBastille

San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1980. 310 pp. \$12.95. ISBN 0-87156-828-4

Women in the Wilderness

China Galland

New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980. 161 pp. \$7.95. ISBN 0-06-090817-3

Reviewed by CATHERINE SHAPCOTT

Women's historical link with nature is as close as the proverbial horse and carriage, but their representation in literature dealing with the interaction of people and wild places has been marginal. The greatest failing of Roderick Nash's historical overview of wilderness — Wilderness and the American Mind — was that it referred only to the male American mind.

The life and hard times of a few persevering pioneer wives were noted by Nash, but they were hardly in featured roles — those go to Thoreau, Muir and that crew. Two volumes which do examine the experience and significance of women in the wilderness are Women and Wilderness and Women in the Wilderness. With varying success, they attempt to address women's exclusion from writings on wilderness. To the extent that they succeed, they are a welcome addition to eco-feminist literature which focuses on links between the feminist and ecology movements, and the shared struggles which characterize their respective constituents.

It should be noted, however, that both books were published in 1980. To our knowledge, nothing of significance has been published on women and the wilderness in the last six years; we invite readers to update the information furnished in Galland's Women in the Wilderness — and pass it

along to us for future use.

"Wilderness" has been very broadly defined by both Galland and LaBastille. If, as some suggest, wilderness is essentially "a state of mind," then perhaps anything goes; wilderness could be the "urban jungle," or it could be no physical place at all — simply a consciousness.

LaBastille notes that there are many ways of defining "wilderness." The women featured in her book generally define it "as open space that provides a habitat for wildlife and natural vegetation and lacks motorized access roads or 'civilized improvements'." (p. 287). Most of these women ascribe some kind of scientific "use' value to "wilderness" — such as "a biological yardstick or control to measure and evaluate," a "genetic resevoir," natural laboratory, or sanctuary (p.288).

laboratory, or sanctuary (p.288).

Using this definition of "wilderness," the profiles make sense. But preservationists (including Nash and myself) would argue that wilderness is not just a wild, uncultivated natural environment; it is rather a place which assumes the presence of wildlife, living in as pristine a state as our increasingly "civilized" world allows.

"Although she notes the importance of native women in the context of the wilderness, LaBastille fails to give them more than a cursory mention ..."

'My wilderness would also preclude connotations of human "use," present or future. Ideally, there would be no human presence at all. Anyone who subscribes to such pure-minded notions of wilderness will find the inclusion of most of the women interviewed by LaBastille nothing short of ludicrous.

Her book is not without some redeeming virtue, however. It explores the historical context of women's participation in the wilderness through case studies and fiction involving pioneer women, women's growing interest in wilderness, and the emergence of women as "wilderness" professionals.

Part II features 15 contemporary

Part II features 15 contemporary "wilderness" women who are exclusively well-educated, white and middle-class (LaBastille's explanation is that her search for subjects attracted 300 responses from people with these characteristics). This section, with its loose interpretation of wilderness, is the one that gives me trouble. For instance, it features Krissa Johnson, "Architect with a Chainsaw;" Eugenie

Clark, "Scientist in a Wetsuit;" Peggy Eckel Duke's work "Monitoring the Olympics;" Margaret Stewart, "The Frog Professor." The photo of Krissa Johnson making a cut in a foot-diameter spruce log, destined for the side of a cabin in the Adirondacks, may inspire some to rhapsodic thoughts about "wilderness," but I call it a fraud.

Although she notes the importance of native women in the context of wilderness, LaBastille fails to give them more than a cursory mention, and even then it seems somewhat grudging. "It would be wrong to overlook the role that women from many Indian tribes played in the exploration and settlement of the western wilderness," she

writes (p.49).

LaBastille, who also wrote Woodswoman and is a regular contributor to National Geographic, can be challenged not just on her definition of "wilderness," her exclusion of native women, and her choices of "wilderness women," but on her consciousness. She admits she is not an historian, social scientist or feminist scholar. It might also be suggested that she is not much of a feminist, either.

In her conclusion, she notes that many women who have outdoor careers or a strong connection with wilderness consider themselves feminists, sharing similar goals—"independence, the right to equal work opportunities, and the freedom to do what one wants" (p.290). But let's not see any stridency or negative emotion as women go about pursuing those goals! "For the mostpart, the wilderness women lack the militancy and hostility toward men that some women's liberation groups show," writes LaBastille, who seems proud that only two of her subjects "came close" to expressing "bitterness and antagonism."

