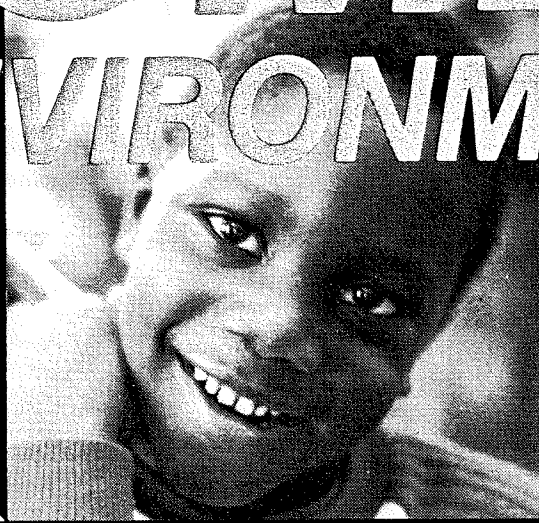


WOMEN & ENVIRONMENTS

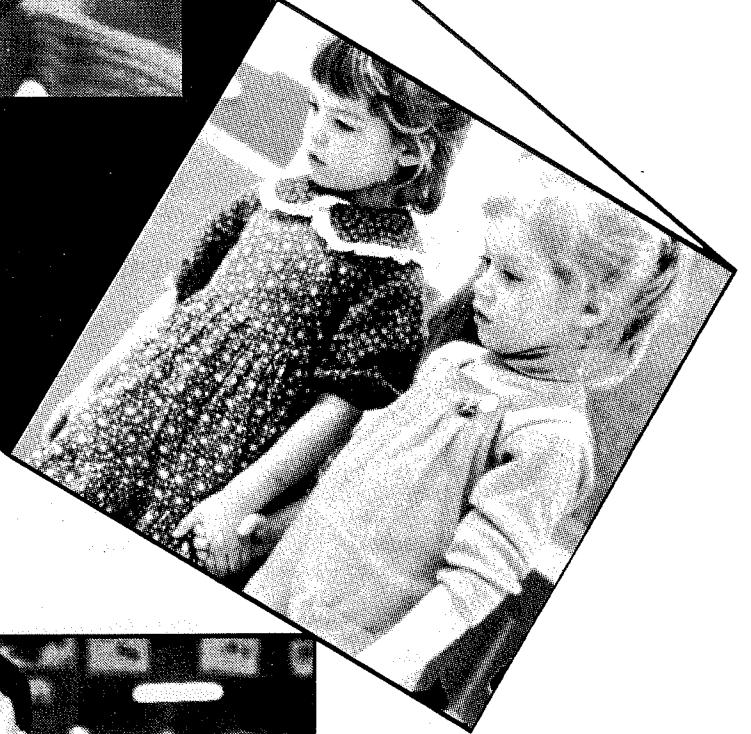
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Spring 1987



Planning
for Daycare

Explorations
of Ecofeminism

Margherita Howe



—EVENTS—

June 24-28

Weaving Women's Colors: A Decade of Empowerment

The National Women's Studies Association celebrates its 10th anniversary. The conference theme emphasizes the intersection of race and gender. Feminist scholarship of all kinds, workshops, discussions, films and cultural events will be included.

Contact: NSWA 87, Emory University, PO Box 21223, Atlanta GA 30322 (404) 727-7845

July 5-8

Other Voices: Perspectives on Planners and Planning

Canadian Institute of Planners National Conference in Toronto.

Contact: Ontario Professional Planners Institute, 3206 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario M4N 2L3

July 6-10

Women's Worlds: Visions and Revisions
The Third International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women at Trinity College, Dublin Ireland. Topics include: language, politics, the nuclear threat, relationships, sexuality, work, religion, spirituality, health, violence, education and environmental/ecological issues.

Contact: 3rd International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women, 44 Northumberland Rd., Dublin 4, Ireland. Tel: 688244, Telex 31098

July 12-19

Our Homes Ourselves

A first world-third world women and housing conference in London, UK. Three events are planned: a 2-day third world women's workshop, a 4-day field visit to women and housing projects, and a 3-day first world-third world conference.

Contact: Helen Garner, Organizer, Our Homes Ourselves, 88 Old Street, London, EC1 9AX, UK

July 27-31

Community Development: Responses to Emerging Realities
Community Development Society Annual Meeting at West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia.

Contact Kristin L. Kauth, 3942 N. Farwell Ave., Milwaukee WI 53211

August 12-13

Sheltering Ourselves: Developing Housing for Women

This conference in Cincinnati will be built around proposals for multi-unit housing projects for women and children on three local sites. Submissions are invited.

Contact: Maureen Wood, 1309 Boyd, Cincinnati OH 45223 (513) 542-0088

August 16-21

First North American Regional Conference of International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Kingston, Ontario

Contact: IACCP Ethnic Psychology Conference, Psychology Department, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario K7L 3N6

September 1-4

International Conference on Urban Shelter in Developing Countries

Sponsored by: International Centre for Technical Research in collaboration with UNESCO.

Contact: ICTR Secretariat, 11-12 Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5LU, UK

September 13-16

New Partnerships — Building for the Future

International Year of Shelter for the Homeless Canadian conference, co-sponsored by the Canadian Association of Housing and Renewal Officials and the International Council on Social Welfare. It will include a substantial women's as well as a third world component.

Contact: IYSH Conference, Box 1987, Station C, Ottawa, Ontario, K1Y 4G1

October 10-12

National/International Women's Housing Conference co-hosted by the National Congress of Neighborhood Women and the Women's Division of the State of New Jersey, to be held in Camden, NJ.

The conference will focus on sharing comprehensive community-based women's housing strategies. It will be participatory in nature, thus limited in size; diverse in ethnic and class make-up, thus invitation only.

Contact: NCNW, 249 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn NY 11211 (718) 388-6666

October 29-31

Families and the Economy Conference in North Vancouver, BC.

Contact: Conference Program Committee, Family Service Canada, 55 Parkdale Ave., Ottawa, Ont. K14 4G1

November 5-8

25th Annual Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Conference
Topics for the ACSP conference include "Women and the Built Environment".

Contact: Tritib Banerjee or William C. Baer, ACSP Conference Co-Chairmen, School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Southern California, Los Angeles CA 90089-0042 (213) 743-2264

November 1987

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

Contact: Canadian Women for Political Representation, Box 2202, Station D, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5W4

December 1987

Housing of the Greatest Number and The Homeless and Urban Management, in Kinshasa, Zaire.

Two seminars sponsored by UNESCO, UNCHS and Centre experimental de recherches et des travaux publics (CERTP).

Contact: CERTP, 12 Rue Brancion, 75737 Paris, Cedex 15, France

International Women's Centres Meeting

Three Latin American Women's centres are planning an **International Women's Centres Meeting**. Women's centres interested should write a letter detailing: how centre began and its main objectives, how centre is organized, financial sources, types of services offered, problems encountered and success in meeting objectives.

Contact: ISIS International, Attn: Ana Maria Gomez, Casilla 2067, Santiago, Chile

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WOMEN & ENVIRONMENTS

Vol. 9, No. 2, Spring 1987

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A WORD FROM US

In our last issue we initiated some changes that we hoped would open up discussion and debate among *Women and Environments'* readers. As you read through this issue, you will see that those initial efforts are paying off.

First, we introduced a new column, *Taking Sides*. Intended as an opinion piece, it is designed to allow the expression of strong views and to encourage readers to express theirs on a variety of current controversies in the field. Our first *Taking Sides* column on surrogate motherhood did just that and the evidence — a strong response — appears in our second new section, *A Word From You*.

Also in this issue's *A Word From You* we can observe our readers beginning to respond to and interact with one another. In particular, we are pleased to note the start of a Third World Subscription Fund in response to Frances Chinemana's letter which appeared in our Winter issue — Frances was having to let her subscription lapse due to the lack of foreign exchange in Zimbabwe. We have received more than one offer to renew Frances' subscription and, on the suggestion of Louise Dunlap, the surplus funds are being set aside for other Third World women needing similar assistance.

Third, though not new, we would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our view that *Women and Environments'* task is to present a variety of feminist perspectives, rather than a single, unified or consistent viewpoint. Our feature article on eco-feminism is a case in point because it is an area about which we on the editorial board hold highly divergent opinions. Ecofeminism, like feminism itself, is an emerging field. Though early work has tended to emphasize a spiritual affinity between women and nature, many of us feel that this may simply lead to the perpetuation of patriarchal myths. Kate Davies' article in this issue begins to explore and speculate about these myths and suggest that other interpretations of the historical associations between women and nature are possible.

And finally, we are pleased to announce that *Women and Environments* is now a quarterly publication. Our fourth issue each year will be our Network issue, highlighting subscribers' interests and activities, and will appear in the summer. It will also include a subject index to features published in earlier issues, so be sure to watch for it.

Historical Associations: Women and the Natural World

by Katherine Davies

During the last two decades the women's movement and the environmental movement have become important in many western societies. Women and the environment have traditionally been controlled and exploited by men, but recently the two movements have begun to influence the ways in which we think about our relationships with each other and the natural world. This simultaneous growth of the women's movement and the environmental movement has also raised many questions about the historical links between women and nature.

Human relationships with nature have been dominated by male thought for many thousands of years. In Greek philosophy masculine intellect was seen as bringing order to all matter, including nature, which was assumed to be feminine. Nature, as well as the earth itself, was perceived as a nurturing mother who was sensitive, alive and responsive to human desires. Gaia, the female Earth Goddess, was thought to sustain life and enhance fertility. The philosopher Aristotle saw the various species on earth as forming a continuous hierarchy of increasing perfection from plants to animals, with humans being superior to all other species. This hierarchical ideology was later enhanced by Ptolemy who proposed that the earth was at the centre of the universe, with the planets, the sun and the moon orbiting around it. A corollary was that man occupied a central position in the scheme of life, with women and all other species being less important. Humankind's role in the natural order was perceived in terms of the superiority of human intellect over emotion, with men being associated with the former and women with the latter. These associations were deemed to give men the right to control women and nature.

These patterns of hierarchical and anthropocentric thought were subsequently incorporated into the Judeo-Christian tradition. Genesis 1 and Psalm 8 describe creation hierarchically and give humans dominion over all of nature, creating both

During the scientific revolution, the female witch was a symbol of nature's disorder, but a belief in witchcraft may have also restored a sense of the mystery of life.

male and female in God's image. In the earlier Genesis 2 account, creation is described anthropocentrically with everything being made in the context of Adam, the man. This included the woman Eve, who was made from Adam's rib. However, through the ages these accounts have converged into a single version which is both hierarchical and anthropocentric. This composite myth has provided us with the Judeo-Christian picture of the world

Kate Davies is the Acting Director of the Environmental Protection Office of the Department of Public Health for the City of Toronto and a member of the editorial board of W & E.

in which God is seen as the universal father with men, women, children, animals, plants and inanimate nature in descending order of importance.¹

The first real challenge to this paradigm did not emerge until the sixteenth century when Copernicus hypothesized that the sun, and not the earth, was at the centre of the solar system. This new idea was profoundly disturbing and had implications far beyond astronomy for two reasons. First, it implied that perhaps the earth was not the most important object in the solar system, and similarly that humankind may not be next to God as previously thought. Second, the development of the Copernican hypothesis was the first time that direct observation and deduction were used to describe the earth's position in the universe. This technique subsequently became the basis of the scientific method and was developed and refined by Descartes and Newton, amongst others.

The scientific revolution sparked renewed interest in the study of human relationships with nature. Much of the philosophical thought of this era was based on Descartes' supposition that there was a fundamental distinction between mind and matter. This so-called Cartesian split allowed people to treat their minds, with all their thoughts and feelings, as completely separate from their physical bodies. It also encouraged people to see themselves as different and apart from the natural world. For example, early scientists believed that they were objective and neutral. They assumed that they could conduct experiments on the natural world, record the results and develop hypotheses to explain their observations in ways that were free from value judgments and their own opinions. Many scientists still believe this today.

Another important outcome of the

scientific revolution was the mechanistic theory of universal order. This theory gained strength as scientists developed mechanical devices, such as clocks and compasses, to measure and model dynamic situations in the real world. This encouraged people to think of the universe as a collection of inanimate objects assembled like cogs in a vast machine. This mechanistic view was enthusiastically adopted by Newton, among others, who likened human bodies and brains, as well as the physical universe, to machines. The scientific revolution thus further alienated humans from nature by asserting that the human mind could be objective and was therefore superior to nature and that the universe was just one huge machine.

The word "ecology" was created by a woman, Ellen Swallow, who was concerned about the quality of air, water and food during the late 19th Century.

While this mechanistic theory of universal order and precision was gaining support, human perceptions of nature were changing in a different direction. The earlier image of nature as the nurturer and sustainer of life had become a cultural constraint that increasingly limited men's actions. With the growth of scientific activity it became more difficult to reconcile visions of the earth as a sustainer and provider of human needs with increasing human exploration, control and conquest of the earth. The image of nature changed in this period to one of a disorderly and chaotic domain. Nature was seen as wild, erratic and causing the onset of plagues, famines and storms. The more uncontrollable nature appeared the stronger was the perceived need for control. This enabled men to assume responsibility for bringing order to the natural world.

