

Women In The City

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*Sarah A. Allentuck

Abstract

That many women experience disadvantage in urban areas is, to some extent, due to misconceptions and false assumptions regarding their needs on the part of the city planning profession. The author explores some of the negative consequences of city planning as they affect women — economically disadvantaged women in particular. Concentration is placed on the historical causes of, and possible solutions to, inequities in housing, transportation, childcare and safety. Examples of Winnipeg are cited.

Introduction

The greatest misconception of women's needs in city planning is that they are the same as those of men. The notions that women's roles should not evolve and that women do not have specific needs in cities are at the core of the ills of city planning in relation to women. Feminist critiques of city planning "recognize that our struggles for equality take place within a built environment that has been quite literally man made. As a result, the built environment is often seen as a benign backdrop to the human drama rather than a force which shapes our lives in profound ways."¹

The present circumstances of women living in urban centres are due to sexist assumptions and denial of women's needs by planners, architects and policy makers. Decision-makers have a gender-blind perspective which has been inherited through generations of urban planners. The City has been designed primarily by men for men and this has changed little despite the changing roles of women in the job market and in family structure over the past half-century. It should be made clear, however, that this is not about the exertion of male power over women, nor is it a conspiracy against women, but rather about what planners thought was rational decision-making in response to society, as it was when the city was being planned.

*Sarah A. Allentuck is the winner of the Institute of Urban Studies Student Paper Award, 2004.

Women's issues in planning were for the most part trivialized until the early 1980s when an urban feminist uprising took place in mostly Western English-speaking countries. Grassroots organizations and feminist academics became vocal about their concerns and perceived discriminations against women in the city. The feminist movement exposed a wide range of obstacles that women of all ages, ethnicities, and socioeconomic classes face. Feminists emphasise the struggles of single mothers since they tend to be poor and therefore particularly disadvantaged.

Issues which have received a great deal of attention and will be addressed in this essay are; housing, transportation, childcare and safety. These topics are quite broad and often interrelated; therefore there may be some overlap, though I will attempt to avoid it. This essay focuses on the struggles and barriers women in North American cities experience. At times, particular attention will be paid to women's issues in the city of Winnipeg. This is a selective review of literature, not a critique and is by no means exhaustive.

Housing

Men have typically been associated with the public realm in production, politics, power, work force, business and finance, while women have been associated with the private realm of domesticity, family and leisure.² This belief in the gendered division of power greatly influences planning. Housing developments tend to favour single nuclear family dwellings. This so-called 'nuclear family' does not exist to the same extent today as it did prior to the 1950s, in fact, the family as we know it today is no longer definable by the terms of a few generations ago, yet planning techniques are still based on the assumption that the wife/mother is the homemaker while the husband/father is the breadwinner. The suburbs would have not developed as they have today were it not for the housewife and stay-at-home mom to support her husband. But in order to support the expense of suburban life, women gradually took on a dual role in the 1940s and 1950s as housewives and wage labourers. This dual role of women has only been recently and subtly acknowledged.³

Today many women must balance the multiple responsibilities of motherhood and looking after a household while at the same time maintaining employment, yet men's roles have not changed much. Men still work and

take part in fewer household and child-rearing activities than their wives. This separation of male and female roles is reflected in the great separation between the place of work and home.

Suburbs are notorious for separated land uses and inefficient public transportation. This combination makes it very difficult for a mother who must take her child to school, go to work, pick up the child after school and run daily errands such as grocery shopping in a timely fashion since her place of employment and the store are not likely within walking distance from home. A solution to this issue that would benefit many women would be to encourage women to have home business. Unfortunately, zoning bylaws do not correspond with changing household structures.⁴ Zoning bylaws often impede or prohibit home business, thus discriminating against women who are more likely to work at home than men.