China Galland's Women in the Wilderness scores tolerably better on all of these counts—the meaning of "wilderness," ecofeminist consciousness and acknowledgement of native experience. What's more, a bonus—she writes well! Her book is a good read, and it's artfully illustrated with photographs, maps, line drawings, and bits of poignant prose and poetry. As a chronicle of women's wilderness experience, the book is more than comprehensive; it is illuminating and inspiring.

Approximately half of it focuses on factual accounts, dealing with women's historical and current experience of wild environments: the first all-women's Grand Canyon rafting trip, an all-women's ocean kayaking expedition in Baja, Mexico, women adventurers from the past and present, and the American dream (wilderness without

women — the backlash).

Galland also explores the deeper issues involving spirituality and politics — the integration of the personal and political that lie at the heart of eco-feminism. The book concludes with a useful directory of pro-

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grams, outfitters, resources and organizations to help women get started on wilderness odysseys.

The accounts of individual women — such as Alexandra David-Neel, a 19th century explorer — are fascinating, inspiring and relevant. Contemporary women searching for female role models, exploring ways to link feminism with ecological awareness, should find what they're looking for in Galland's heroines.

Especially winning about this book — in this respect it shares common ground with Outward Bound philosophy — is its thoughtful exhortation to expand spiritual and political horizons through pursuing outdoor challenges, being receptive to different ideas, and taking risks. Galland suggests we may learn something about integrating the personal with the political through the experience of native Americans, who do not distinguish between these two realms:

"The common affirmation is that we are not separate from our environment or from each other. We may be different but we are not separate; and therein lies a perception of another order of women and men, people and environment, feelings and thought. Native Americans have a way of speaking that expresses a familiar sense of belonging



to creation that is as accurate as it is poetic..." (p.121).

Galland is also to be commended for addressing an important, usually unassailed assumption of women's place in wilderness and eco-feminism — that women, because of their nurturing natures, automatically qualify as "earth mothers," that they have a particular and innate affinity for the woods which is not a part of men's experience.

On balance Women in the Wilderness is worthy of recommendation. My hope is that readers of this and other books on the rewards of wilderness experience will expand their "comfort zones" by taking more risks in the great outdoors and that, through contact with the natural environment, they can move closer to a holistic integration of mind, body and spirit.

My fear is that they will do so not in the wilderness of the mind, but in the real wilderness — what little there is left of it. The problem is a paradox: in loving wild places, we may unintentionally hasten their demise.

Catherine Shapcott is a graduate student at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University.

The Unsheltered Woman: Women and Housing in the 80s

Eugenie Ladner Birch, editor Piscataway, N J: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1985 313 pp, \$14.95. ISBN 0-88285-104-7

Reviewed by GAY ALEXANDER

This collection of essays and lectures, the result of a Women and Housing Seminar at Hunter College in New York City, provides an intensive and many faceted examination of the growing crisis of women and their shelter needs, and a valuable contribution to the analysis of gender-related housing issues.

Focussing largely on New York City as a microcosm, the various contributors approach the problem from statistical, planning and practical implementation viewpoints. One thing is made abundantly clear — women are rapidly becoming the majority of the heads of low income households with housing problems. What is so blatantly obvious in urban New York to-day is rapidly becoming the reality elsewhere.

I found the book compelling, both as a practitioner in the field of housing, and as a feminist. I was "boggled" by the statistics, inspired by the visionary planners, and returned to familiar ground by the frustrations of the implementers.

The collection begins with a fairly weighty presentation of statistics. While these set an

important framework, providing a definition and picture of the unsheltered woman, the reader may want to jump ahead to some of the later papers, which are full of historical and current ideas and accounts of how we have dealt, and are dealing, with the shelter needs of women. Having absorbed some of this "visionary" material, the statistics take on more meaning.

However, the book is structured to lead the reader from identifying the unsheltered woman statistically and describing her various circumstances, through an overview of historical and current responses to the section on implementation, which highlights some of the barriers and frustrations encountered by practitioners who are trying to address the crisis.

Interestingly, the definition section included some material on higher income groups of women — Olivia S. Nordberg's summary of the "Savvy" magazine survey of executive women concludes that single and married working women, with and without children, have a similar commitment to their careers, job satisfaction and to their homes. The implication for housing planners and providers is that the needs of the working woman must now be accounted for in design, location and support services.