As in previous centuries, nature was associated with the female. So women, as well as being nurturers and symbols of fertility, were also seen as irrational, erratic, emotional and requiring control by men. Images of both nature and women became double-edged.

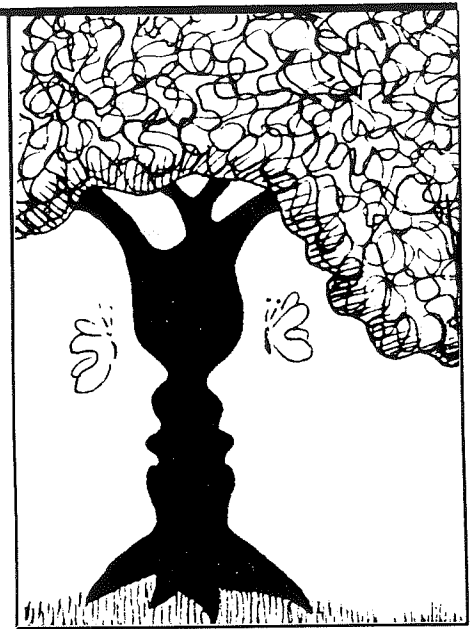
During the same period, the female witch became a symbol of nature's disorder. She was thought to raise storms, de-

stroy crops, thwart fertility and murder infants. The increased appeal of witchcraft during the scientific revolution may be explained as a way of re-connecting with the natural world. As scientists were attempting to explain natural phenomena through logic and rational thought, some people felt a need to maintain a different relationship with the natural world. A belief in witchcraft may have restored a sense of the mystery of life. The world of witches was anti-hierarchical and one in which witches were deemed to have direct access to the abundant spirit life that was believed to exist in the natural world. Every natural object and animal was thought to contain a spirit whom witches could summon at will. They were also thought to make pacts directly with the devil. This relationship with a power accorded virtual omnipotence may account for the popularity of witchcraft among oppressed women, because it allowed them to assume a role in some ways equivalent to that of men in the male dominated church. This threat and the lack of hierarchy in the witches' world was profoundly disturbing to the prevailing social order and may explain the harsh punishments accorded to those suspected of being witches.²

The scientific revolution also led to increased exploration, including the discovery and colonization of the New World. With this movement west, patriarchal culture was transported across the Atlantic. The early settlers, however, found that conditions were very different from those they had left behind. Their reaction to the vastness of the North American wilderness was to classify it as a hostile environment. To survive in this new environment, men thought, demanded and defined true virility.

Women's responses to the New World are less well known, possibly because cultural stereotyping excluded many women from participating in the discovery of the American landscape. Women were thought to be better off in more comfortable and civilized surroundings. However, there were some notable exceptions, like Isabella Bird and Mary Austen, who rebelled against the male-dominated culture, opted for adventure and moved into unsettled landscapes to experience the American wilderness on their own terms.³

Subsistence farming in the New World also provided a somewhat different view of women and nature. The labour of both sexes was required for survival, though men's work was still regarded as more important in terms of farming activities. Nature was seen by these settlers as a valuable resource, not to be wantonly exploited, but to be tended and cared for in order to supply food, water and other basic human necessities.



BARBARA SANFORD

The industrial revolution was also exploitative of women and nature. Upper and middle class women were supposed to provide male heirs and emotional support for their husbands and sons. Working class women were expected to do this, but had the additional burden of being expected to work as wage labourers, too. Thus, different classes of women experienced different forms of domination.

Like women, nature was seen as an exploitable profit-making resource. This attitude became increasingly prevalent and can be seen in the exploitation of coal, iron ore and lumber that occurred at this time.

In addition, environmental contamination increased during the industrial revolution. The air of cities became heavily polluted with particulates, sulfur dioxide and other gasses formed during the burning of wood and coal. Surface waters became contaminated with untreated human and industrial wastes. By the end of the nineteenth century, much damage had been done to the air, water and countryside surrounding the towns and cities of Europe and North America.

In 1892, the word "ecology" was used for the first time. It was derived from the Greek word "oikos", meaning house, by Ellen Swallow. She envisioned ecology as a new science concerned with water and air quality, transportation and nutrition. She felt that anyone who used natural, life-sustaining elements selfishly was squandering the human inheritance.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many other women also became concerned about the quality of the environment, although their role has been rendered all but invisible by historians. Some of them, including Lydia Adams-Williams and Mabel Osgood

Wright, promoted nature conservation and sought legislation aimed at stopping pollution and preserving endangered species.⁴

Seventy years after Ellen Swallow first used the word "ecology," Rachel Carson re-focused attention on human relationships with nature. Her book, *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, drew attention to the long-term effects of pesticides on the environment and on human health. "We stand now," Carson concluded, "where two roads diverge". The "less travelled" road — the road of sustainable development — "offers our last, our only chance to reach a destination that assures the preservation of our earth."

The following year, the women's movement took a big leap forward when Betty Friedan's controversial book, *The Feminine Mystique*, was published. Friedan attacked the post World War II drive that sent women from the factories they had worked in during the war back home to have babies and look after their husbands.⁵ In many respects her book represented the birth of the women's movement as we know it today.

This simultaneous growth in both the women's movement and the environmental movement was not fortuitous. Both reflect the strongly antiestablishment mood of the 1960s. This mood was

characterized by a liberalisation of many traditional values and a re-evaluation of our social responsibilities and roles.

Although the environmental movement and the women's movement both developed in the 1960s, it was not until the 1970s that the interconnections between the two began to be systematically examined. In most cases, this has been done by women. Some authors assume that all cultures have been male dominated and that women and nature have always been deemed to be inferior to both men and culture.⁶ Others argue that this was not always the case and that women had a higher social status in an earlier age when various primitive cultures worshipped nature and the "Earth Mother." Women today, they suggest, could transform their status in society by recapturing aspects of this earlier age and recreating rituals that were performed in the past.⁷

It is clear that both women and the environment have been exploited by men. Some ecofeminists have assumed that this and the facts of female reproduction imply that women are more closely linked to nature than men. Although it may be true that men are less aware of their links with nature than women, this should not be taken to mean that men are inherently less natural. Nature is neither male nor female. Continuing to stress the links be-

tween women and nature could reinforce the subservient roles usually accorded to both. What is needed, therefore, is a re-evaluation, not only of the relationships between men and women and between women and nature, but also between men and nature. This could lead to new relationships between men, women and the earth itself — relationships based on honour and respect. □

1 E. Dodson Gray, *Green Paradise Lost*. Wellesley, Mass: Roundtable Press, 1981.

2 C. Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980.

3 V. Norwood, "Heroines of Nature: Four Women Respond to the American Environment," *Environmental Review*, 8(1) 1984: 34-56.

4 C. Merchant, "Women of the Progressive Conservative Movement, 1900-1916," *Environmental Review*, 8(1) 1984: 57-58.

5 C. Merchant, "Earthcare," *Environment*, June 1981: 6-40.

6 M. Daly, *Gyn Ecology*. Boston: Beacon, 1978; S.B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" in M. Rosaldo & L. Lamphere (eds.) *Women, Culture and Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974; S. Griffin, *Women and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.

7 M. Stone, *When God was a Woman*. Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, 1978.

Explorations of Eco-Feminism

by Miriam Wyman

With Katherine Davies' article, *Women and Environments* formally begins its exploration of eco-feminism. This is in keeping with the opinion of the Editorial Board that "the social movement which connects the devastation of the earth with the exploitation of women" (Griffin) is an integral part of our concern. Kate's article is a capsule history of a complex and fascinating set of issues and it will be followed in future issues by articles dealing with women in the environmental movement (in Canada and elsewhere), and eco-feminist theory, as well as by book reviews and further bibliographies in this rapidly growing area.

Eco-feminism at the theoretical and analytic level challenges such sedimented notions as hierarchy, homocentrism, anthropocentrism, scientific objectivity and neutrality, and the mind-body (human-nature) split. Much eco-feminist literature suggests, in no uncertain terms, that environmental problems are man's creations — man's alone; women

would never have allowed such things to happen. Many eco-feminists have chosen a more generous interpretation; there is a pervasive sense that all of us, human and non-human, are in the world together and that better understanding of the evolution of environmental problems will point to ways out of these problems.

This is not to suggest that eco-feminism is monolithic. Like the feminist movement itself, it is characterized by debate, disagreement and conflicting views. As the women's movement has moved into public consciousness, there has been an explosion of literature — new and old — documenting women's experiences. Eco-feminists are benefitting from this explosion and are drawing on a wealth of material.

There is an extensive and rapidly growing body of theoretical and analytic material in addition to the literature which deals with women and natural environments.

There is also a proliferation of material on women as environmental activists, which certainly includes women in the peace movement. Rachel Carson, Helen

Caldecott, Margharita Howe, Ursula Franklin, Rosalie Bertell are examples of women leaders in the environmental movement. Their involvement, and their struggles are documents of persistence, inspiration and empowerment. This applies equally to the extensive material dealing with women and development, which particularly in Third World countries, reflects a strong and profound concern for and understanding of the need for wisdom in the use of resources (both renewable and non-renewable).

A number of recent works are concerned with women's experiences as pioneers, as settlers, as adventurers and as naturalists. There is also a growing body of feminist utopian literature that reflects, in fiction, views of the world that are grounded in feminist perspectives.

Eco-feminism presents an enormous challenge and offers us enormous opportunity. With this article as our entry point, we look forward to addressing issues and areas of debate as well as reporting on advances and new developments in this burgeoning field. □

Related Readings on Ecofeminism



Leonie Caldecott and Stephanie Leland (eds.)

Reclaim the Earth. London: The Women's Press, 1983.

A series of articles presenting a range of social and environmental issues from a feminist perspective.

Donald Davis

"Ecosophy: The Seduction of Sophia?" *Environmental Ethics* 8, 1986: 151.

A wide-ranging, free-wheeling article which tries to integrate feminist epistemology and spirituality, deep ecology, critical theory, social ecology, depth psychology, etc.

Elizabeth Dodson Gray

Patriarchy as a Conceptual Trap. Wellesley, Mass: Roundtable Press, 1982.

The author is a feminist theologian and environmentalist with a sense of humour and beauty. Starting from a general discussion of conceptual traps, she moves to themes such as "The Social Construction of Reality" and "Imaging Our Place as Humans on Planet Earth."

Elizabeth Dodson Gray

Green Paradise Lost. Wellesley, Mass: Roundtable Press, 1979. 165 p. (Previously titled: *Why the Green Nigger?*)

Another very enjoyable but scholarly read, exploring the above themes more deeply and without comics. Cannot overstate the philosophical and political impact of this book.

Brian Easlea

Witch-hunting, Magic and the New Philosophy: An Introduction to the Debates of the Scientific Revolution 1450-1750. Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980.

Easlea emphasizes how the violent hatred of women and morbid fear of female sexuality that characterized the first part of the period gave way, not so much to more humane or liberal attitudes, as to a greater confidence on the part of upper-class men in their ability to control and dominate women, nature and society by means of scientific rationality.

Fireweed No. 22, 1986, Native Women Issue

This special issue of *Fireweed* is a diverse collection of poetry, fiction and essays by Native women from all over North America. Spiritual affinities with the natural world experienced by Native women, as women, are a recurring theme.

Marilyn French

Beyond Power (On Women, Men and Morals). New York: Summit Books, 1985.

The quality and depth of this monumental book cannot be overstated. From anthropology and zoology to political science and psychology, French traces the images of self, woman and nature from prehistory to the present.

Susan Griffin

Women and Nature, The Roaring Inside Her. New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

This book is written in an intense, daring style from a deeply emotional perspective. It is a history of men's abuse and exploitation of women and nature and the ways in which both have been perceived in our culture.

Susan Griffin

Pornography and Silence, Culture's Revenge Against Nature. New York: Harper and Row, 1981.

This work is like a case study of one insane aspect of our culture which reflects the insanity of the whole. What is done to nature is done to all people, not just women. Her analysis of pornography shows the parallels between our objectification of people and nature.

Heresies No. 13, 1981. Feminism and Ecology Issue

One of the best sourcebooks of ecofeminism. Contains "academic" articles on origins of the state, feminist utopian novels and some documentary articles on a wide range of environmental, health and safety and animal issues, as well as on Native, Gypsy, Indian and Chinese women.

Marti Kheel

"The Liberation of Nature: A Circular Affair", *Environmental Ethics* 7, 1985: 135.

Kheel argues that the debate between the holistic ecological school of biocentric ethics and the individualist animal rights' school is product of the dualistic heritage and excessive rationalism of male philosophy. She urges that environmental ethics be based on a "unified sensibility" which, as articulated in feminist thought, embraces both reason and emotion.

Carolyn Merchant

The Death of Nature (Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution). New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Shows how the mechanistic worldview of science sanctioned the exploitation

of nature, unrestrained economic growth and a socio-economic order that subordinates women.

