GENDER, POLICY AND PLANNING:
PLANNING SHELTER FOR THE WOMEN OUTSIDE

by

Marilyn Dianne Torrance, B.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfilment of

Master of Arts

Department of Geography

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

January, 1996

copyright

1996, Marilyn Dianne Torrance

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-612-13821-6

Canada

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

GEOGRAPHY

SUBJECT TERM

SUBJECT CODE

0366

U·M·I

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture	0729
Art History	0377
Cinema	0900
Dance	0378
Fine Arts	0357
Information Science	0723
Journalism	0391
Library Science	0399
Mass Communications	0708
Music	0413
Speech Communication	0459
Theater	0465

EDUCATION

General	0515
Administration	0514
Adult and Continuing	0516
Agricultural	0517
Art	0273
Bilingual and Multicultural	0282
Business	0688
Community College	0275
Curriculum and Instruction	0727
Early Childhood	0518
Elementary	0524
Finance	0277
Guidance and Counseling	0519
Health	0680
Higher	0745
History of	0520
Home Economics	0278
Industrial	0521
Language and Literature	0279
Mathematics	0280
Music	0522
Philosophy of	0998
Physical	0523

Psychology	0525
Reading	0535
Religious	0527
Sciences	0714
Secondary	0533
Social Sciences	0534
Sociology of	0340
Special	0529
Teacher Training	0530
Technology	0710
Tests and Measurements	0288
Vocational	0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language	
General	0679
Ancient	0289
Linguistics	0290
Modern	0291
Literature	
General	0401
Classical	0294
Comparative	0295
Medieval	0297
Modern	0298
African	0316
American	0591
Asian	0305
Canadian (English)	0352
Canadian (French)	0355
English	0593
Germanic	0311
Latin American	0312
Middle Eastern	0315
Romance	0313
Slavic and East European	0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy	0422
Religion	
General	0318
Biblical Studies	0321
Clergy	0319
History of	0320
Philosophy of	0322
Theology	0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies	0323
Anthropology	
Archaeology	0324
Cultural	0326
Physical	0327
Business Administration	
General	0310
Accounting	0272
Banking	0770
Management	0454
Marketing	0338
Canadian Studies	0385
Economics	
General	0501
Agricultural	0503
Commerce-Business	0505
Finance	0508
History	0509
Labor	0510
Theory	0511
Folklore	0358
Geography	0366
Gerontology	0351
History	
General	0578

Ancient	0579
Medieval	0581
Modern	0582
Black	0328
African	0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania	0332
Canadian	0334
European	0335
Latin American	0336
Middle Eastern	0333
United States	0337
History of Science	0585
Law	0398
Political Science	
General	0615
International Law and Relations	0616
Public Administration	0617
Recreation	0814
Social Work	0452
Sociology	
General	0626
Criminology and Penology	0627
Demography	0938
Ethnic and Racial Studies	0631
Individual and Family Studies	0628
Industrial and Labor Relations	0629
Public and Social Welfare	0630
Social Structure and Development	0700
Theory and Methods	0344
Transportation	0709
Urban and Regional Planning	0999
Women's Studies	0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture	
General	0473
Agronomy	0285
Animal Culture and Nutrition	0475
Animal Pathology	0476
Food Science and Technology	0359
Forestry and Wildlife	0478
Plant Culture	0479
Plant Pathology	0480
Plant Physiology	0817
Range Management	0777
Wood Technology	0746
Biology	
General	0306
Anatomy	0287
Biostatistics	0308
Botany	0309
Cell	0379
Ecology	0329
Entomology	0353
Genetics	0369
Limnology	0793
Microbiology	0410
Molecular	0307
Neuroscience	0317
Oceanography	0416
Physiology	0433
Radiation	0821
Veterinary Science	0778
Zoology	0472
Biophysics	
General	0786
Medical	0760

EARTH SCIENCES

Biogeochemistry	0425
Geochemistry	0996

Geodesy	0370
Geology	0372
Geophysics	0373
Hydrology	0388
Mineralogy	0411
Paleobotany	0345
Paleoecology	0426
Paleontology	0418
Paleozoology	0985
Palynology	0427
Physical Geography	0368
Physical Oceanography	0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences	0768
Health Sciences	
General	0566
Audiology	0300
Chemotherapy	0992
Dentistry	0567
Education	0350
Hospital Management	0769
Human Development	0758
Immunology	0982
Medicine and Surgery	0564
Mental Health	0347
Nursing	0569
Nutrition	0570
Obstetrics and Gynecology	0380
Occupational Health and Therapy	0354
Ophthalmology	0381
Pathology	0571
Pharmacology	0419
Pharmacy	0572
Physical Therapy	0382
Public Health	0573
Radiology	0574
Recreation	0575

Speech Pathology	0460
Toxicology	0383
Home Economics	0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences	
Chemistry	
General	0485
Agricultural	0749
Analytical	0486
Biochemistry	0487
Inorganic	0488
Nuclear	0738
Organic	0490
Pharmaceutical	0491
Physical	0494
Polymer	0495
Radiation	0754
Mathematics	0405
Physics	
General	0605
Acoustics	0986
Astronomy and Astrophysics	0606
Atmospheric Science	0608
Atomic	0748
Electronics and Electricity	0607
Elementary Particles and High Energy	0798
Fluid and Plasma	0759
Molecular	0609
Nuclear	0610
Optics	0752
Radiation	0756
Solid State	0611
Statistics	0463
Applied Sciences	
Applied Mechanics	0346
Computer Science	0984

Engineering	
General	0537
Aerospace	0538
Agricultural	0539
Automotive	0540
Biomedical	0541
Chemical	0542
Civil	0543
Electronics and Electrical	0544
Heat and Thermodynamics	0348
Hydraulic	0545
Industrial	0546
Marine	0547
Materials Science	0794
Mechanical	0548
Metallurgy	0743
Mining	0551
Nuclear	0552
Packaging	0549
Petroleum	0765
Sanitary and Municipal	0554
System Science	0790
Geotechnology	0428
Operations Research	0796
Plastics Technology	0795
Textile Technology	0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General	0621
Behavioral	0384
Clinical	0622
Developmental	0620
Experimental	0623
Industrial	0624
Personality	0625
Physiological	0989
Psychobiology	0349
Psychometrics	0632
Social	0451

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a feminist perspective to examine the ways in which planning has reinforced gender inequalities within the housing system. I will demonstrate that traditional planning and housing theory and practice, in conjunction with housing policy, have acted against the interests of single women. As a result, many single women are homeless, or are in need of appropriate housing.

Planning does have a mandate to address current housing issues, but I will examine some of the ways in which a feminist approach can respond to single women's housing needs not met by current planning practices. The feminist approach to planning and housing recognizes that new housing solutions are needed for single women in contemporary society, but it will be shown that planning has been reluctant to change despite its mandate to maintain currency to present social needs. I will examine a local single women's housing issue to illustrate how mainstream planning and housing theory and practice have continued to reflect an ideology which has perpetuated traditional notions of residential living at the expense of single women.

In support of this thesis, I will examine and define homelessness and single women's position in the housing system will be identified. The history of rational planning will be reviewed to show the contribution of traditional planning to the current problem of single women's homelessness. A feminist planning approach will offer some solutions to current planning problems. Finally, a case study will exemplify the shortcomings of current planning theory and practice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people who provided invaluable assistance to me over the course of researching and writing this thesis. I extend my sincere appreciation to my advisor, Dr. Fran Klodawsky, for her interest and encouragement. Her comments on my work were particularly insightful and challenging, and her patience was very much appreciated. I would also like to remember the late Professor Duncan Anderson - a kind and gentle scholar - who inspired my interest in urban planning.

I have enjoyed being a student in the Geography Department and I would like to extend my appreciation to everyone there. I will always have fond memories of the classes and field camps, where I have met many people who have made my experience as a mature student more pleasant and rewarding than I had anticipated.

Special thanks for their support are due to my mother and my friends Barb, Dom, Nikolas, Ted and Lesley in Ottawa, Susan in Saskatchewan, and Judy in Toronto. Calla, Brie and Soleil have never failed to cheer me up.

My constant companion has been my partner, Alan, whose love has been my source of strength throughout this experience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
ACCEPTANCE SHEET	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF MAPS	xi
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to a feminist planning approach	1
1.2 Women and the planning profession	7
1.3 The research task	8
1.4 Outline of the thesis chapters	9
CHAPTER TWO SINGLE WOMEN AND HOMELESSNESS	15
2.1 Identifying the connection between gender, planning and homelessness	15
2.2 A personal perspective of homelessness	16
2.3 Understanding homelessness: the housing to homeless continuum	18
2.3.1 Poverty	23
2.3.2 The supply of affordable housing	23
2.3.3 Deinstitutionalization	25
2.3.4 Women and violence	27
2.4 Summary	27

CHAPTER 3 SINGLE WOMEN AND HOUSING	32
3.1 Single women and the Canadian housing system.....	32
3.2 Single women in the housing market	32
3.2.1 Demographic trends in household formation.....	34
3.2.2 Women and employment.....	35
3.2.3 Women and income.....	37
3.3 Single women and housing.....	38
3.3.1 Single women and homeownership.....	38
3.3.2 Single women and the rental market.....	41
3.3.3 Summary - single women and housing statistics	43
3.4 Housing policy in Canada.....	43
3.5 The current housing stock in Canada.....	45
3.5.1 Housing in Canada 1800s to mid 1930s.....	47
3.6 Housing policy in the private market	48
3.6.1 1930 to World War II	48
3.6.2 Post World War II to the 1970s	49
3.6.3 1970s and 1980s	51
3.7 Policy and affordable housing programs	53
3.7.1 Public housing 1948-1978.....	53
3.7.2 Social housing 1978-1985.....	55
3.8 Summary	59
 CHAPTER 4 URBAN PLANNING IN CANADA: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	 68
4.1 Introduction.....	68
4.2 A definition of land use planning	69
4.3 Land use planning and zoning	71
4.4 An interpretation of Canadian land use planning.....	73
4.4.1 The establishment of the planning profession.....	74
4.4.2 Formalizing the urban planning profession and adopting a rational planning approach during the post World War II era	77
4.4.3 Land use planning in the 1960s-1980s	79
4.4.4 Planning in the 1990s	81

4.5 Theories of urban spatial development.....	82
4.5.1 Ecological models of land use	83
4.5.2 Neo-classical economics and spatial competition theories.....	85
4.6 Summary	86

CHAPTER 5 FEMINIST THEORY: URBAN PLANNING, HOUSING AND GENDER..... 91

5.1 Introduction.....	91
5.2 Adopting feminist theory in urban research.....	93
5.3 Women in the city	95
5.4 Theorizing gender relations and urban organization.....	96
5.5 Gender, planning and housing:	102
5.5.1 Women in pre-industrial and early Canadian cities.....	103
5.5.2 Post World War II	105
5.6 Assessing the traditional housing models.....	108
5.7 Changing gender relations, changing urban environments and planning for single women.....	101
5.8 Summary	116

CHAPTER 6 CASE STUDY: THE OTTAWA CARLETON EXPERIENCE IN PLANNING AN EMERGENCY SHELTER FOR SINGLE HOMELESS WOMEN

.....	124
6.1 Introduction.....	124
6.2 Methodology	126
6.3 The Regional government's approach to sheltering homeless women from 1983-1989.....	129
6.4 Planning a permanent emergency shelter.....	140
6.5 The Chapel Street location	141
6.6 Group homes and zoning bylaw	143
6.7 The planning process and zoning requirements: Trying to change exclusionary zoning but finding out 'what big teeth you have'.....	148
6.7.1 Public participation in the zoning process	148
6.8 Conclusions from the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) decision	155
6.9 Epilogue to OMB ruling.....	160

6.10 Summary	161
CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS	166
APPENDIX 1	170
APPENDIX 2	173
BIBLIOGRAPHY	176

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 3.1 - Percentage paying 30% or more of total gross household income on shelter costs, by household type, 1991.	40
FIGURE 4.1 - Traditional land use model	84
FIGURES 5.1 & 5.2 - Zones of use	114

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 3.1 - Housing tenure, by household type 40

LIST OF MAPS

MAP 1 - City of Ottawa 132

MAP 2 - Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton 137

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

During the past two decades, some urban researchers in the social sciences have offered new perspectives on society which have recognized that women have been invisible in the built environment, and these researchers have challenged these predominantly androcentric approaches by adopting feminist perspectives. Feminist geography has been one of the areas of study which began by documenting women's actions and observing that women faced greater constraints than men in the urban environment. While this initial work was important because it made women 'visible' by 'putting them on the map', it became apparent that the existing theories were problematic. These mainstream theories recognized that women faced more constraints, and that women had less access to resources in the urban environment than men did, but they did not address why this was so, nor did they explain the processes that produced and reproduced these gender divisions in the urban landscape.

Some geographers began to explore feminist theories about gender relations. Feminist geographers, drawing upon socialist feminist perspectives, began to realize the

fundamental importance of analyzing how changing gender roles and definitions have shaped, and been shaped by, social and economic life in the city. Suzanne Mackenzie argued that women and men have always organized to extend resources for their work but 'that women's and men's organization in society has taken different forms' in capitalist society because gender has always been a 'criterion for differential allocation of resources'¹. She explained that gender differences in resources can be attributed to the kinds of environments in which women and men lived and worked - in capitalist society, the public economic sphere has been seen as being central but women's lives and work have been associated with the private, domestic sphere of the home². Many feminist researchers have demonstrated that the focus of mainstream theory on the public sphere has supported the interests of the traditional nuclear family formation and women's domestic roles therein, while on the other hand, it has marginalized non-traditional households, including single parent and single person households. This has been particularly true in view of the increasing number of non-traditional households headed by women, and women's changing roles that intersect both the private and public spheres. Over a rather short period of time, feminist urban researchers - especially geographers - have demonstrated that women generally have had unequal access to resources in the city - including housing, transportation, recreational facilities, employment, a safe environment, to name a few - vis-à-vis men in the divided city.

While the initial work in developing feminist geographical theories generalized about women as an undifferentiated group, more recent research has started to address diversities among women over time and space. These recent studies by feminist geographers have recognized that 'race', ableness, age, class, and ethnicity are essential to understanding and theorizing gender relations.

Feminist geographers have argued that feminism has been fundamental to understanding human-environmental relations. Urban planning, which has been associated with urban geography and has also been concerned with human-environmental issues, would seem to be another subject that could adopt a feminist approach towards women's concerns. With its mandate to make local land use decisions that are beneficial to the 'greater public good', and its direct input into practice and policy involving the provision and location of resources, urban planners can be said to be well-positioned to assess and comprehend local needs, and respond with appropriate solutions. However, urban planning has been slower than other disciplines (such as geography, political science, and sociology/anthropology) in addressing women's environmental concerns and adopting feminist theory. In assessing mainstream planning approaches as having ignored women's concerns in the broader urban landscape, feminist planner Clara Greed commented as follows:

Under the pretence of spatial problem solving, male planners are projecting their own patriarchal perceptions of what the built environment ought to be like, 'creating urban realities' with little reference to the 'real' needs of the majority of the population³.

Some urban planning researchers have criticized rational planning theory and practice as being androcentric, in that women's concerns often have not been included within planning's mandate to serve the 'greater public good'. Jacqueline Leavitt argued that mainstream planning theory and practice often have served to constrain women's activities and their access to resources in the built environment, and as a result, 'women face problems of such significance in cities and society that gender can no longer be ignored in planning practice'⁴.

Some urban planning researchers have started to examine feminist theory from other social science disciplines, especially urban geography⁵. They also have criticized existing rational planning approaches for assuming dichotomized visions of the private and public spheres in the city which have reinforced women's inequality: '[t]his sexually segregated, public-private dichotomy is fundamental to modern capitalist societies and is reinforced by urban planning and design'⁶.

Some planners have come to realize the importance of feminist analyses when examining the complex relations between gender and the urban environment. It would seem that analyses of gender relations are crucial to understanding a whole range of economic and social processes at the policy level, as well as the theoretical level. Planners, who have a direct input into policy-making and land use decisions, would seem to be strategically

positioned to strengthen feminist theoretical approaches and practice in urban issues. For example, Jo Little adopted a feminist perspective of the divided city to understand how government policies in Britain have constrained women in paid employment, access and transportation, and housing⁷. The planned environment often has reinforced these barriers.

My thesis will focus on the implications of planning and housing for single women. I have chosen to define 'single' as 'being alone' without any assumption about marital status⁸. In Canadian capitalist society, the social and economic processes by which housing - as a resource - has been produced, financed, allocated and planned have made housing a site for gender inequality. Feminist housing researchers have indicated that the housing system in capitalist society has supported the traditional nuclear family by assuming a domestic role for women⁹. Hence, 'home' largely has been associated with the ideology of 'family living'. Furthermore, social and economic processes have served to marginalize the housing needs of non-traditional households, including single-parent and single person households. This is an important point because women have headed the majority of non-traditional households, including single parent and single person households, and there have been indications that housing need, or homelessness, has been growing among these groups. The increasing number of single women who are in need of affordable and appropriate housing, or who are living on the streets or in shelters has been of current concern for some feminist housing researchers. As mentioned above, urban planning has

been highly associated with the development and provision of housing, especially since World War II, and feminist analyses are fundamental to understanding the implications of mainstream planning and housing theory and practice for single women.

Feminist researchers in England, Sophie Watson and Helen Austerberry, have concluded that single women's homelessness, or housing need, has been a consequence of oppressive gender relations within the housing system¹⁰. In their analysis, single women's homelessness was seen as being one extreme of a 'housing to homeless' continuum of housing needs. The authors posited that there was a lack of appropriate and affordable housing options for single women in Britain, and I will argue that the same may be said about this group in Canada. Moreover, the above mentioned authors argued that single women's homelessness or housing needs have been more likely to be 'concealed', and as a result, this group's housing needs have been made more invisible in theory and policy. Feminist research about homeless women has indicated that new, appropriate housing options - from shelter systems with appropriate services to permanent affordable housing - are needed to break the cycle of homelessness and oppose the stereotypical notion of 'women's place' in capitalist society¹¹.

While some feminist concern for improving women's experience in the environment has resulted in some individual planning and policy changes in housing that have benefitted some women, it has been found that urban planning in Canada has not developed a

sustained and integrated commitment to the development of feminist perspectives. Most of the successful policy initiatives of 'good practice' in planning and housing have been developed in isolation, or in an ad hoc manner¹². These policies certainly have addressed some of the housing needs for some women, particularly for women with children. However, as will be discussed in the following chapters, the housing needs of single women must also be understood and addressed by planners.

1.2 Women and the Planning Profession

One of the reasons urban planning has been slow to adopt feminist theory has been linked to the androcentric nature of the planning profession itself, and this has implications on the way urban environments are produced and reproduced. Clara Greed, a feminist planner in Britain, has argued that the planning profession has been patriarchal, and as such, it has created an environment in which women cannot easily 'break the glass ceiling'¹³. She also found that women's historical role in the planning profession rarely has been recognized, and to counteract this omission, Clara Greed highlighted women's achievements in the British planning profession since the 19th century¹⁴. Feminist literature has identified how gender-biased employment practices within the planning profession in western society have reinforced an environment in which women have not been equal participants. Fran Klodawsky's examination of the Canadian planning profession found: 1) there were fewer women in the positions of higher authority; 2) the status and salaries of women were lower

than their male counterparts; and 3) women's advances were discriminated against¹⁵. It would seem that female planners in Canada and elsewhere have been less likely to be promoted to positions of power compared to their male counterparts. While I do not wish to imply that all female planners and no male planners would support feminist planning approaches which would serve to improve women's experiences in the urban environment, it is my conclusion that women's exclusion from the higher decision-making ranks has been a consequence of the operation of social relations that marginalize women in society as a whole. This, in turn, has influenced planning decisions which often have reinforced women's invisibility in the planning profession and the urban environment.

1.3 The Research Task

I have argued that mainstream planning and housing theory, policy, and practice have reinforced women's subordination in the environment by supporting the traditional nuclear family and women's roles therein. An important consequence of the centrality of the nuclear family in planning and housing has been the marginalization of other household formations, including those of single women. There has been evidence that many single women have been experiencing an increased risk of homelessness, or housing need, in the past two decades, and this will be discussed more fully in Chapters 2 and 3. Therefore, in this thesis, I will seek to provide a feminist perspective on planning and housing theory and policy and their implications for single homeless women.

I have also argued that a feminist approach to planning has the potential to effect positive changes in women's experiences within the built environment. I believe that we must examine planning and policy from a feminist perspective in order to explain not only how urban planning has reinforced existing inequalities but also how it could affect affirmative changes in single women's experiences in the built environment. I will therefore examine some of the models of housing that have been developed by feminist housing researchers which would be of note to planners who are concerned with gender and housing.

After I have examined these theoretical and policy implications of planning and housing, I will then examine a local issue about the location and provision of an emergency shelter for single homeless women in Ottawa Carleton to see how urban planning theory and practice have responded to their particular housing need. I will link this case to the theoretical arguments developed in the previous sections of the paper.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis Chapters

This thesis is organized into five main sections. In Chapter 2, I will discuss my entry into planning and housing for single homeless women. It is important to understand recent concepts about homelessness and I will then examine how homelessness has been defined.

I will argue that social and economic processes have exacerbated single women's housing needs. I will continue by discussing the notion of concealed homelessness as it is critical

to understanding single women's homelessness. In conclusion, single women's homelessness and housing needs can be linked to social and economic processes and they have been exacerbated by the lack of affordable housing opportunities for women.

In Chapter 3, I will then examine single women's position in the Canadian housing market vis-à-vis traditional family households. As women's housing status has been associated with their economic position, I will begin by examining women's labour force participation and incomes. Then, I will link these data to single women's position in the housing market. I will compare the patterns of housing tenure and housing affordability for single women with other household categories. Statistical data indicate that many women living alone face housing affordability problems. As planners use can both affect and be affected by housing policy, the next section of chapter 3 will present a more sustained feminist analysis of Canadian housing policy. I will demonstrate that housing policy rarely has addressed the needs of single women.

In Chapter 4, I will discuss urban planning and outline the evolution of urban planning with respect to housing in the Canadian context. Urban planning has been defined as the process of protecting and improving the living, productive and recreation environment in a city through the proper use and development of the land for the greater good of present and future generations. While this definition would seem to imply that planning should address social, economic and physical concerns of society, I have argued that rational

approaches to land use planning have focused on the economic development of land use, including the production of housing. As I have posited that rational approaches to planning have reinforced women's subordination in access to housing resources, I will then discuss some of the predominant land use and housing models to provide a context for the next chapter which will develop a feminist perspective of planning and housing.

In Chapter 5, I will develop a feminist theoretical planning and housing perspective and examine how the existing urban planning and housing theories and practices have acted to reinforce the norm of the traditional family and marginalize non-traditional households, including those headed by single women. The similarities between land use planning and urban geography make feminist geographical analyses particularly useful to the development of a feminist urban planning approach. I will include a feminist critique of traditional approaches to land use and housing development. As I have also indicated that a feminist perspective in planning and housing can offer ways of improving single women's experiences in the built environment, I will examine some feminist models of housing that planners can consider.

Chapter 6 will examine a local planning and housing case study to illustrate how mainstream planning theory, policy and practice have continued to discriminate against the housing needs of single homeless women. I will begin with a discussion of the case study methodology and continue by documenting and analyzing the events that have occurred in

establishing shelter for homeless women in Ottawa. While the need for a permanent emergency shelter was identified over a decade ago, homeless single women have been jostled around from temporary night time shelters, to condemned buildings, to buildings that were located far from other needed services. They recently have seen more appropriate surroundings vetoed by the provincial planning 'court of appeal' - the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB). This case study will discuss how planning theory and practice have acted to exclude single homeless women's access to appropriate housing resources. Chapter 6 will highlight how a feminist perspective can help to understand the implications of planning and housing theory and practice on women.

Chapter 7 draws together some of the important conclusions about adapting feminist perspectives in planning and housing.