Barbara Gers, in her paper on housing preferences indicates that, while the singlefamily home is still a fondly held dream in America, people's expectations regarding space priorities are changing. As an example, for the single-parent female of low-income, ie. the typical unsheltered woman described by Eugenie Birch's statistical overview, the well-designed downtown apartment may provide the most affordable, convenient and secure type of housing, provided that the necessary support services such as day care, shopping, transportation are available to her, as Jacqueline Leavitt points out in her chapter on the particular and growing needs of single parents.

Susan Saegert, Theodore Liebman and Alan Melting describe a community planning exercise in Denver, which looked at the desire for, and feasibility of,

downtown family housing.

I was particularly intrigued by Elizabeth Mackintosh's description of two high-rise family projects in Manhattan — one a cooperative — and the level of satisfaction expressed by the residents. I certainly plan to visit these on my next trip to the city, as an interesting model for the growing trend toward high density inner-city family housing.

The elderly female is, of course, not to be excluded from any survey of housing needs. The plight of the low-income elderly in NYC is poignantly highlighted, and we are reminded of the limitations of such protections as rent control, and the absolute lack of current planning for new units for this growing group. The impact of Reagan's decimation of housing programs is being

increasingly felt in NYC.

The planning section of the book provides fascinating historical references by Gwendolyn Wright and Dolores Hayden to early feminists and their struggle to create supportive communities for women and their families. While modern feminist planners might consider some of their experiments short sighted we can affirm their vision of the "city of faithfulest friends" and share the determination of an early reformer: "I know the thing can be done, and I ache to do it" (p. 151).

Ronnie Feit and Jan Peterson's description of the valiant and successful struggle to build a grassroots network of women at the neighbourhood level — The National Congress of Neighborhood Women — is a testimony to the ability of women to support commonly held values of security and community, in the face of redevelopment and urban sprawl that run rough shod over established neighbourhoods and often leaves women isolated, powerless and without the community supports they need to thrive and raise their children.

Michael Mostoller, one of the few male contributors to the volume, offers a historical account of the growth and decline of housing for singles in New York City, and the shift in acceptability and availability of (single room occupancy) buildings, as postwar-zoning by-laws allowed owners to redevelop their properties to create luxury units, affordable only by a higher-income clientele. He speaks of the basic struggle for urban space between rich and poor, that has created the growing mass of homeless singles in the 1980s.

The final section, on implementation, includes the reflections of three practitioners Lynda Simmons, Carol Lamberg, and Linda Field — on the hard realities of shaping the build environment to meet women's changing lifestyles, values and needs. They see the need for women operating within a development industry that is based on outdated and traditionally male-oriented values (and hence zoning bylaws and programs that do not allow for day care and other support services), to bend the system with as much creativity and pressure as possible to ensure that housing is seen as a total environment, encompassing the support so necessary to our survival. But developers. no matter how creative, are limited by financial constraints and those ill-conceived programs and policies. The ultimate thrust in their view has to be in organizing and lobbying to change the system at the political level.

Michael Stegman's summary of the range of financing concepts is an excellent critique of the destructive influence of political expediency on otherwise well-intentioned government programs. He appeals to legislators to be less short-sighted in providing assistance which will benefit the greatest number over the longest period, instead of trying to gain political advantage from short-term, "showy" and unnecessarily expensive programs that often line developers' pockets.

Certain overall themes prevail in this collection: the tension between the planner/ visionary and the practitioner/realist which can produce creative energy, the inadequacy and short-sightedness of government pro-

"The ultimate thrust ... to change the system at the political level."

grams, the basic problem of poverty, and women as major victims. Of them all, the theme of women's power is the most hopeful, especially as they work together on common goals such as decent shelter and community, and refuse to relinquish their struggle for a better living environment.

The material in this collection is substantial, highly current and relevant, and is one of the few pieces of literature focussing on women's housing issues. The volume is well edited, with the papers organized around coherent themes, and with very helpful appendices for convenient references to facts and issues. Birch's summary and her overall work have made an important contribution to a growing area of concern and study.

Gay Alexander is a housing consultant with Lantana Non-Profit Homes Corp. in Toronto.

"World" Planning and Housing Congress Ignores Women

Despite the use of "world" in its title, the Congress in Adelaide, South Australia, September 28-October 3, will not be examining global problems and issues of planning and housing in their entirety because women are being left out. Women's issues have not been identified on the draft program. Women have been excluded from the conference planning process, which perhaps accounts for the exclusion of women from the agenda. Women have also not been included as plenary speakers. No provisions for child care have been made. To top it all off, the registration fee is \$AUS400 with no sliding scale for poor people, such as women or students.