Val Plumwood

"Ecofeminism: An Overview and Discussion of Positions and Arguments," in *Women and Philosophy*, supplement to vol. 64 of *Australian Journal of Philosophy*, 1986.

An extended review of the ecofeminist literature by a leading environmental philosopher. She finds the ecofeminist project to be suggestive and promising but inadequately developed so far.

Joan Rothschild (ed.)

Machina ex Dea (Feminist Perspectives on Technology). New York: Pergamon, 1983

This is a wide-ranging book, but the most relevant chapters are: "A Revised History of Technology" by Autumn Stanley, "Mining the Earth's Womb" by Carolyn Merchant, "Toward an Ecological Feminism and a Feminist Ecology" by Ynestra King, "An End to Technology: A Modest Proposal" by Sall Gearhart and "What if... Science and Technology in Feminist Utopias."

Ariel Kay Salleh

"Deeper Than Deep Ecology: The Eco-Feminist Connection," *Environmental Ethics* 6, 1984: 339

A critique of deep ecology as too abstract, uncritical and tending towards "technocratic managerialism."

Judith Todd

"On Common Ground: Native American and Feminist Spirituality Approaches in the Struggle to Save Mother Earth," in C. Spretnak (ed.) *The Politics of Women's Spirituality*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1982.

Both Native American and feminist spirituality maintain that we must revere "mother earth" or we will destroy the balance of nature including human life. Discusses historical conception of earth as living and female, and its effect on ethical use of nature.

These readings come from an annotated bibliography prepared by participants in a Faculty of Environmental Studies course on Ecofeminism offered in the summer of 1986 by Miriam Wyman. Contributors are Anne Champagne, Lisa Dunn, Allan Greenbaum, Jane Horsley, Tanya Lewis and Joyce Peterson. Photocopies of the complete (8pp) bibliography are available from W & E for \$1.

Margherita Howe

Environmental Watchdog

by Adrienne Scott

*"Our traditional roles as mothers, nurses and guardians of the home and community have placed us at the receiving end of an increasingly sophisticated technology, the implications of which have become alarming in the threat they pose to health and life on this planet. The time has come for women to take a leading role in rectifying the balance."*¹

She has been called, among other things, the "Auntie Mame" of the environmental movement in Canada. Since 1979, when she founded the organization Operation Clean (Niagara), Margherita Howe has spearheaded efforts to reduce the amount of hazardous industrial chemicals entering the Niagara River, a major watercourse linking the two Great Lakes of Erie and Ontario. Until recently, the river was also the source of drinking water for her community, Niagara-on-the-Lake, a small, picturesque town which sits on the Canadian side of the river.

Before 1979, Margherita Howe had never even heard of "toxic waste," let alone considered the possibility of taking on a number of large American corporations and several governments over an environmental issue. The wife of a successful insurance executive, she had been fully occupied with running a household, raising four children, heading a local community organization and operating an antique shop on Niagara-on-the-Lake's quaint main street.

In 1979, Margherita learned of an American company's plans to dump millions of gallons of chemical waste into the Niagara River via a pipeline. "Although I didn't know anything about chemical waste then, I sensed that it wasn't right. It

was a gut feeling," she now recalls. "I began to learn more and more about the potential harm that this pipeline could do, and so then I became more alarmed . . . I started to realize the implications of these chemicals going into the Niagara River, where they would possibly be affecting our drinking water, because our water intake pipe was just two miles downstream from where the pipeline would go into the river."

Support in her community for some kind of Canadian opposition to the proposal by SCA Chemical Services Incorporated was strong and Howe soon found herself the head of Operation Clean (Niagara), a sister group to Operation Clean (US). During state hearings held in 1979 and 1980, the two groups actively opposed the plan. Margherita herself attended 42 of the 43 scheduled meetings. "I became addicted," she said. "I really became obsessed at those hearings. Funny how you can be catapulted into this type of

increased dilution of the chemicals, greater citizen participation in the monitoring of the company's discharges and improved testing. The pact represented the first case in which Canadian environmental groups became directly involved in the regulation of discharges legally enforced by an American state. When she finally signed the agreement, Margherita recognized, with reluctance, that the SCA pipeline was a "fact of life."

While the SCA controversy was Operation Clean (Niagara)'s first case Margherita soon became aware of other critical problems facing residents in the Niagara Falls region, an area historically dominated by numerous chemical manufacturing companies. She noted, "There are over 200 chemical dump sites in the area — some are potentially harmful. The whole area is heavily contaminated." Subsequently, her group became involved in litigation suits to force the companies involved to clean up the most critical

She held their feet to the fire

thing without any real experience. I still wonder at it and yet I'm still obsessed with it. God, it was tough at the beginning, trying to get even a glimmer of understanding from the technical terms they use."

Margherita's involvement in the SCA case continued into 1981 when an agreement was signed by SCA, Operation Clean (US) and Niagara, the American towns of Lewiston and Porter, and Pollution Probe of Toronto. While the agreement still allowed SCA to dispose of its chemical waste in the river, it required

dump sites, particularly those within close proximity to the Niagara River.

Margherita's personal style, her naturally jubilant, yet straightforward, manner has served her well. Robert Sugarman, a former American co-chairman of the International Joint Commission says, "she held the feet of politicians and bureaucrats to the fire until they ultimately acknowledged that it was a fire and that it was burning."

"I suppose I am a little outspoken and I don't hesitate to speak my mind," Margherita concedes. "This has all transpired

Adrienne Scott is an environmental activist currently studying environmental law at Dalhousie University in Halifax.

in my later years (she is now 66). You're not as worried about what people think of you. You do what you have to do."

Howe feels that her numerous battles during the last six or seven years have changed her in many ways. Her faith in the vigilance of government has been shattered. "The only way governments will act is because of pressure groups. They rarely act unless it is expedient to do so," she says. "But it all boils down to government really. Politicians call the shots."

Her faith in science and "scientific experts" has also been undermined. She discovered early on in the SCA dispute that vested interests have a great bearing on the scientific community's willingness to get involved in environmental issues. "I thought that because I needed help in the science department, I could just go to the local university or wherever and ask for help. Well, it doesn't work that way. Research programs are generally funded by industry or governments, or there are other vested interests. They didn't want to get involved."

In a radio documentary series entitled, "Finding Out: The Rise of Citizen Science,"² Acadia University English Professor Donna Smyth, also an environmentalist, outlined what happens when an individual, like Margherita Howe, goes through this kind of radicalizing process. "As the citizen scientist finds out that experts can be wrong and that governments do not necessarily put our health and well-being above corporate and financial interests, most of us suffer a gradual process of disillusionment. This phase of finding out involves discovering how the world works, as opposed to how we would like it to."

Howe is no longer intimidated by the scientific and technical aspects of the issue. "I gradually became aware that you didn't have to be an expert. There are very few experts around for one thing. If you have 12 scientists looking at a report, for instance, you'll probably have 12 different interpretations; and depending on who the scientists or experts worked for, that determines the policy."

Instead, Margherita stresses the value of common sense. "You don't have to look for complicated answers. We have to, number one, agree without equivocation that there is a problem, and then we have to agree that we must spend the money to provide the solutions for these problems, and not quibble, because down the road we're probably going to have to spend a thousand times more than we would have to now." Howe has no qualms about revealing the sense of frustration she has experienced, but she emphasizes that it didn't keep her from acting. "I have been upset for years; mad all the time, and frustrated.



PROBE POST

But what would they have wanted me to do? Hit people with my purse?"

She still has a hard time understanding why she became so heavily embroiled in Niagara environmental concerns, and at the same time, she wonders why others don't share her deep level of commitment. "Many times you could cry because not enough is being done. And the apathy — there's a heck of a lot of apathy rampant in the population. It's not because people don't care," she says, "but that they don't care enough. It's more of a superficial type of feeling. That, or they don't feel that they're capable of getting into the forefront, they're too apprehensive. I've come to believe this." She adds, "I often wonder why I feel so strongly about things. Maybe it's because I'm half Italian."

Margherita says she used to believe that women cared more deeply about environmental problems than men, but no longer. While it's her general impression that more women are involved in environmental lobbying groups, she points to the disappointing performances of some women in high-ranking positions within government environmental departments. She is particularly critical of Canada's former minister of the Environment, Suzanne Blais-Grenier, who not only made sizable cuts into the country's environmental research pro-

grams, but also advocated mining in national parks.

Margherita continues to play the role of environmental watchdog, but now, more than ever, she is committed to engendering a greater interest in environmental concerns through public education. She is particularly "thrilled" when she thinks that she may have helped to nurture a greater interest in the environment among young people. "We have to educate our young people about the potential problems they face now. They have to be made aware of these problems so that they will be ready to become involved. So that they will care. It is imperative that kids get their priorities straight."

For Margherita Howe, those priorities couldn't be more straightforward. Like many other women, she sees the potential for destruction of the environment by toxic pollution and nuclear weapons as the number one social issue facing us today. □

1 L. Caldecott and S. Leland (eds.) *Reclaim the Earth*. London: Women's Press, 1983.

2 D. Smyth "Finding Out: The Rise of Citizen Science." Canadian Broadcasting Corporation "Ideas" Series. Toronto: CBC Transcripts, 1985.

Demanding a Different Voice

Development with Women

by Susan Prentice

Fifteen years of feminist critique has greatly enriched the theory and practice of international development. In the decade and a half since Ester Boserup's seminal work, *Women's Role in Economic Development*¹ appeared, we have discovered that, as in most disciplines, women are so subsumed into the generic international "he" that we are virtually invisible. As feminist theory and the growing movement of Third World feminists have questioned the systematic exclusion of women, the most fundamental assumptions of international development have been challenged.

Reflection, action, and analysis on the issue of women in/and international development has moved with the speed of light. Only a short decade ago, the perception that "modernization" as practiced by the First World prevented the full participation of women, led to calls to "include women in the development process." In 1975, for example, the first United Nations World Conference in Mexico City for International Women's Year focussed worldwide attention on the need for "intensified action to ensure the full integration of women in the development process."

The early 1970s' model of "integration," which assumed that women could be brought into existing modes of benevolent development without a fundamental restructuring of those processes, came under blistering scrutiny. One commentator put it succinctly: "the attempted integration of women in development appears to be an almost complete failure."² Development theory which assumed a homogeneous population came under attack. Integration theory, which in many ways simply serves to include women in the 1980s' development version of First World colonialism is now discredited by most feminists.

The idea of "integrating women" into development was most popular with modernization theorists. Modernization theory, evolution theory, developmentalism and dependency theory, as well as lesser-known models compete on how to explain and guide development. Each theory works from a different political paradigm and correspondingly understands the role of women differently.

As feminist theory and the growing movement of Third World feminists have questioned the systematic exclusion of women, the most fundamental assumptions of international development have been challenged.

Competing positions on the development debate argue over growth versus people-centred development, export-led growth versus inward-oriented production, the problems of international money and finance, the proper role and functioning of multinational corporations and on technological modernization and appropriateness, all of which reflect the in-

terests and concerns of various agents in the processes of economic and social transformation. Such actors usually include: different, and sometimes conflicting, national or regional interests; transnational or domestic firms; different groups of peasants, agricultural or industrial workers; and the landless or the unemployed. It is only recently that the perspective of women, usually the poorest and most oppressed sector, has begun to be recognized.

As the burgeoning study of women in/and international development has grown, one can more clearly identify two opposing camps: models which work *for* women, and models which work *with* women.

Models which work for women are usually generated by well-meaning practitioners who believe that they have something useful to teach Third World women. What they do not know is that they also have something to learn. "Integrating" women, "consulting" women, and "opening up the process" are key-words for this model. Most "women in development" theory assumes that development is unproblematic, that it serves people, that the people of "host" countries want it, and that it is something that can be handed over to developing countries from the already developed First World. Increasing women's participation and improving their share of resources, land, employment and income relative to men are seen as both necessary and sufficient to effect dramatic changes in their economic and social position.

In contrast, development with women is very different. This model argues for not merely a bigger piece of someone else's pie, but a whole new dish, prepared, baked and distributed equally. As a premise, it starts with the belief that equality for women cannot exist under conditions of

Susan Prentice is a graduate student in Toronto. In 1986-87 she worked with the Women's Programme of the International Council for Adult Education.

relative inequality, if not absolute poverty, for both women and men. Equality for women, it argues, is impossible within existing economic, political and cultural processes that reserve resources, power and control for small elites.

DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era), an international collective based in India, has produced perhaps the most comprehensive statement on development with women. In their book, *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*,³ they outline their program. They begin:

Major issues of development, social and economic crisis, the subordination of women, and feminism may appear too wide-ranging and disparate for a coherent and unified understanding. Yet, we feel these issues are closely linked

Development with women . . . argues for not merely a bigger piece of someone else's pie, but a whole new dish, prepared, baked and distributed equally.

The DAWN women argue that the development process as it has evolved in most Third World countries is not benign. The consequences of long term economic process that are often inimical, or at best indifferent, to the interests and needs of poor people are being felt through interlinked crises of massive and growing impoverishment and inequality, food insecurity and non-availability, financial and monetary disarray, environmental degradation and growing demographic pressures.