Single-family housing also hinders collective domestic tasks that could create more time and be more cost-efficient for mothers. The detached home model does not facilitate the sharing of such domestic tasks as laundry, childcare, food preparation, etc... This furthers the double burdening of women.⁵

Housing can be a great difficulty for single mothers. Because single mothers tend not to speak up for themselves, their issues are not properly addressed and therefore they cannot influence the decision-making process.⁶ Involvement in city planning processes is crucial for groups affected by planning decisions. Because single mothers tend to have lower incomes, they tend to live in inner cities, rent rather than own and often live in public housing.⁷ Women are often discriminated against in the availability of housing. These discriminatory practices include marketing, lending, insurance, and rental opportunities. Lenders often discount monthly child support or alimony as standard income which can prevent women from purchasing homes and forces them to rent. Though legislation has been passed to give women equal opportunity to buy rather than rent, discrimination in housing still exists toward poorer single mothers and single mothers of colour, despite laws to the contrary.⁸

In order for housing to be affordable and suitable to women's needs, neighbourhoods must have mixed land uses so mothers can grocery shop, bank, go to school, daycare, work, and the doctors' office in one general region in a convenient and timely fashion. Low-income single mothers need housing co-ops so that they may be better able to live affordably, share domestic tasks and have more time for employment. This could be carried out through either shared housing (multi-family residences), or a close housing community like those found on a

kibbutz in Israel. Affordability of housing, according to the Government of Canada is housing that costs less than thirty per cent of total household income.⁹ Twenty per cent of Canadian women and twelve per cent of men have difficulties owning a home.¹⁰

The barriers preventing women from working at home must be broken. Men should take on a greater role in the performance of domestic tasks, thus freeing more time for women and creating an equal playing field for both. As Clara H. Reed, an English professor of urban planning noted in reference to housing,

Many of the problems which women encounter in the city of the man are the result of a dichotomized public/private view of reality, prevalent within the planning subculture. In order to plan for women, physical divisions between perceived public and private realms manifested in land-use patterns must be resolved.¹¹

Women have made steps toward equality and gained control of housing to some extent in Canada through grassroots women's organizations buying sites and building housing with the aid of private and public funding. As of 1995 there were approximately sixty non-profit and co-op housing communities in Canada.¹²

Transportation

Statistically, women rely more heavily on public transportation than men.¹³ This is due in part to lower car ownership by women. Studies show that men have simpler travel patterns than women with children.¹⁴ Women's more complex uses of transit are due to childcare drop off and pick up, grocery shopping, children's extracurricular activities, etc... Because cities are so car-oriented and public transit is most efficient at peak hours, women without cars are at a severe disadvantage. In this sense, anyone without a car is at a disadvantage; nonetheless it should be acknowledged that women have more responsibilities and errands on a daily basis than other groups who tend to have restricted access to cars, such as seniors, teens, visible minorities, the homeless and the disabled.¹⁵

Though today many women hold full-time employment, as mothers and wives they still tend to be the primary housekeepers and child-rearers and are therefore pressed for time. In the vast majority of North American cities, great separation exists between suburban neighbourhoods and commercial areas. Women

without cars in this situation encounter many difficulties. As suburban sprawl advances and transit decays, women are inconvenienced. Reliance on public transportation means that a woman's employment choices are limited by time constraints and public transit routes. In Western societies, women tend to work closer to home than their husbands.¹⁶ This is due to the need to resolve domestic and professional tasks in a timely and efficient order, hence job choice is restricted. These limits are amplified if she is a mother who must find daytime care for her child.

In a physical sense, it is often difficult for mothers to use public transportation accompanied by small children. Because buses do not accommodate strollers or shopping bags and are equipped with hand straps and railings near the ceiling, a mother traveling in rush-hour with no place to sit may confront many challenges. When using a subway the same difficulties apply but are amplified because they are often only accessible by stairs and turnstiles.

Solutions for improving the public transport system for women include an increase in transit routes and frequency of stops,¹⁷ limiting downtown traffic to only public transit, cyclists and pedestrians and a decrease in automobiles.¹⁸ Though these suggestions are nice ideas, they are for the most part, unrealistic. Transit service improvements require the support of business, labour, politicians and the general public to provide the additional funding required, and financial incentives for car use makes transit less competitive — and often less desirable — than driving.¹⁹ Limiting downtown traffic is not a bad idea, but it is unlikely to happen in a city such as Winnipeg because of our harsh winter and an unlively downtown. By limiting downtown traffic through the exclusion of private automobiles, people will be deterred and further decay of the area would result.