Australian women are up in arms over the Congress' exclusion of them and thew ask that women write to protest the arrangements that have been made. Write angrily to: Stephen Hains, Chairman, State Planning Commission, 7th floor, 55 Grenfell St., Adelaide, South Australia 5001. Send copies of your correspondence to Wendy Sarkissian, 10 Waimea Rd., Lindfield, NSW 2070, Australia.



Housing Now a National Women's Issue

Housing for women has been adopted as a major area of concern by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Canada's national women's lobbying organization. For the first time, housing has been placed on the agenda of NAC's annual general meeting (this year in Ottawa, May 29-June 2) as a "main issue," joining:

- Women in the workforce
- The feminization of poverty
- Reproductive control
- Patriarchal violence in all its forms
- Young women and feminism
- · Racism and sexism.

This is a particularly timely, if perhaps tardy, point for women to develop a national housing lobby, as government responses to a worsening housing situation across most of Canada remain unclear.

IN PRINT

Women in Third World Development

Sue Ellen M. Charlton

Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1984, 250 pp. \$12.95 paper.

Only in the last decade has development discussion focused on the role women play in development and on the impact of development programs and policies on women's lives. Charlton looks at the national and international constraints on development as the context of which women are a part. She emphasizes and analyzes the role of women in agricultural production, going from the macro-level of women in the food cycle and in agriculture to the micro-level of credit, migration, and technology used and needed. Charlton's book is excellent and deserves thorough study.

Women, Power, and Economic Change: The Nandi of Kenya

Regina Smith Oboler Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985, 348 pp.

Oboler spent 18 months in Kenya conducting her research that formed the basis of this book. She focuses on the impact of colonialism and the cash economy on the Nandi, a semi-pastoral and patrilineal people of western Kenya. Oboler looks at how different categories of women — wives, widows, never-married women, and those in woman-woman marriages — have been affected differently by changing circumstances and structures. Changes in the economy, in production and property have meant changes in women's and men's roles and relations to each other.

Beyond Pretty Trees and Tigers: The Role of Ecological Destruction in the Emerging Patterns of Poverty and People's Protests

Anil Agarwal
ICSSR Newsletter, XV (1) April —
September 1984.

Dr. Agarwal is concerned that government programs to protect the environment are implemented without "a holistic understanding of the relationship between environment and the development process" (p. 1). Government programs are blinkered and simply police the environment. It would be better to change the development process to bring it into greater harmony with the natural environment as well as with the needs of the people. Nature must be recreated in a way "that generates employment and equity" (p. 26) and the role of women in this re-creation cannot be overstressed. The environment includes nature and people and only a holistic approach will solve ecological problems.



Women... A World Survey Ruth Leger Sivard

Washington, D.C.: World Priorities, 1985.

Sivard brings together a range of factual information on the situation of women globally in an easily accessible and abbreviated form. The focus is on the changes which have occurred since World War II so the statistics generally cover the period 1950-85. Sivard looks at work, education, health, government and laws, and the background of change. She provides maps, tables, stats, and apt quotations to illustrate her text. Women... A World Survey is a fascinating but too brief and (ultimately) superficial look at the situation of women around the world for the past 35 years.

The Woman Co-operator and Development: Experiences from Eastern, Central, and Southern Africa

Zakia Meghji, Clement Kwayu and Ramadhan Meghji

Nairobi, Kenya: Maarifa Publishers, 1985. Meghji, Kwayu and Meghji look at African women's participation in co-operatives and how that can be used to further development in Africa. Case studies of co-operatives in Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana are examined and analyzed to understand both the failures and successes of various co-operatives in each country. It's an informative, interesting book and the writers are authoritative, all having years of involvement with co-operatives behind them.

Forum '85 Final Report: Nairobi, Kenya Non-Governmental Organizations Planning Committee

New York: International Women's Tribune Centre, 1985, 105 pp.

The report of the planning committee discusses the pre-conference process, the structure of the committee, and the Forum itself which nearly 15,000 women attended. The workshops are summarized briefly with wonderful photos included, but mercifully with no shot of Betty Friedan under a

eucalyptus tree (we were getting tired of seeing that picture used to represent an international conference.) The parallel UN Conference is examined in relation to the Forum. The appendices list all the people and organizations involved in planning the Forum, every workshop (there were hundreds!) and the leader(s) of each one. The report is a mine of information; while it could have used more photographs, the ones included are beautiful, warm and endearing.