Development with women argues that changes to this development process must be guided by an explicit commitment to feminism. The DAWN women describe feminism as the political expression of the concerns and interests of women from different regions, classes, nationalities, and ethnic backgrounds — as "the broadest and deepest development of society and human beings free of all systems of domination." There is, and must be, a diversity of feminisms, responsive to the different needs and concerns of different women and defined by them for themselves. For many women in the world, nationality, class and race are inextricably linked in a locked set of oppressions.

Feminism must tackle gender issues, as well as provide the tools to struggle against colonial legacy, racism, and economic structures which also oppress women.

In their critique of development for women, they state:

We believe that it is from the experience of the most oppressed — ie: women who suffer on account of class, race, and nationality — that we can most clearly grasp the nature of the links in the chain of oppression and explore the kinds of action we must take. Such a perspective implies that a development process that shrinks and poisons the pie available to poor people, and then leaves women scrambling for a larger relative share, is not in women's interests.

Women are organizing by and for themselves, using the model of development with women. In networks, coalitions and movements, women are tackling problems of income and employment. They are altering the ways in which society, governments, international institutions, NGOs, men and they themselves, evaluate women's work. Women are struggling to bring the issues of basic human survival and the right to live in dignity to the forefront of international development. Women's organizing has been an important catalyst in the examination of how development works.

The qualitative and subjective interpretation of women's lives, that particular "point of view" that gives women a privileged perspective on oppressive structures, demands a different voice. Women's organizing has developed alternative forms of organization and action that serve women's particular needs. Women's organizations include networks, coalitions, consciousness-raising groups and support groups. Popular education, participatory research, and group empowerment are some of the techniques used by women. Political mobilization, income-generating projects, legal changes, and consciousness raising are core activities for most women's groups. Women have worked to abandon traditional submissiveness and withstand family and community pressures in collective work. Women have often used traditional cultural forms in creative ways to raise the consciousness of men and women about injustice and equality.

Third World women have made a call to First World women to develop a theory and practice that recognizes the global scope of oppression. International networks of solidarity, organizing and mutual support are essential if "sisterhood is global" is to mean anything. Development with women demands that women struggle with oppressions and in-

justices in our own countries, as well as act in solidarity with Third World women.

DAWN argues that women's organizing is a web spun from three parts: from a vision of what we want society to be like and what we want for women; from strategies that will take us from here to there, especially through collective action; and from methods for actualizing vision and strategies through the empowerment of individual women and their organizations. The congruence between form and content, between how we organize and what we want to achieve, is an important legacy of the women's movement. Our own life experiences show us that ends and means are closely bound up together. It is all too easy to suppress and subjugate in the name of a "greater good"

Development with women demands that women struggle with oppressions and injustices in our own countries, as well as act in solidarity with Third World women.

if this principle of connectedness is forgotten.

Blending theory and practice together in new ways, women all over the world are pushing themselves and their societies forward. International development has been deeply challenged to transform itself in the struggle for a more authentically human-centred development that serves women. From the actual process of what happens in development projects, to the philosophy that guides and funds it; from the women on the receiving end to the funders in "developed countries"; development *with* women poses a profound challenge. □

1 Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1970.

2 Hanna Papanek, "Development Planning for Women," in Wellesley Editorial Committee (eds.) *Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change*, University of Chicago Press, 1977.

3 Published by, and available from: DAWN Secretariat, SMM Theatre Crafts Building, 5 Deen Dayal Upadhyay Marg., New Delhi 110 002, India. A summary of *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions* was printed in *Canadian Women's Studies* 7 (1 and 2), 1985: 31-33.

Too Many Doors Have Been Slammed

by Dawn Smoke

With less than a one per cent housing vacancy rate in Toronto the squeeze is on everyone. Housing is being dealt with, but at an unsatisfactory rate. Toronto's politicians and planners don't seem to have been capable of adequately planning ahead. Why then would anyone focus on one group of people when everyone is hurting? To answer that I want you to role play ... if not for fate you might have been:

Name: Carol Partridge

Age: 39

Single Mum

Income: Mother's allowance

Residence: The rent just went up, you can't pay it; and the landlord wants you out at the end of the month.

How did you get into this mess? You came to Toronto 15 years ago. Back home was hard, real hard. Working all the time, trying to survive, no money; houses weren't any more than shacks, nothing in them to keep out the cold; no privacy, sharing it with your uncle and aunt. Anyhow, you wanted your kids to have the good life, get a good education, wear nice clothes. You used to watch TV all the time at night, and look at magazines. There it all was, all the fancy clothes, the nice houses, easy money. You had a couple of kids and figured it would be a better life in the city. So you worked hard and got some cash together for the bus to Toronto. But it was all dreams, just dreams you found out. You couldn't find work; you had a hard time getting anywhere. Maybe it's the way you look or talk. Your English wasn't too good when you moved here, back home you just spoke Indian.

Anyway, you have come to hate the city, what it does to the kids and the way things are done here. Move back home? No point. There's just nothing there for you anymore. What would the kids do there? It's one long struggle, being boxed in and no

way out. You just don't know what to do anymore.

You panic. You've no idea of what your rights are. All you know is you've got six kids and if a roof's not over their heads at the end of the month then you've got another problem and that's the spectre of the Children's Aid worker grabbing them.



So every day you borrow your next door neighbour's newspaper and go through the classifieds.

You finally come to terms with the fact that there isn't much available. Every appointment you make and go to there's already a crowd there. Most won't rent to you because of the kids, two said they don't rent to Indians and slammed the door in your face. Everyone just sort of smiles when they ask your income and most just flatly refuse you when you talk to them on the phone. They just don't seem

to even want to give you an appointment. There was that one guy who said he had done a lot of work on his place and wan't about to have it trashed. You explained how good your kids are and everything and he slammed the phone in your ear. You keep on looking. You're upset and you're depressed. You don't even have a chance of refusing a dump, because not even a dump is offered to you.

Finally there are only two days left; your life seems to be falling apart; the kids are on your nerves; the packing isn't even finished; the landlord comes and tells you he doesn't care, he wants you out and that's that. There's no heart, no sympathy, no help.

You get a call. It's an appointment to see another place. You cross your fingers, dress up and go. The door opens; eyes dart up and down over you. Questions are asked. Income? A nod, a smile. Children, how many? Mmm, all friendly now ... still smiling ... More questions ... Boy-friends? Do I drink? How about parties? ... They like their places kept clean ... Tell you what, you go on home and I'll give you a call in a couple of hours. You go on home, excited and you wait and wait. The next day, your belongings go into the garage of a friend's friend. You and your kids are in a family hostel ... and you're still checking the papers every day along with every other woman there ...

Poof! A big sigh of relief! You are you again.

The added burden of racism and stereo-typing does make the housing crisis in Toronto an awesome situation for Native women. Every week there is a Carol Partridge who walks into the Native Women's Resource Centre. We can inform her of her rights under the Tenant/Landlord Act and Human Rights legislation. We can give her a newspaper and talk for her on the phone, trying to get

Dawn Smoke is Co-ordinator of the Native Women's Resource Centre in Toronto.

an appointment to see an apartment or house. But that's all. What we need in the Native Community is an overall plan, implemented and administered by us, to provide our own people with housing.

Toronto was originally a Native Community; it never really changed, but in the last few years there has been a major increase in our numbers. Young people are still leaving reserves and moving to the cities in alarming rates, attracted by the lure of excitement, money, opportunity. The economics back home have not changed. There are still no jobs. The only option for financial security is welfare; then boredom sets in. Young people therefore feel forced to leave, only to find out that the skills acquired up north are useless in an urban environment.

There is a Native non-profit housing development with too few units and a two-year waiting list. There is a Métis Native Co-operative in Scarborough, again with too few units, and the limitation that Scarborough is removed from Toronto's Native population and agencies.

Nishnawhe Housing Co-operative attempted to acquire a piece of property at Kingston Road and Warden two years ago. We got closed out because of red tape and that particular community's racism. At a large community forum blatant statements were made that suggested everything from all of us being alcoholics, that we were all on welfare, that there would be a decrease in property values, an increase in crime and what we were really up to was building ourselves a ghetto in the middle of Scarborough. Since that incident we restructured ourselves and set our minds on the downtown core. It will take a while because of the shortage of potential properties and the rapidly inflating land values.

Some women at the Native Women's Resource Centre are developing an innovative concept, encompassing transition units for single women and single mothers as well as some units for seniors. Space for training workshops and support services to assist the residents would be incorporated.

At this time we need every capable person in our community organizing around the housing issue. We need supporters from every level of government and from every non-Native community. Housing is a political issue. Every individual needs and should have a decent, affordable roof over their heads. The politics for us as indigenous people are double tiered. Our history has been bitter and painful. These are the days of growth and strengthening. Housing is basic and there are those of us out here who insist that we have it and are organizing to make sure it happens.

Too many doors have been slammed. □



J. MARCHAND

Native Women's Special Needs

An excerpt from a Statement Issued by the Native Women's Resource Centre, Toronto

Housing and Shelter are definitely priorities on our Needs list but of course it is more involved than that. Our women need Skills, training that will make them self sufficient, will allow them to afford to pay their rent, clothe the children decently, eat properly. We need the resources to allow us to move forward in this area. The self-esteem of our Women has a direct tie to self-sufficiency. Working for minimum

wage or trying to survive on Welfare or Mothers Allowance is defeatist. Our Women are strong and more than capable of achieving and doing more. We just need the tools, the opportunities.

In order that we as a People achieve our goal of a secure future, we must always keep in our minds the politics of self-determination. We have in our Community many People that have great ideas, a resource of knowledge, and a full commitment to helping our own People. What we lack is the means. This includes economic power or sufficiency. What we as Native Women want is basic and simple. We want the means to help each other survive, cope and grow. We want the means to take our own future in our hands and feel proud.

Local Initiatives in Child Care Services

by Laurel Rothman and Jane Beach

Over the past year in Canada the subject of child care has received an unprecedented level of public attention — from the media, corporations, community organizations and all levels of government. In spite of all this activity the supply, cost and quality of care varies tremendously across the country. With neither the federal, provincial, nor municipal levels of government having a mandate to plan child care services for Canadian families, the development of services has been largely a result of ad hoc community initiatives rather than through coordinated design.

The changing structure and lifestyle of Canadian families is apparent across the socio-economic spectrum. The majority of preschool children now have mothers in the paid labour force and therefore require supplementary care for a large part of the day. Many organizations have followed the lead of the Canadian Daycare Advocacy Association and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women in calling for the development of a national child care policy that seriously responds to the need for high quality childcare services.

Daycare in Canada is under provincial jurisdiction. Each province licences, regulates, sets standards and controls the supply of services. Each province and territory enters into an agreement with the federal government for funds under the Canada Assistance Plan. This cost-shared arrangement does not pay for programs, nor does it provide capital dollars to start new centres. It is rather a welfare service that provides subsidies to low income families to help pay part of the fees in licensed programs. Parents often have to go on long waiting lists to get a subsidized space and the income levels that determine eligibility vary between municipalities. In some parts of the coun-

try a single parent earning just above minimum wage does not qualify yet in other areas a family earning \$30,000 may.

Most parents must pay the full cost of child care. In non-profit centres staff salaries account for approximately 80 per cent of the budget. Salaries are limited by the parents' ability to pay, so as a result,

Daycare staff subsidize the cost of daycare.

daycare staff subsidize the cost by working for inadequate pay in order to keep fees as low as possible. In Toronto it costs parents approximately \$5,000 a year to have one child in daycare, while staff salaries average \$15,000 in non-profit centres and are even less in those that are run as commercial enterprises.

In an effort to address the current child care crisis, the City of Toronto, while it has no mandate to provide daycare, has developed a number of initiatives over the last few years aimed at assisting both parents and daycare workers. In the late 1970s the City obtained capital funding through the federal Neighbourhood Improvement Program that allowed the establishment or renovation of several centres. The City also provided space for daycare in a number of City-owned buildings, for little or no rent.

In 1980 Hester How Daycare Centre was established in City Hall for

Laurel Rothman and Jane Beach are daycare co-ordinators with the City of Toronto Planning and Development Department.

employees of both the City and Metropolitan Toronto levels of government. The City provided all capital and start-up costs; it gives free occupancy and maintenance, and an annual operating grant that helps reduce employees' fees. The daycare centre, which is a non-profit corporation with parents, union and management representation on the board of directors, cares for 50 children ranging in age from three months to five years.

In 1982, responding to the increased interest in Hester How and workplace daycare generally, the City of Toronto established the Task Force on Workplace Daycare to provide information and technical assistance to a range of employers and employee groups. As local political support for day care grew, its provision soon became an item to be negotiated as part of major land redevelopments in the downtown core.

The workplace daycare initiative proceeded to develop successfully, but it became evident that the City, while achieving its goal of increasing supply and raising corporate interest, had not had a significant impact on the high cost of fees or on low staff salaries.

In 1983, in response to pressure from parents who could not afford high fees and daycare centres facing low enrolments, City Council approved a City-financed three-year grant program aimed at increasing staff salaries while holding fee increases to a minimum. The grant, made available only to non-profit centres located in the City of Toronto, is directed specifically to staff salaries. Its impact has been significant. Since 1984, salaries have risen by an average of 22 per cent, while fees have risen by only 9 per cent; in 1986, the average daycare salary in the City had increased to \$17,358.