Chapter 1 - Footnotes

1. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989, "Women in the city" in Peet, Richard and Nigel Thrift (eds), New Models in Geography, Unwin Hyman Ltd., London, p.109,
2. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989, *ibid*, p.109.
3. Greed, Clara, 1994, Women and planning: Creating gendered realities, Routledge Press, Toronto, p.i. Greed noted that women represent over 50% of the British population. In 1991, women made up 50.5% of the Canadian population. (see Statistics Canada, 1995, Women in Canada: A Statistical Report: Third Edition, catalogue #89-503E, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, p.8.
4. Leavitt, Jacqueline, 1986, "Feminist Advocacy Planning in the 1980s" in Checkoway, Barry (ed), Strategic Perspectives in Planning, Lexington, MA., p.181.
5. See Greed, Clara, 1994, *op cit*, or Little, Jo, 1994, Gender, Planning and the Policy Process, Pergamon, Oxford, for examples of two feminist analyses of the British planning system. For a current review of feminist theory and geography, see McDowell, Linda, 1993, "Space, place and gender relations: Part I. Feminist empiricism and the geography of social relations" and "Space place and gender relations: Part II. Identity, difference feminist geometries and geographies", in Progress in Human Geography, Volume 17, #2, pp.57-179 and Volume 17, #3, pp.305-318 respectively.
6. Wekerle, Gerda, R. Peterson, and D. Morley (eds), 1980, "Introduction" in New space for women, Westview Press, Colorado, pp.8-9.
7. Little, Jo, 1994, *op cit*.
8. Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, Housing and Homelessness: A Feminist Perspective, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.4.
9. Watson, Sophie, 1986, "Women and Housing or Feminist Housing Analysis" in Housing Studies, Volume 1, #1, pp.1 - 10.
10. Watson, Sophie with Helen Austerberry, 1986, *op cit*.

11. Harman, Lesley D., 1988, When a Hostel Becomes a Home: Experiences of Women, Garamond Press, Toronto, Ontario.
12. See Andrew, Caroline, Penny Gurstein, Fran Klodawsky, Beth Moore Milroy, Janet McClain, Linda Peake, Damaris Rose & Gerda Wekerle, 1994, Canadian Women and Cities, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa, for a discussion of 'good practices' in women's housing, safety, and human rights in Canadian cities.
13. Greed, Clara, 1994, op cit.
14. Greed, Clara, 1994, ibid.
15. Klodawsky, Fran, 1985, Employment opportunities for women in architecture and urban planning: problems and some prospects, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa.

CHAPTER 2

SINGLE WOMEN AND HOMELESSNESS

2.1 Identifying the connection between gender, planning and homelessness

My interest in a research project about single homeless women began when my thesis advisor and I were discussing my academic background in research about women and geography. We considered various projects involving women and housing resources and I thought that one local endeavour seemed to represent an interesting approach to housing single homeless women. At the time, local officials were involved with finalizing arrangements to establish a much needed permanent emergency shelter with appropriate services for single homeless women in Ottawa. Many people - including housing consultants, homeless women, social service workers, church charities, and local government - had combined their time and efforts to assess the needs of homeless single women and determine an appropriate location for an innovatively designed emergency shelter, which I will discuss in more depth in the case study in Chapter 6. However, changes to existing planning and zoning were challenged by some local citizens and the proposed shelter subsequently was rejected by the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) - a board of appeal set up by the provincial government to judge and review appeals to planning decisions. This decision underlined the power of planning, and I began to make some connections between planning and women's housing and homelessness. While the

concern of this research will be with the implications of planning and housing theory and practice for single women, I would first like to discuss some of the definitions and literature associated with homelessness in Canada, as it will be referred to later when I discuss planning and housing theory and policy. Many of the underlying 'causes' of homelessness in contemporary times may be said to be linked to changing social and economic processes, which have in turn shaped and been shaped by gender relations.

2.2 A personal perspective of homelessness

I started to read some literature about homelessness and was intrigued with some of the perceptions of homeless people. Images of homeless people in this literature generally referred to street people or victims of disaster who had no homes at all. Homeless people often were characterized in derogatory terms as being highly mobile (often referring to them as 'tramps', 'transients' and 'drifters')¹. Other literature portrayed single homeless people as alcohol and drug abusers - and labelled them social deviants who were 'undeserving' of help. The earlier literature about homeless people had identified only a small number of people who were literally without a roof - usually the stereotypical 'skid row' male, but aside from some occasional references to 'box car Berthas' or 'shopping bag ladies', homeless women generally were invisible in the literature. Recent research suggests that there have been many women living on the streets throughout the century,

but because their numbers generally have been less than those of men, they often have not been visible².

These images of 'bag ladies' did not 'fit' my experiences with women's homelessness, although I certainly have seen some people in Ottawa who did seem to resemble these descriptions. My family had taken in several homeless women over the years and none of these women were anything like these stereotypical images. For example, one woman had been evicted from her home and was threatened with the loss of custody of her two children because she was not able to pay her rent after her husband deserted them. My grandfather heard about her circumstances from a co-worker and he and my grandmother invited the woman and her children to live with them, as there were no immediate social assistance programs at the time. After a while, the woman was able to find full time employment which allowed her to establish her own home. Another woman had lost her bed-sit in a rooming house when she was hospitalized and my family took care of her until she was able to live independently. So my understanding of homelessness from personal experience was quite different from popular characterizations, which tended to include homeless men only, and to 'blame the victim' by ignominiously concluding that homeless people largely were 'undeserving' of public sympathy and assistance³. Clearly, homelessness was not restricted to men and it seemed to be linked to underlying social and economic processes which were often exacerbated by personal circumstances.

2.3 Understanding homelessness: The housing to homeless continuum

Homelessness has often been viewed as a simple 'yes or no' condition - one either has a roof over one's head or one does not. But it has been recently recognized that this simplistic approach is inadequate and that graduations of homelessness exist, ranging from having no shelter at all to various forms of inadequate housing, constituting a continuum of homeless states. The United Nations (UN) designated 1987 as the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (IYSH), and more attention was concentrated towards understanding the plight of homeless people. While the initial concern about homelessness had centred on southern 'developing' countries, it was apparent that homelessness also had become widespread in North American and European countries - especially over the past twenty years. A major accomplishment of the IYSH was the re-definition of homelessness to include the following two groups of people:

- 1) people who have no home and who live either outdoors or in emergency shelters or hostels.
- 2) people whose homes do not meet UN basic standards. These housing standards included adequate protection from the elements, access to safe water and sanitation, affordable prices, secure tenure and personal safety, and accessibility to employment, education and health care⁴.

George Fallis and Alex Murray have reasoned that the definition of homelessness has profound philosophical, social, statistical and political implications. They argued that, on the one hand, narrowly defining homelessness as being applicable only to those who use shelters would not represent the actual numbers of people who are without a secure roof

over their heads nor street people who do not use shelter facilities. On the other hand, they also realized that it has been difficult to establish consistent or appropriate parameters for the second group of people in the above definition of homelessness⁵. How broadly the standards in the U.N. definition can be applied has been left open to interpretation.

However, this definition has made an important statement because it has linked homelessness to a range of housing needs and to the broader social and economic processes that affect the provision of housing in society, rather than re-emphasizing the previous 'blame the victim' approach. This redefinition of homeless people also has indicated the diversity of homeless people and researchers have concluded that a range of housing options and services are required. Homeless people can therefore be viewed as being within a 'continuum of housing to homeless', ranging from the U.N. defined first group (the 'absolute homeless') to the variations within the second group (the 'inadequately housed').

Some statistical information about homeless people in Canada was documented by the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD) in the McLaughlin report of 1988. The report looked at both groups of homeless people identified in the above United Nation's definition. The first part of the report was based on information received from some shelters who had agreed to supply information about shelter users, and the second part focused on the causes of homelessness and housing need. While the statistics in the first part are limited because they only include people who used participating shelters at a

particular point in time, the report was important because it identified the dramatic changes in the composition of people who used shelters over the past two decades. A major finding was that homelessness was not restricted to men, as it generally had been - women and children were identified as being amongst the 'new homeless' in Canada. The McLaughlin Report found that: 1) 27.5% of shelter users were women; and 2) 11.5% were children under age 15⁶. Some researchers have shown that the number of shelter units for homeless women has been increasing in some Canadian cities, and that their occupancy rates were higher than those of men's⁷. Some researchers have indicated that homelessness has been especially high for some groups of women in some Canadian cities. For example, Alex Murray found that women of native ancestry experienced high levels of homelessness and housing need in Winnipeg⁸.

As mentioned above, current research about homelessness has started to recognize that wider social and economic processes are linked to homelessness. Jennifer Wolch and Michael Dear determined that twenty years of economic restructuring, the dismantling of the welfare state, demographic changes and the collapse of affordable housing markets have led to widespread homelessness in the late 1980s and 1990s in the United States⁹. Similar patterns have occurred in Canada, indicating that homelessness and housing problems largely have been a combined result of social and economic processes which have been beyond the control of the individual. These, in turn, may be exacerbated by factors more directly related to the person's life¹⁰. George Fallis and Alex Murray

underlined the multi-causal and dynamic nature of homelessness to advocate a more comprehensive approach to the housing needs of homeless people:

There are many causes of homelessness and to understand homelessness we must recognize that the phenomena is inherently dynamic for individuals and in general. The problem is caused by factors beyond the control of the individual - e.g. recession, unemployment, declining stock of low cost housing - but also by factors more directly related to a person's life such as family breakdown drug or alcohol abuse psychiatric problems or just an inability to form relationships or maintain a job¹¹.

Feminists have argued that recent social and economic processes have had implications for single women and housing. Sophie Watson and Helen Austerberry argued that capitalist society has structured the production, allocation and consumption of housing in such a way that single women's housing needs have been marginalized. These processes have supported the housing interests of traditional nuclear families and reinforced women's domestic roles in the family. The authors maintained that single homeless women have been viewed in a particularly negative way because they do not conform to the 'norm' of female domesticity: '[t]here has been a tendency to regard homelessness among single people as a consequence of personal failure rather than a failure of successive government legislation to provide accommodation for anybody except those in nuclear families'¹². As a result, single women's housing needs seldom have been addressed.

Sophie Watson and Helen Austerberry also argued that single women's homelessness or housing need was particularly critical because it has been more highly 'concealed' than that of men, or traditional and single parent families¹³:

the housing needs or homelessness of single women are rarely expressed in terms of demand...Instead, people who are unable to amass the financial and social

resources necessary to enter the housing market may be forced to accept intolerable living conditions, overcrowding in shared accommodation, or domestic violence, simply because of a lack of alternatives¹⁴.

Some work has indicated that single women have turned to prostitution and other illicit occupations to provide themselves with a place to stay¹⁵. This concept of 'concealed' housing need has been crucial to understanding single women's homelessness. Because single women's housing needs have been concealed, very little has been done to address their needs. Madeleine Stoner concurred:

[b]ecause women have been less visibly homeless and less troublesome or feared than men, society and social agencies have regarded them as even 'less needy' than homeless men. As a consequence, these unacknowledged women have tended to fall between the threads of the safety net, into the streets¹⁶.

Other literature and documentation have determined that many women have become homeless because of circumstances that have been beyond their own control¹⁷.

In the McLaughlin Report, poverty, de-institutionalization and the shrinking supply of affordable housing were seen as main factors linked to current widespread homelessness or housing need in the Canadian population¹⁸. Male violence and abuse has been another 'cause' of women's housing need and homelessness.

The actual continuum of absolute homelessness to inadequate housing has particularly affected women, and women's homelessness has been poorly measured. This has led to a paucity of appropriate statistics and increased the women's concealed homelessness.

2.3.1 Poverty and homelessness

The number of Canadians who entered poverty over the past two decades as a result of widespread economic recession and unemployment has increased. The McLaughlin report indicated that in 1984, 972,000 families and 1,025,000 individuals - a total of 4,544,000 people - were living in poverty, and many of these people faced difficulty in finding and securing adequate housing¹⁹. The feminization of poverty has had particular consequences for single women. As will be discussed in chapter three, women have less access to financial resources and one consequence has been an increase in the numbers of women who have been forced into the streets, or whose housing needs have been concealed because they cannot afford appropriate housing. The CCSD report indicated that cutbacks in the social welfare program were also a major factor that had contributed to the growing number of people who were homeless in Canada.

2.3.2 The supply of affordable housing

The supply of affordable housing has been low in many cities because private market developers have not found it profitable to build or maintain low-cost housing, and have focused on the production of housing for middle and upper income groups. This has resulted in a housing system that has concentrated on the provision of housing for traditional family households, but the housing needs of non-traditional households,

including those of single women, have been marginalized. Government housing policy has supported this trend, and its impacts on single women will be more fully addressed in Chapter 3. While some affordable housing has been provided through governments, current economic conditions have resulted in cut-backs in funding for federal and provincial affordable housing programs. Affordable housing for non-elderly singles has recently been put on some provincial housing agendas, but it is unlikely that sufficient numbers of units will be provided, given the current restraint programs.

The number of women whose homelessness or housing need has been concealed as a result of the lack of affordable or appropriate housing has been difficult to determine. However, as Sophie Watson has argued, the number of single women in extreme housing need would be greatly increased if those living: 1) in shared accommodations, 2) with relatives or friends, or 3) in accommodations tied to their employment through lack of available housing alternatives, were included in the statistics²⁰.

The stock of affordable housing for single people has also been reduced by other social processes, such as gentrification and urban renewal projects. These processes have generally replaced some housing stock in the centrally located areas of the city with 'upscale' housing for middle and high income earners. However, rooming houses and low cost housing - which have been a main source of affordable housing for low income singles - often have been destroyed as a result of these processes. Some research has

indicated that there has also been a serious deterioration in the quality of many existing rooming house accommodations²¹.

Increasing numbers of people have been forced to seek accommodation in emergency shelters. However, some research has indicated that the services and shelters for single women have been found to be inadequate or non-existent. Recent newspaper articles have been predicting that the number of homeless people needing shelter and food is likely to increase, but the funding for social programs will be severely decreased as a result of these cut-backs²².

2.3.3 De-institutionalization and homelessness

De-institutionalization and non-institutionalization have also been seen as contributing to homelessness. During the 1960s, many people were released from institutions, especially psychiatric hospitals, with the intention being that governments would provide more community based care facilities. On the whole, this was a much more compassionate approach towards the treatment of people who had been institutionalized, especially for people with mental health problems. However, the creation of sufficient new community facilities has not materialized because deteriorating economic conditions have led to the dismantling of social programs since the 1970s²³. The CCSD report indicated that 20% or more of shelter users were current or ex-psychiatric patients, and some analyses have

indicated a higher frequency of apparent mental health problems amongst homeless people. However, it has been difficult to say whether psychiatric disorders have been a cause of homelessness or a consequence of the desperation and instability one experiences when facing an absence of appropriate housing options²⁴.

Some researchers also have suggested that single homeless women with apparent psychiatric problems have been especially marginalized from housing options:

the emphasis was on deviant characteristics of the homeless, rather than on issues such as housing shortage. No one questioned the validity of the low estimation of women's homelessness nor recognized the importance of strong social and economic pressures keeping women in the home or their increasing reliance on tranquillizing drugs. Neither is there any recognition of specific reasons, such as the fear of violence or the stigma attached as to why women sleep in the rough, or why existing hostel provision was inadequate to suit their needs. By concentrating on the single homeless, their problem was defined as a welfare problem - divorced from economic analysis involving income problems or housing shortage. By concentrating on those sleeping in the rough, the numerous concealed homeless - often women - were ignored and homelessness appeared to be a much smaller problem than it must have been²⁵.

Most researchers who have examined homelessness certainly agree that more appropriate housing options are needed to help end the cycle of homelessness created by the dismantling of the welfare state²⁶. However, some research has found that there has been resistance from property owners to placing facilities such as group homes for de-institutionalized people in some neighbourhoods. Moreover, accommodating new facilities in the existing planned environment has been difficult due to rational planning

practices and approaches which as will be seen, tend to exclude non-traditional residences in residential areas.

2.3.4 Homelessness and violence

Some aspects of women's homelessness that can be linked to housing often have not been addressed in the current literature. Feminist research has indicated that many women have become homeless because they have been forced to leave their homes due to abuse by their partner or spouse²⁷. For example, one report indicated that between 40 to 70 per cent of women living in the streets in an American city suffered physical or sexual abuse²⁸.

A recent survey on violence against women indicated a high rate of spousal abuse in Canada, and national policies supporting shelters programs have been launched²⁹. Sexual harassment of women tenants by landlords also undermines women's access to secure housing and therefore may be considered within the homeless continuum. In addition, the number of women forced to remain in unsafe and violent homes is unknown, but undoubtedly would increase the number of concealed homeless³⁰.

2.4 Summary

The composition of the population who is homeless in Canada has been changing over the past two decades to include greater numbers of women. The definition of homelessness

has also changed and it should be understood as being within the 'housing to homelessness' continuum. The concept of 'concealed' homelessness has been especially critical to understanding why single women's homelessness or housing problems have been ignored. The broad causes of homelessness can be linked to wider social and economic processes in the urban environment, and I have indicated that gender relations form an important parameter in these processes. The effects of poverty, the supply of suitable housing, the results of de-institutionalization and violence have contributed to single women's homelessness.

Chapter 2 - Footnotes

1. For a discussion that refutes this stereotypical approach, see Wolch, Jennifer, Afsaneh Rahimian and Paul Koegel, "Daily and Periodic Mobility Patterns of the Urban Homeless" in Professional Geographer, 1993, Volume 45, #2, pp.159-168. Their research indicated that homeless people move around for the same reasons as homed people - to meet needs for food, shelter, income, friendship and other services.
2. See, for example, Stephanie Golden's book, 1992, The Women Outside, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, for an account of some homeless women in Britain from the mid 1500s to contemporary times.
3. For an example of such negative responses to street people and panhandlers in Ottawa-Carleton, see two articles in the Ottawa Citizen - Randall Denley's May 2, 1995 column "Think twice before paying panhandlers" and Jeremy Mercer's article on May 10, 1995, "A picture from life's other side". Both articles leave the reader with an incomplete portrayal of street people. The articles 'blame the victim', and they label street people as being 'undeserving'.
4. McLaughlin, Mary Ann, 1987, Homelessness in Canada: The Report of the National Inquiry, Canadian Council on Social Development, Ottawa, Ontario, p.2.
5. Fallis, George and Alex Murray, 1990, "Introduction" in Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public, and Third Sectors, Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds.), University of Toronto Press, Toronto, p.3.
6. McLaughlin, Mary Ann, 1987, op cit., p.4.
7. Murray, Alex, 1990, "Homelessness: The People" in Fallis, George and Alex Murray, Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, pp.16-48.
8. Murray, Alex, 1990, op cit., p.23.
9. Wolch, Jennifer and Michael Dear, 1993, Malign Neglect: Homelessness in an American City, Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, San Francisco, California, pp.47-150.

10. For a look at some women's homelessness and life experiences, see Rousseau, A.M., 1981, Shopping bag ladies: Homeless women speak about their lives, Pilgrim Press, New York
11. Fallis, George and Alex Murray, 1990, "Reflecting on the Problems and Possibilities" in Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public, and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, pp.264-265.
12. Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, Housing and Homelessness: A Feminist Perspective, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.62.
13. See Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, op cit., p.4. As the authors explain, public housing policy tends to be oriented towards the family household and those with dependent children, including single parent families. They were found to have had greater access to public housing than single people.
14. Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, op cit., p.5.
15. Mostoller, Michael, 1985, "A Single Room: Housing for the Low income Single Person" in Birch, Eugenie Ladner (ed.) The unsheltered woman: women and housing in the 1980s, The State University of New Jersey. A recent newspaper article indicated that single women in the labour force in Ottawa often supplemented their wages by prostituting themselves - see Abraham, Carolyn, 1995, Siren Song, November 20, 1995, p.A9.
16. Stoner, Madeleine R., 1986, "The Plight of Homeless Women" in Erikson, Jon and Charles Wilhelm (eds.), Housing the Homeless, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, p.284.
17. See Baxter, Sheila, 1991, Under the Viaduct: Homeless in Beautiful B.C., New Star Books, Vancouver. Another poignant source of this information was found in a documentary titled "It Was A Wonderful Life", by Cinewomen and Jenny Craig Inc., A Tamarr A. Glazer Production. It traced the diverse experiences of a group of women who had been in middle class, traditional households in the United States, but had become homeless through divorce, unemployment, medical problems and under-employment. Some of these women had tried to cope with homelessness by living in automobiles or trucks.
18. McLaughlin, Mary Ann, 1987, op cit., pp.9-12.
19. McLaughlin, Mary Ann, 1987, op cit., p.9.
20. Watson, Sophie, 1986, "Women and Housing or Feminist Housing Analysis" in Housing Studies, volume 1, #1, p.9.

21. Godley, Claudette, 1986, "Housing and Homeless Women: Choice or Policy" in Canadian Housing: habitation canadienne, Volume 3, #2, The Canadian Association of Housing and Renewal Officials, pp.34-35.
22. Abraham, Carolyn, 1995, "Downtown shelters brace for welfare cuts" in The Ottawa Citizen, September 28, p.B5.
23. Dear, Michael, and J. Wolch, 1993, "Homelessness" in Bourne, L.S. and David Ley (eds.), The Changing Geography of Canadian Cities, McGill-Queen's University Press, Canada, pp.302.
24. Russell, Betty G., 1991, Silent Sisters: A Study of Homeless Women, Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, Baltimore, Maryland, p.30.
25. Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, op cit., p.59.
26. See Russell, Betty, 1991, op cit., pp.30-36 for a discussion of her research about homeless women, mental illness and substance abuse.
27. Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, op cit., p.5.
28. Grimm, Kirsten and Jaime C. Maldonado, 1995, "No Home Of Her Own: Gender And Homelessness" in Women and Environments, Volume 14, #2, p.21.
29. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1994, Draft Final Report on the Evaluation of the Project Haven Program and Update on the Next Step Program Activities, Canada Mortgage and Housing, Ottawa.
30. Novac, Sylvia, 1990b, "Sexual Harassment of Women Tenants" in Canadian Woman Studies: les cahiers de la femme, Volume 11, #2, p.58.

CHAPTER 3

SINGLE WOMEN AND HOUSING

3.1 Single women and the Canadian housing system

Important foci for feminist planning research on women and housing must include both analyses of women's position within the housing system and an assessment of the implications of housing policy on women. This chapter begins with a statistical review of single women's position in the housing system in Canada. The first sections will examine statistical data about single women and their housing status vis-à-vis other households. As housing policy has played an important part in the production and distribution of housing and the planned urban form, I will continue with a more sustained review of Canadian housing policy. I will assess the implications of government housing policy on single women.

3.2 Single women in the housing market

There have been indications that women living alone increasingly are facing housing need and homelessness because of a lack of affordable and adequate housing options. The following section will provide a statistical analysis of single women's position in the housing market. I posited that the housing system has assumed a set of social relations that reinforce women's domestic roles and marginalize non-traditional households. This

has had important implications in the provision of housing (or lack thereof) for women living alone. First, I will look at recent demographic findings to demonstrate that the number of single women living alone has increased. Second, I will then examine statistics pertaining to income and employment as they have been linked to single women's marginalized position in the housing system. Third, I will outline single women's position in the housing market with respect to tenure and affordability¹. It should be noted that households which spend 30% or more of their total household income on shelter costs have been defined being in 'core housing need' due to affordability problems².

In this discussion, I will focus on comparing women living alone with traditional family households. I will demonstrate that access to adequate and affordable housing largely has depended on household status. My major conclusions have been that women living alone are much less likely to have access to home ownership and its accrued benefits, and they are more likely to face housing affordability problems than traditional family households. While housing and household information was available for family households and single women households, no information for single women living in other households was published. As mentioned, many single women have been forced to live with friends and family and increasing number of single women have been using emergency shelters. Their housing needs remain 'concealed'.

3.2.1 Demographic trends in household formation

Demographic trends indicate that the number of women living alone has increased dramatically in the past two decades. The most recent census data indicate that the number of single person households more than doubled from 800,00 to 1.7 million between 1971 and 1981. Between 1981 and 1986, the number of people living alone increased by 15% to 1,935,000³. Women represented the majority of this group - 58.8%⁴. While the number of single women aged 25-44 living alone quadrupled between 1971 and 1986, the majority of women living alone was older - 46% of women living alone were aged 65 and over, and 16% were 55-64⁵. A 19% increase in single parent households between 1981 and 1986 is also significant in that 82% of these families were headed by women⁶. Many of these women will add to the growing number of older single women as their children leave the nest.

The increase in single person households has been attributed to recent demographic trends in marriage, divorce, mortality rates and population growth. First, a greater number of people are choosing to delay marriage, or not marry at all⁷. While the total population has increased, marriage rates have declined and the number of single persons has increased. Secondly, the number of divorces has increased steadily since 1968, and many divorcees have not remarried. Divorce rates have increased dramatically since 1986, when the new Divorce Act reduced the separation period from three years to one year⁸. Some research

from Britain has also indicated that the number of one person households has increased as a result of the breakdown of cohabiting relationships, although accurate figures could not be determined for this sector of the population in Canada⁹. Thirdly, women live longer than men, and this is reflected in the higher number of older women relative to men who are living alone¹⁰.

3.2.2 Women and employment

Women's participation in the labour force has increased dramatically since the middle of the century. In 1994, 52% of women aged 15 and over had jobs in the labour force¹¹. Unattached women's participation has been higher than that of married women, but lower than that of their male counterparts¹².

While women's labour force participation has increased, recent census data indicate that women earn much less than their male counterparts. In the full time labour force, women's earnings were only 72% of those of men in 1994¹³. There was little variation in the earnings of women regardless of their marital status - in 1993, both single and married women who were employed full time earned an average of \$28,300¹⁴.