The report is available from the International Women's Tribune Centre, 777 UN Plaza, New York NY 10017.

Women, Environment, Sustainable Development

The Netherlands Department for Development Assistance has financed a 10-month project of the Dutch IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources) Committee to promote the involvement of women and women's aspects in environment conservation and management, and in sustainable development planning.

The main objective of the project is the compilation of a Resource Book on Women and Environment which will analyze women's involvement in environmental conservation and management, illustrated by case studies from around the world. It will also deal with the policies of international environment organizations and donor agencies, with a work plan for future action.

The March-December 1986 project will also produce an extension and strengthening of existing networks of women for environmental conservation and management; and an information exchange.

The project will be carried out in close cooperation with environmental organizations such as WORLDWIDE (World Women in Defence of the Environment), IUCN, Environmental Liason Centre in Nairobi, United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), and Non-Governmental Organizations in the Third World.

Contact: Irene Dankleman, Netherlands IUCN Committee, Damrak 28-30, 1012 LJ Amsterdam, The Netherlands. A Manual on Transitional Housing Women's Institute for Housing and Economic Development, Inc. February 1986. Order from WIHED, 179 South St., Boston MA 02111. Single copies \$10; \$8 for orders of 4 or more.

This useful manual is intended to stimulate and assist community based organizations in the realization of new transitional housing ventures. It is aimed at helping "community groups, individuals and government agencies create physical space and a network of services through which low-income women can become independent and self-sufficient." The material is organized into five sections: definition and needs, planning, development, models, and operations. Of particular interest is the well documented section on models, which includes examples from the USA, Canada and the Netherlands.

Women and Housing or Feminist Housing Analysis

Sophie Watson

Housing Studies 1(1) January 1986: 1-10

We hope it is a sign of better times that a feminist analysis comprises the first article in an important new housing journal, with a prestigious British and international editorial and advisory group (almost all men).

Watson argues that a systematic feminist analysis of housing must analyze the processes within a housing system which serve to produce and reproduce patriarchal relations. She illustrates this approach by examining aspects of design, production and tenure in Australia and Britain.

Housing Studies is published quarterly, subscription price £28 (US\$56). Enquiries to Longman Group Ltd, Subscriptions (Journals) Dept., Fourth Ave, Harlow, Essex CM19 5AA, England.

Homeownership: the Role of Wives' Earnings

Two articles by *Dowell Myers*: "Wives' Earnings and Rising Costs of Homeownership," in *Social Science Quarterly* 66(2) June 1985, argues that wives' earnings have been instrumental in helping young couples to buy homes despite rising prices and lagging earnings by young males.

"Reliance upon Wives' Earnings for Homeownership Attainment," in Journal of Planning Education and Research 4(3) April 1985, argues the consequence of wives' participation: the more dependent families become on a wife's earnings, the more she must sustain her work effort in the future—the mortgage lock-in effect.

Political Economy and the Household: Rejecting Separate Spheres

Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong Studies in Political Economy 17, Summer 1985: 167-177.

Anything that has the names Armstrong and Armstrong attached is well-written and solidly researched; this literature review is no exception. The authors review Never Done by Susan Strasser, More Work for Mother by Ruth Schwartz Cowan, and The Grand Domestic Revolution by Dolores Hayden. Their article is intended to introduce the issue of women and household technology to more mainstream scholars who probably have never thought about it.

The Armstrongs emphasize (as do Strasser, Cowan, and Hayden) that any analysis of women and household technology must take into account the links between private and public, personal and political. They also point out the need for more research and more wide-ranging theory.

"Dream Houses": Results of the Ms. Survey on Housing Design

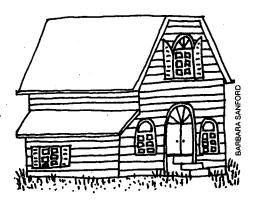
Lindsy Van Gelder In Ms. 14(10) April 1986: 34-40

The results of the special Ms. magazine "Dream House" poll are out! The survey, designed by Jaqueline Leavitt and Susan Saegert, was published last July in an attempt to solicit readers' opinions about the design and planning of their home environment.

Response to the poll was overwhelming, with more than 6,000 women taking the trouble to fill out the questionnaire. One thousand of these were then picked at random and computer analyzed.