The \$2.1 million grant for 1986-87 has helped to stabilize fees for the parents of



DAYCARE RESOURCE & RESEARCH UNIT AND CITY OF TORONTO

more than 4000 children. This infusion of money has demonstrated that direct funding is critical. City Council views its intervention as a means to prod senior levels of government into action and, as this article goes to press, it is expected that the province's Minister of Community and Social Services will announce the introduction of direct funding for each licensed daycare space in Ontario.

The City's achievements in the field of on-site daycare have had a visible impact on the supply of daycare services. City efforts to establish daycare centres in new commercial developments will have created more than 350 spaces by 1990. The first of these to open is Waterpark Place, a large commercial/residential development built by Campeau Corporation. When the first 26-storey commercial tower was completed in September 1986, Campeau's project manager David Levin referred to the mezzanine-level daycare centre as "a definite attraction for tenants." At the same time, working parents in the growing waterfront area around Bay Street and Queen's Quay eagerly enrolled their young children. George Brown College operates the centre that will eventually have the capacity to serve 52 children from three months to five years of age. Parents working in the building have first priority for enrollment. As spaces become available, pa-

rents in the surrounding area and general community can register their children.

The successful establishment of these centres is the result of a co-ordinated planning approach that defines the responsibilities for the City, the developer and the daycare centre. These responsibilities are determined within the land use planning process and are secured in a

Using the development process is creative yet problematic.

Master Agreement which ensures that the daycare centre is a public benefit to the City. The agreement embodies the following principles:

- 1 The daycare centre will be operated by a non-profit corporation or municipal government. Parent involvement either on the board of directors or in an advisory committee will be established.
- 2 The developer will lease the indoor space (at least 5,000 square feet to accommodate at least 52 children) and sufficient outdoor play space to the operator in accordance with requirements for all applicable regulations for children

and staff. Children served will include infants, toddlers and preschoolers.

3 The developer will be responsible for furnishing and equipping the centre.

4 Plans, drawings and specifications are subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Planning and Development.

5 The space shall be leased at nominal rent for at least 25 years. The developer will also be responsible for paying maintenance, utilities and taxes. The Commissioner of Planning and Development, in consultation with the City's Legal Department, shall approve the form and content of the lease.

6 The Daycare centre will be completed and the lease signed at least 30 days prior to the occupancy of the building.

7 If the daycare centre ceases operation, then the City will be given an option to lease the space for municipal purpose under the same terms.

The strategy of maximizing the land use development process to obtain additional childcare services is creative yet problematic. In general, most of the daycare centres in Toronto have been negotiated as part of applications for rezoning and/or amendments to the City's Official Plan. In some situations, complex, controversial transfers of development rights are involved in the approval of these large developments. Several salient questions have been raised: Should the

planning of child care services be dependent on the land use process or should the government undertake to plan and implement services in a more regular manner? Should child care planning at the local level be left to the political will of individual City Councils or should there be a requirement to build daycare in large developments or alternatively contribute to a child care fund such as the City of San Francisco has recently instituted? Would downtown daycare be parents' preferred choice if there were other affordable options such as neighbourhood-based child care in a supervised home or daycare centre? Currently, the demand for child care far outweighs the supply of services. At the same time, there is no major capital funding to build child care centres. Thus, local initiatives such as those in Toronto and San Francisco are essential in the absence of a comprehensive planning policy.

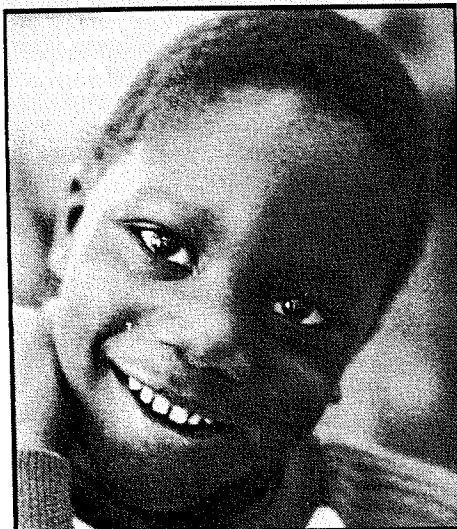
The City of Toronto's initiatives in the daycare field have had a broad impact. Work with developers and employers has resulted in an increased supply of licensed daycare spaces. The City grant has improved the wages and working conditions for many early childhood educators and has eased the burden of fee increases for many parents. Still, the general approach to obtaining daycare services remains disjointed and subject to the will of individual local councils or provincial legislatures. There is not as yet a mandate at any level of government to plan for daycare services as there is to plan for education, health care or other public services. Demographic projections and policy formulations of all three major political parties in Canada assume that women will enter and remain in the labour force at increasing rates. As support to families, we need a comprehensive planning and implementation model that ensures that all families who want and/or need daycare can find it and can afford to pay for it. □



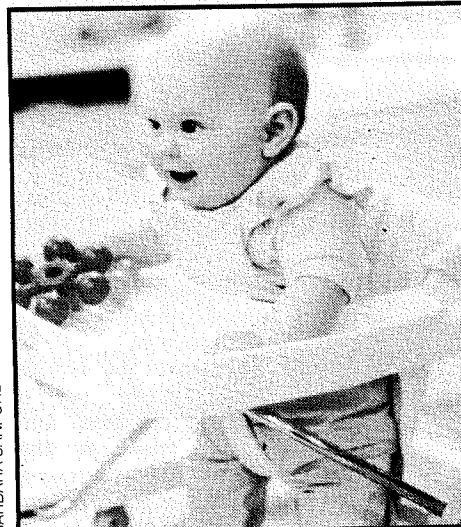
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San Fran Child

By the year 2000 San Francisco could be a city without children unless the current exodus of families from the City to the suburbs is slowed down or stopped, or so say increasing numbers of planners and experts. Meanwhile, in San Francisco and the Bay Area, quality, licensed and affordable care is available to less than 60% of the people who need and desire it — and waiting lists at such places are frequently over two years long.

While many employers in our City continue to take jobs out of the City to new developments in Northern California — our office vacancy rate has steadily risen to over 15% — we must consider what can be done to change or reverse these trends.

One of the amenities offered by (a growing number of) these out-of-town developers is on or near-site child care. Many have learned through experience that child care is an amenity in today's market. On or near-site child care helps attract major tenants because employers have discovered the benefits of on or near-site child care for their employees.

Over the last 20 years, San Francisco's office and hotel boom has helped establish our city as a financial and international center and it has also created a marked shift in the composition of the workforce. Working women and mothers are now the bedrock of our city's economy, and employers concerned with retaining qualified employees (fathers, mothers, and future parents), must be concerned with the availability of child care for their workers.

Over the years, community based efforts to develop child care in the vicinity of downtown to serve the downtown work-

Nancy G. Walker is Supervisor of the San Francisco Program. The article is reprinted with permission from OWA, the Organization of Women Architects and Design Professionals, San Francisco.

San Francisco Office-Hotel Child Care Program

by Nancy G. Walker

force have been remarkably unsuccessful due to land values, rents, and the fact that to retrofit existing buildings for child care use has repeatedly proven to be too costly. Compliance with stringent building codes, seismic and open space requirements are either impossible or prohibitively expensive when dealing with a pre-existing structure. Including child care facilities in new office buildings and hotels is an appropriate and important first step toward increasing the availability of child care in our city.

Thus the new San Francisco Office-Hotel Affordable Child Care Ordinance was born. This program was not only desirable but demanded. The fact that a major developer such as Jim Bronkema of the Rockefeller-owned Embarcadero Center volunteered to develop a child care facility as part of their new building upon learning of the proposed ordinance — which he was not required to comply with — told me that this is an idea whose time has come.

The Office-Hotel Child Care Program requires office or hotel developers constructing a net addition of 50,000 square feet or more in the City and County of San Francisco to either:

- 1 set aside 2,000 square feet of floor space or .01 percent of the total floor area (whichever is greater) for an on-site child care center to be made available to a non-profit child care provider;
OR
- 2 set aside the equivalent area for a near-site child care center to be made available to a non-profit child care provider;
OR
- 3 contribute \$1 per square foot of office space to a citywide Affordable Child Care Fund.

As of December, 1986, six office projects representing over 2.5 million square feet of office space are subject to the provisions

of this ordinance, and several major hotels are due to be approved in the coming year.

While several developers are planning to provide on or near-site child care, others have expressed concern that it may be too difficult or too costly to provide on or near site facilities. Instead, these developers will contribute to the in lieu fund.

The requirement for on or near-site child care in a highly urbanized setting such as downtown San Francisco presents challenges and problems most developers are unaccustomed to when planning major offices and hotels.

First understanding, then complying with a myriad of State and Local requirements is challenging in and of itself, in addition to conforming with the City's own peculiar set of planning guidelines for office buildings and hotels.

This intricate web of city and state agencies which review child care facilities — including the City's Fire, building and Planning Departments and assorted State agencies — *must be coordinated* in order to help developers negotiate the planning process for on or near site child care.

We have discovered that slight modifications in the local *Building and Fire Code* can help reduce the costs to developers planning on-site facilities. For example, more restrictive local codes often restrict child care to the first floor while the more permissive State Building Code allows child care above the first floor. San Francisco's Building Code was recently amended to reflect the more permissive State Code and developers now have the option of placing a child care facility above the first floor. We are also working on the State level to make distinctions between the needs of infants and toddlers in re-writing local and state regulations relating to facility design, open space requirements, etc.

In addition to the gains we have made by forging this public-private partner-

ship, making child/youth care available to all who need it requires a continuum of services including:

- on-site/near site care for infants and pre-schoolers;
- after school day care for school aged kids;
- care for both groups 24 hours a day and seven days a week;
- quality after school programs for older kids and teenagers (academic, social, recreational and educational);
- day care for children of teen parents near school to try to keep the *parents* in school.

The next steps are more difficult but must be accomplished. To this end, San Francisco voters overwhelmingly passed Proposition D on the November 1986 ballot which will help restore after school programs which were cutback in the wake of Proposition 13 and more recent federal budget reductions. There were several obvious areas that need work and which we are addressing, including: improving the public education system, increasing the supply of affordable family housing, and increasing and improving the job pool. Less obvious but as important is to increase and improve the services available to families, children and youth; specifically: 1) increasing access to and the availability of quality, affordable child care both pre-school and after-school for younger children; 2) expanding the hours that school gymnasiums, school playgrounds and neighborhood recreation centers are supervised and open for older kids and teenagers.

Additionally, we have developed a "Youth and Children's Services Fund" which will solicit voluntary tax deductible contributions from the private sector through the mechanism of a check-off on the Business and Hotel Tax forms collected with these taxes.

Our Office-Hotel Affordable Child Care Program Ordinance has generated enormous interest across the country. The support of numerous public officials, labor representatives and business executives for this measure is a testament to the popularity of an approach which makes sense for developers, employers and employees alike — we are all the beneficiaries.

Most importantly, we have learned that Cities must vigorously explore innovative and imaginative solutions to their problems. What is appropriate for San Francisco may or may not be appropriate in other areas, however in these days of very real fiscal constraints, I believe the public interest demands that local governments work with the private sector and explore ways to assure that the long term benefits of quality, affordable child care accrue to us all. □

—A WORD FROM YOU—

Taking the Other Side

Although Barbara Sanford (*Taking Sides*, Winter, 1987) mentions a number of social and economic issues, her concluding remark points to the essential element of being a surrogate mother, not economic, but emotional — the relinquishing of a child. This is an experience which most people never have. Ms Sanford states, "The intrinsic rewards of pregnancy and childbirth exist, of course, for women who experience emotional bonding with their unborn child and anticipate the joys of their life together after birth. Without these hopes and dreams, the rewards are no longer intrinsic."

I disagree. I decided to give the child of my unplanned pregnancy up for adoption. My experience with bearing a child that I knew I would not see for more than a few days after birth was not solely "a hazar-

dous and tiring job." Pregnancy was a wonderful time for me. I felt truly whole and truly female. The fact that I did not dream of our life together did not hinder my intrinsic pleasure in what I consider the ultimate creative act. I must admit that before my experience I would have had the same reaction as Ms Sanford, and consider that all the more reason to share these opinions.

Although I do want to raise children of my own, I feel that I could again bear a child for someone else, willingly and with joy solely from childbearing and birth, either for altruistic or monetary reasons. Not all surrogate mothers will be poor women grasping at any means to make money — some will be women who enjoy creating life within themselves, an experience I am glad to have had personally.

Few women have censured me for giving up my child; most express admiration

for my "strength" in being able to let him go and sorrow at my loss. No woman has yet mentioned the positive aspect of my experience of childbirth. I find that amazing, given the fact that those months and hours were rewarding to me in and of themselves.

Certainly, if I had had adequate income and housing to allow me — with a child — to have the choices I desired for work and leisure, I would have kept my son. Other women who have all of these things, on the other hand, will never be able to give birth. I, millions of other birth mothers, and hundreds of surrogate mothers have been able to provide them with the children to fill that gap in their lives.