The majority of part time jobs are held by women (69%), and in 1993, 26% of all women in the labour force worked part time, compared with 9% of their male counterparts¹⁵.

Women's average earnings in the part time labour force were also lower than those of their male peers¹⁶. Five hundred thousand women who worked part time indicated that they wanted full time work, but could only find part time positions¹⁷.

The survey also indicated that while some women have advanced into professional positions and higher income jobs, the majority of working women continue to be employed in occupations in which women have been traditionally concentrated. In 1994, 70% of all women employed were working in teaching, nursing, and related health occupations, clerical positions, or sales and service positions, compared with just 31% of employed men¹⁸.

Certain groups of women are particularly disadvantaged in the labour force. Statistics Canada determined that aboriginal women, women with disabilities, recently arrived immigrant women and visible minority women worked at lower paying and lower status jobs¹⁹.

Overall, Statistics Canada has indicated that the vast majority of employed women continue to work in lower paying and lower status jobs²⁰.

3.2.3 Women and income

Income also varies depending on household status, and once again, many women who live alone appear to be disadvantaged in relation to traditional family households and their male counterparts. In 1993, the average incomes for households with two parents and married couples without children were \$59,658 and \$53,768 respectively, while the average incomes for unattached women aged 15-64 and 65 and over were much lower - \$23,211 and \$16,842, respectively²¹. It was further determined that unattached women have lower average incomes than their male counterparts²².

Single women form a large proportion of people living below the low income cut-offs. Within all low income non-elderly households, the proportion of unattached women was much higher than that of traditional husband-wife families (33.3% and 8.3% respectively)²³. The percentage of low income unattached women also was higher than their male counterparts - 29.5% of unattached males were below the low income cut-off.

The proportion of low income unattached women aged 65 and over was also higher than other low income elderly families²⁴. In both age categories, the percentage of women in low income categories was higher than those of their male counterparts.

Again, the frequency of low income was high among aboriginal women, women with disabilities, recently arrived immigrant women and visible minority women²⁵. While a breakdown of income in relation to household status was not available for women in these groups, it can be assumed that women living alone in these groups would be particularly disadvantaged with respect to housing affordability status.

Overall, single women form a large proportion of low income earners. Older women have especially been disadvantaged with regards to income and employment. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the number of older women facing homelessness has been of great concern.

3.3 Single women and housing

3.3.1 Single women and home ownership

Home ownership generally has been the preferred form of housing tenure for Canadians, particularly since the second world war - and in 1986, approximately 62% of all Canadian households lived in owner occupied dwellings²⁶. However, women are less likely to own their homes than their male counterparts. In 1986, only 42% of women owned their homes, compared with 70% of men²⁷.

Table 3.1 indicates the differences in home ownership proportions between traditional family and one person households. While 79.2% of two-spouse households lived in owner occupied dwellings in 1994, only 48.3% of women aged 65 and over and 32.8% of single women aged 15-64 in one person households owned their homes²⁸. Only 30.5% of female lone parent families owned their homes. These statistics indicate that the likelihood of women owning their homes has depended largely on their family status. Women in one-person households and lone parent families clearly have experienced difficulty in entering the owner occupied sector because the high cost of home ownership generally has required two incomes to sustain a mortgage and maintain a privately owned home. The higher proportion of home ownership among women aged 65 and over has been attributed to the fact that many of them have been widowed, and this again indicates that women's access to homeownership is dependent on them having been in a traditional household²⁹. Housing affordability problems amongst home owners were more prevalent among women in one person households and female-headed families than those in two-spouse families. As indicated in Figure 3.1, 33.4% of single women under age 65, 27.4% of female lone parents and 18.6% of single women aged 65 or over had housing affordability problems compared with 12.9% of two parent families in 1991³⁰.

Other factors have impeded women's access to home ownership. For example, Sophie Watson found that financial institutions have been hesitant to grant mortgages to single women on the assumption their household formations are not stable³¹. Janet McClain and

Table 3.1
Housing Tenure, by household type, 1994

Tenure	Single-family households			One-person households			
	Lone-parent families			Under age 65		Aged 65 and over	
	Two-spouse families	Female head	Male head	Women	Men	Women	Men
Owned with mortgage	42.0	20.5	36.0	16.3	19.1	5.4	5.4
Owned without mortgage	37.2	9.9	21.7	16.5	15.8	42.9	50.5
Total owned	79.2	30.5	57.8	32.8	34.9	48.3	55.9
Rented	20.8	69.5	42.2	67.2	65.1	51.7	44.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total households (000s)	6,309	488	77	743	878	685	229

Source: Statistics Canada, Household Facilities and Equipment Survey.

Figure 3.1
Percentage paying 30% or more of total gross
household income on shelter costs,
by household type, 1991

1 - Two spouse families
2 - Lone-parent families - Female head
3 - Lone-parent families - Male head
4 - Under age 65 - Women

5 - Under age 65 - Men
6 - Aged 65 and over - Women
7 - Aged 65 and over - Men

Source: Statistics Canada Census

Cassie Doyle found that Canadian financial institutions also have been biased against women³². A representative from a local women's financial institution confirmed that while gender is not a legitimate reason for rejecting a mortgage, many women continue to have difficulties in being accepted for mortgages because of their lower economic and employment status. For women, home ownership is largely dependent on being in a traditional family household, and as a result, relatively few single women have been in a position to purchase a home and reap the accrued benefits of property ownership.

Statistics Canada has also noted that women living alone in their homes were more likely to require major home repairs than traditional households, which also suggests other financial problems associated with home ownership are faced by women living alone³³.

3.3.2 Single women and the rental market

Women in one person households have had to rely heavily on the private rental sector for their housing needs³⁴. Table 3.1 above indicates that the percentage of women in one person households (both in the senior and non-senior categories) who rented their homes was higher than those of their male counterparts and two-parent households³⁵.

Women in one person households are also more likely to experience housing affordability problems than traditional family households who rent accommodation. This is not

surprising, given that single women earn much less than traditional family households. As indicated in Figure 3.1, 53.2% of senior women and 45.4% of women under age 65 in one person households experience housing affordability problems, compared to 21.1% of two-spouse families. As well, women in one person households were also more likely to face affordability problems than their male counterparts.

A recent study done about middle aged working women (aged 45-54) concluded that an increasing number of these women will end up alone and poor in their retirement because they either do not have labour force experience, or they entered the work force after raising their families. Older women often work at low status and low paying jobs and have less time to build up financial security in the form of pension funds³⁶. Mary Ann Burke and Aron Spector found that many women aged 55-65 have difficulty acquiring affordable housing because they have are viewed as being 'too old' for the labour force, yet they are 'too young' to be eligible for seniors' housing³⁷.

Older single women have found they must vacate the family home or be 'down-graded' to smaller premises when their children leave, adding to the problems faced by low income single women. Since public housing was largely produced for family or senior residents and the numbers of single units are limited or non-existent in some projects, single women find they are no longer eligible to stay in their family home.

3.3.3 Summary - single women and housing statistics

The statistical analysis clearly indicates that many women living alone face housing affordability and housing adequacy problems, which can be linked to women's lower economic status. There are particular concerns about the housing needs of older single women. The statistics clearly indicate that the likelihood of women having access to affordable and adequate housing largely depends on their family status.

Because single women are a diverse group, more research needs to be done on the housing affordability and adequacy issues of aboriginal women, women with disabilities, immigrant women and visible minority women.

As will be seen in the next section, housing policy has rarely addressed the needs of single people, and given women's lower economic status vis-à-vis other household groups, it can be concluded that single women are particularly disadvantaged with respect to housing.

3.4 Housing Policy in Canada

In Chapter 1, I indicated that housing policy has influenced the way in which housing has been produced, financed and allocated. Housing policy has also influenced the way in which land has been planned. Albert Rose argued that '[t]he policies of the governments

and decisions of private entrepreneurs with respect to land use affect the supply of housing, the kind of housing produced and the level of housing costs at any one time'³⁸. The following historical examination of Canadian housing policies will highlight how government policies and programs have supported the private housing market and the development of single family suburban housing. Given the price of single family housing, the majority of single people have not been able to purchase homes or take advantage of the accrued benefits of home ownership. As examined in the previous sections, single women are less likely to be in a position to purchase homes than traditional family households. In this section, I will also illustrate that government policies and programs to provide affordable housing have not been directed at the non-traditional households of single women. As discussed in Chapter 2, single women's homelessness, or housing need, has been exacerbated by the lack of affordable and appropriate housing options.

Housing policy has been a complex set of decisions made in various departments of the federal, provincial and municipal governments, and the involvement of these different levels of government has varied over time. For example, federal involvement in housing policy was more strongly entrenched during the 1940s through the National Housing Act (NHA) of 1946 and the creation of Canada Mortgage and Housing (CMHC). During the 1960s, the changes to the NHA made it feasible for provincial and municipal governments to become more active in housing provision, and many established provincial and local housing authorities. For instance, the Ontario Ministry of Housing oversees provincial

housing policy and it has continued to be a major provider of social housing.

Municipalities have often played a major role in providing some social housing and they also exercise power in land use planning as set out in regional Official Plans³⁹. In Ottawa Carleton, the Regional Municipality (RMOC) has been responsible for operating some types of group homes, and providing social housing through Ottawa Carleton Housing Regional Authority. Some social housing has been provided by the city through departments such as City Living on Ottawa⁴⁰. More recently, governments have collaborated with the private sector and non-profit non-government agencies to create non-profit and co-operative housing.

Lately, the federal government largely has withdrawn from the provision of social housing. It continues to be active in influencing the mortgage rates, providing mortgage insurance and providing some specially targeted housing programs. Provincial governments have taken over most social housing and new housing policy initiatives. In the case of social housing, government programs have been targeted to those who are in core housing need.

3.5 The current housing stock in Canada

Over the past five decades, the total number of dwellings in Canada has grown from 2.6 million in 1941 to 10.1 million in 1992⁴¹. In 1990, it was estimated that 97% of the housing stock was provided by the private market⁴². While some affordable housing has

been provided in this sector (largely through government subsidies to low income renters), the major portion of affordable housing stock has been provided through various social housing programs (including public, social, non-profit and co-operative housing). It was estimated that approximately 6% of the total housing stock has been allocated as affordable housing. However, in 1991, Canada Mortgage and Housing found that 12.2% percent (1,164,000) of Canadian households were in core housing need and it has become clear that the neither the private market or public housing stock has been able to address this housing need⁴³. Given the numbers of people who require housing assistance and recent social spending cut-backs, the supply of affordable housing stock in Canadian cities remains insufficient to meet the current and expected future housing needs of lower income earners. Researchers have indicated that housing affordability has been of prime concern for women in non-traditional families⁴⁴. As indicated in the previous sections, the proportion of women in one person households with affordability problems is very high.

Trudi Bunting and Larry Bourne concluded that restricted access to housing may become an enduring feature of the 1990s for many low income earners given the predominance of private market housing, the lack of affordable housing options in accessible locations, the effects of rent control in some provinces, high interest rates, exclusionary municipal zoning and budgetary limitations on new social housing⁴⁵. It would seem that single women will continue to be disadvantaged in the housing market.

3.5.1 Housing in Canada - 1800s to mid 1930s

While the need for low cost housing was identified by the Governor General in his speech to the first Town Planning Congress in 1911, very little was done to officially place housing policy on the federal or provincial level until the 1930s⁴⁶. Canadian cities began to expand rapidly in the late 1800s and it generally was assumed that the housing needs of low income earners would be met through the filtering process. This process assumed that as people became more financially secure, they would purchase more adequate housing in the new suburbs. It was accepted that low cost housing would become available in the city centre⁴⁷.

Single working women generally lived in rooming houses or with their family⁴⁸. In the early part of the 20th century, 20% of all urban households in Canada took in lodgers⁴⁹. However, it appeared that many single women's housing problems were concealed at that time. For example, Stephanie Golden found that some single working women were forced to supplement their income, often through prostitution, in order to live 'since it was this very lack of decent shelter that forced them to become prostitutes, and the real number of homeless women remained invisible'⁵⁰.

3.6 Housing policy in the private market

3.6.1 1930 to World War II

Canadian housing policy has continued to support the private housing industry and concomitantly, the development of privately owned single family housing since the 1930s.

The federal government responded to social and economic problems created during the Depression by passing the Dominion Housing Act of 1935 and National Housing Act (NHA) of 1938. During the depression, the housing industry virtually had been destroyed.

Many people had lost their homes because they were not able to meet mortgage payments and much of the remaining housing stock required updating and repairs⁵¹. The Dominion Act and the NHA Act were enacted to provide financial guarantees to lending institutions who granted loans to 1)home buyers with a 20% down payment, 2)home owners and landlords for renovations and repairs, and 3)local municipal authorities for the construction of modestly priced housing⁵².

These initiatives in federal housing policy made home ownership more accessible for many middle class families. Before then, home ownership generally had been restricted to high income earners because home purchasers generally had to pay cash, or those who used credit generally had to pay a down payment of 50% of the purchase price and obtain a mortgage privately through family or friends⁵³. Government policy makers justified this

approach in promoting home ownership for families because they felt that lower cost housing near the city centre would continue to filter down to lower income earners as middle and high income earners vacated their existing homes in the city centre and purchased new houses in the suburbs⁵⁴. The home improvement grants also were intended for the use of family households and were 'designed to make the home more attractive and functional for raising children'⁵⁵. The production of housing was drastically curtailed with the onset of the second world war.

3.6.2 Post World War II to the 1970s

Housing policy once again was conditioned by economic and social circumstances following the Second World War. First, there was a need to rebuild the economy and housing became central to post war reconstruction policies. Housing production came to be viewed as the necessary 'engine of growth' for stimulating the national economy, and providing jobs for returning soldiers, new Canadians and unemployed workers in the depressed post war nation. Residential construction has continued to be an important factor in the Canadian economy from that time onwards - accounting for 5 - 6% of the gross domestic product since the 1950s⁵⁶. Second, the housing supply was critically low after the war and much of the housing stock had deteriorated during the war. Third, the demand for housing increased as people re-established households after the war. During the post war economic recovery, the vast majority of households settled down to raise

families. The demand for family housing continued to surge during the baby-boom in the late 1940s and 1950s⁵⁷.

The National Housing Act revisions of 1944 and 1948 provided incentives to satisfy the housing demand that stimulated the growth of private sector housing⁵⁸. This was accomplished by: 1) extending eligibility for mortgage insurance to families able to make a 20% downpayment; and 2) increasing amortization periods from 10 years to 25 years. Many families were able to enter the private housing market. A new Crown corporation - Central (now Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) - was formed in 1944 to administer the National Housing Act and its primary objective has been to promote home ownership by granting and insuring mortgages⁵⁹. Over the next two decades, the NHA relaxed mortgage terms and home ownership became accessible to most families. CMHC has also been active in: 1) over-seeing lending; 2) promoting community planning and university education research programs; 3) providing housing for the poor; and 4) developing urban renewal programs⁶⁰.

CMHC policies were particularly targeted at increasing the stock of privately owned, single family housing. This resulted in a dramatic increase in home ownership in Canada in the post war recovery. For example, the number of owner occupied dwellings increased by 206% between 1941 and 1961, while the number of tenant occupied dwellings increased at a much slower rate⁶¹.

Federal policy did help many middle income and some lower income people to acquire a home of their own. However, policy objectives were slanted toward the private market and the production of single family homes. Albert Rose maintained that housing policy supported the production of housing for traditional family households over other household formations during this period:

Canada was transformed from a nation of tenants to a nation of home owners, with the exception of Quebec....the house-building industry was devoted to the production of one main product: the single family detached home on vacant land, the only type eligible for National Housing Act financing⁶².

3.6.3 1970s and 1980s

While the federal government tried to establish a more comprehensive housing policy throughout the 1970s, the beginnings of an economic recession, commonly dated with the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) crisis in 1973 and its continuation into the 1980s had serious consequences for the national economy. The federal government continued to support the private housing industry to regulate the economy. Mortgage terms were made more attractive, and tax incentives were offered to developers and new home buyers. Some of these incentives included:

- National Housing Act revisions in 1973 that lowered the down payment required for home buyers.

- Liberalized practices about including second incomes (usually the woman's) as part of the family income and passing regulations that prompted mortgage lenders to increase the percentage of the total family income allowed for shelter.

- Federal capital gains tax legislation which exempted profits made from the sale of a principal residence from capital gains, thus encouraging home investment.
- Registered home ownership plans (RHOSP) that gave income tax breaks to people who could put away money for a home down payment during the late 1970s and early 1980s.
- Provincial grants to purchasers buying their first home.
- Protecting developers' high profit margins from being lowered by the Anti-Inflation Board⁶³.

The Assisted Home Ownership Program (AHOP) of 1974 was one program that encouraged low and moderate income earners to invest in home ownership. This program offered home ownership with minimal down payments (as low as 5%), grants in the form of low interest second mortgages that were not immediately payable and graduated mortgages for designated properties. However, economic recession and high interest rates in the 1980s resulted in many AHOP home buyers losing their homes⁶⁴. The high numbers of mortgage foreclosures and poor resale conditions depleted the NHA Mortgage Insurance funds.

Overall, the government policy continued to support private market housing, and much of the national budget has been spent on homeownership subsidies. The federal government has remained active by supplying mortgage insurance and adjusting interest rates to increase home ownership. In 1987, CMHC President George Anderson acknowledged

that federal government housing policy has 'confined itself to the kind of stimulation that avoided conflict with the private development and construction industry'⁶⁵.

3.7 Policy and affordable housing programs

3.7.1 Public housing 1948 -1978

Housing policy has played a role in delivery of social housing programs, and public housing became the chief source of affordable housing from the 1940s to 1978. The Curtis and Marsh reports of 1944 and 1943 called for a major role for government in the provision of social housing⁶⁶. In 1941, an Order-in-Council created a Crown Corporation - Wartime Housing Limited - to provide rental housing according to newly adopted national quality standards for people who relocated to work in wartime industries⁶⁷. After the war, this corporation offered low interest loans for veterans until it was taken over by CMHC in 1948⁶⁸. By the end of the 1940s, CMHC was the landlord of 40,000 family units of federally owned public housing⁶⁹. However, these units were eventually sold during the economic recovery that followed.

While subsidized housing had been a unilateral federal endeavour, the 1949 amendments to the National Housing Act launched an era of joint federal- provincial programs to construct public housing. Under these amendments, public housing projects were to be

initiated by the provinces or by municipalities empowered to do so by the provinces⁷⁰.

The federal government contributed capital (75% at this time) and operating expenses.

However, the provinces were reluctant to become involved in public housing. As a result, fewer than 15,000 units of public housing were completed by 1960⁷¹.

By the late 1950s and early 60s, it had become apparent that many low income households could not afford to purchase a home. During the 1960s, the federal government became involved in establishing a range of social welfare programmes, such as the Canada Pension Plan and the Canada Assistance Plan. The re-emergence of urban poverty as a political issue focused attention on the problems faced by inner city residents and the government began to address housing as a basic right for families. Public housing programs that had existed on paper since the war received substantial funding, and further amendments to the National Housing Act in 1962 & 1964 facilitated the provision of public housing by offering attractive new cost-sharing provisions to the provincial governments⁷². For example, CMHC introduced legislation that allowed for loan transfers of up to 90% of the capital costs for construction of provincially-owned public housing⁷³. This marked an era of new partnerships between levels of government, and many provinces created provincial and municipal housing corporations⁷⁴.

The lack of affordable housing had also been exacerbated by urban renewal projects that CMHC helped to fund in the post war era. The commercial redevelopment of inner city

areas often led to the destruction of low cost housing - particularly the rooming houses where single women and men lived⁷⁵. Public housing was supposed to fill the need for low income housing, and the number of public housing units increased dramatically during the 1960s and 1970s. For example, only 11,624 public housing units were available in Canada in 1963. Between 1964 and 1978, an additional 164,000 units were created⁷⁶.

Public housing was allocated to 'deserving' poor families who were facing temporary financial crises⁷⁷. During the 1970s, federal funding was directed towards the provision of public housing for the growing numbers of low income senior citizens⁷⁸. This was one of the few federal housing programs that was not targeted towards family housing⁷⁹.

However, single people soon found that they were dependent on the private rental market for housing because, among non-seniors, only families were eligible to be housed in public housing⁸⁰. As the supply of rental housing in the private market has been constricted, the demand has increased and rents have escalated in most parts of Canada⁸¹. As noted in the statistical analysis, single women are facing high rates of housing affordability problems in rental housing.

3.7.2 Social housing - 1978-1985

Public housing construction ended in most of Canada by 1978. While the old stock of public housing has continued to house many low income people, new construction of

affordable housing has occurred through non-profit and co-operative housing programs. The main principle of non-profit housing has been to integrate different income levels in social housing in order to move away from the public housing projects that had ghettoized poor people. In 1973, the National Housing Act amendments facilitated the establishment of non-profit and cooperative housing by providing loans for co-operative housing and low interest loans and mortgage insurance for municipal and private non-profit housing⁸². During the 1970s and early 1980s, both the federal and provincial governments were heavily committed to non-profit housing. In 1988, it was estimated that the stock of social housing had increased by 110,000 public and private non-profit units since 1964 and 50,000 non-profit co-operative units since 1973⁸³.

However, the new federal Conservative government changed the course of social housing provision in the mid 1980s. The federal government largely has withdrawn from direct participation in the construction of new social housing. It also has moved away from viewing affordable housing as a basic right. Federal participation in the non-profit housing program was cancelled in 1985, and in 1992, they withdrew from the co-operative housing program⁸⁴.

Non-profit housing programs were criticized for poor targeting - it was estimated that two-thirds to three-quarters of the units in these projects went to middle income families, and as a result the programs did not produce enough housing for those in greatest housing

need⁸⁵. Also, except in the case of non-profit projects that were targeted specifically to seniors, government subsidy allocation generally was based on family eligibility, and therefore did not increase the supply of social housing for single women⁸⁶.

The provincial governments have become more active in the provision of social housing in the past decade. During the latter part of 1980s and early 90s, the Ontario Ministry of Housing began to work towards a more comprehensive provincial housing policy. Its housing priorities have included: 1) the introduction of rent control to maintain and protect existing affordable housing; 2) the enhancement of the quality of life in public housing; and 3) better use of government land to increase the stock of affordable housing⁸⁷. The latter point recognized that the planning system plays an important part in housing provision and planning policies have been linked more explicitly to housing provision as a result.

One major break-through has been made with regards to affordable housing and single people occurred in 1988, when the province of Ontario finally extended housing assistance to single people⁸⁸. However, the recent social expenditure cut backs will most likely continue to exacerbate the housing problems of single people, especially low income women.

While the current trend of targeting social housing to those in most need has no doubt assisted some homeless women, researchers have indicated that the great majority of

homeless people have not been accommodated. Moreover, Keith Banting found that social housing projects have been less responsive to certain groups and he noted that 'single people often receive a lower priority than the elderly and families with children, and many people in need of special support services cannot be accommodated in regular projects'⁸⁹. Targeting housing for homeless people must be approached carefully - in Britain, there has been a return to re-institutionalizing and stigmatizing homelessness as a medical/psychological problem⁹⁰.

Recently, provision for the housing needs of homeless people has been made through 'special needs' housing programs. Some special needs housing has been targeted for people on the very margins of the housing market as a result of the International Year for Sheltering the Homeless. For example, Peter Oberlander and Arthur Fallick examined some of the permanent affordable housing projects that have been created for homeless single people in Canada⁹¹. However, Keith Banting found that there has not been a radical shift in the allocation of shelter for people living on the streets. He noted that the beneficiaries of special needs housing have been diverse - including elderly people in nursing homes, shelters for battered women and children, and homes for the mentally and physically disadvantaged. As a result of budget limitations that cannot address all the above housing needs, these programs have not provided enough housing for people living on the streets⁹². At the same time, the number of single women requiring emergency and transitional housing has increased⁹³.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has provided demographic information indicating a significant growth in the population of single women. I have also demonstrated that single women are disadvantaged in terms of employment and income. Finally, I have shown that housing policy decisions rarely have favoured the interests of single women. On the whole, housing policies have given preference to the private market and the production of owner occupied single family housing. However, as noted in the statistical analysis, low income single women are not likely to be home owners and as a result, they have not been able to gain from its accrued benefits. Because most private market housing is affordable only to high income earners and households with dual incomes, women living alone have rarely been able to enter the private ownership housing market.

Public and social housing have been targeted towards 'deserving families' and as a result, single women have had to rely on the increasingly expensive private rental market for accommodation. While some women have benefited from some social housing programs, particularly because single parent households have been included as families, few single women have benefited from social housing programs. Until recently, federally funded social housing programs were based on family eligibility.