The safety of public transportation has received a great deal of attention in recent years. Women in particular are at the foundation of public transportation safety concerns. Single women, young mothers and the elderly (including men) use transit most. Inadequate transit service means that these groups which are most vulnerable to violence are at a further disadvantage when transit is not available. A survey conducted by the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg showed that the majority of transit users are female. The survey also showed that of the public places women felt least safe, transit stops ranked very high.²⁰ This is due in part to

inadequate lighting, poor sightlines, configuration of shelters, telephone availability at or near transit stops and the features of the area surrounding the bus stop.

To remedy the lack (or perceived lack) of safety of transit it was suggested that all transit stops should be equipped with emergency call devices, bus drivers should announce stops by street name to accommodate those who are visually impaired, bus shelters should have two doors so that those who are inside are not trapped, and landscaping surrounding bus shelters should be clear of sightline obstructions (foliage, advertisements, etc.).²¹ Request-stop programs for after dark have been recently implemented into the Winnipeg transit system, which is a helpful safety measure. Not only is a request stop program beneficial for the safety of women, but it is also to the advantage of transit, since it may encourage more women to use the system.

Taxis are available as an alternative to bus transportation to those women who can afford it. While some women prefer to use a taxi service instead of a bus in order to feel safer, it has been documented on numerous occasions that Aboriginal women in particular have been asked to make sexual payments in exchange for transportation.²² Women-only taxi services operated by women and for women have been implemented in some cities as a means of safer transportation.²³ This is a short-term remedy, not a solution, because it merely masks the problem and is another means of avoidance of perceived dangerous situations.

Childcare

According to the OECD, 82-91% of all single parents worldwide are female.²⁴ Inadequate childcare facilities are a great impediment in many women's lives. Scarce childcare facilities hinder mothers' abilities to take part in educational and employment opportunities and decelerate women's daily activities. Daycare facilities are more abundant, available and accessible for middle and upper income families, while lower-income mothers have trouble finding daycares in convenient locations. The daycares that are conveniently located for lower-income mothers often have insufficient space for the demand of children and suffer from deficiencies in care.

Location and cost are the two primary factors for determining childcare. Zoning constraints, it has been argued, are the biggest factor in the deficient childcare structure. Single mothers want to live in cities to be close to services and more affordable housing, but as urban sprawl progresses and jobs move to the peripheries,

mothers find themselves in a dilemma. Suburbs tend to accommodate upper levels of income while the inner city tends to have more affordable housing. Because better employment opportunities are in the suburbs, the mother has to travel to work and find childcare which are often not in the same vicinity. Though daycare is vital, it is given last priority in city planning. It is because childcare is rarely a factor in planning that daycare facilities are so often found in church basements-because it is the only place left.²⁵

Childcare is one of the most important issues for mothers wishing to have a career and an efficient household. There is a need and a demand for both private and public childcare. These may take the form of community centres, neighbourhood co-ops and extended family care. Daycares may also be located in schools, shopping centres, and the parent's place of employment. By providing childcare in the workplace, the burden of traveling to two stops to and from work is alleviated. Recently, a few American cities have begun to give tax breaks to businesses that provide essential social services such as childcare.²⁶ This is an advantageous move on the part of the municipal government and businesses. Daycares should be placed inside densely populated residential areas thereby reducing travel time between home-daycare-and work. With an efficient public transit system, childcare facilities should be placed at major transfer stops.²⁷ In neighbourhood co-op childcare programs women can drop off their children for a small fee and seek employment there as well.

In order for women to advance and succeed in the workplace, childcare must take a greater priority in zoning. Greater priority in zoning and more government subsidies are the foremost necessities to better care for children and better opportunities for mothers.

Safety

Statistically, women in North America are more likely to be victims of violent crime than men.²⁸ At the core of women's safety concerns is sexual assault – in other words, fear of men. One in four women is sexually assaulted in her lifetime and one third to one half of all sexual assaults occurs in public places.²⁹ Assault may be defined as the obvious, like that reported to the police such as murder, robbery, rape and not as obvious such as racial or sexual harassment.