*Ann M. Cibulskis
Chicago, Ill.*

Third World Subscription Fund

Please enter my own subscription and also a year's subscription for Frances Chinemana in Zimbabwe, whose lack of foreign exchange prevents her from renewing. If, as must have happened, many other readers have also offered to share the costs of Frances' subscription, please use the money as the beginning of a fund to offer your excellent, supportive publication to women of the Third World who are working to counter (and, I hope, resist) imperialism and underdevelopment and who, for those very reasons, cannot afford to pay for whatever information and support we can give them.

*Louise Dunlap
Urban Studies & Planning, MIT
Cambridge, Mass.*

Just a note to say thank you for publishing my letter, and even more for your note informing me that Beth Szplett had given me a new subscription! That really was very kind of her, and I have just written to her to say thanks.

Also in response to my letter in *W & E*, I had a letter from Hilary Craig, now in Regina, Saskatchewan, who lived in Zimbabwe for a few years. We knew each other when she was here, and have talked vaguely about setting up some kind of information/resource here for women. My letter, she says, has now spurred her into action, so we are going to try and get something moving at our respective ends. It would be a most worthwhile thing, as we are so short of overseas information here, but we need to look carefully at the organisation of it.

*Frances Chinemana
Harare, Zimbabwe*

—TAKING SIDES

Are Kids for Profit?

by Martha Friendly

It's hard to believe it but we have reached a point in Canada where those of us who stay up late enough to catch the TV reruns of Question Period watch the Prime Minister and the opposition leaders debating the merits of one form of government support for childcare over another. Childcare is now our #1 social policy issue and, as we head towards a federal election within the next two years, it is likely to continue to have a high profile.

Most aspects of the childcare situation in Canada have been studied thoroughly. As early as 1970, an influential Royal Commission on the Status of Women called for a "day-care programme designed for all families who need it and wish to use it." In 1984, another Royal Commission, on Equality in Employment, viewed the absence of an adequate Canadian system of childcare as an important barrier to women's access to employment and said that "childcare should be seen as a public service to which every child has a right."

In the space of four years, we have had two federal-level task forces studying childcare. The first recommended the development over 15 years of a childcare system which would receive substantial public dollars and offer a variety of directly funded non-profit services; it would be universally accessible.

The second committee was set up by the current Conservative government, and spent a year and about \$1,000,000 studying childcare again. Its majority report called for expansion of the 17-week paid maternity leave to a 6-month parental leave, modification of the existing Child Care Expense Deduction to a tax credit for receipted childcare expenses to a maximum of \$900, a new tax credit for unreceipted childcare and at-home parents to \$200, and modest capital and operating grants which would be available to non-profit and for-profit childcare programs. The report was roundly denounced by childcare, women's, labour, church and social welfare groups as an inadequate, ill-conceived and irresponsible response to the childcare crisis.

At the same time, the provinces and the federal government are engaged in negotiations which, it is promised, will culminate in a national plan for childcare in Canada by the end of June. Interested groups are lining up to oppose some expected government initiatives like funding for-profit childcare and tax measures for parents. These are perceived by childcare, women's, labour and other groups as moves away from the kind of childcare on which there appears to be an emerging national consensus — a system of high quality services accessible to all parents who want and need a range of choices.

It will be an interesting Spring for people with an interest in childcare.

Workshops on Women's Homelessness

The recently formed Housing Subcommittee of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) has been given responsibility for organizing a series of eight workshops on women and homelessness for the major Canadian IYSH conference "New Partnerships," September 14-16 in Ottawa.

The workshop series is being designed for regional balance as well as to highlight the most significant aspects of women's housing (in)adequacy. The workshops being planned: an introduction to how housing is a women's issue; transition and interval houses; hostels and shelters; women's experience of homelessness; women-developed housing solutions; housing programs and policies. The Halifax MUMS (Women United for Metro Shelter) will present a workshop on their organizing experience; and a francophone presentation is being planned on the situation for women in Quebec.

For more information contact NAC Housing Subcommittee, 344 Bloor St. West #505, Toronto M5S 1W9. (For conference information, see *Events*).

Feminist Futures International Network

The first newsletter from the Feminist Futures International Network is out. The proposed list of activities of the network include: to prepare and share bibliographies related to feminist futurist/utopian thinking; to circulate information on books and articles in progress or already published in the area; to write notes for the newsletter and share selections of writing; make available reports on what is happening among women in "high science"; to think about the possibility of a feminist futurist journal; to expand the network to include interested people on all continents; and to work toward the possibility of an international feminist futures workshop.

The cost of the newsletter is US\$2.50 per issue. If you're interested in participating, send a cheque or money order to cover at least two issues to: Feminist Futures International Network Temporary Editor: Elise Boulding Institute of Behavioral Science Box 483 University of Colorado Boulder CO 80309

A Women's Interest Group for Planning Schools

At the April meeting of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) Marcia Marker Field presented a proposal requesting formal recognition of a faculty women's special interest group. The group has operated informally since the fall 1985 meeting of the ACSP as the Faculty Women's Interest Group and now proposes their title be the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Faculty Women's Interest Group (WIG).

Their proposal notes that despite the increasing importance of women's concerns in planning education, research and practice, only a few planning schools in the ACSP include these concerns in their programs. On the other hand, women are steadily increasing their numbers in planning schools and agencies across the country, and articles dealing with women's planning issues appear regularly in the literature, including the ACSP's *Journal of Planning Education and Research*.

The Faculty Women's Interest Group has been informally involved in promoting women's issues in planning education and practice for several years. They have met regularly to discuss common concerns, exchange information, provide peer support and promote co-operative research and training efforts — activities directly related to the goals and mission of the ACSP. Formal recognition of the group would give the ACSP a central role in promoting women's concerns in planning education and practice, increase the Association's national and international visibility and enable it to serve better the needs of planning students, educators and professionals.

WIG plans to engage in three types of major activities. First, it will sponsor a series of one-day conferences dealing with women's concerns in planning education. Several panels have been held already and additional panels are planned for the 1987 APA and ACSP conferences.

Second, the group plans to distribute a biannual newsletter, WIG-in-action. The newsletter will include short abstracts of relevant papers presented at ACSP conferences and other information of potential interest to planning academics and professionals.

Third, the group would like to increase opportunities for interaction by encouraging peer review of articles and theses and by promoting other types of co-operative efforts among women faculty members and doctoral students.

When formally recognized as an ACSP

special interest group, notices of the group's new status will be sent to all women faculty and doctoral candidates and to the chairs of all ACSP member schools. In the meantime, contact Marcia Marker Field, Graduate Curriculum in Community Planning and Area Development, University of Rhode Island, Kingston RI 02881-0815.

Halifax Shelter Closed

A short-term emergency housing shelter for women with children in Halifax has closed its doors after four years of operation. Collins House, which was established in 1983, accepted its last occupant on January 30 and officially closed on the 13th of February.

While the volunteer board which ran Collins House claimed that the shelter was closed due to a lack of demand for the service, local housing and women's groups say that just isn't the case.

The Chair of the board, Donna MacCready, said the house was first established in response to what was a desperate housing situation in Halifax in 1983, noting, "People simply didn't have a place to go." However, MacCready noted that the long waiting list of women requiring the services of the shelter had disappeared by 1985, and the house was seldom full after that. Because funding for Collins House was tied to occupancy, by the spring of 1986 the board was forced to grapple with a serious financial situation. At that time, the city granted Collins House deficit funding for three months while the board assessed the possibility of closure.

According to MacCready, occupancy remained quite low throughout 1986 and dropped dramatically in the fall, when an average of nine women used the 28 bed shelter. MacCready says she is confident that women with children can now find housing elsewhere in the Halifax area.

Despite her optimism, a rally was recently organized by local groups to protest the demise of Collins House. They say the shelter was closed too quickly and they are concerned about the impact of the closure on women in the metropolitan area.

One of the board's critics is Johanna Cromwell, a member of the group Mothers United for Metro Shelter (MUMS). "I think it's a darn shame that they are closing Collins House down," she said. "Where are women supposed to go now?" She points out that while there are two other emergency shelters for women in Halifax, one, Bryony House, serves victims of battering only, while the other, Adsun House, does not take children.

Adrienne Scott

The Feminist Reshaping of Urban Services

by Janet K. Boles

From the inception of the women's rights movement in 1966, with the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW), members of feminist organizations typically were white, middle-class, college-educated urban dwellers. It would be inaccurate, however, to continue to categorize the feminist movement in the United States as middle-class. During the 1970s, the racial and class composition of activist feminist women changed greatly, making the women's rights movement one of the most inclusive and diverse in US history. Unfortunately, there are no reliable measures of the total number of participants in local women's rights groups. NOW, the largest of the national groups, had 717 local chapters in 1986, a rough indication of the number of cities with at least one feminist group.

Feminist groups may be the true "insiders" in local politics in that many of their members are a part of the social service and education professions. Because of its association with the home and family, community politics is where women have faced fewer cultural barriers and role conflicts. It is here that women enjoy greatest access to the political system. Women are best represented in elective office at the local level in terms of both numbers and percentages of such positions. Women working through voluntary associations have traditionally led the major urban reform movements.¹ The role of working-class and black women in the grassroots community organizations dating from the 1960s is especially well documented.² Feminist groups are arguably one of the premier shapers of the urban environment today. The number of female elected officials serving at the city

and county levels is twenty times that at the state and national levels, or 13 per cent of the total positions. Those studying local elected women have found many to be sympathetic to feminism, strong supporters of women's issues, and willing role



models for other women. Women's organizations too have gained direct representation in city government through local commissions on the status of women (CSWs). From 1975 to 1980, the number of such commissions doubled to 150.

Janet K. Boles is a member of the Department of Political Science at Marquette University in Milwaukee, where she teaches courses in urban politics and policy.

Another component of the women's rights policy network is the female urban administrator. Even though women hold less than 15 per cent of executive positions in local government, these female path-breakers often share the feminist orientations of elected women. The same is also true of urban service providers in those professions dominated by women: social work (64.9 per cent female in 1980), nursing (95.9 per cent), library science (82.5 per cent), and teaching (70.8 per cent).³ Despite these heavy numerical concentrations of women, men have traditionally occupied the top positions in each bureaucracy. Women are thus most influential at the local level, as politicians, urban administrators and as service providers.

Soon after the emergence of the new feminist movement, several of the associations representing these four occupational groups began to study both the status and image of women in the profession and within their client group. The members of these female-dominated professions were especially receptive to the critique of urban services offered by local women's rights groups, as well as that coming from their own professional associations. Other (primarily male) urban professionals — for example, doctors, lawyers, police and hospital administrators — too have been greatly influenced by feminist demands and activities, although not always for explicitly feminist reasons. Instead, the availability of government grants, changes in national and state laws, and competition from feminist-run alternative institutions were often the key factors in restructuring such services as health care and criminal justice. (Feminist groups, of course, were central to the creation of

these grants and legal changes.) To illustrate these patterns of change, six urban services for women are described below.

Library Services for Women: Libraries typically have not viewed women as a clientele with special needs. And since women constitute the majority of public library users, special outreach programs have not seemed warranted. Local women's rights groups have also largely ignored public libraries and instead have preferred to establish their own libraries in women's centres or to found feminist book stores.

There is, however, a well-developed feminist critique of sexism in children's literature. The topic has attracted much interest in the library profession, and nonsexist acquisition policies for children's books have been widely adopted. In addition, many special library programs for women have been developed, generally consisting of bibliographies, special exhibits, films, lectures, and discussions. The catalysts for these service changes include: the national observance of the UN International Women's Year in 1975; an interested member of the library staff or board of trustees; requests from local women's groups; small public or private grants; and library association conference panels or continuing education courses.⁴

Public Education: The redesign of public schools to eliminate all forms of sex discrimination in education is a function of a broad national law (Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, prohibiting sex discrimination in any nationally-funded program within elementary, secondary, and post-secondary schools); available national and state grants for implementation; a supportive and actively involved education profession; and the analysis and monitoring by national and local women's rights groups.

Women's studies courses have proliferated . . . as have feminist health groups and clinics

Although the controversy over Title IV has primarily centred around school sports programs, the act also covers course availability, counselling, textbooks,

teacher attitudes and employment practices. In response, state departments of education have investigated sexism in their public schools. National education associations and university schools of education have produced nonsexist instructional materials. Most major textbook publishers have adopted guidelines for nonsexist language and positive women's images.

Women's studies courses, originally taught in "liberation schools" located in women's centres, have proliferated in the public schools and associated community college systems. The effect of nonsexist approaches to career counselling is reflected in the upsurge of women entering traditionally male fields. Between 1972 and 1980, the percentage of women in medical school increased from 11 to 26; in law school, 10 to 34; in dental school, two to 17; and in technical programs, 10 to 18.⁵



Childbirth Services: Although virtually all US women now give birth in hospitals, this professional monopoly is the result of an historic decades-long struggle by obstetricians with midwives. Beginning in the late 1960s, physicians faced a new challenge. The new feminist movement levelled a scathing attack on the paternalistic medical profession and the hazardous health practices, dangerous drugs, and untested devices to which women routinely were subjected. Concurrently, feminist health groups and centres proliferated. In the case of alternative health centres, which generally provided abortion, pre-natal, and gynecological services, there was also some movement to assist with home births.