Targeting housing to those in most need has no doubt benefited some single women. However, as discussed above, the current climate of budget restraint and cuts to social programs likely will create more housing problems. Also, great care must be taken to avoid the re-institutionalization of homelessness.

Changes in the NHA have provided municipalities with more opportunity to participate in social housing initiatives. This has been particularly so since 1964 in federal policy and more recently since the provincial government has taken over responsibility for social housing. The Ontario Provincial government has promoted municipal involvement in social housing provision. Municipal goals have been directed towards: 1) increasing the stock of social housing for low and middle income earners; and 2) ensuring increased municipal planning and control over the type, location and social composition of housing initiatives⁹⁴. Tom Carter and Ann McAfee argued that municipal involvement in housing can be beneficial to the identification of need and delivery of services for several reasons. First, because housing problems vary from region to region, municipalities are well positioned to determine local needs. Second, local governments are in the best position to identify appropriate service needs and to organize and deliver them⁹⁵. It would seem that planners, who are involved with the delivery and allocation of increasingly scarce urban resources, could have an important role in addressing single women's housing problems and homelessness.

Chapter 3 - Footnotes

1. Affordability has been identified as a key issue in women's housing concerns by many researchers. For example, see Spector, Aron N. and Fran Klodawsky, 1993, "The Housing Needs of Single Parent Families in Canada: A dilemma for the 1990's", in Hudson, Joe and Burt Galaway (eds.), Single Parent Families, Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., pp.239-252.
2. Statistics Canada, 1995, Women in Canada: A Statistical Report, Third Edition, Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Ottawa, p.29. This cut-off point was generally accepted in most of the housing literature.
3. Statistics Canada, 1990, Women in Canada: A Statistical Report, Second Edition, Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Ottawa, p.2.
4. Statistics Canada, 1990, *ibid.*, p.6.
5. Statistics Canada, 1990, *ibid.*, p.6.
6. Statistics Canada, 1990, *ibid.*, p.vii.
7. Statistics Canada, 1990, *ibid.*, p.2.
8. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, p.17.
9. Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, *op cit.*
10. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, p.32 and Statistics Canada, 1990, *op cit.*, p.125. Statistics Canada has indicated that the gender gap in longevity has been declining in recent years.
11. Statistics Canada, 1995, *ibid.*, p.9.
12. In 1987, Statistics Canada indicated that the labour force participation by marital status was: 67.9% - single women; 65.4% for divorced/separated women; 14.1% for widows; 59.1% married women; 74.1% single males; 77.3% for divorced/separated men; 23.95% for widowed men; 79.5% for married men. Refer to Statistics Canada, 1990, *op cit.*, p.79.
13. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, p.10.
14. Statistics Canada, 1995, *ibid.*, p.87.

15. Statistics Canada, 1995, *ibid.*, p.9.
16. Statistics Canada, 1990, *op cit.*, p.97.
17. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, p.9.
18. Statistics Canada, 1995, *ibid.*, p.9.
19. Statistics Canada, 1995, *ibid.*, pp.121, 136, 138, 151, 152.
20. Statistics Canada, 1990, *op cit.*, p.viii.
21. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, Tables 7.2 & 7.3, pp.92 & 93.
22. Statistics Canada, 1990, *op cit.*, p.111.
23. Statistics Canada, 1990, *ibid.*, p.107 and Table 6, p.113.
24. Statistics Canada, 1990, *ibid.*, p.117.
25. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, pp.123, 138, 153, and 166.
26. Statistics Canada, 1990, *op cit.*, p.27.
27. Statistics Canada, 1990, *ibid.*, pp.27-28.
28. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, p.30.
29. McClain, Janet and Cassie Doyle, 1984, Women and Housing: Changing Needs and the Failure of Policy, Canadian Council on Social Development and James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, Ottawa, p.10.
30. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, p.29.
31. Watson, Sophie, 1986, *op cit.*, p.74.
32. McClain, Janet and Cassie Doyle, 1984, *op cit.*
33. Statistics Canada, 1995, *op cit.*, p.30.

34. The Statistics Canada figures did not differentiate between private market housing and social housing. However, the section about housing policy will demonstrate that single women have rarely been eligible for social housing.
35. Statistics Canada, 1995, op cit., p.30.
36. The Globe and Mail, "Women face poverty, study says", April 18, 1995, p. A8.
37. Burke, Mary Anne and Aron Spector, 1991, "Falling Through the Cracks: Women Aged 55-64 Living on Their Own" in Canadian Social Trends, Volume 23, Winter, p.4.
38. Rose, Albert, 1980, Canadian Housing Policies (1935 -1980), Butterworth and Company (Canada) Limited, Toronto, p.5.
39. see Rose, Albert, 1980, op cit., for a review of Canadian housing policy.
40. Milroy, Beth Moore, 1991, "People, Urban Space and Advantage" in Bunting, Trudi and Pierre Filion (eds.), Canadian Cities in Transition, Oxford University Press, Toronto, p.536.
41. Bourne, L. and T. Bunting, 1993, "Housing Markets, Community Development, and Neighbourhood Change" in The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, edited by Bourne, Larry S. And David F. Ley, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, p.176.
42. Wheeler, Karen, 1990, "Gimme Shelter: Toward Housing as a Right, Not A Commodity" in Canadian Woman Studies: les cahiers de la femme, volume 11, Number 2, p.63.
43. CMHC, 1992, Canadian Housing Statistics, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa.
44. For example, Spector and Klodawsky's article in Hudson and Galaway, 1993, op.cit., identifies the following criteria in assessing single parents housing needs: affordability, access, availability, capacity for maintenance, opportunities for sharing and support, suitability for transition and empowerment, secure tenure, appropriate facilities for children, privacy, safety, cost-effective use of public and private funds as. These criteria would seem to be relevant in many cases to single women.
45. Bunting, Trudi and L. Bourne, 1993, op. cit., p. 195.

- 46.Harris, Richard, 1991, "Housing" in Bunting, Trudi and Pierre Fillion, Canadian Cities in Transition, Oxford University Press, Toronto, p.368.
- 47.Rose, Albert, op cit., p.2.
- 48.Mostoller, Michael, " A Single Room : Housing For the Low Income Single Person", in Birch, Eugenie Ladner, The Unsheltered Woman : Women and Housing in the 1980's, 1985, The State University of New Jersey, pp.191-216.
- 49.Harris, Richard, 1989, The Family Home in Working-Class Life, Research Paper # 171, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, Toronto, p.10.
- 50.Golden, Stephanie, The Women Outside : Meanings and Myths of Homelessness, 1992, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, p.130.
- 51.Harris, Richard, 1991, op cit., p.368.
- 52.Rose, Albert, op cit., p.3 and Spector, Aron, notes from Carleton University, course # 45.427, 1994, p.8.3.
- 53.Harris, Richard, 1991, op cit., p.356.
- 54.Harris, Richard, 1991, op cit., p.368.
- 55.Hobbs, M. and R. Pierson, 1988, "A Kitchen That Wastes No Steps: Gender, Class, and the Home Improvement Plan, 1936-1940" in Histoire sociale, Social History, Volume 21, pp.9-37.
- 56.Hulchanski, J.D., 1988, Canada's Housing and Housing Policy: An Introduction, UBC Planning Papers, Vancouver, p.12.
- 57.Census data indicates that the Canadian population increased as follows: 1941-11.5 million: 1951-14 million; 1956-16 million; 1961-18 million; 1966-20 million. Decreasing mortality and increasing immigration rates contributed to the growing population count, but dramatically increasing fertility rates during the baby boom years were the major contributing factor.
- 58.Hulchanski, J.D., 1988, op cit., p. 16.
- 59.Harris, Richard, 1991, op cit., p.356.

60. For more information, see Hodge, Gerald, 1991, Chapter 4, "Establishing the Social Agenda for Community Planning" in Planning Canadian Communities, Second Edition, Nelson Canada, Scarborough, Ontario, pp. 71-103.
61. Kalbach, Warren E. and Wayne W. McVey, 1971, The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, Toronto, p. 357.
62. Rose, Albert, 1980, op cit. p. 36.
63. Lorimer, J, 1978, "Why Suburban Houses Cost Too Much", in The Developers, Toronto Press, pp. 110-111 and p. 122. Also see Hulchanski, J.D., 1988, op cit., pp. 28-30.
64. Rose, Albert, 1980, op cit., pp. 55-56.
65. Cited in Novac, Sylvia, 1990a, "Not Seen, Not Heard: Women and Housing Policy", in Canadian Woman Studies: les cahiers de la femme, Volume 11, #2, p. 53.
66. Banting, Keith, 1990, "Social Housing in a Divided State", in Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds.), Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships between the Private, Public and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, p. 122.
67. Rose, Albert, 1980, op cit., p. 28.
68. Rose, Albert, 1980, *ibid.*, p. 28.
69. Banting, Keith G., 1990, op cit., p. 123.
70. Banting, Keith G., 1990, *ibid.*, p. 123.
71. Banting, Keith G., 1990, *ibid.*, p. 124.
72. Banting, Keith G., 1988, *ibid.*, p. 124.
73. Rose, Albert, 1980, op cit., pp. 38-41.
74. Banting, Keith G., 1990, op cit. p. 125.

75. Fallis, George, 1990, "The Urban Housing Market" in Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds.), Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public, and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, p.65.
76. Hulchanski, J.D., 1988, op cit., p.19.
77. Wright, G., 1981, "Public Housing for the Worthy Poor", in Building the Dream, pp. 220-239.
78. McClain, Janet, 1993, "Housing as a Human Service: Accommodating Special Needs" in Miron, John (ed.), Housing, Home and Community: Progress in housing Canadians, 1945-1986, McGill-Queen's University Press and CMHC, Ottawa, p.223.
79. Rose, Albert, 1980, op cit., p.80.
80. Patterson, Jeffrey, 1993, "Housing and Community Development Policies" in Miron, John (ed.), House, Home and Community: Progress in housing Canadians, 1945-1986, McGill Queen's Press, Montreal, pp.320-337.
81. Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1994, Homelessness in Canada, Canada Communications Group, Publishing, Ottawa, p.10.
82. Rose, Albert, 1980, op cit., pp. 56-65.
83. Hulchanski, J.D., 1988, op cit., p.36.
84. According to the Ministry of Supply and Services, 1994, op cit., p.17, the cooperative program built 60,000 housing units for low and moderate income households.
85. Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1994, op cit., p.17.
86. Novac, Sylvia, 1990, op cit., p.56.
87. Ontario Ministry of Housing, 1991, A Housing Framework for Ontario, Ministry of Housing, Toronto, pp.2-3.

88. Novac, Sylvia, 1990, "Not Seen, Not Heard: Women and Housing Policy" in Canadian Woman Studies: les cahiers de la femme, Volume 11, #2, p.56.
89. Banting, Keith, 1988, op cit., p.155.
90. See Smith, Susan, 1993, "Social Landscapes: Continuity and Change" in Johnston, R.J.(ed.), The Challenge for Geography, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, pp.54-75, for a discussion of how special needs housing in Britain has re-medicalized and stigmatized homeless people.
91. For a review of some of the initiatives taken with regards to the provision of permanent affordable housing in cities across Canada, see Oberlander, H. Peter and Arthur L. Fallick, 1988, Homelessness And The Homeless: Responses and Innovations, Centre for Human Settlements, The University of British Columbia.
92. Banting, Keith, 1988, op cit., p.155.
93. Laws, Glenda, 1992, "Emergency shelter networks in an urban area: Serving the homeless in metropolitan Toronto" in Urban Geography, Volume 13, pp.99-106. Also see Murray, Alex, 1990, "Homelessness: The People" in Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds.), Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, pp.16-49.
94. Ontario Ministry of Housing, 1991, op cit., pp.1-3.
95. Carter, Tom and Ann McAfee, 1990, "The Municipal Role in Housing the Homeless and Poor", in Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds.), Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public, and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, p.232.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN PLANNING IN CANADA - AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

4.1 Introduction

The planning profession has played a major role in shaping the Canadian urban landscape. However, I have indicated that planning theory has continued to assume a certain set of social relations that have worked against women. In Chapter 1, I posited that urban planning theory has reinforced women's subordination in the housing system because it has: 1) supported the norm of the traditional nuclear household and reinforced women's domestic role therein; and 2) marginalized non-traditional households - the majority of whom are headed by women. This has had implications for single women's access to resources, including housing.

This chapter will provide a context in which to discuss gender, planning and housing. I will begin the chapter with a definition of land use planning and continue with a brief overview of the evolution of urban planning theory and practice and its relationship with housing in Canada. In this chapter, I will focus on the rational approaches which have been associated with mainstream urban planning and housing.

4.2 A definition of land use planning

Urban land use planning and development in Canada have been defined as ‘the process of protecting and improving the living, productive and recreation environments in a city through proper use and development of the land’¹. Planners endeavour to ensure that land use decisions serve the greater good of society for present and future generations. While this definition implies that planning encompasses the physical, economic and social concerns for all of society, many researchers have found that planning has been focused primarily on the physical and economic development and management of land. Caroline Andrew maintained that the key role of municipal governments in Canada has been ‘in planning and putting into place the regulatory context, infrastructures, and services necessary for the profitable private development of land’².

However, urban planning is also very much a social and political process. First, it is concerned with the provision and allocation of scarce resources, including housing. Second, a range of proponents is involved in the planning process, including citizens, government officials and professional planners.

Canadian public sector planners at the local level have become involved in many aspects of land use development over the years - ranging from public transportation systems, environment conservation, housing provision, historical preservation, recreation, and more recently, urban safety - to name a few. Planners have a wide range of skills, including:

1) technical knowledge (such as surveying, mapping, and GIS); 2) public administration duties (such as dealing with public inquiries and applications in day-to-day planning processes such as issuing zoning and land use permits); and 3) communication and human relations (for example, conflict resolution with different groups in land use decisions). Planning's focus on physical and economic elements has meant that the first two of these skills have become most commonly associated with the planning profession.

Planners have pointed out that local planning departments do not operate in a vacuum. The province has established a provincial planning act which sets out statutory guidelines. Local governments have been authorised to make local plans and to control development, but senior levels of government have retained a supervisory role in these powers and an adjudicating role in the event of dispute³. I have referred to the latter - the Ontario Municipal Board - which is a quasi-judicial board of appeal appointed by the provincial government to judge and review appeals to planning and zoning decisions. Public participation in planning has also varied among a range of interests, from the citizenry, to business groups, to special interest groups. Provision for public participation has been made in the planning process.

Planning, in conjunction with various levels of government, has become highly involved in the development and provision of housing since the second world war. On the one hand, municipal planners are in a good position to assess local housing resources and needs and make provision for them in their Official Plans⁴. On the other hand, broader government

policies - especially those policies related to housing provision - have been formulated at the federal and provincial levels, so some local planners have argued that their influence has been limited. However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the scope for planners to become more involved with local housing issues has increased in the recent past.

4.3 Land use planning and zoning

Municipalities have been granted regulatory powers that have influenced the spatial development of urban areas. Zoning is the major planning tool that regulates land uses and the physical form of development on individual parcels of land. Zoning bylaws for housing have regulated: 1) lot size, density, and building mix; 2) tenure form; 3) proximity to other land uses, and 4) location relative to municipal and other infrastructure and services⁵.

Zoning initially was intended to enhance public safety and health by separating industrial land uses from residential uses. In the early stages, zoning was beneficial in that it did segregate 'nuisance' land uses from other uses, such as separating residential neighbourhoods from the pollution of factories. More recently, residential zoning has been criticized as being exclusionary because it often has segregated or excluded certain forms of residential land uses, such as affordable housing and special needs housing, from single family neighbourhoods. For example, David Hulchanski assessed current zoning and rational planning as being exclusionary with respect to non-market housing in Canada.

For almost 70 years, exclusionary zoning and planning principles have been a way of life in this country. But using the municipal regulatory environment to exclude people of different races, genders, tenures, incomes or levels of ability from our neighbourhoods is a violation of human rights. As our demand for affordable housing continues to increase, the need for a more inclusive planning process - one that operates at the community level up - has become imperative⁶.

Many planners have agreed that more inclusive zoning practices must be extended to meet changing housing needs, but it has been difficult to change existing zoning because of opposition of other proponents - especially from property owners - in the planning process.

Exclusionary planning and zoning have been supported by many property owners who strive to perpetuate the separation of traditional family households from other households.

The NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) syndrome has reflected the opposition of property owners who want to 'protect' their residential areas against changes to the existing or perceived status quo. For example, Michael Dear found that home owners have often reacted negatively to re-zoning that would allow for certain types of 'other' residential occupancies in their neighbourhoods, such as affordable housing and special needs housing⁷. Generally, property owners have opposed non-traditional housing because they believe it will negatively affect their property values. However, no evidence that property values have been negatively affected by most special needs housing development has been substantiated.

Recently, zoning practices which have excluded certain groups of people have been identified as being in violation of human rights. David Hulchanski examined legal cases which have challenged discriminatory zoning practices in some neighbourhoods⁸.

In the case study to follow, I will demonstrate how exclusionary planning and zoning have restricted the establishment of a shelter for homeless women. Zoning's fundamental dilemma is that while it protects existing land uses, it often does not reflect changing needs in the built environment, so the potential for conflict exists when re-zoning for new housing resources is required. No reasonable person would dispute the logic that planners have to regulate land uses through zoning when health or safety hazards are concerned. However, it has become evident that the changing housing needs of society must be met with a more inclusive approach to planning and zoning.

4.4 An Interpretation of Canadian Land Use Planning

I will now turn to a discussion of the evolution of rational land use planning in Canada and an examination of the more commonly applied 'rational' land use models associated with housing.

4.4.1 The Establishment of the Planning Profession

While the founding of the Town Planning Institute of Canada in 1919 generally has been accepted as the beginning of professional planning in Canada, researchers also acknowledged that North American planning activities began with European colonization, which destroyed indigenous settlement patterns and shaped the patterns of our current urban landscapes. Jeanne Wolfe identified two strands of 'pre-professional' planning - the 'active' settlement patterns represented in the original land surveys which shaped the form of Canadian urban and rural landscapes, and the 'reactive' urban reform movement which led to the establishment of the Town Planning Institute of Canada⁹.

Industrialization and mass immigration from Europe resulted in the rapid growth of Canadian towns and cities during the late 1800s and early 1900s, and the lack of public infrastructure soon led to overcrowding and squalor in many cities¹⁰. The early urban reform movement - in response to social concerns about public health, housing, conservation, parks and playgrounds¹¹, and the need for civic reform - sparked a new interest in city planning. Urban reformers also criticized the way in which the Canadian city had become 'divided' on the basis of class distinctions, with low income people being ghettoized in poorly serviced areas¹².

The Canadian planning movement emerged as a result of the physical and social concerns expressed by urban reformers in Canadian cities. However, it appears that solutions were concerned largely with the 'orderly' spatial arrangement of the city. Gerald Hodge noted:

As the communities in the 19th century tackled the problems of disease, pure water supplies, fire, sanitation, and slums their experience gave rise to two important realizations. First, it became evident that these problems resulted somehow from the growth and development of cities. Second, and more slowly, came the realization that the solutions to these problems lay in better coordination, regulation, and physical arrangement of the overall development of cities¹³.

The increase in population and demand for housing led to a land boom which peaked in 1913, and the subsequent development of new housing subdivisions for middle and upper income earners at the outskirts of the city. With the advent of electric street cars and then automobiles, there was a growing need for municipalities to plan residential developments that were conducive to family living and to construct transportation routes to bring the workers who lived in these new subdivisions into the central business areas. Planners became involved with the physical aspects of the new suburbs, such as the provision of infrastructure and transportation routes.

Dissatisfaction with corruption and inefficiency in many municipal governments during the first quarter of the century prompted civic reform movements which called for the establishment of local planning councils to oversee development processes. Furthermore, the need for planning was heightened with the rapid growth of subdivisions, because some municipalities could not afford to service the land slated for development. Jeanne Wolfe

wrote that this urban problem 'was held to be due to inefficient planning and management, and calls were made for city governance to be regulated and run on 'businesslike' lines. It was for this reason that many cities established planning commissions or boards made up of responsible citizens to 'keep the politics out of planning',¹⁴.

In 1912, four provinces prepared planning legislation to enable municipalities to prepare and carry out urban land use planning practices. While zoning and subdivision controls were permitted, these regulatory powers mainly were applied to the development of the new suburban areas. For the most part, zoning in the inner city remained as a form of nuisance control, which gave cities the power to control the location of certain property uses deemed noxious to residential living, such as animal slaughter houses. This early legislation also allowed owners to claim compensation if public plans adversely affected their property, which reinforced a precedence of focusing on the rights and privileges of individual property ownership. Municipal planning activities had to be approved by the province - a practice that continues today in many cities¹⁵. The mandate for orderly planning and development of cities had started at the provincial level with planning legislation and the establishment of departments responsible for municipal affairs, and at the local level through municipal land use regulation (eg. subdivision design and control, traffic and zoning).

Although the years between the Depression and World War II often have been seen as periods of low activity in urban planning, this era influenced urban growth patterns. First, unemployment relief programmes during the Depression aided the [re]construction of public infrastructure, such as bridges, roads, waterworks and parks. Secondly, the visible and extreme poverty experienced by many people during the Depression led to campaigns for the introduction of a social welfare system and the provision of affordable housing.

4.4.2 Formalizing the urban planning profession and adopting rational planning approach during the post World War II era

The need for more formalized planning became evident after World War II during the land and building boom. Economic recovery and population growth during the baby boom had led to the unprecedented expansion of Canadian cities. It was during that time that many provinces enacted planning acts to control development. For example, the first Ontario Planning Act of 1946 created a framework for planning, which currently provides for the following:

- 1) the creation of municipal planning units;
- 2) preparation, adopting, and approving 'official plans';
- 3) a system of subdivision control;
- 4) the delegation of powers to municipalities to enact zoning by-laws;
- 5) an appeal procedure for municipal planning decisions - adjudicated by the Ontario Municipal Board;
- 6) a plan-making body composed of citizens to advise municipal council;
- 7) involvement and education of the public through public meetings¹⁶.

Since the 1950s, urban planning has been based on the rational planning model, which has viewed planning as a technical activity carried out by experts. This model has been labelled the rational-comprehensive model because it consists of steps that are intended to make it possible to define and select the best solution to a problem. It also proposes to look at all aspects of the current situation and investigate all possible solutions¹⁷. During the 1950s and 1960s, rational planning became systemized and quantified, and it adopted the scientific methods which dominated most positivist research in the social sciences. In assessing the rational planning approach established during the 1960s, Jeanne Wolfe wrote:

The belief was that through scientific analysis and the application of objective judgment, planning problems could be solved. The rational model was codified, and the planning professional, bolstered by the quantitative revolution in the social sciences, was portrayed as a value-neutral, efficient technocrat¹⁸.

Planning became clearly associated with controlling the development of suburban housing during this time of economic growth, particularly with the establishment of Crown housing corporations - the Wartime Housing Ltd. and its successor, Canada (Central) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) - to oversee national housing policy and programs. These programs have been discussed in Chapter 3.

Planners worked with developers to create the new comprehensively planned 'corporate suburbs', which were based on an American concept of the rationally planned neighbourhood unit. This became the accepted norm for residential development in Canada and the United States. P.J. Smith and P.W. Moore noted that the neighbourhood

unit approach was thought to have two advantages for planners. First, this type of development was seen to offer a better quality of residential living, in that it was separated from the work place by regulatory laws, such as subdivision and zoning controls. Second, the planned neighbourhood unit was a way of ensuring the 'orderly' development of the suburbs and 'following the most efficient extensions of service networks and simultaneously ensuring economical use of land resources - 'economical' relative to prevailing density standards, recognizing Canadian's preference for detached houses'¹⁹. The separation of single family housing from other residential and commercial uses has been a feature of urban land use in Canadian cities.

4.4.3 Land use planning in the 1960s to 1980s

Local planners became involved with the provision and location of public and social housing. Notably, municipal governments became more involved with public housing projects for low income families and senior citizens during this period. However, many public housing projects tended to be located on the fringes of the city as the land was cheaper and this created additional problems for people who lived in them. For example, adequate transportation systems often were not extended to low income residents who did not own cars²⁰.

The inner city urban renewal programs funded by the federal government also encouraged planners to focus on slum clearance projects. However, the social costs were not

calculated in these economically driven programs. Urban renewal programs have been criticized because residential networks were being destroyed, people were displaced, and the supply of lower cost housing was reduced²¹. This has been of particular concern for low income single people because many rooming houses were destroyed.

Planners also were involved with the location of service and housing needs associated with the de-institutionalization policies which began in the 1960s²². Establishing group homes or 'special needs' housing has proven to be difficult because zoning regulations often limit the location and occupancy of these types of non-traditional residences. Also, as mentioned above, the NIMBY syndrome has caused some land owners to oppose these facilities. The case study will look more closely at how planning and zoning patterns have not responded to women's changing housing needs.