Briefly, the results revealed that: 55 per cent of the respondents would move if they could afford to; the most common complaint about existing housing was lack of indoor space; designs submitted by readers tended towards a conservation of resources and the maximum use of space.

The survey's most surprising result was the respondents' willingness to live more



communally — even in many cases to share those normally "private" spaces such as kitchens and bathrooms. This inclination or willingness to share space was not confined to women whose lifestyles are more traditionally associated with shared environments, or to women with low incomes, although women in lower income categories were more likely to consider this alternative.

Health and Home: Women as Health Guardians

Anita Fochs Heller

Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1986, 78 pp.

The slim volume is sensitively written and the glimpse into women's feelings about health care are fascinating. The 165 women interviewed talked honestly and painfully about the work they do, the guilt they sometimes feel, and about their lack of care when they are ill. They spoke of the difficulties of being taken seriously by doctors and of obtaining health care at all, especially in their own languages. One woman in her 60s, who cared for a husband, sister-in-law, and mother (all ill), wondered if she would go to heaven for what she was doing or to hell for what she was thinking about it. Women also spoke of the satisfaction of being health guardians.

Available from Canadian Council on Social Development, 55 Parkdale, Ottawa, Ont. K1Y 1E5. \$4.95

On Their Own

Wendy Sarkissian

In: Housing Issues 1: Design for Diversification, edited by Bruce Judd, John Dean and David Brown. RAIA Educational Division, 2A Mugga Way, Red Hill, ACT 2603, Australia, 1985.

Sarkissian studied a largely single-parent public housing estate in Sydney, Australia, concentrating on social and site planning issues. While residents expected to be there a long time, with limited opportunities to move out, a majority expressed little interest in getting to know their neighbours; the sort of people who live in public housing were not the sort they wished to know. Residents were worried most about the lack of safety on the housing estate; they also wanted supervised child care/play areas.

Sarkissian recommends the establishment of a "neighbourhood cottage" (one rental unit in 10) for child care, more social workers to do preventive rather than crisis work, a telephone subsidy to reduce isolation, and housing design guidelines tailored to specific user groups such as single parent families.

Women's Funding Uncertain

The Women's Program of the Secretary of State funds over 600 groups in Canada — including feminist periodicals, women's centres, research projects, conferences — which contribute to the improvement of the status of women.

The federal government is currently under pressure from its own policies of fiscal restraint as well as from conservative women's (and other) groups to reduce the budget of the Women's Program or even to change its mandate.

One result of this pressure is that funding decisions for the current fiscal year, which started on April 1, have still not been announced. Groups — including W&E — which have applied for support are trying to cope with a state of great uncertainty about their budgets and operations for the remainder of the fiscal year.

The conservative women have organized a lobbying campaign which is obviously being heard. It is imperative that the federal government also hear our voice. We must urge that the government continue its support of progressive women's issues — this was, after all, an election promise.

Please write, asking that the government continue to support the Women's Program of the Secretary of State in its work to improve the status of women in Canada; that its funding levels be improved rather than curtailed; and that decisions on 1986-87

applications be made quickly.

Write to: The Honourable Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister; The Honourable Benoit Bouchard, Secretary of State; The Honourable Walter McLean, Minister Responsible for the Status of Women; and your own MP — all (postage free) at the House of Commons, Ottawa, Ont. K1A 0A6.

Call for Papers

The Paratransit Committee of the Transportation Research Board (National Research Council, US) is putting out a special call for papers or presentations for Committee sessions at the TRB meetings in Washington DC, January 14-17, 1987.

Academic or descriptive papers or abstracts are invited on the experience of paratransit development and operation, and including paratransit options in non-US communities for special user groups (eg, the elderly and handicapped).

Send abstracts or papers before August 1, 1986 to: Dr. Sandra Rosenbloom, Chair, Paratransit Ctee., Sutton Hall, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin TX 78712.

Frontiers: a Journal of Women Studies, is soliciting articles and essays on Women in the American South. Ideas of interest include women and the urbanization of the South; women and property in Southern history; Southern women's work; women in crafts cooperatives; in Appalachia; women and violence in the historical and contemporary South.

Send submissions and queries by October 31 to: Frontiers, Campus Box 325, University of Colorado, Boulder CO 80309.

Help!