Some strong economic pressures were also being exerted. Birth rates declined in a period of rapid hospital construction. Equally serious was the fact that between

1972 and 1975, out-of-hospital births rose 60 per cent.⁶ In response, the "American way of hospital birth" has been significantly altered, both in terms of physical settings and technology. One such change is the introduction of the alternative birthing centre or, at a minimum, the special birthing room. Almost one in six US hospitals now has such a centre.

Many of the demands of feminist and health consumer groups were consistent with existing medical knowledge, however. And these changes were formally legitimized in 1978 by a joint position statement from the Interprofessional

By 1977, almost all large US cities had special counselling services for rape victims

Task Force on Health Care of Women and Children, composed of representatives from the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American College of Nurse-Midwives, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, and the American Nurses Association. The statement was later endorsed by the American Health Association. What may appear as feminist-motivated service redesign could also be presented to autonomy-conscious providers as self-initiated, professionally-controlled evolution of medical practices.

Services for Displaced Homemakers: The term "displaced homemaker" was coined in the mid-1970s to describe a group of women who, because of divorce, widowhood or other sudden loss of income, have been removed from their occupation of running a household. Because of their age (over 35 but still far from retirement), lack of recent job experience, and little or no college or professional education, they find it difficult to find employment. Yet they are ineligible for most types of social insurance.

The recognition of displaced homemakers as a distinct group in need of social services grew out of feminist interest in the special problems of older women. In 1978, Congress made displaced homemakers eligible for job-training programs. And by the early 1980s over two dozen state legislatures had established grants to (most commonly, non-profit community)

organizations to provide services to these women; almost 300 programs and projects, located in all 50 states and the District of Columbia, provided these services.

Services for Rape Victims: During the past decade, US police and court procedures in investigating and prosecuting rape changed in response to public demands for reform, again led by the women's rights movement. Especially influential was the establishment of the first rape crisis centres in 1972.

By 1982, there were hundreds of "safe houses" or shelters for battered women in the US

Typically, such centres provide some combination of crisis counseling, legal advocacy, medical care, and evidence-gathering services. By 1977, 65 per cent of all US communities and 95 per cent of large cities had special counseling services for rape victims.⁷ Initially these centres were autonomous "alternative services" run by trained volunteers and some professionals. Today hospitals, public prosecutors, and police departments routinely cooperate and coordinate services with these centres.

Police officers' training now includes instruction in the nature of rape and the rape trauma syndrome. Some departments have established special sexual offence investigative units. Hospitals too have instituted special procedures for the treatment of rape victims. "Rape evidence kits" have been developed; hospital staff undergo training in forensic examination and are strongly encouraged to make court appearances, victims are given priority in treatment and are referred to crisis services available within the hospital or community.

State laws on rape also underwent major reforms in the 1970s. The rules of evidence regarding corroboration and consent were altered, and restrictions were placed on judges' instructions to the jury. Greater protection was afforded the victim as well (ie., questions regarding prior sexual history were prohibited and the victim's testimony could be given in a closed courtroom.)

Services for Domestic Violence Victims: A second issue of "violence against women" was raised by women's rights groups in

the mid 1970s. Unlike the crime of rape, domestic disturbance calls have traditionally been assigned a low priority by local police departments.

The first accomplishment of the women's movement was to provide grassroots-operated emergency shelters for battered women. The first opened in St Paul, Minnesota, in 1974; by 1982 there were between 300 and 700 "safe houses" and shelters in the US. In addition, women's rights groups have sought reforms within the criminal justice and social service bureaucracies. By 1981, 49 states and the District of Columbia had passed some type of legislation to combat domestic violence; most create new civil and criminal remedies for victims of abuse, specify appropriate police responses, or require better record keeping and reporting procedures. Also, state funds and some limited national monies have been made available for shelters and other services for abused women.

A few states are adding a surcharge to marriage licences, earmarked for the support of battered women's programs, or mandating a similar surcharge to fines levied against those convicted of domestic abuse. Successful litigation by battered women against prosecutors, police and court employees for nonenforcement of

Some changes have been cosmetic, others incomplete, but women's rights groups are effecting changes

the law or denial of services has also spurred criminal justice changes. Local police are now shifting to a "crisis intervention" approach, whereby specially trained officers mediate disputes and refer couples to social services. Some police departments are also experimenting with mandatory warrantless arrests in cases where there is "reasonable cause" to believe domestic assault has occurred. These changes thus far are proving ineffective in reducing the rate of domestic violence. Even those found guilty of the new criminal offence of domestic violence are rarely punished by jail or probationary status.

The Feminist Impact

Even though the magnitude of change varies, each urban service described above has been redesigned in accordance with the demands of local women's rights groups. In some cases the changes may have been cosmetic; the "home-like" interior design of a birthing room can still be accompanied by intrusive obstetric procedures. In other areas, implementation has been less than complete. And as evaluations of the changes in rape and domestic violence laws appear, it is clear that not all of the hoped-for outcomes have occurred. The purpose here, however, was not to show the effectiveness of the redesign of urban services, but to recount the role of women's rights groups in effecting these changes.

As a movement composed of many highly-educated and relatively affluent members, accustomed to working within bureaucratic structures, local women's rights groups are strategically located to participate in a policy network around their issues and present their demands in a manner consistent with traditional bureaucratic values of efficiency, economy, effectiveness, and responsiveness. This has no doubt facilitated relationships between alternative institutions and urban service bureaucracies; often those involved in the former are also trained and experienced professionals. □

1 See B.J. Berg, *The Remembered Gate*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978; M. Gittel and T. Shtob, "Changing Women's Roles in Political Volunteerism and Reform of the City," in C.R. Stimpson et al, eds, *Women and the American City*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

2 See for example I. Dabrowski, "Working Class Women and Civic Action," *Policy Studies Journal* 11(3) 1983; C.T. Gilkes, "Holding Back the Ocean with a Broom" Black Women and Community Work," in L.F. Roger-Rose, ed., *The Black Woman*, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980.

3 D.R. Kaufman, "Professional Women: How Real are the Gains?" in J. Freeman, ed., *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, Palo Alto: Mayfield, 1984.

4 K.A. Cassell and K. Weibel, "Public Library Response to Women and Their Changing Roles," *RQ* 20(1) 1980.

5 M.A. Millsap, "Sex Equity in Education," in I. Tinker, ed., *Women in Washington*, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1983.

6 S.B. Ahrentzen, "Birth Settings: A Perspective on our Progress," *Women and Environments* 8(1) 1986.

7 I. Blair, *Investigating Rape: A new Approach for Police*, London: Croom Helm, 1985.

Whispers from the Past: Selections from the Writings of New Brunswick Women

Elizabeth McGahan, editor

Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 1986.
\$7.95. ISBN 0-86492-090-3

Reviewed by Susan Belyea

Whispers from the Past is a collection of excerpts from unpublished writings of 19th and 20th century New Brunswick women. The writings in this collection were drawn from women's diaries, letters, school compositions, the minutes of women's associations, short histories and essays, and as such reflect women's experiences and concerns in ordinary life.

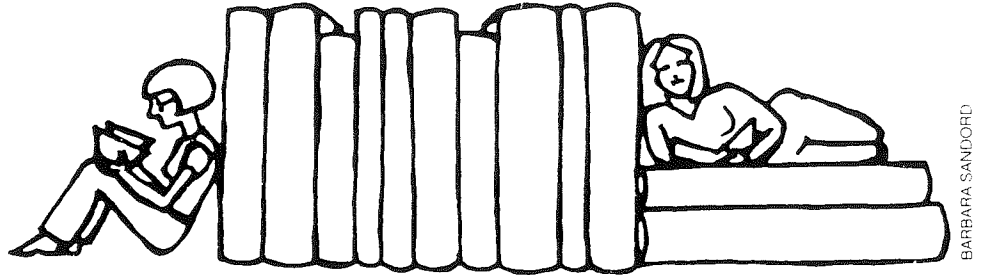
Elizabeth McGahan has chosen a series of poignant and unpretentious pieces

... evidence of the social and community concerns of active and conscientious women in a society which expected them to be only decorous and domestic.

which reveal the range and variety of ages, lifestyles, histories and concerns of all the women who wrote them. It is unfortunate, however, that all of the pieces in this book come from the southern coast of New Brunswick, and the majority from one city, Saint John. While this may be in part a reflection of the availability of material, it fails to give voice to women from the upper St. John River valley, the Miramichi region, or from Acadian communities in the province.

Whispers from the Past begins with some excerpts from the writings of young women: school-girl compositions, letters, and excerpts from personal diaries. A particularly interesting chapter is a series of letters written in 1903-1904 by Clara Winifred Fritz at age fifteen to her mother. Clara accompanied her sea-captain father on a voyage to Indochina and her letters document what must have been a unique experience for a young woman of that time.

Much of this collection of writings are simple accounts of day to day life in southern New Brunswick. Journal entries and letters to friends and family recount weather, community and church affairs, travel plans, births and deaths, household



BARBARA SANDOFF

accounts, recipes and remedies. "To cure worms in the face and make the skin clear and soft take 1 oz. of Borax dissolved in 1 quart of soft water, wash the skin clean with it, then rub with sweet oil. This will prevent chapped hands." Some women wrote short autobiographical and historical essays recounting the histories of their communities and incidents in their lives. Many of the writings reflect the centrality of the churches in communities as sources of support for schools, sources of social welfare, and as social gathering and meeting places, in addition to the role they played in "moral guidance."

A prominent theme throughout the collection is that of women organizing. In her introduction, McGahan notes that among late nineteenth century New Brunswick women there was a flurry of organizing for all sorts of community services and projects. McGahan includes minutes from meetings of the Young Women's Patriotic Association (1916-1917), the Maternal Association (1836), Daughters of Israel (1899-1914), and an excerpt from the seventh annual report (1893) of The Haven, a shelter for unwed mothers in Saint John. In addition, many of the journal entries throughout the book make reference to attending meetings of various organizations. Such historical accounts of women's attempts to organize themselves as women, and for the needs of women even though many of the organizations were not explicitly aimed at long-term changes in women's status, are an often missing element of women's history. It is important to have evidence of the social and community concerns of active and conscientious women in a society which expected them to be only decorous and domestic.

McGahan includes two pieces of writing by women who were single and employed; one was a midwife, the other ran a boarding house. Elizabeth Innes served as a midwife in Saint John throughout the middle of the century. Her journal and notebook, and McGahan's introduction to them, indicate that for her, the role of a nineteenth century midwife included providing various health care services un-

related to birthing. Her diary is filled with moving reflections on her relationship to the world and on the "transitory nature of life" as she ages.

The selections in *Whispers from the Past*, as Dr. McGahan notes in her introduction, "merely skim the surface of what awaits further archival cataloguing and research." Such research allows women in history their own voice, and provides a rich and valuable base for feminist historical research and analysis. □

Susan Belyea is from New Brunswick and is currently studying in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University.

Women in the World: An International Atlas
Joni Seager and Ann Olson
Pluto Press (hard cover); Pan (paper),
1986. 128 pp. \$19.95 (paperback). ISBN
0-330-291939

Reviewed by Gib Goodfellow

This atlas uses a winning combination of boldly coloured choropleth maps and imaginative graphs to convey international facts. This time all the data relate to women. The table of contents organizes the data around the major topics of marriage, motherhood, work, resources, welfare, authority, body politic and change.

Each double page is crammed with fascinating facts. In section 29 for example, a large world map uses five unusual colours to indicate clearly when countries granted women an equal vote with men. At a glance you can learn that Australia led the way before WW I but most of Latin America tarried until after WW II. In some countries ballots appear to be used as symbols of discrimination among the electorate. A histogram rises from a time line to show when women were enfranchised. The graph reveals that women most

often won their rights immediately after the two wars. But there is more on this page. Pie graphs resembling campaign buttons compare the male and female votes in recent American presidential elections. A bar graph depicts the difference between female and male voting intentions in recent European national elections. Subsequent pages describe the role of women in government.

This book is difficult to put down but easy to take with you. While not quite a pocketbook, it is compact with dimensions of 25 × 18 × 1 cm. In addition to the beautiful maps and unusual graphs, the book contains some interesting non-cartographic sections. Eight pages of tables provide 19 different statistics for the alphabetically listed countries. Twenty pages are devoted to background notes on each of the topics covered in the double-page spreads. A detailed bibliography lists the research reports and periodicals from which the data for the atlas were extracted. A brief index, with multiple listings under topics like job ghettos and marriage, makes the atlas useful for research as well as a fun browse.

Women in the World would be very useful in all senior high school geography courses, particularly those that examine world trends. □

Gib Goodfellow is a geography consultant at the Toronto Board of Education.