Further, urban unrest during this time was seen as a result of class inequalities, and urban researchers, including planners, began to document these problems and look for new models which would yield new solutions²³. Radical planning, prompted by neo-Marxism and conservation concerns, highlighted many of the class problems in the Canadian city, and criticized positivist urban theory. For example, the urban renewal programs that destroyed low income neighbourhoods and the public housing programs that ghettoized poor people were seen as being ill conceived.

Some planners realized that planning and housing practices were indeed very political and that planning could no longer be seen as being 'objective and value free'²⁴. Advocacy planning, while not widely adopted at the time, made an important contribution to planning practice because it set a precedent to include public participation in the planning process²⁵. On the one hand, this has provided a legitimate forum for local people's voices to be heard in the decision making process. On the other hand, and in view of the above discussion about NIMBY, public participation has generally opposed changes to existing residential patterns.

4.4.4 Planning in the 1990s

There seems to be a realization from some contemporary urban analyses, particularly those expressed in the Sewell Commission, that urban planners must rethink their traditional rational approaches and objectives²⁶. The Sewell Report recommended that the purposes of the provincial Planning Act and local Official Plans should be broadened to include social and cultural well-being in community planning and development, including housing provision and services, for a wide range of people²⁷.

However, the 1980s and 90s have also seen a return to neo-conservatism in planning and housing provision, and writers attribute this to recent government approaches to economic restructuring, unemployment and fiscal crisis. Federal and provincial funding for many affordable housing programs has been curtailed. For example, the current Ontario

Conservative government has recently put a freeze on already-approved non-profit housing projects, and no new projects are being considered at this point in time²⁸.

Although some planners have started to recognize that many different interests must be included in our post-modern society, Jeanne Wolfe has predicted that a return to conservative planning will provide new challenges for planning. She wrote that 'in a context of deregulation, privatization, cost-recovery, attempts to shrink government and the profit motive being given priority over public service and equal opportunity, what is a planner supposed to do?'²⁹. Planners will be challenged to ensure that scarce resources for housing are appropriately allocated.

4.5 Theories of urban spatial development

I have discussed rational planning theory and practice in a broad context, and now will turn to an examination of the predominant land use and housing models associated with urban planning and development. I would like to re-emphasize that planning has never operated in a vacuum, and many others - including developers and government policy makers - who have been involved with the location and provision of housing, have relied upon these models.

In Canadian society, the economic focus on land development has been predominant, mainly because land has been viewed as a commodity and land owners are protected by a

‘bundle of rights’ which has allowed them to buy, sell and/or alter their property.

This is not an absolute right, as the Crown has retained certain sovereign powers over land. However, the way in which land has been treated as an economic commodity in capitalist society has impacts on the way in which housing has been planned and developed.

4.5.1 Ecological Models of Land Use

Ecological approaches to housing were developed during the first part of the twentieth century as researchers tried to make sense of the different social, economic and geographic factors contributing to urban development. Urban researchers adapted theories about evolutionary approaches from human ecology in order to study human settlement patterns. Ecological models were employed to study spatial differentiation in urban patterns. Burgess’s concentric zone model divided the city into five zones, as seen in Figure 4.1³⁰. This model exhibited a distinct pattern of income levels from the central business district outwards, with lower income groups living closer to the city centre, and higher income groups in the outer regions.

Hoyt’s sector model and Harris and Ullman’s multi-nuclei model expanded on this ecological approach³¹. They assumed that people would move further out from the central district to the suburbs as their incomes increased. As a result, the supply of low cost

Figure 4.1

Concentric Zone Model

1 CBD Central Business District

2 Transition Zone

3 Blue-collar residential

4 Middle-income residential

5 Commuter residential

housing in the central areas of the city would be maintained through a filtering-down process.

4.5.2 Neo-classical economics and spatial competition theories

Spatial competition theories have been based on neo-classical economics. Urban form is seen as the result of production and distribution of goods and services in capitalist society.

There are two sectors in neo-classical theory - households and firms. Households demand goods, such as housing, to satisfy their preferences and the housing market supplies housing to maximise their profits. Neo-classical theories maintain that the demand for housing has been based on the following assumptions: 1)the production of goods and services reflects the preferences of customers; 2)all households and firms have perfect information; 3)households maximise utility and firms maximise profits; and 4)production is assumed to be flexible³².

Alonso's bid-curve model was indicative of neo-economic models in housing production.

Alonso's model maintained that the price of land generally decreased from the central areas outwards. In order to maximize profits, housing developers built new housing further from the city centre and this was assumed to be balanced by household satisfaction (eg. more space and amenities). These models also assumed that low cost housing would continue to filter down to low income earners.

J.Short and K. Bassett argued that neo-classical approaches have integrated predictive assumptions about social relations that have been based on the behaviour and life cycle of 'rational economic man'. These theories assumed that initially, young adults would rent an apartment after they left their parents' home. After a few years, they would marry and save to buy a starter home. As their incomes and families grew larger, they would buy larger residences. Then, as seniors, they would move into smaller homes or rental accommodations. These models of land use were therefore associated with supplying housing through predicting the demand for private market housing based upon the life cycle of the traditional family unit, and they have rarely addressed changing household formations or the increased need for affordable housing for single women.

Critics of neo-classical economics have indicated that capitalism has been biased towards the 'production of commodities produced through a system of circulation that has profit-seeking as its direct and socially accepted goal'³³.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has looked at the historical evolution of Canadian urban planning. I have included a review of the roles of planners, and discussed the major planning approaches and practices which have influenced the development of Canadian cities. Zoning has been seen to be an important planning tool that has regulated the 'orderly' development of the built environment. I have also discussed some of the traditional land use and housing

models to provide a context in which to develop a feminist perspective of the implications of planning and housing on women in the next chapter.

Planners currently face a plethora of conflicting requirements and economic constraints. These often contrast with conservative views which have been biased towards capitalist approaches to land development and the assumption that planning and housing should support traditional family structures. However, the social needs of other households, such as single women, do not appear to be addressed within this context and serves to highlight the conflicts of planning in meeting the needs of the 'general public good'.

Chapter 4 - Footnotes

1. Leung, Hok Lin, 1989, Land Use Planning Made Plain, Ronald P. Fry & Company, Kingston, Ontario, p. 1.
2. Andrew, Caroline, 1994, "Recasting Political Analysis for Canadian Cities" in Urban Lives: fragmentation and resistance, Amit-Talai, Vered and Henri Lustigor-Thaler (eds), McClelland-Stewart, Toronto, p.93.
3. Leung, Hok Lin, 1989, op cit, p. 13.
4. The Official Plan is a strategic document of land development which is produced by the municipality to guide the following municipal government functions: 1) drafting of zoning by-laws; 2) control of land subdivision; and 3) planning and programming of public facilities and basic infrastructure. Functional plans contained within the Official Plan generally deal with issues such as housing, roads and parks. See Leung, Hok Lin, 1989, op cit, pp.213 & 217-218.
5. Hodge, Gerald, 1991, op cit, pp.126-127 and pp.221-231.
6. Hulchanski, J. David, 1993, "And Housing for All: Opening the Doors to Inclusive Community Planning - The Rationale" in Plan Canada, May 1993, p.19.
7. Dear, Michael and S.M. Taylor, Not on our street: community attitudes to mental health care, Pion Limited, London.
8. See Hulchanski, J. David, 1993, op cit for a discussion of some of the court rulings involving human rights, zoning and housing.
9. Wolfe, Jeanne, 1994, "Our Common Past: An Interpretation of Canadian Planning History" in Plan Canada, pp.12-13.
10. See Hodge, Gerald, 1991, Planning Canadian Communities: 2nd edition, Nelson Canada, Scarborough, Chapter 3 for a more detailed report about physical and social problems of urban growth in Canada during this period.

11. Jeanne Wolfe found that many of the reform movements were spearheaded by The Council of Women. For example, they lobbied for open space play grounds and child welfare, and organized seasonal recreational activities. I found it interesting that the main planning texts fail to mention women's role in Canadian planning history. (refer to Wolfe, Jeanne, 1994, op cit. p. 13). For an interesting account of women's involvement in British planning, see Clara Greed, 1994, op cit.
12. Artibise, Alan, 1984, "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society" in Stetler, Gilbert and Alan Artibise (eds), The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History, Carleton University Press, Ottawa, pp.360-391.
13. Hodge, Gerald, 1986, op cit, p.87.
14. Wolfe, Jeanne, 1994, op cit, p.19.
15. Hodge, Gerald, 1986, op cit, p.121.
16. Hodge, Gerald, 1991, ibid, p.129.
17. Filion, Pierre and Trudi Bunting, 1991, "Introduction: Perspectives on the City", in Filion, Pierre and Trudi Bunting (eds), Canadian Cities in Transition, Oxford University Press, Toronto, p.16.
18. Wolfe, Jeanne, 1994, op cit., p.26.
19. Smith, P.J. and P.W. Moore, 1993, "Cities as a Social Responsibility: Planning and Urban Form", The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, by Bourne, Larry S. and David. F. Ley (eds), McGill-Queen's University Press, p.351.
20. Klodawsky, Fran and Aron Spector, 1988, "New Families, New Housing Needs, New Urban Environments: The Case of Single Parent Families" in Andrew, Caroline and Beth Moore Milroy, Life Spaces: Gender, Household and Employment, University of British Columbia Press, pp.141-159.
21. Wolfe, Jeanne, 1994, op cit, p.25.
22. See Dear, Michael and Jennifer Wolch, 1987, Landscapes of Despair, Princeton University Press, Princeton for an in depth analysis of de-institutionalization and homelessness in the United States.
23. See Harvey, David, 1973, Social Justice and the City, Edward Arnold, London as an example of the early work promoting Marxist geographical approaches to social inequality.

24. Wolfe, 1994, op cit, p.28.
25. Wolfe, Jeanne M., 1989, "Theory, hypothesis, explanation and action: the example of urban planning" in Kobayashi, Audrey and Suzanne Mackenzie, Remaking Human Geography, Unwin Hyman, Boston, p.72.
26. Wolfe, Jeanne, 1994, "Our Common Past: An Interpretation of Canadian Planning History" in Plan Canada, July 1994, p.34.
27. See Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton (RMOC), 1994, A Socio-Cultural Approach to Planning in Ottawa-Carleton, RMOC, Ottawa, for a discussion of the Regional Official Plan and the objectives presented by the Sewell Commission.
28. Globe and Mail, "Harris says economy near crisis point", June 29, 1995, p.A4B.
29. Wolfe, Jeanne, 1995, op cit, p.33.
30. Jordan, Terry and Lester Rowntree, 1986, The Human Mosaic, Harper and Row Publishers Inc., p.375.
31. Jordan, Terry and Lester Rowntree, *ibid*, pp.375-376.
32. Bassett, K. and J. Short, 1980, Housing and Residential Structure, Routledge Press, London, p.27.
33. Harvey, David, 1985, "The geopolitics of capitalism" in Gregory, Derek and J.Urry, Social relations and spatial structures, MacMillan, London, pp.128-163.

CHAPTER 5

FEMINIST THEORY - URBAN PLANNING, HOUSING AND GENDER

5.1 Introduction

While feminist perspectives have become fundamental to the understanding of gender relations and a range of economic and social processes in the built environment in many social science disciplines over the past two decades, urban planning has been described as slower than most to include women in its analyses and to adopt feminist theory¹. Leonie Sandercock and Ann Forsyth recently criticized mainstream planning theory as follows:

In mainstream planning theory women have scarcely even been seen as subjects of theory....The paradigms on which planning and theorizing have been based are informed by characteristics traditionally associated with the masculine in our society. There is a need to rethink the foundations of the disciplineFeminist critiques and feminist literature need to be incorporated into the debates within planning theory².

Some planners have realized that urban form cannot be separated from the organization and operation of gender relations and they have started to explore feminist theories in associated disciplines - especially the work of feminist geographers - about human-environmental relations. Feminist geographers have developed sophisticated theories to examine the ways in which changes in gender definitions and gender roles have shaped, and have been shaped by, the urban environment. Suzanne Mackenzie has emphasized the fundamental importance of feminism in human geography:

The meeting of feminism and geography has not been a simple matter of introducing new content into the study of human-environmental relations; it has involved recognizing that gender is an integral parameter of environmental change, and that feminism - as the politics and analysis of gender change is integral to geographical studies³.

The work done by feminist geographers since the early 1980s has merged feminist analysis and politics with historical materialist and humanist perspectives from geography and offered a way of 'contextualizing these processes and understanding the relations of women's lives to environmental production and alteration'⁴.

In this chapter, I will develop a feminist planning perspective to examine the ways in which gender relations have affected, and have been affected by, land use planning and housing. I will begin by discussing the evolution of feminist theoretical approaches in urban research. Much of the feminist literature about gender, urban research and housing will be drawn from feminist geography. I will demonstrate how planning practices and housing theories have reinforced women's subordination in the urban environment by supporting the interests of the traditional family structure and women's domestic roles therein. Consequently, the housing interests of non-traditional households, including those of single women, have been marginalized. In chapter 3, I demonstrated that women living alone have been experiencing housing affordability problems, and it has been found that this can be attributed to women's overall subordinate economic position and labour force status. I also indicated that the number of single women using emergency shelters has increased. Given the large numbers of single women who are under the low income cut-

off, it can be assumed their housing needs remain concealed in many cases. All of these factors point to the current lack of affordable housing options that are available for single women. I have also demonstrated that single women's housing needs have rarely been addressed in housing policy.

In this chapter, I will look at how planning has reinforced a set of social relations that have broadly discriminated against women, by examining the location and design of housing in relation to other city functions⁵.

I believe that a feminist planning perspective can explain not only how urban planning practices and housing programs have marginalized women, but how they can effect positive changes in women's housing experiences. I will therefore suggest ways in which a feminist planning perspective can provide solutions to some of the problems related to single women's housing.

5.2 Adopting feminist theory in urban research

Contemporary feminism emerged in the mid-twentieth century at a time when women's roles in society were changing. Since the beginning of the century, women had become increasingly separated from 'productive' activity and confined to activities of domestic work in the home, or private sphere, while men's work in the paid labour force was

associated with the 'economic', productive or public sphere⁶. During the 1950s, women's roles changed dramatically as women's participation in the paid labour force increased. As discussed in Chapter 3, there have been demographic changes in household form in the recent past, and the majority of these new one person households and single parent families were headed by women. However, women's connection to both the private and public spheres was not the same as that of their male counterparts. First, women in the labour force have had to cope with dual roles because they continued to be the primary workers in the domestic sphere. Secondly, the feminization of the workforce, with the concomitant growth of women's participation in the service sector, has generally meant that women's jobs in the public sector were lower paying and lower status vis-à-vis men's. Suzanne Mackenzie argued that because women's jobs in the service sector 'mirrored their continuing responsibilities in the home', women continued to be associated with 'women's place' in the private sphere⁷.

Feminists have argued that these changes in women's roles have created needs for new forms of urban organization and new resources, particularly for women in non-traditional households who worked, or wanted to work, in the labour force. However, feminists noticed that the required resources were often those defined as 'inappropriate for women', such as access to secure, rewarding jobs, or resources that did not exist, such as property ownership, child care and affordable housing⁸. Feminists became socially and politically involved with recognizing and demanding these resources.

5.3 Women in the city

A few researchers began to critically assess geography as one discipline that had excluded women, both within the profession and in research, and some geographers began to document women's activities in the city⁹. Recently, urban planners have found that women have been largely invisible in mainstream planning literature¹⁰. The initial work done by geographers addressed women's absence in the literature and identified them as objects of study. Because geography was largely a spatial science based upon positivist theories and methods, much of this early work literally 'put women on the map' by scientifically charting their spatial patterns¹¹. By using the existing positivist frameworks, urban researchers determined some correlations between women and the environment which generally concluded that women: 1) faced more physical constraints, and 2) had less access to urban resources - including housing, transportation and employment - vis-à-vis men¹². For example, work by two Canadian housing researchers provided a statistical profile of women and housing in Canada in the early 1980s which concluded that women - especially women in non-traditional households - had unequal access to housing resources vis-à-vis men¹³. The early empirical literature was important in making women visible in the built environment, but the existing theoretical frameworks could not explain why women were unequal in the environment and feminist researchers have argued that mainstream frameworks served to reinforce women's unequal position¹⁴.

Some geographers began to criticize these models of urban structure for reinforcing ‘...a society made up of patriarchal nuclear families with a traditional division of labour between the sexes.’¹⁵

5.4 Theorizing Gender Relations and Urban Organization

Feminist geographers soon determined that empirical feminist approaches and positivist theories did not recognize why women were constrained in the broad environment, nor did they identify the social processes that underlay women’s spatial patterns and resource differentials¹⁶. Some researchers sought to redress these problems by exploring radical theory - the urban reform movement of the 1960s had prompted some geographers to adopt Marxist approaches to urban analysis¹⁷. However, feminists criticized these theories because they either ignored the reproductive sphere, or continued to theorize it only in relation to economic production¹⁸. Suzanne Mackenzie and Damaris Rose emphasized the importance of the interdependency between the productive and reproductive sphere because women worked in both spheres¹⁹.

Some geographers adopted feminist approaches to move away from ‘the analysis of gender differences in spatial patterns and activities towards concern for the social constitution of gendered beings in particular places’²⁰. They began to examine radical

feminism, which sees gender conflict rooted in biological differences between women and men, and reinforced by social practices²¹. However, the work done by radical feminists has had its problems explaining differences among groups of women as there is 'no basis, or a restricted one, for assessing the relation of gender oppression to other forms of oppression - such as those based on race, class, age, or sexual preference - all of which are inextricably related in the experiences of different women'²². Radical feminists have claimed that the boundaries between themselves and socialist feminists have become less distinct in the recent past as theorists have started to shift from the 'generalizations about women as an undifferentiated category towards more particular understandings of the historically specific processes that produced the particular range of gender relations in a range of places'²³.

Many feminist geographers have come to examine socialist feminism, which has been centred around historical materialism, and which also has argued that production and reproduction were integrated. By converging humanism and historical materialism from geography with socialist feminism, feminist geographers began to examine the 'divided city'. They initially found that the city was divided into men's spaces - associated with their roles and work in the public, economic sphere - and women's spaces - associated with their domestic roles in the private or social sphere²⁴. However, as women's roles changed, the boundaries between the two spheres became blurred, and 'women's lives merged the two dichotomies of the divided city, [and] a focus on the relations between

production and reproduction was necessary to understand their lives'²⁵. Clara Greed, a feminist planner, recently described women as 'zone zappers' because they have constantly crossed the boundaries between the public and private spheres in their daily lives²⁶.

Feminist geographers have focused on the changing interrelations between production and reproduction, rather than the division of these spheres, in order to understand how society has been organized²⁷. Suzanne Mackenzie argued that women's and men's organization in society has taken different forms because gender has always been a 'criterion for differential allocation of resources'. She posited that gender divisions in capitalist society can be seen as a 'function of the way in which women and men lived and worked, and that the nature of women's organization has been propelled and constrained by particular social environments, defined as women's space'²⁸. While the use of dichotomous concepts of public and private have been criticized in feminist urban research, Jo Little argued that the 'denotation of 'public' and 'private' implied that some form of spatial pattern accompanied the separation of women and men into different activities and also helped to emphasise the difficulties women faced in attempting to move out of the domestic sphere'²⁹. This spatial division of private and public has been prevalent in mainstream theory, and as a result, it also has exacerbated the difficulties that women face gaining access to new resources. Over a rather short period of time, feminist geographers have demonstrated that women continue to have unequal access to resources in the

divided city - including housing, transportation, recreational facilities, employment, and a safe environment, to name a few - vis-à-vis men in the divided city. As will be discussed in the next section, land use planning and housing provision generally have acted to reinforce the gender divisions and women's concomitant subordination.

Socialist/post-modern feminist geographical literature has more recently acknowledged that the experiences of diverse groups of women in a range of spatial environments must be recognized in theory³⁰. Because the initial work with feminist theories tended to generalize about women as an undifferentiated group, feminists realized the need to address the diversity of experiences among groups of women. In other words, gender relations were found to have different consequences for different groups of women, and as Carol Ramazanoglu indicated, 'feminism has become increasingly divided: white from black, first world from third world, working class from middle class, lesbians from heterosexuals'³¹. Feminist geographers, who have placed a great emphasis on looking at spatial differences in human settlement have been profoundly aware of how changing gender relations have influenced the experiences of diverse groups of women in different ways over space and time³². As indicated in Chapter 2, homeless women are not a homogenous group, and housing research and solutions must reflect diverse needs.

Gender analysis has been crucial to understanding women's experience of, and relation to, the housing system. Sophie Watson argued that social processes associated with the

production, allocation and consumption of housing have created and reinforced women's dependent economic status and domestic roles because they have been structured around the traditional family household and thus have marginalized non-traditional households, including single women³³. She further asserted that the process of marginalization of women in housing terms has reinforced women's subordinated status, both within the labour market and within society. This work also has underlined the interconnections between the reproductive and productive spheres in terms of housing. In their work about single women's housing need, Sophie Watson and Helen Austerberry argued that women's homelessness - concealed or apparent - must be linked to the production and consumption of housing³⁴.

Sophie Watson also argued that the relationship between home and work has been changing during recent economic restructuring, and boundaries between these spheres have been shifting. She argued that the 'notion of home as a private sphere, as a haven - a shelter for the family, and as a site of reproduction activities' must be contested because in feminist theory, the home represents the site for women's domestic and labour force work³⁵. Suzanne Mackenzie examined how recent economic restructuring in Canada has made these interconnections between home and work more evident, as many women have been actively extending their existing resources in the home by creating home based jobs³⁶.

Since the 1980s, feminist geographers have been concerned with economic and social restructuring and their implications on human-environmental relations. On the one hand, economic restructuring has been seen to be linked to women's housing needs, or homelessness, as indicated in Chapter 2. On the other hand, Suzanne Mackenzie examined the ways in which women have responded to the reduction in social services and increased unemployment by extending and creating resources in the informal economy - such as new forms of work in the home, new community networks and new places³⁷. For example, women have been actively demanding and creating new forms of housing - ranging from affordable permanent housing to shelter systems for non-traditional households.

Women's safety issues can also be linked to the planned urban environment and housing. Because women's roles were confined to the private spheres, they have seen to be 'out of place' in certain public spaces and at certain times. Jo Little has illustrated this with the following argument of stereotypical social norms and attitudes about women's use of space - 'it is acceptable for women to be out shopping during the day, but not in the city centre at night (especially alone)....those who do are frequently seen as 'asking for trouble'³⁸. The ideology of home as a 'safe haven' also has been contested by feminist researchers, who have determined that it often has been the site of violence against women. Women's safety issues have been linked to urban form and housing³⁹. Safety

issues are important considerations for women living alone. Women living in the streets have been particularly vulnerable to violence.

However, in spite of the fact that feminist researchers have determined the interdependency between the private and public spheres, the state, and the institutions of housing production and home financing have continued to assume a set of social relations that maintain the separation between the two spheres⁴⁰. Planning has reinforced the 'divided city'.

5.5 Gender, Planning and Housing: Women in the Divided City

The above discussion has highlighted feminist theories of urban space. I have indicated that the planning and development of the city cannot be divorced from the organization and operation of gender relations. The social, economic and physical evolution of the urban form, including housing, has been connected to the changing form of the household.

However, I have stated that rational planning and housing approaches have acted to marginalize non-traditional households by reinforcing the norm of the traditional household unit. Linda McDowell recently argued:

[t]he structure of the built environment itself - the design and layout of the buildings, as well as land-use patterns - is inscribed with powerful gendered assumptions. Housing form and the structure of public buildings make concrete assumptions about gender and class divisions⁴¹.

In this section, I will examine the ways in which planning and housing provision have reinforced the separation between private and public. In particular, I will examine the location of housing in relation to other city functions and aspects of housing design. I will then discuss the implications of traditional planning and housing approaches on women.

5.5.1 Women in the pre-industrial and early Canadian city

For the most part, the pre-industrial Canadian city had very few specialized areas and contained a mixture of land uses, including juxtaposed residential and commercial uses such as shops and small workshops. At this time, home and workplace were not rigidly separated, nor were the roles of women and men therein⁴². However, the Canadian urban landscape changed markedly in the late 1800s with industrialization, urbanization and population growth. Factory production replaced small scale manufacturing and home based artisan shops, and domestic work in the home and paid work became increasingly differentiated, as more people began to sell their labour for wages outside the home.

There was a spatial and functional separation of 'home' and 'work' among different classes in the latter part of the 1800s as industrialization began to shape the new city. The old mixed areas were replaced by more rigidly segregated commercial, industrial and residential areas. Wealthier residents began to move away from the mixed use zones to

exclusively residential areas⁴³. Gradually, middle and upper income people began to move away from the city core to the new street car suburbs. For all income groups, the separation of home from work had become established, and planning began to reflect the segregation of land uses and income groups as indicated in Figure 4.1.