The effect of a perceived lack of safety causes women to use precautionary measures to avoid dangerous situations. Women use first initials on listings in phone books or on their doors as to not indicate their gender, avoid going outside alone at night, avoid neighbourhoods perceived as dangerous, take self-defence classes, use taxis instead of buses or walking, buy guard dogs and avoid situations that they feel may be dangerous.³⁰ In this sense, women's freedom is limited socially and economically in that it forces them to work at certain times of day and in specific areas and limits their time to run errands. Women's restrictions as a result of fear have been compared to the lives of women under purdah.³¹

Feeling unsafe has an economic impact on women and on commercial services. Women are affected financially by having to pay for taxis, alarm systems, locks and living in a 'safer' neighbourhood in order to feel safer. Lower-income women often cannot afford all of these precautions and are therefore at a higher risk. Evidence for an economic impact on commercial services can be found in an English study of a city of 300,000 residents in which the estimated cost of fear of crime in a central shopping district was \$45 million per year.³²

Urban design has an impact on opportunities for crime and opportunities for defence. Severe separation of land use in suburban design is a major contributor to making cities less safe. When there is an acute separation of land uses, areas attract traffic only at certain times of the day thereby leaving the area deserted at off-peak hours. The fewer eyes there are on the streets, the more likely crime will occur. Areas which warrant attention and improvement are parks, parking lots and garages, lighting, signage and sightlines. Visible signs of poor maintenance are signals to both criminals and potential victims of a suitable location for assault. Though design contributes to the sense of community in neighbourhoods, the sense of shared responsibility of neighbourhoods is a deterring factor for criminals if they think that a citizen might intervene an attack.³³

Parks present many challenges to safety. In order for parks to be safe at all times to all people, mixed land uses around the park are necessary to generate users throughout the day³⁴. A park must have distinctive features and its own identity to set it apart from others. It must have multiple well-marked entrances and exits, public streets that surround and enter the park, no isolated areas, low evidence of vandalism, clear delineation of public and private space, attractions unique to the park, friendship with the adjacent neighbourhood and signs of regular activity and maintenance.³⁵

At night parks can attract potential assailants. To make parks safer, good lighting everywhere, not just on paths, is necessary. The Social Planning Council of Winnipeg suggested that acceptable lighting would permit one person to see another from eight metres away.³⁶ To allow for clear sightlines, shrubs and fences should be low, and long unintersected pathways and sharp corners should be removed. Taller buildings should surround parks to provide opportunities to look down and watch, thus adding more “eyes”. Community “park watch” programs have also helped in preventing crime³⁷.

Women report that parking lots and garages are places where they feel least safe. Again, poor lighting and bad sightlines are contributors. The implementation of angled mirrors, increased lighting, video surveillance, foot patrol and emergency call devices are all helpful in decreasing fear and preventing assault. Poor signage leads to physical signs of insecurity making women more vulnerable to danger and hinders chances of escape.³⁸

Prevention of violence should be a priority in city planning. Though there are no simple solutions to prevent violence or crime in public places, infrastructure planning must be integrated with community services and development. Urban design guidelines can incorporate a range of considerations that have been found to be more “defensible”³⁹ and in particular, suited to the needs and circumstances of women.⁴⁰ Safety reviews or evaluations that incorporate checklists of mandatory criteria should be done periodically of all public spaces. Surveys of residents’ safety concerns should be implemented with an emphasis on the results from women. In recent years all levels of government have taken steps to reduce violence against women. Such steps include assistance of organizations that advocate for the safety of women, involving citizens in policy-making and educational safety programs for citizens.⁴¹

For example, the influential Safe City Program in Toronto was based on a model which suggested mandatory legislation be incorporated into the Official City Plan; published planning guidelines to consult when approving building applications; set new parking lot bylaws for greater security; emphasized increased safety in parks; street lights that benefit pedestrians; better public housing; and free self-defence classes in all community centres.⁴² The Metro Committee on Public Violence Against Women (METRAC), a Canadian organization, has also designed an audit guide for women’s safety in public places. It is used worldwide today as a checklist

assessment. METRAC's guide emphasises physical planning for safety such as lighting, sightlines, potential entrapment spaces, zoning and visibility of maintenance.⁴³

Conclusion

The planned city reflects, reinforces and perpetuates social inequality. Cities were originally designed to accommodate family life which no longer exists to the extent it did when the city was planned.⁴⁴ As women's roles have changed their needs have not easily been met. The city then becomes an extension of the values present at the time of the city's construction and persists in serving dated standards. In order to change the city we must deconstruct old assumptions about planning that are misdirected and wrong.