The Women and Economic Development Committee of Northwestern Ontario Women's Decade Council is looking for ideas and information on community based economic development (CED) models to assist women in remote single-industry towns to assess options for the future development of their communities. They are specifically interested in alternative models of CED, and innovative approaches to longer term sustainability and growth for resource-based communities.

Send information to Miriam Wall, Andersen Management Systems, #4-215 Van Norman St., Thunder Bay, Ont. P7A 4B7.

Position Open

Cornell University Department of City and Regional Planning is seeking candidates for a tenure-track position as Assistant Professor, to teach at the undergraduate and graduate level in two or more of these areas:

the American city; women in planning; urban finance, budgeting and development; microcomputers, analysis and statistics in planning.

Apply immediately for August 1986 decision, to: Search Committee, Dept. of City and Regional Planning, Cornell University, West Sibley Hall, Ithaca NY 14853 (607)255-4331.



RESOURCES-

Resources on Violence

Western Center on Domestic Violence

Created in 1976 by women working in battered women's programs, WCDV was designed to forge a strong regional network and promote resource sharing. Since then, WCDV has emerged as a technical assistance/resource centre that is recognized by direct service providers as a central clearing house for information and networking.

WCDV publishes a bi-monthly Review. The winter 1985 issue was on housing for battered women; articles examine the use of centralized housing inventories for shelter networking; a feminist approach to the architectural design of shelters; an account of a second-step housing project; and the effects of the housing crisis on post-shelter women. A good resource for shelter people.

Individual membership in WCDV is \$20, which provides discounts on some published resources; \$15 for the *Review* only. Contact: WCDV, 870 Market St., #1058,

San Francisco CA 94102.

Female Victims of Crime: Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, Bulletin 4, 1985

Canadian women experience a lower frequency of victimization than men, but express greater fear for their personal safety. The bulletin presents statistical and other information on offences against women, including where the violence occurs, as well as on the subsequent treatment of female complainants by police and the courts.

Available free from Communications Group, Programs Branch, Solicitor General Canada, 340 Laurier Ave. West, Ottawa, Ont. K1A 0P8

Le Rapport de l'enquête scientifique au sujet de la discrimination et du harcèlement

Le Comité Logement Rosemont, en collaboration avec le Front d'Action Populaire en Réaménagement Urbain, vient d'effectuer une importante enquête scientifique au sujet de la discrimination et du harcèlement subis par les femmes locataires. Selon l'étude, 40 pour-cent des femmes ont vécu des situations de discrimination évidente et 47.8 pour-cent ont subi des situations de harcèlement. Le Comité est convaincu qu'on peut changer la situation et qu'il faut agir dès maintenant.

Si vous désirez obtenir une copie de cette enquête, veuillez envoyer \$1.50 à l'addresse suivante: L'Enquête Femmes et Logement, Comité Logement Rosemont, 5897 3ième avenue, Montréal, Québec H1Y 2X2.



Feminist Planners and Designers

FPD, members of which coordinated the conference on Planning to End Violence Against Women, reported on pp. 4-9, is an organization of UCLA students who seek to incorporate feminism into their graduate education and professional lives. In particular, FPD members are committed to a multiracial feminist position — one that recognizes the convergence of race and gender issues.

FPD is participating in a curriculum review within the UCLA Urban Planning Program, with the goals of incorporating feminist theory and research into the core curriculum, and ensuring that course content reflect our diverse multicultural society. FPD also recruits students concerned with feminist issues to study in the program, and provides a support group and an independent forum for feminist discussion.

The organization invites speakers and has sponsored an annual conference on women and planning since 1979; the 1986 cosponsored conference was "International Green Movements and the Prospects for a New Environmental/Industrial Politics in the US."

Contacts

Speakers at the Conference on Planning to End Violence Against Women (see pp. 4-9)

Teresa Contreras Executive Director East Los Angeles Rape Hotline PO Box 63245 Los Angeles CA 90063

Catlin Fullwood Executive Director Southern California Coalition on Battered Women PO Box 5036 Santa Monica CA 90405

Dolores Hayden Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning UCLA Los Angeles CA 90024

Rev. Ann Hayman Director Mary Magdalene Project PO Box 8396 Van Nuys CA 91409

Ned Levine Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning UCLA Los Angeles CA 90024

Kerry Ann Lobel President Support Services for Non-Profits 209 West Capitol Suite 437 Little Rock AR 72201

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Victim's Intervention Project
East Harlem Council for Human Services
Boriken Neighbourhood Health Centre
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