During industrialization and the concomitant creation and transfer of service industries to the public sector, the numbers of women employed in the public sphere increased. As I mentioned earlier, single working women often had to live in boarding houses or double up with friends, and housing conditions for the working classes were generally poor in the inner city. But some writers have indicated that the newly industrializing city also had much to offer. For example, Elizabeth Wilson wrote that the city also offered women a place of liberation⁴⁴. However, women's activity in the labour force, along with declining marriage and fertility rates, began to be seen as a threat to the traditional values and family life⁴⁵. Urban reformers also saw women's participation in the labour force as being 'symptomatic of the problems of urban poverty and poor housing conditions'⁴⁶. Instead of providing appropriate housing options for women who lived and worked in the city, the solution to this woman 'problem' was to be found through the planning and development of residential areas that were located away from the city core:

The 'solution' to what was seen as an undesirable change in the accepted social order was not a reorganisation of gender roles and of the existing household division of labour, but a planning response incorporating new urban residential development... which sought to provide an environment for the sustainability of the 'ideal' family household⁴⁷.

These new suburbs also reflected and reinforced a particular set of social relations that reinforced women's roles in the home. The organization of the urban landscape continued to reflect differentiated gender roles well into the mid-twentieth century as the expansion of metropolitan areas and the notion of 'feminine' suburbs and 'masculine' city centres continued to reinforce separate spheres of reproduction and production⁴⁸. The early planning covenants effectively reinforced the separation of privately owned residences from other residential and commercial uses.

The separation of public and private was also reflected in the internal design of the home. Delores Hayden discussed how the Victorian style homes of the late 1800s and early 1900s were designed so that the front parlour, or 'public' areas of the home were separated from the 'private' areas where women worked⁴⁹.

5.5.2 Post world war II

Many women had entered the labour force during the second world war. However, the changes in women's roles were not reflected in the expansion of the suburbs in the immediate post war economic recovery. While the number of women in the waged work force after the war was higher than it had been before, many women married, or (were) returned to the home to take care of their families⁵⁰. As discussed in Chapter 3, the federal government's efforts to stimulate economic growth and create jobs focused on

housing policies that would: 1) increase the production of privately owned housing and associated household goods; and 2) promote slum clearance schemes that sought to reduce poor housing conditions in the inner city. As mentioned, neither of these programs helped single people gain wider access to low cost housing. In fact, the slum clearance programs generally eliminated many housing units in rooming houses and older apartment buildings - both of which had provided housing for singles. The demand for home ownership grew as people began to re-establish themselves in the post war economic recovery. The post war baby boom continued to increase the demand for privately owned family housing, and planners and developers responded by creating new suburbs that were further away from the city centres. Housing policy often restricted the type of housing produced to single family housing, and zoning regulations which limited the form and density of the new corporate communities reinforced corresponding spatial patterns.

Communities were also planned and designed to reinforce the 'privacy' of home ownership. Each single family home was self-contained. It generally was assumed that women would stay at home to manage the home and family while the male bread winner went out to work. Delores Hayden criticized zoning for reinforcing women's roles in the domestic sphere:

[b]ecause of residential zoning practices, the typical dwelling will usually be physically removed from any shared community space - no commercial or communal day-care facilities, or laundry facilities... are likely to be part of the dwelling's spatial domain. In many cases these facilities would be illegal...⁵¹.

The internal design and the design of the homes reinforced women's domestic role. While the larger suburban homes have added individual bedrooms for children, studies and work/hobby rooms for men, they rarely have allowed women 'a room of their own' that was not associated with women's assumed roles. Feminist architects have criticised the design of communities and private family homes in the post war years for reinforcing gender divisions⁵².

Gender roles began to change throughout the 1950s and 1960s. First, a growing number of women went out to work in the labour force so their families could afford the 'high cost of the suburban ideal' because purchasing and maintaining a privately owned home on a single salary became difficult, if not impossible, for many households⁵³.

Second, as discussed in Chapter 3, demographic trends have had effects on household formation. The numbers of single person and single parent households have increased, and women head the majority of these households. As discussed previously, single women have rarely been able to afford their own homes. Moreover, as indicated in Chapter 3, a high proportion of single women are experiencing housing affordability problems.

Housing policy rarely has addressed single women's housing needs. While some public housing was built for 'deserving families', social housing has rarely addressed the needs of single women. Economic recession since the 1980s has exacerbated their problems, and

given current social service and housing cutbacks, the housing needs and homelessness of single women are likely to continue.

5.6 Assessing the Traditional Housing Models

As discussed above, feminist planners have found that traditional land use and housing models did not reflect current changes in household formation. Instead, planning and housing have continued to maintain the ideal of the single family home and perpetuate the separation between privately owned housing and other forms of residential and commercial uses. As a result, it has been difficult to find locations for new forms of housing for groups of single women.

First, neo-classical theories have assumed a set of social relations and housing production has been directed towards the housing needs of the traditional family unit, and very rarely towards non-traditional households, including those of single women. As a result, the housing requirements of single women have not been considered.

Second, the way in which the physical layout of the city has been planned has reinforced women's subordinate position by posing physical barriers to women's involvement in the public sphere. The neo-classical models of urban development have separated housing from economic activities and the distance between 'home' and 'work' has increased over

time. This has reinforced women's domestic status and their subordinate status in the labour force. For example, the physical separation of 'work' and 'home' has also constrained women's mobility and access to resources in the urban environment, especially with reference to transportation and the production of safe environments. In the case of transportation, planners concentrated on predicting and expediting the transportation needs of the male breadwinner and his car to and from the city centre. Women's daily mobility patterns include many 'domestic' stops - such as grocery shopping, picking up dry cleaning, going to and from day care centres, and various other appointments associated with their domestic roles - that have not been included within rational economic theory⁵⁴. Feminist research has found that women, especially those in lower income non-traditional households, are less likely to have access to a car and they must rely on public transportation.

Third, integration of employment within communities and within the home often has been precluded by zoning that has restricted or excluded economic activities in residential zones.

Fourth, the neoclassical models of housing assumed that the housing needs of low income earners would be met through the filtering down process. However, the number of women living alone experiencing housing affordability problems and using emergency shelters demonstrates that this filtering process has not worked.

Fifth, neo-economic theory and rational planning concentrated on the production of housing in the economic sphere. It did not concern itself with social issues involved with housing. As women's housing concerns have been seen to be social concerns, they have not been addressed in rational planning theory.

5.7 Changing gender relations, changing urban environments and planning for single women

The previous section demonstrated how mainstream planning and housing theories have constrained women's access to housing resources in the built environment. Chapter 2 & 3 indicated that single women's homelessness and housing problems can be linked to their subordinated economic and labour force status. Chapter 3 also has demonstrated that the housing needs of women living alone have rarely been addressed in housing policy. I have argued that planning and housing strategies have perpetuated traditional residential forms.

Some would argue that planners' roles are limited given the financial and political power of the private housing market and the scarcity of funding for social housing and services in the current economic climate. However, I have also indicated that local planners can play a role in the way housing is allocated and provided. As indicated in chapter 3, the Ontario government has: 1) devolved responsibility for social housing to municipal governments

and 2)acknowledged the importance of land use planning in the delivery of scarce housing resources.

As mentioned above, some feminist researchers have indicated that women have been reorganizing resources and creating new urban environments⁵⁵. Some researchers have posited that ‘women’s place’ is indeed in the city and it is evident that land use planning and housing policies and practices must respond to the these demands⁵⁶. This section will look at how feminist approaches to land use and housing can address social and economic changes.

Feminist researchers have found that many women prefer to live in inner city neighbourhoods because they provide women with greater access to employment and services⁵⁷. Planners can facilitate this by developing and designing communities that reflect a mixture of zones similar to those of city centres, rather than the single use zones of the suburbs. Mixed zones offer women more access to a whole range of urban resources including housing, services and employment. Jo Little also added that women would be more likely to be able to develop informal support networks to compensate for recent reductions in social service provision in mixed zone areas⁵⁸.

Planners can also help to address women’s safety issues through changes in community and home design. Beth Moore Milroy indicated that studies about women as housing

consumers have demonstrated that women often rank safety in the community and the home above all other considerations⁵⁹. Planners can work with women in the community and other agencies to incorporate urban safety in the planning and design of cities. For example, the Women and Planning Working Group in Southampton, U.K., in conjunction with the City Council, produced the list of design factors that either contributed to or detracted from women's safety and security, and were able to act on recommendations made⁶⁰. Similar planning recommendations for safer Canadian cities have been published by Gerda Wekerle and Carolyn Whitzman⁶¹.

Feminist researchers have indicated that women require a range of housing options including permanent affordable housing, transitional shelters and emergency shelters⁶². Planners can ensure that these new forms of housing are provided within the housing objectives of the Official Plan.

Joan Forrester Sprague's 'lifeboat' model of housing and urban design is one feminist model that planners could adopt in meeting the housing needs of single homeless women. 'Lifeboats' are defined as housing models that integrate social and economic programs to strengthen their residents. While the building, its location and programs required for different groups of women may vary with their needs, the philosophy of lifeboat housing models is to help residents become self-sufficient and self-empowered⁶³.

The 'lifeboat' housing model can provide shared space and social support services in a flexible range of emergency, transitional and permanent housing⁶⁴. Joan Forrester Sprague argued that a continuum of appropriate housing options is required to meet the diverse needs of women at different stages of homelessness and housing need. She asserted that while permanent affordable housing is in desperate need, life stabilization is often required before homeless women can take advantage of affordable permanent housing. Emergency and transitional shelters can provide short and long term programs to enable homeless women to stabilize their lives and move into permanent affordable housing.

Joan Forrester Sprague illustrated the difference between conventional models of housing and lifeboat models by superimposing concentric zones of use around each person. Figure 5.1 and 5.2 represent the zones of use in conventional housing and lifeboat housing respectively. In conventional housing, a person is generally encircled by a household, a community and a neighbourhood, as seen in Figure 5.1. In lifeboat housing, two additional zones generally are added, as indicated in Figure 5.2. First, there is an additional zone between the person or household and the community where space is shared between residents of the lifeboat. This zone might include a shared bathroom or other common rooms such as kitchens, dining areas, and living rooms. Second, there is a zone between the community areas and the neighbourhood. This zone is shared by residents within the lifeboat and those outside the lifeboat. In an emergency or transitional

Zones of Use

Figure 5.1

Figure 5.2

Source: Sprague, 1991

shelter, this zone might include services such as counselling or employment training or offices for shelter staff⁶⁵. Lifeboat housing models are innovative because they can combine a range of social and economic programs that can address single homeless women's needs and positively transform their lives. This feminist approach to housing and community more realistically addresses the intersecting public and private housing needs of women.

Establishing lifeboats has often required the conversion of existing buildings, especially in the central parts of the city. Research has indicated that shelters for single homeless women should be located in residential areas in inner city neighbourhoods near to existing services, employment and public transportation⁶⁶. However, the development of new models of housing and conversion of existing buildings in these areas often has been met with exclusionary zoning practices. As indicated above, these practices often have separated privately owned residences from other forms of housing. Existing zoning bylaws can be exclusionary because they effectively restrict some areas to single family homes by limiting the use and occupancy of residential buildings, as discussed in Chapter 4. This has especially been the case in affordable housing and group housing where a number of unrelated people live together. Existing land use planning and zoning patterns often have made it difficult for groups of women to share houses⁶⁷. Zoning bylaws also can restrict occupancy densities and impose separation requirements on lifeboat housing.

As a result, some uses such as services and counselling may not be permitted in residential areas.

Joan Forrester Sprague noted that while the conversion of single family homes to lifeboats is desirable because the existing physical scale of the neighbourhood would not be changed, existing zoning bylaws often have restricted the building use to single family dwellings. While lifeboat models do not have to be restricted to the conversion of single family housing, I have highlighted this particular form of housing because it is most relevant to the case study to follow.

5.8 Summary

This chapter examined gender relations and the changing roles and needs of women in the city. The evolution of feminist theory in geography has provided a framework to develop a feminist perspective on planning and housing. I have demonstrated how broad land use patterns generally have separated private and public uses. The separation of privately owned residential housing from other residential and commercial uses has been a predominant feature of Canadian urban form. This physical separation of housing has reflected the ideology of the residential 'home' and traditional 'family' living. However, economic restructuring and gender role changes have resulted in the need for a whole new range of housing for single women in housing need. An emergency shelter is one example

of these new forms of housing that incorporate 'public' and 'private' sphere activities.

However, these new forms of housing have not been included in current residential land use patterns. Feminist planners must work towards eliminating exclusionary planning and zoning in residential areas to facilitate these new housing models. For planners, integrating new housing options for women into the built environment will remain a challenge unless more inclusionary approaches to housing and urban form are adopted.

Chapter 5 - Footnotes

1. See Little, Jo, 1994, Gender, Planning and the Policy Process, Pergamon, Oxford and Greed, Clara, 1994, Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities, Routledge Press, New York.
2. Sandercock, Leonie and Ann Forsyth, "A Gender Agenda: New Directions for Planning Theory", in Journal of the American Planning Association, Volume 58, No. 1, Winter 1992, p.55.
3. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989a, "Women in the City" in New Models in Geography, Richard Peet and Nigel Thrift (eds.), Unwin Hyman, London.
4. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1984, "Editorial Introduction" in Antipode, Volume 16, #3, p.3.
5. See Weisman, Lesley Kanes, 1992, Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment, University of Illinois, Illinois for a discussion of gender and urban design. In Chapter 4, the above author suggested a feminist agenda for housing and community design.
6. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989a, op cit., p.110.
7. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989a, *ibid.*, p.110.
8. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989a, *ibid.*, p.111.
9. Zelinsky, W., J. Monk, and S. Hanson, 1982, "Women and Geography: a review and prospectus" in Progress in Human Geography, Volume 6, pp.317-366.
10. See Johnson, Louise, 1989, "Geography, planning and gender: an extended review of a planning textbook and its peers", in New Zealand Geographer, Volume 45, #2, pp.85-91 for an analysis about how planning discourse in textbooks perpetuates women's subordination. Also see Klodawsky, Fran, Colleen Lundy, and Caroline Andrew, 1994, "Challenging 'Business as Usual' in Housing and Community Planning: The Issue of Violence against Women", in The Canadian Journal of Urban Research, Volume 3, #1, pp.40-58, regarding the invisibility of women in planning, housing and safety literature in Canada.
11. See Mazey, Mary Ellen and David R. Lee, 1983, Her Space, Her Place: A Geography of Women, Association of American Geographers, Washington, D.C.

12. A review of the early work done about the geography of women can be found in Zelinsky, W.J., J. Monk and S. Hanson, 1982, "Women and geography: A review and prospectus", in Progress in Human Geography, Volume 6, #3, pp.317-366. Also see Watson, Sophie, 1988, op cit., p.139 for a review of the women and housing literature.
13. McClain, Janet and Cassie Doyle, 1984, Women and Housing: Changing Needs and the Failure of Policy, Canadian Council on Social Development in association with James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, Ottawa, Ontario.
14. Refer to Mackenzie, Suzanne 1984, op cit., pp.3-10, for a more detailed critique of positivist approaches in geography.
15. Burnett, Pat, 1973, "Social change, the status of women and models of city form and development", Antipode, Volume 5, #3, pp.57-62.
16. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989b, "Restructuring the relations of work and life: women as environmental actors, feminism as geographic analysis", in Kobayashi, Audrey and Suzanne Mackenzie (eds.) in Remaking Human Geography, Unwin Hyman Inc., Winchester, Mass., p.42.
17. David Harvey's book, Social Justice and the City, 1973, Edward Arnold, London, was seminal to the development of Marxist theory in urban geography.
18. Bondi, Liz and Linda Peake, 1988, "Gender and the City: Urban Politics Revisited", in Little, Jo, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson (eds.), Women in Cities, MacMillan Education Ltd., Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 2XS, and London, pp.21-40
19. Mackenzie, S. and D. Rose, 1983, "Industrial change, the domestic economy and home life", in Anderson, J., S. Duncan, and R. Hudson (eds.), Redundant spaces and industrial decline in cities and regions, Academic Press, London, pp.155-199.
20. McDowell, Linda, 1993a, op cit., p.159.
21. See Women and Geography Group, 1984, Geography and Gender, Hutchison, London, for a review of feminist theory and geography.
22. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1984, op cit., pp.3-10.

23. McDowell, Linda, 1993b, "Space, place and gender: Part II - Identity, difference, feminist geometries and geographies" in Progress in Human Geography, Volume 17, #3, p.308. Also see Foord, J. and Gregson, N., 1986, "Patriarchy: Towards a Reconceptualization" in Antipode, Volume 18, pp.186-211.
24. See Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989b, op cit., pp.40-61 for an more detailed examination of the convergence of feminist, humanist and historical materialist frameworks in geography.
25. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989a, op cit., p. 114.
26. Greed, Clara, 1994, op cit.
27. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989a, op cit., p.114.
28. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989a, op cit., p.109.
29. Little, Jo, 1993, op cit., pp.47-48.
30. McDowell, Linda, 1993b, op cit.
31. See Ramazanoglu, Caroline, 1989, Feminism and the contradictions of oppression, Routledge Press, London, UK for a discussion of the division between women in feminist theory and politics.
32. McDowell, Linda, 1993b, op cit., pp.305-311.
33. Watson, Sophie, 1986, op cit., p.1 and Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, Housing and Homelessness: A Feminist Perspective, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.71.
34. Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, op cit.
35. Watson Sophie, 1988, Accommodating Inequality, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, p.1.
36. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989b, op cit.
37. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989b, op cit., pp.40-61.
38. Little, Jo, 1994, op cit., p.62.

39. Valentine, Gill, 1992, "Images of danger: women's sources of information about the spatial distribution of male violence", in Area, Volume 24, #1, pp.22-29.
40. Watson, Sophie, 1986, op cit., p.1.
41. McDowell, Linda, 1993a, "Space, place and gender relations: Part 1. Feminist empiricism and the geography of social relations" in Progress in Human Geography, Volume 17, #2, p.167.
42. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1988, "Building Women, Building Cities: Towards Gender Sensitive Theory in the Environmental Disciplines", in Andrew, Caroline and Beth Moore Milroy (eds.), Life Spaces : Gender, Household, Employment, The University of British Columbia Press, pp.16-17.
43. For a discussion of how Winnipeg, Manitoba became a city divided on class distinction during this early period, see Artibise, Alan, 1984, "The Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society" in Stetler, Gilbert A. and Alan Artibise, The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History, pp.360-391.
44. Wilson, Elizabeth, 1991, The Sphinx in the City, Virago Press, London, pp.1-12.
45. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1988, op cit., p.19.
46. Little, Jo, 1994, op cit., p.48-49.
47. Little, Jo, ibid., p.49.
48. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1988, op cit., p.20.
49. Hayden, Delores, 1981, The Grand Domestic Revolution, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.
50. See Connelly, Patricia, 1978, Last Hired, First Fired, The Women's Press, Toronto, for a Marxist critique of women's history as a reserve labour force in Canada.
51. Hayden, Dolores, 1980, "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work" in Stimpson, G., Dixler, E. Nelson, M, and Yatrakis, K. (eds.), Women and the American City, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p.171.
52. Weisman, Leslie Kanes, 1992, op cit.

53. McDowell, Linda, 1983, "Towards an understanding of the gender division of space", in Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, Volume 1, p.67.
54. Pickup, Laurie, 1988, "Hard to Get Around: A Study of Women's Travel Mobility" in Little, Jo, Linda Peake & Pat Richardson (eds.), Women in Cities, MacMillan Education Ltd., Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 2XS and London, pp.98-116.
55. Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989b, "Restructuring the relation of work and life: women as environmental actors, feminism as geographic analysis" in Kobayashi, Audrey and Suzanne Mackenzie (eds.), Remaking Human Geography, Unwin Hyman Inc., London, UK
56. Wekerle, Gerda, 1984, "A women's place is in the city" in Antipode, Volume 16, #3, pp.145-153.
57. Wekerle, Gerda, 1984, *ibid.*, pp.145-153.
58. Little, Jo, 1994, *op cit.*, p.66.
59. Milroy, Beth Moore, 1991, "Taking Stock of Planning, Space and Gender" in The Journal of Planning Literature, Volume 6, #1, p.11.
60. Cited in Little, Jo, 1994, *op cit.*, p.168.
61. Wekerle, Gerda, and Carolyn Whitzman, 1995, Safe Cities: Guidelines for Planning, Design, and Management, Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York.
62. Stoner, Madeleine R., 1986, "The Plight of Homeless Women" in Erikson, Jon, and Charles Wilhelm (eds.), Housing and the Homeless, Rutgers and the State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, p.289.
63. Sprague, Joan Forrester, 1991, More Than Housing: Lifeboats for Women and Children, Butterworth Architecture, Boston.
64. Sprague, Joan Forrester, 1991, *ibid.*, p.27. This model was developed for women with children, but the author noted that it could be adopted to meeting the needs of single women.
65. Sprague, Joan Forrester, 1991, *ibid.*, pp.45-66.

66. Stoner, Madeleine, 1986, op cit. and Task Force on Resources to Homeless Women, 1991, Report of the Task Force on Resources to Homeless Women, Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, p.25.
67. Wekerle, Gerda, 1981, "Women in the Urban Environment" in Stimpson, Catharine R., Elsa Dixler, Martha J. Nelson and Kathryn B. Yatrakis, Women and the American City, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, p.199.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY: THE OTTAWA-CARLETON EXPERIENCE IN PLANNING AN EMERGENCY SHELTER FOR SINGLE HOMELESS WOMEN

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have developed a feminist perspective to demonstrate how planning and housing practices and policies have marginalized single women. I have posited that single women's homelessness is one outcome of women's inequality in the planning and housing systems. I have reviewed some feminist literature about women's housing issues which have recommended that a range of new housing options - from first and second stage shelters to permanent affordable housing - are needed for single homeless women.

I also have emphasized throughout this paper that traditional planning and zoning practices are exclusionary, and as such they have discriminated against women. Recent changes in household composition and the increased need for new housing options for women have been particularly limited by exclusionary land use planning approaches and zoning practices. This chapter will look at the planning actions and problems encountered in establishing one such lifeboat - an emergency shelter for single homeless women in Ottawa. In particular, the chapter will examine how traditional approaches to planning,

zoning and policy have been effective barriers to providing an appropriate emergency shelter for homeless women.

6.2 Methodology

As I indicated earlier, at the time I became interested in doing a research paper about housing and homeless single women, there seemed to be a strong consensus that a suitable location for an emergency shelter for single homeless women in Ottawa would be opening soon. Local planning officials at the City of Ottawa already had approved a change to the zoning bylaw to accommodate this new housing facility. Originally, I had intended to employ feminist participatory and survey methods to evaluate the new shelter and service system for single homeless women. I especially had hoped to speak with homeless women who had lived on the margins of society and to make their voices heard. I also wanted to interview shelter workers who had been involved with the decision to establish the proposed housing development. However, the nature of my research changed when the required zoning amendment was appealed by some residents and subsequently rejected by the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB). At that point, I realized that an examination of planning and housing theory was integral to understanding why single women's housing needs were marginalized.

It also became quite clear that it would be inappropriate for me to interview the people who had been involved with the shelter project at this time - many of them had devoted a great deal of time and personal commitment to this project and they had been very disappointed by the OMB rejection. While the Women and Shelter Committee, which had been in charge of setting up the new facility, had been advised there was a distinct possibility that the rejected appeal could be contested as a human rights issue, it was decided that a further appeal would prolong and perhaps jeopardize the establishment of a new shelter for homeless women. The priority was to find an alternative location as soon as possible. Also, the Regional decision makers had made some organizational changes and it was not clear when a new location would be chosen or who would be managing the new facility. I also had serious ethical concerns about interviewing homeless women at this time - I did not want to inadvertently instil any unrealistic hopes that I could in any way change the recent OMB decision or offer an immediate solution.

At the same time, I was committed to a feminist research agenda because I wanted to make a contribution to social change. I decided to develop a feminist theoretical approach which would examine how mainstream planning has marginalized single women's housing needs. A feminist theoretical perspective might also identify ways in which planners could understand how theory and practice were linked and perhaps provide solutions to these problems. I have chosen the case study method to illustrate my argument that planning and housing theory and practice have marginalized the housing needs of single women.

Feminist researchers have argued that case studies are integral to feminist theory:

Theory must remain at best hypothetical, at worst unreal and barren unless we have detailed case studies and surveys dealing with the experience of selected groups of women in diverse cultures and time periods¹.