Atlases concerning women appear to be a growth field in publishing! Also —

Atlas of American Women

Barbara Shortridge

MacMillan, 1986. 128 maps, plus charts, tables and graphs. Two-colours. 10" × 12". 176 pp. Cloth \$85 US. ISBN 0-02-929120-8

The Women's Atlas of the United States

Anne Gibson and Timothy Fast

Facts on File, 1986. 224 pp. Hardcover \$35 US. ISBN 0-8160-1170-2



Conference Notes

Work and Family Seeking a New Balance

This conference in Washington, sponsored by the US Department of Labor, March 30-31, 1987 brought together more than one thousand people — about a third of them men — from management, labour, government, and the voluntary sector. The high level of attention which the conference generated established the legitimacy of the issue — balancing work and family life — as an appropriate concern for public policy, for business organizations and for unions.

The main themes were threefold:

- the link between productivity of an organization and the degree to which employees were able to balance their family responsibilities,
- the importance of workplace support for employees with such responsibilities,
- the need for a renewed public commitment to "family life," one which went beyond the rhetoric and spoke to issues of education, child care, health care, workplace supports and, above all, to the issue of poverty in America.

Although daycare for young children was the dominant issue, there was acknowledgement of the growing problem of "eldercare" (care for elderly and infirm parents by their children). There was also the recognition that both childcare and eldercare, while usually the concern of women, will gradually become "degenderized" as more men with wives in the paid labour force become responsible for their aging parents.

The main points to emerge were:

- Providing some degree of assistance and sensitivity to employees with their non-work responsibilities increases productivity, morale, loyalty, lowers absenteeism and helps in recruiting and retaining employees, male as well as female.

- Children, especially preschoolers, benefit from high quality daycare. Studies have shown they are less likely to need remedial education, drop out of school or experience delinquency problems in their teens.

*... new directions for public
commitment to "family life"*

...

- There is a crisis in the funding of daycare. The greatest subsidy is coming from the daycare workers who work for subsistence wages.
- The argument that subsidizing parents discriminates against the childless, ignores the value of children to society as future workers, consumers and taxpayers.
- Daycare is itself a small business; it can be seen as part of an economic development package (like roads or subsidized transit). (Montgomery County, Maryland, uses daycare in this way to attract new business).
- Although some unions are using contract language as a way of making management provide assistance to employees, the most usual way is through a non-adversarial union-management process. □

*Anella Parker Martin
Ontario Ministry of Labour*

"Greening the City"

an International Symposium

The purpose of the symposium, organized by Toronto's Pollution Probe Foundation and held in Toronto last February, was to focus experts and citizens from around the world on the implementation of "the green city." By this is meant not the stylized "garden cities" of earlier urban plans or the simple promotion of tree planting, but a multi-faceted concept of urban places that are ecologically sound. The program defined "green" as "ecologically sustainable," a definition further refined by conference speakers.

Symposium themes included the preservation of wilderness within urban areas, the naturalizing of roadsides, the design of "ecology parks", urban agriculture, waste treatment and reuse in urban fringe farms, fish ponds and forests, ecological rehabilitation of areas such as utility corridors, lakes, streams and marshlands, alternatives to synthetic pesticides and encouragement of urban wildlife. In addition, there was an opportunity to consider general topics such as "the green city" and local self-reliance, the global context of movements for sustainable societies and urban environment rehabilitation, the politics of "greening" and the potential for an international green city movement.

Interpretations of "the green city" varied but a large number of the speakers agreed that "greening" should include concerns for ecological sanity and social justice and should be applied both to the rehabilitation of existing cities and to new town planning. Inevitably, there were differences about "political" strategies, with some participants arguing for local groups and others calling for an international green city movement.

The participants were exceptionally diverse, including academics and researchers, urban planners and architects, environmental consultants, landscape designers, university students, members of citizens' organizations and representatives of municipal, provincial, state and federal governments. Most of the case-studies and information came from cities of affluent countries (particularly Britain, Canada, Denmark, the

Netherlands and the US) that are able to consider options for redesigning public and private open space. Nevertheless, all cities face financial constraints and a number of speakers were at pains to point out that ecologically diverse "greening" is cheaper to undertake and maintain than the manicured "green deserts" of many parks programs.

Ecological sanity and social justice should be applied to both existing and new cities

Speakers addressing urban environmental issues for developing countries stressed the international context that constrains third world cities' economies. In Mexico the beginnings of a grass-roots environmental movement is seeking to establish ecologically designed urban fringe communities. Experiments in Bombay are combining environmental education with small gardens on traffic islands. This "unintended greening" occurs as people establish kitchen gardens and other forms of urban agriculture out of necessity rather than ecological awareness. Informal use is made of transformed wetlands for sewage treatment, fish polyculture and "garbage farming" in metropolitan Calcutta. Participants commented that much more discussion of the relationship between urban ecology concerns in developed and developing countries is needed.

One or two speakers raised the issue of women's roles. Dr. Robert Dorney of the University of Waterloo, referred to major



developments that are likely to impact on urban planning in the future and mentioned feminism as a potentially influential force because it shifts emphasis from production for growth to nurturance for sustainability as goals for modern societies. This theme was echoed by another speaker on urban agriculture. Harry Pelissero, who suggested that if more women were involved in decision-making in farming, there would be more support for organic farming, and fewer destructive and harmful practices. He also predicted that women's views on food production and the environment in general would be a powerful dynamic in the future. This identification of women with "nurturing" brought the comment that not only women nurture: sustainable societies require the support of women, men and children.

Women were well represented among the 300 registrants, but were underrepresented among the speakers. This reflects the fact that few women occupy top positions in this field or in metropolitan organizations. However, there are extremely capable and committed women working to improve urban environments and one hopes that by the next conference, in two years' time, the speakers' list will be more balanced.

Meanwhile, Pollution Probe, which is currently developing an ecology park adjacent to its Ecology House in Toronto, will publish a book based on the symposium. For further information, write to Jim Savage at the Pollution Probe Foundation, 12 Madison Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M4R 2S1, Canada. □

Christine Furedy
York University

Geography

The Place of Gender in Locality Studies
S.R. Bowlby, J. Foord, L. McDowell
Area 18 (4), 1986: 327-331

Examines the reasons for the development of the growing reference to gender in geographical analysis. The article suggests that what is needed is an examination of gender relations, an active social process, rather than gender roles, a static set of assumptions. As well, attention must be paid to the interconnections between unequal power relations between women and men in the labour market, at home, and in the community. A more sophisticated analysis of the changing social composition of a locality is required, one which would combine new feminist work and current developments in geography in order to provide a new understanding of local social change and analysis of locality not based necessarily on production.

"Geography and Urban Women"

B. Holcomb
Urban Geography 7(5) 1986: 448-457

A review article on recent women and urban studies literature. The article covers women's perception on urban space and place (with particular attention to lesbians — an often overlooked group in the literature), female employment (focussing on the recent and problematic trend of high-tech "home work"), residential space and neighbourhoods, and women and poverty.

Despite the important insights of feminist researchers, and the growing data base on gender differences, Holcomb concludes that it is questionable whether the fundamental challenge posed by feminist urban research has yet had an effect on the discipline of urban geography.

Community

"Contact, Support and Friction: Three Faces of Networks in Community Life"
A. Leffler, R. Krannich, and D. Gillespie
Sociological Perspectives 29(3) July 1986: 337-357

"Do women and men residing in the same

town actually inhabit socially different communities?" This expanded analysis of rural community networks seems to indicate that they do.

Leffler et al's study examined the multiple functions that networks play, including but not limited to support. The report concludes that women and men find themselves in markedly variant structures of contact, support and friction. According to the authors, analyses of community networks must extend their perspective to include functions beyond simple support, and must pay particular attention to strong gender differences in community networks.

The Community Participation Handbook: Resources for Public Involvement in the Planning Process

Wendy Sarkissian, Donald Perlgut and Elaine Ballard, editors
Roseville: Impacts Press, 1986. 151 pp.

Intended as a "guide for effective, sound and skilful participation by the community in the planning process," and designed to fill the need for techniques, methods and models for community participation processes. Among the topics covered are case studies of Australian participation exercises, specific methodologies for running good public meetings, and resources, including publications and organizations in Australia. It includes an annotated bibliography with sections on Australian and overseas sources, methodologies and techniques, and other bibliographies.

Available from: Impacts Press, PO Box 155, Roseville NSW 2069, Australia. Cheques payable to 'Impacts Press'; \$27 US or \$35 Cdn.

Peace

"Socialist-Feminists and Greenham Common"

S. Finch et al
Feminist Review 23, Summer 1986: 93-100

Women's peace camps are an important strategy of the women's peace movement. What lessons do they teach us about feminist organizing, and the struggle to integrate an anti-militarist analysis? Plenty, according to Finch in a round-table interview/discussion about Greenham Common, the most famous women's peace camp.

Feminist concern with process informs creative and tireless efforts of the Greenham women. From consensus decision-making, shared responsibility and shared leadership, the Greenham women have proved that, "It's not just the web, but the way we spin it" that is important. Despite the early concern of the national Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament about the "flakiness" of the camp, Greenham women have been effective, and galvanizing force in raising feminist opposition to the American Armed Forces Bases, with their Canadian cruise missiles.

Women and Work

Gender and Work: A Comparative Analysis of Industrial Societies

Patricia A. Roos
Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985. 233 pp.

A cross-cultural study of gender differentiation in employment in 12 industrial countries. Analyzes the effects of gender, family background, and marital status on occupational attainment and mobility.

The study concludes that within industrial societies we find considerable cross-cultural occupational sex segregation. As a whole, the results offer little support for the human-capital explanation for the gender gap in occupational labour. The study determines that patterns of occupational sex segregation reflect structural features common to all modern industrial societies which are not dependent upon historical, cultural, or political traditions.

Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920

Martha Vicinus
London: Virago Press, 1985, 396 pp.

Originally published in the University of Chicago series "Women in Culture and Society," *Independent Women* is a valuable examination of two generations of Victorian middle class single women who developed their own communities within the church, medical institutions, colleges and boarding schools, settlement houses, and through the suffragist movement.

The need for cheap skilled labour initially provided many jobs for single educated women, but in the process these women pioneered new occupations, created new living conditions, and disco-



Directories

Canadian Women's Directory
Les Editions Communiqu'elles
 Les Editions Communiqu'elles, 1986, 308 pp. \$7.95

A bilingual listing of 2,000 women's groups and associations across Canada and Quebec, informing women of existing services and facilitating networks of women's groups. Sections include: Women's Centres; Shelters For Battered Women; Services for Survivors of Sexual Assault; Immigrant Women's Groups; Health Care Services; and Feminist Publishers, Publications, and Bookstores.

Available from: Les Editions Communiqu'elles, 3585 St Urbain, Montréal, Quebec, H2X-2N6.

vered new public roles. The book thus stresses the implications of the independent women's communities for 20th century women. *Independent Women* is extensively annotated and provides a large select bibliography.

"Pay Equity and the Private Sector: A Proposal for Local Implementation in Richmond"

W. Patton and J. Ross
Berkeley Planning Journal 2(1-2) 1985: 133-145

Comparable worth — "the job issue of the 80s" — is the focus of a planning implementation proposal for local government. It is both possible, and necessary, for local government to aid the private sector in implementing pay equity programs. Municipal government can use both its leadership role and its resources to redress systemic discrimination of women in the labour force, by adopting a pay equity program which includes contract compliance, an office of Pay Equity with officers to work with the private sector, and public education, outreach and publicity.

"Women Embrace Their Own Economic Development"

M. Nozick
City Magazine 9(1) Winter 1986/87: 7-11
 Nozick explores community economic development in two projects: the Community Economic Development Corporation of St Paul Minnesota, and Women's Skills Development Society of British Columbia. Community economic

development, an alternative form of strengthening economic development, focusses on a grassroots movement for small, locally owned and managed businesses, which recycle community wealth.

Feminists are seizing the community economic development model with great success. The Community Economic Development Corporation of St Paul from 1984-85 assisted in the start-up of 546 new business owned and run by women — with only two business failures in the two years. This phenomenal success rate is generating excitement and enthusiasm for a new, feminist and socially responsible entrepreneurship.

Helping Women at Work: The Women's Industrial Council, 1889-1914

Ellen Mappen
 London: Hutchinson and The Explorations in Feminism Collective, 1985. Explorations in Feminism Series. 134 pp. \$11.95.

An examination of the Women's Industrial Council, a social feminist pressure group operating around the turn of the century, which sought to improve economic and social conditions of women. Among the Council's projects discussed are its investigation of the social and economic conditions of women workers; its ideas on technical education for women and girls; and its formation of clubs for working class girls. The book is an exploration of an important area of research: feminist activity in the early 20th century beyond the suffrage movement. It will be of use to those interested and/or involved in social, labour and women's history.

The Index Directory of Women's Media
Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1986, 53 pp. US\$12

A directory of women's media — primarily owned and operated by, for and about women. The directory lists women's media groups, includes a directory of media women, and media-concerned women. As well, it contains the third Five Year Index to **Media Report To Women** (1982-1986), and a Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press publication list. Among the more interesting reading is an article outlining the principles of feminist journalism, and a radical feminist analysis of the mass media.

Available from: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 3306 Ross Place, NW, Washington DC 20008.

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