The lack of women in urban planning has contributed to an unaccommodating environment for them. The problem is not only that there are few women planners, but when public participation is requested by planners, few women take part. Studies done in Winnipeg showed that there was an acute deficit of female participation in decisions concerning public and private housing. Though women did organize citizen groups, leadership positions were in most circumstances given to men.⁴⁵ Without exception, all sources used for this essay insisted that greater public participation, especially from women, is necessary to level the playing field for women.

Feminist critics of planning focus on deficiencies in social structures and blame a patriarchal and capitalist society. Feminists, in this context, condemn patriarchy as traditional Marxists condemn capitalism: "planning serves to further the interests of the capitalist class and perpetuate social inequality" — the capitalist class being men.⁴⁶

Suburbs need to have housing for a range of incomes with more childcare and better transit systems so mothers can live and work in the same area. Sue Zeilinski proposes in her article, "Access over Excess," that a higher rate of exchange is needed over a higher rate of travel. She contends that cities should be oriented to travel by means other than cars through speed restrictions and street design. Cities that favour pedestrian, bicycle and public transportation and cars tend to have more vibrant economies because of the emphasis placed

on association (shopping and socializing rather than trying to get from point A to B as fast as possible). Access over excess would also lower crime because of increased pedestrian traffic on the streets.⁴⁷ This theory would benefit women in all areas discussed in this essay.

A model suburb that supports women's needs may be found in Vallingby, Sweden. In this community, a variety of both full and part-time employment is available with a larger job market in the city that is easily accessible by an efficient transit system. Dense groupings of low-rise apartments are surrounded by schools, daycares, community centres and markets while social and medical services are located in malls close to transit stops. A local cafeteria supports the surrounding community by delivering meals to school and the elderly, thereby freeing time for mothers to partake in other activities.⁴⁸ When collective services such as food preparation, laundry and daycare, are available women have more employment opportunities and time and the community benefits.

Reducing women's fear of violence is essential. Violence is a social issue and a planning issue. Though steps have been taken to reduce violence and fear of violence, the problem cannot be solved through law enforcement alone; it requires a more legible and defensible built environment appropriate to women's needs, circumstances, commitments and concerns⁴⁹.

All of the materials found on the topic of the effects of city planning on women were of a socialist, feminist, and at times, ecofeminist nature. Rarely did men write on this topic and never was a capitalist or non-feminist perspective evident. Most of the material available offers the same perspective and information repeatedly. This is a case of academics drinking each others' bathwater. Most of the suggested remedies for the problems afflicting women in cities involved the abolition of the capitalist system, which is a very narrow-minded and radical approach. While more government intervention is necessary to improve the situation, the eradication of capitalism is not going to happen.

Research, theory and method must be used together to make cities better for women. The solution to women's issues in city planning lies in re-evaluating priorities. But, who is deciding what needs and priorities are important to the citizens? Women's needs were not considered as a priority when North American cities were first being built. This was at the same time when women's civil rights were not equal to those of men.

Times are different and so too should be the way cities are designed. We have evolved; when will the cities in which we live evolve too? Women must have a greater involvement in the participation and consultation process at all levels of planning. We must re-evaluate the structure of the planning process and emphasize the views of women in city planning.