Shulamit Reinharz has indicated that case studies of women are a valid research method that make women visible in social science research and challenge the androcentric nature of mainstream research. She found that social research has rarely included case studies about women's experiences, and as a result, social science disciplines have: 1) contributed to the invisibility of women and the disappearance of women's accomplishments from the historical record; 2) reinforced a distorted understanding of groups of women and disregarded the social relations responsible for women's status; and 3) made generalizations that did not include women's perspectives².

The case study is a tool of feminist research that is used to document history and generate theory. It defies the social science convention of seeking generalizations by looking for specificity, exceptions and completeness... Thus case studies are essential for putting women on the map of social life³.

I began by gathering pertinent data about the planning practices and processes involved in the case at hand. A chronology of the events pertaining to this case study is included in Appendix 1. I contacted representatives in the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton's Social Services, Planning and Property Departments. The Social Planning Council of Ottawa Carleton was also a key proponent of this project, and representatives from this agency were helpful in supplying data, discussing the history of homeless women

in Ottawa Carleton, and verifying the planning actions that were taken. City of Ottawa planners involved with the zoning change application and subsequent appeal were most helpful in explaining the technical aspects of the zoning bylaw.

In this case study, I will first examine how regional planning and housing authorities have made single women's housing needs invisible. As mentioned in the previous chapter, single women's housing needs have rarely been addressed in mainstream studies. Second, I will examine the how the OMB decision to reject new zoning amendments for a permanent emergency shelter has reinforced the separation between private and public spheres within a residential neighbourhood. I will argue that exclusionary planning practices and zoning bylaws acted to prohibit the provision of appropriate housing for single homeless women.

6.3 The Regional government's approach to sheltering homeless women in Ottawa Carleton from 1983-1989

The Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton is the administrative unit responsible for the provision of most emergency and special needs housing in Ottawa Carleton. Land use planning is undertaken at both the regional and municipal levels, and the two levels strive to make their Official Plans compatible. Both the regional and the municipal governments are active in the development and funding of social housing. As discussed in the chapter

about housing policy, many social housing projects are developed in conjunction with different levels of federal and provincial governments. The Social Planning Council of Ottawa is also active in researching local housing issues.

The lack of affordable housing for single people in Ottawa Carleton is not a new issue to this region. Research indicating the need for low cost housing for this sector of the population has been available since the early 1980s. In 1981, the City of Ottawa published a paper indicating that several urban initiatives had resulted in the reduction of low cost housing stock in the central city⁴. For example, the number of rooming houses decreased by 50% between 1976 and 1985, and other units were lost due to housing programs that promoted gentrification, the conversion of rental units to privately owned units and the conversion of rental units to condominiums⁵. At the same time, the results of a local housing report indicated that the number of single women in housing need was increasing in the Ottawa Carleton. In this latter report, Debbie Barton made several recommendations which included: 1)increasing the amount of affordable housing for low income single women; 2)establishing a permanent emergency shelter for single women; and 3)reviewing zoning to allow for housing intensification⁶.

Until 1983, there was no emergency shelter which specifically provided accommodation for single women. At that time, workers at a local parish in Sandy Hill - a centrally located area - decided to open a temporary shelter in their church basement in 1983 at All

Saints Church (see Map 1). The Anglican Diocese had been operating a day time social recreation and counselling program for street people, and staff members had been approached by a number of homeless women who were looking for a place to sleep. A group of women connected with the parish sent a proposal to the Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton requesting funding for a temporary twenty bed emergency shelter. In December of that year, the Anglican Diocese opened Ottawa's first single women's emergency shelter in the basement of All Saints Church in Sandy Hill with a \$12,000 grant from the Region. The church organizers recognized that a church basement was not an appropriate place for homeless women, but it at least gave them a warm place to sleep during the winter. At that point in time, both the Diocese and the Region expected that the shelter would be needed only for a short period of time until the women could obtain permanent affordable housing.

People in charge of the shelter soon recognized the additional problems homeless women faced. For example, homeless women had no place to go during the day because the shelter could not open until ten o'clock in the evening and the women had to leave by seven thirty the next morning because of other church activities. Also, Regional funding was insufficient to pay for additional staff, food, clothing, or for renovations to meet

1. 229 Chapel St.
2. All Saints Church
3. St. Joseph's Dr.
4. The Well
5. Martha's - 374
6. 60 Waller St.
7. Shepherds of Go
8. 78 Nelson
9. 172 O'Connor S
10. 515 Mth Laren S

acceptable safety and health requirements for a 24 hour shelter. The Diocese and a local women's group - the Women in Crisis group - lobbied the Region for short and long term housing and service solutions, and six weeks later, the Region approved a portion of the funding needed for a new drop-in centre which offered meals and a place for homeless women to go during weekdays at St. Joseph's church (see Map 1). Later, another drop-in centre - the Well - opened on weekends so the women would have a place to go and a place to eat (see Map 1). At the same time, homeless men had 24 hour access to shelter and meals⁷. Because there had been 'significant' numbers of homeless men over many years, the Region had established permanent emergency housing and services for them.

The parishioners involved in setting up the emergency shelter recognized that the church basement solution was not conducive to stabilizing homeless women's lives. Because there was also a lack of community housing and facilities for deinstitutionalized people, local hospitals began sending women who were leaving psychiatric wards to the shelter⁸. The church basement shelter was not equipped to supply the services these women needed. At the end of the four month period, the shelter organizers debated about whether to ask for renewed funding because they 'realiz[ed] that every dollar spent on a temporary shelter would have the effect of postponing the allocation of government resources for permanent, affordable housing⁹'.

At the same time, all women's shelters in Ottawa were running at or close to their maximum capacity, so the Diocese kept the shelter open as they continued to petition the Region for a permanent shelter. Some extra funding became available from the Region for basic safety improvements (such as fire alarms and wiring), extra sanitation facilities, and more equipment to accommodate 25-30 women at All Saints Church. The Diocese again emphasized that the church basement was an inappropriate solution, and that more affordable housing, a permanent emergency shelter and supportive housing were needed¹⁰.

Some funding for permanent supportive housing was forthcoming from the Provincial Ministry of Community and Social Services, and the Diocese opened 'Martha's' - a 12 unit supportive housing facility for some of the homeless women - at 374 Besserer Street (see Map 1).

The church shelter organizers continued to lobby the Regional Municipality for a permanent shelter:

In July 1987, we spoke openly about closing the Shelter when the new project began. Our reasons were two-fold: we did not have the resources to run both projects, but more importantly, we wanted to force the community's hand and push Ottawa into establishing a proper 24-hour shelter. We knew that as long as All Saints overnight shelter existed, it would be considered good enough¹¹.

In 1987, the Social Planning Council of Ottawa Carleton completed a report that concluded there was a lack of resources available to poor people in the Region. The report recognized that the existing emergency facilities were insufficient to meet housing and services needs of single homeless people, particularly women¹².

In 1989, the Anglican Diocese closed All Saints church basement shelter, re-opened 12 beds at 374 Besserer (formerly Martha's) as an emergency shelter for single women, and - under the provincial housing policy Project 3000 program - opened 20 new supportive housing units for women at 515 MacLaren in conjunction with a local non-profit corporation (see Map 1). At this time the church shelter organizers felt that they had been exacerbating the problems of homeless women by providing little more than a bed to sleep in at the church basement emergency shelter, and therefore they focused their efforts towards providing more permanent supportive housing solutions. The reorganisation of the Anglican Diocese's shelter programs meant a loss of thirteen emergency beds for single homeless women in Ottawa-Carleton at a time when a report by RMO Social Services Department indicated that occupancy levels in all local shelters were at full capacity¹³.

In October 1989, the Regional Social Services Department opened a 14 bed shelter for homeless women in a former military barracks at 60 Waller Street, but as the premises had been vacant for quite some time, it proved to be quite unsafe and the building was subsequently condemned and demolished (see Map 1).

In July, 1990, the RMO emergency shelter for single women was moved to a suburban area on Cadboro Road in Gloucester, where single homeless women shared a building with abused women and children (see Map 2)¹⁴. Originally, this location was intended for

the latter group because it offered services and facilities for women with children (including schools, recreation centres and day care for children). However, it soon became evident that a more central location was needed for single homeless women. The Cadboro shelter was far from the downtown area where the existing services and resources used by homeless women were situated. Also, the suburban shelter was not easily accessible to homeless single women. Most of the clients were referred by authorities and there was very little 'walk-in' business because existing services for homeless women were situated in the downtown area. At one point, a shuttle bus was hired to transport women from Cadboro Road to the downtown area, but this proved to be expensive to run and the bus was rarely used because of scheduling problems. Also, the Cadboro facility was not wheel-chair accessible and women with disabilities could not be accommodated. Some basic services, including meals and outreach programs, were extended at the Cadboro location. However, no life skills training and limited recreation programs were available to help empower the women. These problems were discussed with a planner at Regional Social Services¹⁵. In spite of the locational problems, the Cadboro shelter continued to operate at close to or above capacity, as did the Besserer Street shelter¹⁶. Some Regional administrators found that the geographic isolation of the Regional shelter from the established services for homeless people meant that some residents stayed longer than they would have had services been in closer proximity.

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY CARLETON UNIVERSITY

MAP 2

Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton

A report done by a regional housing committee in 1989 continued to emphasize the need for: 1) more affordable housing for low income single people; and 2) a permanent emergency shelter with appropriate services for homeless single people¹⁷. At this point, the Region finally decided to establish a permanent emergency facility.

In many ways, this particular case study illustrates how planning and housing policy have reinforced the marginalization of single women's housing needs. Throughout the early 1980s, Regional decision makers failed to take seriously their responsibility to provide appropriate housing options for homeless women. Previous sections have demonstrated the increasing need for appropriate housing for single women. It had been assumed that the existing 'filtering down' approach to housing for low income people would satisfy this need. However, given the proven lack of affordable housing and services for singles, the Region was unrealistic in believing that housing needs of low income single women would be met through filtering processes in the private rental market in Ottawa-Carleton. This study clearly shows that traditional approaches to housing have not addressed women's housing needs.

The way in which local housing authorities had provided social housing also failed to address the needs of single homeless women. Social housing has been prioritized towards 'deserving families', and the housing needs of single women have been marginalized. It

was not until the late 1980s that Regional housing officials were obliged by provincial housing policy to address the housing needs of low income single women.

By supplying only very basic shelter needs, Regional politicians continued to conceal single women's homelessness and housing need. Because no permanent solution was established by RMOC, the Church organizers felt an obligation to keep their shelter going although they made it known to Regional authorities that the facilities were inadequate. The Regional decision makers continued to accommodate homeless women in inappropriate facilities after the Diocese closed the church basement shelter. As a result the housing needs of homeless women continued to be concealed and marginalized for an unduly long period of time because their needs were seen as being temporary.

When the Regional authorities finally conceded that a permanent emergency shelter was needed, changes to zoning bylaws in the late 1980s, which will be discussed in section 6.6, imposed new restrictions that limited the location of supportive and special needs housing. Had RMOC acted more immediately, the battle to establish a permanent facility may not have occurred.

6.4 Planning a permanent emergency shelter

In January 1990, the Social Planning Council struck a task force to assess and make recommendations about the resources available to homeless single women. First, they compiled a client profile which indicated 80% of the women using the facilities were between 22 and 55 years of age and that the number of senior clients was increasing. The vast majority (90%) stayed less than 2 months, with 48% requiring one week or less. Only 5% of the women stayed over 5 months. This report confirmed that an emergency shelter was required for: 1) women who required a short term housing option; and 2) women who required emergency/transition housing for a longer time frame and supportive services to stabilize their lives and move on to other housing alternatives.

The task force also concluded that a new approach to emergency housing should incorporate appropriate services because the way in which the Region had allowed homeless women to be 'warehoused' had exacerbated the homelessness cycle: 'the longer emergency situations go unaddressed, the less appropriate the permanent solutions become'¹⁸. This study by the task force was crucial because it finally recognized the systemic causes of homelessness for women:

[H]omeless women are marginalized from a system of services for a variety of reasons: the system's inability to understand or respond to their needs; the women's inability to cope with such systems; homeless women's lack of knowledge of the existence of such services and how to access them; and their lack of knowledge of their own rights and how to assert them¹⁹.

The study recommended a comprehensive system of housing - including an emergency shelter, supportive housing and services, and affordable housing - to assist at-risk and homeless women in Ottawa-Carleton²⁰. The task force report concluded that while permanent supportive and affordable housing for single women were in critically short supply, an emergency shelter was required to provide an entry point into the housing continuum. An emergency shelter would provide short term housing and appropriate services for homeless women to enable them to gain access to other more permanent housing options.

In view of the past locational problems at the Cadboro shelter, the task force strongly recommended that the emergency shelter should be situated in a central residential location in close proximity to the established services for homeless single women.

6.5 The Chapel Street location

After carefully assessing the needs of homeless women, Regional Social Services commenced the search for a suitable property in August 1989. A list of specifications was sent to local real estate companies. These specifications requested a central location which was close to existing services and facilities for homeless women (including day programs, soup kitchens, health services, social services and public transportation). The building design had to accommodate twenty people and have enough space for amenities

including a kitchen, dining room, common socializing area, laundry, storage and administration offices. Approximately thirty of the fifty properties submitted were inspected, and the Department of Social Services determined that 229 Chapel Street in Sandy Hill was the only property that met the stated locational and design specifications (see Map 1).

The Chapel Street building originally had been built as a family home. It had been used as a school since the 1920s, and until recently, as a convent which had accommodated over 20 nuns. The building design was well-suited to the needs of the proposed emergency shelter, as it allowed for a range of accessible private and public spaces, much like the 'lifeboat' housing model discussed in Chapter 5. The upper floors had been previously sub-divided into smaller bedrooms for single and double occupancy, and therefore afforded better degrees of privacy for women. Part of the main floor had been used as a chapel, and that space could easily be divided into common use rooms, offices, bedrooms and washrooms which were accessible for women in wheelchairs. Moreover, the building was within the approved price range of the Region and this property required less renovation than other structures that had been inspected. 229 Chapel Street had been designated as a heritage property, and the Region planned renovations to reconstruct the original exterior veranda to heritage specifications and incorporate a wheelchair ramp. The property and its spacious grounds would be maintained by Regional staff. Some zoning changes would have to be applied for, but this was not foreseen as a major

problem. It should be noted that all but three of the buildings submitted for consideration would have been subject to zoning changes. By May 1991, Regional Council had approved the \$700,000.00 purchase of the Chapel Street location, an additional \$600,000.00 for renovations, and carrying costs for twelve months, conditional on obtaining appropriate zoning.

6.6 Group homes and zoning bylaw

The proposed women's emergency shelter was classified as a special needs group home under the City of Ottawa Official Plan. During the 1970s, when some group homes were being established, many municipalities found there had been no previous zoning considerations for residential uses by non-related people. In 1978, the Ontario provincial government encouraged municipalities to amend their Official Plan and zoning bylaws to include group homes in residential areas. In 1984, the City of Ottawa Official Plan was changed to include group home use in residential areas. However, at the same time, zoning bylaws were revised to stipulate separation distances between group home uses.

In 1986, City Council struck a task force to make recommendations about zoning for special needs housing. The previous bylaw had dealt only with one classification of group homes, but the new bylaw delineated supportive community homes, residential care facilities, and 'transient' shelters. A new zoning bylaw was passed by City Council in

November 1988 that has affected the development of special needs housing, including supportive and emergency housing. First, the new bylaw restricted the number of non-related residents occupying the building, whereas the previous bylaw had no such limitations. It also imposed previously non-existent parking space requirements and restrictions on the amount of space and location of offices and programs within the building. Second, the new zoning bylaw imposed a minimum separation distance between special needs housing developments. While the bylaw specified separation distances and maximum occupancy levels for non-related people living in special needs housing, these limitations did not apply to other types of residential uses occupied by non-related people, such as rooming houses.

After making their conditional offer to purchase the Chapel Street property in May 1991, the Region applied to the City of Ottawa Planning Department to have the Chapel Street building rezoned. First, the number of non-related occupants living in special needs housing was limited under the existing zoning and it was necessary to increase the existing density limits. The Chapel Street location had been designated as a heritage property and the existing Heritage Zoning HR-1 only allowed up to 12 residents exclusive of staff in special needs housing developments. The proposed HR-1-X zoning would increase the number of residents permitted within special needs housing from 12 to 20 occupants. It should be noted that non-supportive residential uses for non-related occupants (e.g. rooming houses) did not have such density limitations.

Second, the amendment modified the existing R6-X zone along Besserer Street between King Edward Avenue and Chapel Street and reduced the separation distance between group homes as there was another special needs housing development located nearby²¹. The separation distance between the proposed shelter on Chapel Street and the existing special needs housing was exceeded by approximately one metre. Therefore, the existing rectangular separation distance was reduced from 130 metres to 120 metres and the circular separation radius was reduced from 95 metres to 90 metres. The separation distances for the HR (heritage) zoning of the Chapel Street property were also amended accordingly. It should be noted that the R6-X zoning for the property adjacent to 229 Chapel Street included uses such as medium density apartments, some public uses, and special needs housing for up to 30 residents exclusive of staff.

In January 1992, the City of Ottawa Planning Department approved the rezoning bylaw for the property. The Planning Department maintained that the proposed zoning changes addressed the general goals and objectives of the Official Plan which were:

1. to preserve and enhance Sandy Hill as an attractive residential neighbourhood especially for family living;
2. to provide for a broad range of socio-economic groups;
3. to accept a modest increase in the population;
4. to maintain and coordinate both the local functions of Sandy Hill and the functions that serve a wider area²².

The city planners also felt that the proposal for the emergency shelter also reflected the housing objectives in the City of Ottawa Official Plan for Sandy Hill, which were: to preserve and enhance the existing stock; locate different types of housing in appropriate areas; and provide a wide variety of housing including accommodation for low income, elderly, handicapped and special needs people²³. In addition, local planners felt that the new facility would also meet some of the social objectives of the Official Plan by providing appropriate housing and services for a special needs group.

The City of Ottawa Planning Department reasoned that the original separation distances had been based on typical 100 foot wide lots and 66 foot road allowances. Since the lot widths and road allowances in this case were lower than the above dimensions, the City of Ottawa Planning Department felt that modifications to the separation distances were in order, as the existing scale of the neighbourhood would not be compromised.

City planners were satisfied that an increase in the number of occupants from 12 to 20 people would not pose a problem because the 8000 square foot building had previously housed more than 20 nuns. Since the emergency shelter run by the Anglican Diocese on Besserer Street was expected to close when 229 Chapel Street opened, there would be only 8 additional beds for single women who may otherwise be forced to live on the streets in the Sandy Hill and Lowertown areas. The City planners reasoned that the new facility would not be likely to create any additional impact on the area because this group

was already were active in this community and increased traffic was unlikely as homeless women generally did not own automobiles. Homeless women were already living in this community, so rather than seeing the issue as bringing in additional women with problems, both the Region and the City felt that the new shelter would improve the existing quality of life in the community because it would provide a supervised environment for homeless women, and services to help them to gain access to permanent housing. The emergency shelter would provide an important link in the housing continuum.

Regional Social Services also agreed to restore and maintain the architectural integrity of the historical property. A committee of local people - Sheltering Homeless Women - had been appointed to oversee the choice of location and management of the new shelter. The people involved with the project were quite excited at the prospect of securing such a suitable and attractive location for the first permanent shelter for homeless women in Ottawa.

Although the cost of the facility was high, the Regional Social Services felt the long term economies of scale would compensate. The Regional shelter on Cadboro Road also was scheduled to close because it was inadequate for all groups of clientele, so the Region would be funding one emergency shelter for single women rather than two.

6.7 The planning process and zoning requirements: trying to change exclusionary zoning but finding out ‘what big teeth you have’²⁴

As mentioned, Regional officials applied to the City of Ottawa Planning Department to have the Chapel Street building rezoned. There seemed to be a consensus among the proponents of the project to pursue the rezoning change rather than to apply for a zoning variance because they wanted to facilitate a greater level of public participation. Rezoning is a complex process that requires a public open house²⁵. In retrospect, it appears that a variance change may have been a more expedient approach because a minor variance can be applied for as long as the general purpose and intent of the zoning bylaw and Official Plan can be maintained, and as discussed above, the city planners agreed that this appeared to be the case in this planning issue. Variances must be submitted to the locally appointed committee of adjustment for approval and this is followed by a public hearing²⁶.

6.7.1 Public participation in the zoning process

In accordance with the rezoning process, an Open House was held at Chapel Street in November 1990. The Regional Planning Department received a few enquiries about the proposed zoning changes afterwards, but the level of public response initially was low. As mentioned above, Regional officials had approved the acquisition of the Chapel Street property in May 1991 and an application for rezoning was filed with the City of Ottawa

Planning Department. The arrangements were published in a local newspaper. Shortly afterwards, RMOC and the City of Ottawa received a nine point petition dated August 22, 1991 from local property owners who opposed the shelter (see Appendix 2). This petition is important because it helps to understand why the OMB subsequently rejected the zoning decision made by the City of Ottawa Planning Department.

The petition outlined the neighbours' opposition to the proposed use of 229 Chapel Street. The opponents argued that an emergency shelter did not belong in their community, and that another location had to be found. They also implied that women who used shelters would jeopardize the safety of the neighbourhood. The petition supported the separation between different classes of residential use by housing tenure and housing type. The typical NIMBY argument that property values and neighbourhood 'standards' would be negatively affected also were part of the local property owners' argument against the emergency shelter.

As discussed in the previous chapter, traditional theoretical approaches to land use planning have reinforced the separation of the private and public spheres. Zoning bylaws have generally supported these separations by excluding certain types of residential land uses, especially those associated with new forms of affordable and special needs housing. In general, the public sphere has been considered to include 'institutions' (i.e. publicly funded residences) but not privately owned residences. This especially has been the case

with reference to the separation of traditional nuclear family housing from other residential land uses.

The planning theory governing the location and design of housing in relation to other city functions also has favoured a particular household formation, with women fulfilling the domestic role and men as the bread winner. It is interesting to note that the nine point petition makes reference to 'family living' without providing a definition of this status. It must be assumed that this reference, together with the frequent mention of risk to children, implies the exclusion of single homeless women from the perceived definition of 'family living.' As argued in Chapter 5, the spatial division of private and public has exacerbated the difficulties that women in non-traditional households face in gaining access to housing resources.

The nine point petition from the local residents continued to represent an idealized notion of the separation of single family housing from non-traditional residential uses. In their petition, the residents made assumptions about: 1) the kind of people who 'belong' in a residential area; and 2) the types of housing that are appropriate in residential neighbourhoods.

The opponents of the project stressed that the objective of the Official Plan was 'to preserve and enhance Sandy Hill as an attractive residential neighbourhood, especially for

family living' (their emphasis). The petition implied that traditional families were the only acceptable household formation in Sandy Hill. The residents did not acknowledge that household formations had changed over time, and that this area historically had been a neighbourhood of varying types of households, including those of single women. The residents opposed to the shelter at 229 Chapel did not accept the reality that their neighbourhood currently was comprised of a mixture of households and housing types.

Although the Official Plan also had a mandate to provide for a range of affordable housing and special needs housing in that area, no reference to this part of the Official Plan was included in the nine point petition. Only the reference to the general objective of providing a residential neighbourhood for family living was emphasized.

The residents opposed to the zoning change did not recognize that single women were already a part of the neighbourhood. Homeless single women had been active 'zone zappers' in the Sandy Hill community for many years. However, the residents' notions of 'family living' implied that 'other' households did not belong in their residential area. Because single homeless women did not conform to the perceived traditional family households and women's domestic roles therein, their rights to live in the neighbourhood were not included in the residents' vision of 'residential living'. The references to homeless women as 'transients' and 'psychiatric patients' within the petition underscored

the implicit biases against single women who had lost their housing and women in need of supportive care.

As indicated in the previous chapter, changes in social and economic relations have created a need for new housing resources for women. The feminist housing models discussed in Chapter 5 have posited that emergency shelters provide an entry point into a continuum of housing options for homeless women. The emergency shelter at 229 Chapel was intended to provide a supervised environment and support services to stabilize homeless women's lives and enable them to move on to more permanent housing options. Both the Regional and the City planners had come to realize that an emergency shelter would play an important part in the housing continuum by providing immediate shelter and services for single women who had lost their previous housing. The location at 229 Chapel Street was in close proximity to existing services for homeless women and homeless women were already a part of the community.

However, the residents' nine point petition provided a variety of arguments against the proposed shelter. They implied that an emergency shelter was not an appropriate form of housing for a residential neighbourhood. They did not see the shelter as an integral part of the housing continuum as the shelter was not perceived as a legitimate residential housing use. The opponents referred to the shelter as an 'institution' and a 'non-conforming' use. In other words, if the building was not being occupied by a traditional nuclear family, it

simply was not viewed as an acceptable residential use. As discussed previously, exclusionary planning and zoning have acted to perpetuate this separation between single family housing and other residential uses.