Notes

- ¹ Sherilyn MacGregor. "Deconstructing the Man Made City: Feminist Critiques of Planning Thought and Action," in Margrit Eichler, ed., *Change of Plans: Towards a non-sexist sustainable city* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1995): 26.
- ² *Ibid.*, 27
- ³ Sacha Kopelow and Elizabeth Carlyle. "The House: Problems and Politics," in *Women and Urban Environments, Volume 2: Feminist Eutopian Visions of the City*, Student Paper 10, ed. Mary Ann Beavis (Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, 1997): 1-17.
- ⁴ Sherilyn MacGregor, *op.cit.*, 31
- ⁵ Ann R. Markusen. 1981. City Spatial Structure, Women's Household Work, and National Urban Policy. *Women and the American City*, ed. R. Stimpson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981): 29.
- ⁶ Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. *Metropolitan Canada: Women's Views of Urban Problems* (Ottawa: Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, 1976): 7.
- ⁷ Gerda R. Wekerle, *A Woman's Place is in the City* (Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1978), 1
- ⁸ Helen F. Ladd. 1998. "Evidence on discrimination in mortgage lending." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 12 (2): 41-62.
- ⁹ Planners Network. <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/htm/pub/archives/130/rahder.htm>
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ Clara H. Greed. *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* (London: Routledge, 1994): 173
- ¹² Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development. *Women in the City: Housing, Services and the Urban Environment* (France: Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, 1995): 63
- ¹³ Statistics Canada. <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/pow/publictrans.cfm>. 7 November 2003.
- ¹⁴ Sherilyn MacGregor, *op.cit.*, 31
- ¹⁵ Sherilyn MacGregor. Planning Change: Not an End but a Beginning. In Margrit Eichler, ed., *Change of Plans: Towards a non-sexist sustainable city* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1995): 157
- ¹⁶ OECD, *op.cit.*, 107.
- ¹⁷ Sherilyn MacGregor, *op.cit.*, 33.
- ¹⁸ Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, *op.cit.*, 12.
- ¹⁹ Todd Litman. Public Transit Improvements. Online TDM Encyclopedia. Victoria Transport Policy Institute, 2004.
- ²⁰ Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. *A Safer Winnipeg for Women and Children* (Winnipeg: Secretary of State Women's Program, 1991): x
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 60.
- ²² Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, *op.cit.*, 22.
- ²³ Helen Morrell. Women's Safety. In *Changing Places: Women's Lives in the City* Chris Booth, Jane Darke, and Susan Yeandle, ed (London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd, 1996): 108.
- ²⁴ OECD, *op.cit.*, 12.
- ²⁵ Sherilyn MacGregor, *op.cit.*, 31.
- ²⁶ Margrit Eichler. "Designing Eco-City in North America," in Margrit Eichler, ed., *Change of Plans: Towards a non-sexist sustainable city* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1995): 11.
- ²⁷ William Michelson, "Divergent Convergence: The Daily Routines of Employed Spouses as a Public Affairs Agenda," in Caroline Andrew and Beth Moore Milroy, ed., *Life Spaces: Gender, Household, Employment* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1988): 94.
- ²⁸ Carolyn Whitzman, "What Do You Want To Do? Pave Parks? Urban Planning and the Prevention of Violence," in Margrit Eichler, ed., *Change of Plans: Towards a non-sexist sustainable city* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1995): 91
- ²⁹ Sherilyn MacGregor, *op.cit.*, i
- ³⁰ Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, *op.cit.*, 20.
- ³¹ Purdah is a practice found in Muslim and Hindu cultures where women are required to wear veils to screen them from men and may only go out in public when accompanied by a man. OECD, *op.cit.*, 98
- ³² Carolyn Whitzman, *op.cit.*, 92
- ³³ Jane Jacobs. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Toronto: Random House, Inc., 1961): 29-54.
- ³⁴ Jane Jacobs. *op.cit.*, 89-111.
- ³⁵ Jane Jacobs. *op.cit.*, 89-111.
- ³⁶ Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. *op.cit.*, 38.

- ³⁷ For example, see the City of Calgary's Friends of Fish Creek Park Watch program, [<http://www.friendsoffishcreek.org/ParkWatch.htm>].
- ³⁸ Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. *op cit.* 40.
- ³⁹ Oscar Newman *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design* (New York: MacMillan 1972).
- ⁴⁰ Wendy Bell. Women and Community Safety. Paper presented at the *Safer Communities: Strategic Directions in Urban Planning conference* Melbourne, Australia 10-11 September 1998.
- ⁴¹ Deborah Hierlihy, *Green Spaces/Safer Places- A Forum on Planning Safer Parks for Women* (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1990): 7.
- ⁴² OECD. *op.cit.*, 99
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 99
- ⁴⁴ Sherilyn MacGregor. *op.cit.*, 27.
- ⁴⁵ Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. *op.cit.*, 9
- ⁴⁶ Sherilyn MacGregor. *op.cit.*, 28
- ⁴⁷ Zielinski, Sue. Access Over Excess: Transcending Captivity and Transportation Disadvantage. In *Change of Plans: Towards a Non-Sexist Sustainable City*, Margrit Margrit, ed., (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1995):150
- ⁴⁸ Gerda R. Wekerle, *op.cit.*, 8
- ⁴⁹ Wendy Bell, *op cit.*

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