Some opponents expressed grave concern with the perceived 'misuse' of a large amount of taxpayers' money because the building had been sold at a much lower amount the previous year. The fact that Regional decision makers had already determined that other possible locations were more expensive and that the total cost was within the proposed budget did not enter into the opponents' argument.

Many of the local property owners concerns' reflected the NIMBY syndrome, as discussed in Chapter 4. Some residents who lived near 229 Chapel Street argued that the values of their properties would decline. Others complained that their children would be at risk because of the perceived threat of 'transients including patients from psychiatric institutions'²⁷. The opponents were clearly biased against homeless women and their letter to the Region reflected stereotypical attitudes towards homeless women - the residents implied that all homeless women were undeserving of support. The social and economic processes which were directly linked to single women's homelessness were not acknowledged.

The residents opposed to the shelter also maintained that although the building had housed 20 women previously, there were no grounds for another 'non-conforming use'. Again, this illustrates a strong bias against any forms of housing that do not 'conform' to traditional family living.

The nine point petition to the Region and the City of Ottawa in August 1991 displayed some local residents' biased attitudes which reflected patriarchal perceptions of 'family living' and an 'appropriate residential neighbourhood' which under no circumstances included single homeless women.

The Director of Residential Services at Regional Social Services responded to the local citizens' concerns about 229 Chapel and another Open House session was held on November 4, 1991. Regional Social Services and Planning Departments went to great lengths to educate the public as to why emergency housing was an important part of the housing continuum for homeless women. They explained that homeless women were already a part of the Sandy Hill community and that the Chapel Street location was chosen because it was close to existing services. Residents were assured that studies done by the Province of Ontario and Canadian researchers had indicated there had been no change in property values when special needs housing was located nearby. The Open House organizers also emphasized that the residents of the shelter would be women who had lost their housing for any reason. Rather than introducing a new factor to the neighbourhood,

shelter on Besserer Street. They also heard evidence from local residents who opposed the zoning change. On January 13, 1993, the OMB sided with the opponents to the project and repealed the zoning change²⁹.

In their conclusion, the OMB supported the local residents' views that the Official Plan's main objective was to 'preserve and enhance Sandy Hill as an attractive residential neighbourhood especially for family living'. While local planners posited that the proposed shelter addressed the overall intent and purpose of the Official Plan - including its housing objectives - the OMB took a much different approach that supported traditional family living and excluded the housing needs of single homeless women.

In making their final ruling in the case, the OMB admitted that it was 'particularly swayed' by the evidence of local property owners and their visions of this heritage neighbourhood.

In handing down their decision, the OMB stated that:

In order to provide exactly the type of a community which is being sought to support [special needs] housing, one must also permit the more traditional residential uses to thrive, so as to preserve a continuing balance. The Board agrees that a saturation of special needs housing in a neighbourhood does not permit the realization of those critical characteristics which an attractive residential neighbourhood, especially focused on family living, can provide as a benefit to 'special needs housing',³⁰

The OMB heard testimony from local residents who spoke of a 'vision for their neighbourhood' and the 'need to maintain the core as a vital and thriving residential

component, so as to ensure the survival of the city as a whole'. Eight additional spaces for single homeless women apparently posed a major threat to this rather outdated vision.

Although the Board heard evidence that Sandy Hill was a mixture of residential uses (from medium to high density housing) and commercial uses, it chose to base its decision on the views of local property owners and their photographic evidence of the community.

The opponents insisted that an emergency shelter 'would not result in the type of impact one associated with a residential use'. Although the city and regional planners had indicated it was unlikely that there would be a negative impact on the community, the OMB disagreed. First, the OMB indicated that the building use could change in the future and the new zoning would not exclude other uses, such as correctional facilities, which would be more likely to have a negative impact on the neighbourhood. The OMB declared that an existing agreement between RMOC and the City restricting the use of the Chapel Street building to a shelter for homeless women was irrelevant. It is interesting to note that some Canadian cities already have passed inclusionary zoning bylaws that allow all kinds of group homes into residential neighbourhoods, with some exceptions such as correctional facilities designed for the rehabilitation of convicted offenders³¹. As far as the OMB was concerned, the potential for a negative impact rested in the fact that the building use might change in the future.

As mentioned previously, some planners had argued that some residential uses with higher occupancies, such as unsupervised rooming houses, would be permitted under the original zoning bylaw. In yet another bold statement, the OMB stated that it was 'not persuaded' that a rooming house with nearly double the number of occupants would have a greater impact on the neighbourhood than a supervised shelter for 20 women. Indeed, some residents admitted that they did not know that the shelter for homeless women on Besserer Street had been in operation. Rather than acknowledging that most group homes function as residential housing units, the OMB chose to view shelters as public institutions and they arbitrarily decided that homeless women in a supervised shelter would create negative impacts on the community, again neglecting the fact that single women historically been a part of the community.

The OMB agreed with the residents opposed to the project that an emergency shelter was an inappropriate use in a heritage neighbourhood. It was quite clear whose selective history was considered important in this case - it certainly was not that of single women.

Local property owners had testified that the number of special needs 'institutions' was too high in North Sandy Hill. The OMB decision stated their concerns about the 'undue concentration and over saturation' of special needs housing in the area. Although the number of special needs housing that can be situated in an area is not limited by the

Official Plan, the OMB obviously took the perceived over-saturation of special needs housing into account. However, the OMB argued that separation distances for special needs housing were required to ensure a more even distribution of special needs housing in all communities, without recognizing that a central location was integral to this particular clientele. While the original intent of zoning was to protect the health and safety of all citizens, this case study has demonstrated how exclusionary zoning acted to classify the population and exclude single homeless women. The bias against households who do not conform to traditional family formations was reflected in the zoning bylaws for special needs housing. These exclusionary zoning bylaws acted to exclude homeless women from the access to appropriate housing in the neighbourhood most suited to their needs.

Zoning also discriminated against the number of women living in supportive housing when compared to other residential 'non-family' uses. For example, while the zoning bylaw restricted the number of single women living in supportive housing to 12 people, it did allow more than double that number of unrelated people to live in a rooming house occupancy. It also should be noted that there were no distancing requirements for people who did not require support, therefore these exclusionary zoning patterns discriminated against women who were among the most disadvantaged in society.

In the final analysis, the OMB supported the interests of private property owners over those of a disadvantaged group of women who did not 'conform' to traditional family

norms. The OMB hinged its decision on the technical zoning change, and in the end, they repealed the zoning change and squashed the plans for the Chapel Street shelter over a metre of land and eight additional beds for homeless single women.

A month later, the OMB refused the request for a review of their previous decision³². The OMB maintained that its decision was based primarily on what was considered to 'good planning' practices but it appears that 'good planning practices' are dictated by the interests of private property owners and reinforced by the power of a biased and inflexible planning authority.

6.9 Epilogue to the OMB ruling

After losing the two year struggle to locate the shelter at Chapel Street, the Region quietly approved the 1.8 million dollar purchase of a shelter for homeless women on O'Connor Street, - about \$600,000 more than the Sandy Hill location. In addition, the Region had spent an estimated amount of \$500,000 in legal fees in the attempt to overturn the OMB decision. The O'Connor building had been previously dismissed by Regional Social Services and the Sheltering Homeless Women group because it was larger than what was needed and it required more extensive renovations than the Chapel Street property. However, no rezoning was required to operate the regional shelter on O'Connor.

The Chapel Street building has been since turned into a rooming house for up to 35 residents. According to a newspaper source, some of the opponents have been questioning the wisdom of their actions because the rooming house, which is neither staffed or supervised, could be far more disruptive than a residence for 20 homeless women³³. One newspaper article quoted one of the local opponents who had mixed feelings about the building becoming a rooming house as follows: 'This is what I was afraid of, but it is [the building owner's] prerogative'³⁴.

6.10 Summary

This case study has illustrated how planning theory and practice continue to be exclusionary in terms of current housing needs for women. The early attempts to establish a permanent shelter were delayed considerably by the refusal of local officials to acknowledge this housing need. As a result, single homelessness women remained invisible.

Also, the biases of property owners and the OMB towards maintaining a perceived status quo of 'family living' in an otherwise mixed residential and commercial neighbourhood effectively excluded an important link in the housing continuum for single women. While local planners tried to practice a more inclusionary approach to housing that did acknowledge changing needs, the OMB maintained that the rights of property owners had

to be protected over the public good. As a result, the OMB decision continued to reflect the division between 'private' and 'public'. Because the planning system simply ignored the fact that effective planning must address changes in our society, in the final analysis, nobody really won.

Chapter 6 - Footnotes

1. Carroll, Berenice, 1976, Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, p.xii. cited in Reinharz, Shulamit, 1992, Feminist Methods in Social Research, Oxford University Press, New York, p.164.
2. Reinharz, Shulamit, 1992, Feminist Methods in Social Research, Oxford University Press, New York, p.166.
3. Reinharz, Shulamit, 1992, op cit., p.174.
4. City Of Ottawa, 1981, Rental Housing Crisis in Ottawa, City of Ottawa, Ottawa.
5. Milroy, Beth Moore, 1993, "People, Urban Space and Advantage" in Filion, Pierre and Trudi Bunting, Canadian Cities in Transition, Oxford University Press, Toronto, pp.535-536.
According to 1985 correspondence in the RMOC files from the Commissioner of Community Development, City of Ottawa Policy Department, the number of rooming housing units declined from 3037 to 1321 between 1976 and 1983. This made a negative impact on the number of housing units for low income singles, who have traditionally been accommodated in rooming houses.
6. Barton, Debbie, 1983, Housing in Ottawa-Carleton: A Women's Issue, Elizabeth Fry Society, Ottawa.
7. However, the situation for homeless men in Ottawa was far from ideal. For a discussion about the services for homeless men, see Regional Municipality of Ottawa- Carleton, Social Services Committee, 1991, Services to Homeless and At-Risk Men in Ottawa-Carleton, RMOC, Ottawa.
8. See Petty, Donna and Marnie Smith, 1988, No New Tales to Tell, Canadian Mental Health Association, Ottawa for a report about the lack of supportive group homes in Ottawa-Carleton.
9. Carley, Delia and Mary King, 1988, Women in Crisis : Heading West but Going East, The Anglican Diocese of Ottawa, Ottawa, p.16.
10. Carley, Delia and Mary King, 1988, *ibid*.
11. Carley, Delia and Mary King, 1988, op cit., p. 34.
12. Social Planning Council of Ottawa Carleton, November 1987, The Issue Is Poverty...An analysis of emergency food, clothing, and shelter services in Ottawa - Carleton, Social Planning Council of Ottawa Carleton, Ottawa, p.66.
13. Sorenson, Jean, 1990, Report Outlining Proposed Principles and Components of a Residential and Services System for Homeless and At-Risk Single Women in Ottawa Carleton, Social Services Department, p. vi. The report included the Waller Street shelter, 374 Besserer, and Hope Outreach, the latter of which provided 7 spaces for homeless women who were too psychiatrically disabled to be moved elsewhere. When these facilities were full, homeless women were sent to the Salvation Army.

the YWCA or hotels. The latter three resources were unsuitable for many homeless women because they needed a high level of care and support.

14. This shelter has since been closed and a new shelter for women and children has opened elsewhere.

15. Interview with Jean Sorenson.

16. The Regional Social Services Department allowed me to review the Emergency Housing Statistics for the Cadboro location. These figures indicated that the overall occupancy rate for the single women's shelter was 97% in 1991 and 95% in 1992.

17. Hendrick, Colleen, 1989, Strategic Housing Plan for Single Adults, Regional Planning Department, Regional Social Services Department, City of Ottawa Housing and Property Department.

18. Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, 1990, Report of the Task Force on Resources to Homeless Women, Social Planning Council of Ottawa Carleton, p.8.

19. Social Planning Council of Ottawa Carleton, 1990, *ibid.*, p.9.

20. Sorenson, Jean, 1990, *op cit.*

21. Due to concern for the safety of the residents in the nearby facility, one of the planners I spoke to asked me not to divulge further details about the nature or address, and I will respect these wishes.

22. City Of Ottawa, 1991, City Of Ottawa Official Plan, Ottawa, p.5.

23. City of Ottawa, 1991, City of Ottawa Official Plan, City of Ottawa, section 3.1.8, p.2.

24. From Bogart, William T., 1993, "What Big Teeth You Have !: Identifying the Motivations for Exclusionary Zoning" in Urban Studies, Volume 30, #10, pp.1669-1681.

25. Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1985, A Citizen's Guide: Zoning Requirements, Queen's Printer for Ontario, pp.6-8.

26. Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1985, *ibid.*, p.8.

27. This was cited from the letter to the Regional Municipality from local citizens.

28. Ottawa Citizen, by Kelly Egan, February 20, 1993, "The illustrious environs of 229 Chapel Street", p.C3.

29. Ontario Municipal Board, Decision delivered by J. Gagnon-Gravelle and the Order of the Board, January 1993, File R920197, In The Matter of Section 34(19) of the Planning Act and in the matter of appeals by Shabbir Ahmad, D.E. Green, Michel Tremblay and other against Zoning By-law 6-92 of the City of Ottawa.

30. Ontario Municipal Board, 1993, File 920197, *op cit.*, p.18.

31. Dear, Michael, 1992, "Understanding and Overcoming the NIMBY Syndrome", in APA Journal, Summer, 1992, p.292.

32. Letter of May 31, 1993 to James L. O'Brien, Director of Development Law, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton from D.S. Colborne, Chair, Ontario Municipal Board : Re: request for review of OMB decision, file R 920197.

33. Ottawa Citizen, by Aubrey, Jack, November 28, 1993, "Region buys shelter for women", Ottawa, p.A10.

34. Ottawa Citizen, by Sean Upton, January 17th, 1993, "Board rides against region's plan for women's shelter", Ottawa, p.B1.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have sought to develop a feminist perspective of planning and housing theory. I have provided a feminist interpretation of fundamental theoretical debates on single women's inequality in planning and housing and linked these to areas of planning practice and housing policy. I then applied feminist theory and methodology to a local women's housing issue to illustrate how planning affected, and was affected by, changing gender relations.

Following a general introduction about feminist perspectives in the social sciences, I posited that traditional planning and housing theory, policy and practice have reinforced single women's inequality and exacerbated their housing need, or homelessness. I also indicated that a feminist analysis about gender relations could not only help to understand why women's housing needs are marginalized in the built environment, but also to identify ways to improve this situation.

The second chapter introduced some basic concepts about single women's homelessness, or housing need by defining homelessness as being within a 'housing to homeless' continuum and looking at the nature of concealed homelessness.

Chapter 3 provided demographic information proving that single women's housing need is critical and I examined some of the statistical data related to single women, housing tenure and

housing affordability. The chapter then examined how Canadian housing policy generally has marginalized the housing needs of single women. While some of this information would appear to be of the 'women and housing' genre, I did indicate the connections between single women's economic and social status and their position in the housing system. The feminist interpretation of housing policy also made important connections between planning and housing theory and practice.

After discussing housing demographics and policy with reference to single women to illustrate current housing need for that group, I began to focus more specifically on planning and housing theory and practice. Chapter 4 outlined traditional rational planning and housing models and practices. I particularly identified zoning practices as being exclusionary because they have not easily incorporated current social housing needs. As seen in the case study, recent changes to zoning bylaws in Ottawa Carleton have continued to be exclusionary with respect to special needs housing - including single women's current housing needs.

In Chapter 5, I developed a feminist planning perspective that contrasted with the traditional planning and housing theories associated with rational land use planning. This chapter examined the broader interrelations between changing gender relations and the built environment. While urban planning has reinforced the separation of land use functions in general, I specifically highlighted how planning has separated various forms of housing within

residential areas. In particular, I emphasized how planning theory and practice have reinforced the segregation of traditional family housing from other forms of housing.

The feminist approach recognized that changing social and economic relations have created the need for new urban forms and housing resources for single women. However, it is evident that traditional approaches to planning have not responded to social change and as a result, they often have restricted the integration of these new resources. The current political return to conservative approaches to 'economic' development likely will make it more difficult for feminist planners to continue to progress with women's concerns.

Finally, the case study in chapter 6 related a local single women's housing need to planning and housing theory from a feminist perspective. I linked planning and housing theory, policy and practice in an applied study. As demonstrated in Chapter 5 and emphasized in the case study, there has been some recent commitment by local planning departments to help meet the changing housing needs of single women. However, the outcome of the case study has also emphasized the strong resistance against change by planning authorities.

I found that the case study methodology was a surprisingly interesting and effective way to analyze the links between planning and housing theory, practice and policy. As mentioned in the introduction, planning has been slow to adopt feminist perspectives and to recognize the part that traditional planning approaches have played in reinforcing women's inequality. I hope

that by linking theory to a practical planning example, I can help identify some of the ways in which planning has reinforced women's inequality so that other urban planning researchers may learn about the past limitations of the planning system. While I have restricted my research to planning and housing for single homeless women, a feminist approach could be extended to a diverse range of women's housing needs. As indicated in the introduction to this thesis, feminist theoretical analysis might also be directed to other areas of planning and policy, such as transportation, employment and urban safety. The case study methodology is one effective way of illustrating both 'good' and 'bad' planning practices, and promoting women's concerns in planning literature and research agendas.

While this feminist analysis of urban planning and housing has highlighted the new demands women are making on the organization of urban form and housing resources, we must not overlook the extent to which these are reflected in any real change in the planned environment.

Feminist research underlines that, although women's lives and needs have changed, the planning system has been slow to acknowledge change. As indicated in the case study, the struggle to have single homeless women's housing needs recognized within the system was a lengthy and disappointing process, and in undertaking this research, I have found it somewhat disconcerting to realize how fragile the progress made by feminist planners has been. Yet, this underlines how important it is to continue to develop feminist perspectives in planning and associated human-environmental disciplines as they provide the most promising hope for women's equality in the built environment.

APPENDIX 1

Chronology of Single Women's Shelters in Ottawa Carleton

- 1982 - Shepherds of Good Hope opened a church basement shelter for women and men in Lowertown.

- 1983 - Anglican Diocese opened first single women's shelter in the basement of All Saints Church in Sandy Hill for up to 30 women.

- 1984 - St. Joseph's parish opened a day program for single homeless women.

- 1987 - Anglican Diocese informed RMOC of its intention to close All Saint's Women's shelter.

- RMOC increased per diem to All Saints to provide additional staff and one case manager to work with the women at the shelter.

- 1988 - Zoning Bylaw passed regarding special needs housing.

- 1989 - Spring, 1989. Shelter operators and community workers raised the alarm over the loss of shelter spaces when All Saint's closes.

- July, 1989. RMOC Social Services recommended that a permanent emergency shelter for single women should be established by the Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton.

- October, 1989. The Anglican Diocese closed All Saints shelter and opened 12 emergency beds at 374 Besserer and 20 supportive housing units for former shelter residents at 515 MacLaren.

- October, 1989. RMOC opened 14 emergency beds for single women at 60 Waller.

- 1990 - January, 1990. Social Planning Council strikes a task force on Resources to Homeless Women to study the need, develop a service model and consult with the community so that an emergency shelter for women can be operational in the near future.

- July, 1990. Waller Street shelter closed due to the condition of the building and women moved to Cadboro Road.

- July, 1990. RMOC steps up search for permanent shelter.
 - July, 1990. Social Planning council strikes a follow-up Task Force to incorporate a board of directors and operationalize a new emergency shelter for homeless women.
 - November, 1990. First Open House at Chapel Street to discuss the proposal with neighbours.
- 1991
- May, 1991. Regional Council approved the acquisition of 229 Chapel Street for \$700,000 subject to obtaining appropriate zoning.
 - June, 1991. Application for rezoning submitted by RMOC to the City of Ottawa
 - August, 1991. City of Ottawa Planning Department and RMOC received a nine point petition from local citizens opposed to shelter at 229 Chapel Street.
 - November, 1991. Second Open House held at St. Pierre Community Centre.
- 1992
- January, 1992. Zoning change approved by the City of Ottawa Planning Department.
 - February, 1992. Local citizens appeal to the OMB to reject zoning change.
- 1993
- January, 1993. OMB repealed zoning change.
 - March, 1993. RMOC requested review of the OMB decision of January 1993.
 - May, 1993. OMB declined the request by the Region and the City of Ottawa to review the January decision.
 - May, 1993. The Ontario Court of Justice approved a leave of appeal to the Region.
 - November, 1993. The Region lost a court battle in mid-November to establish the shelter at 229 Chapel Street.
 - November, 1993. Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton approved the purchase of 172 O'Connor Street and a permanent

shelter for single homeless women opened at this location the following summer.

Sources: RMO Social Planning Department, 1990 and documentation from Regional Planning Department files.

APPENDIX 2

Nine Point Petition sent to the Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton and the City Of Ottawa from local residents on August 22, 1991.

1) SANDY HILL IS A RESIDENTIAL AREA NOT AN INSTITUTIONAL ONE.

The City's Official Plan clearly states its general objective to 'preserve and enhance Sandy Hill as an attractive residential neighbourhood, especially for family living' (emphasis added).

The proposed use contradicts the Official Plan by proposing to turn 229 Chapel into an institution.

There are already numerous institutions in the Sandy Hill area without taking into consideration the high-density population living in the Chapel Tower two blocks away from 229 Chapel. There is already a shelter for homeless women and transients at 374 Besserer. For example, Union Mission will soon undergo renovation that will offer 100 beds to homeless. Adding another shelter at 229 Chapel so close to the one at 374 Besserer is threatening the integrity of a residential neighbourhood.

2) A MORE SUITABLE LOCATION MUST BE FOUND

There is no evidence that alternative and more suitable locations have been explored both by the Regional Municipality and City Officials. Such options must be fully and seriously considered and an alternative site must be found.

3) ALTERNATIVE LOCATIONS COULD BE CHEAPER

As concerned citizens, we are not assured that the Regional Municipality is getting the best deal in taking a 1 year option to purchase 229 Chapel, a residential property, at \$1.3 million, plus renovating costs as stated in the Ottawa Citizen of August 3, 1991. We are especially concerned about the fact that this property sold for about half that amount two years ago.

There are certainly less expensive options to consider.

4) PREVIOUS NON-CONFORMING USE IS NOT A VALID PRECEDENT

Because of the fact that up to 20 nuns once lived at 229 Chapel in non-conformity to existing zoning, according to Councillors Nancy Smith's memorandum of July 18, 1991 that accompanied the notice of change, this does not constitute a valid precedent to allow up to 20 people on the premises.

Good urban planning cannot be based on previous non-conforming use and failure to police zoning encroachment.

5) KEY FACTS HAVE BEEN WITHHELD

We contend that all useful information to allow Sandy Hill's residents to make informed comments has not been revealed.

A Regional Municipality official from the Social Services Department confirmed that 'homeless' women for which this house is intended would include patients coming out of psychiatric institutions that cannot resume a normal life on their own. There is no mention of this information in the notice of zoning change issued by the City of Ottawa nor in the memorandum of July 18, 1991 of Nancy Smith, Councillor, St. George's Ward.

6) CHILDREN IN AREA MAY BE AT RISK

The consequences of introducing more homeless and transients, including patients from psychiatric institutions in a family neighbourhood has not been fully weighed.

These homeless and transients including patients coming out of psychiatric institutions would be located one block away from Laurier park, a popular children's playground, on Chapel Street between Laurier and Wilbrod.

Our children may be at risk and no level of risk is acceptable.

7) BEST WAY TO CHASE SANDY HILL RESIDENTS AWAY

There is no doubt that Sandy Hill residents and especially those living in the vicinity of 229 Chapel and other similar shelters may want out of the neighbourhood if the project goes ahead wanting a more suitable and secure environment for their families.

8)HOME VALUE WILL SUFFER AND CITY HALL TAX BASE WILL ERODE

As a result of the above, the value of homes in Sandy Hill will be reduced and in the long term the City tax base will erode as values decrease.

9)SECURITY FOR OUR CHILDREN, AND FOR OUR RESIDENTS AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE RESIDENTIAL NATURE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IS PARAMOUNT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amit-Talai, Vered and Henry Lustigor-Thaler (eds.), 1994, Urban Lives: Fragmentation and Resistance, McClelland-Stewart, Toronto.

Anderson, J., S. Duncan and R. Hudson (eds.), 1983, Redundant Spaces in Regions and Spaces?, Academic Press, London.

Andrew, Caroline, 1994, "Recasting Political Analysis For Canadian Cities" in Amit-Talai, Vered and Henry Lustigor-Thaler (eds), Urban Lives: Fragmentation and Resistance, McClelland-Stewart, Toronto.

Andrew, Caroline, Penny Gurstein, Fran Klodawsky, Beth Moore Milroy, Janet McClain, Linda Peake, Damaris Rose, and Gerda Wekerle, 1994, Canadian Women and Cities, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa.

Artibise, Alan, 1984, "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society" in Stetler, Gilbert and Alan Artibise (eds), The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History, Carleton University Press, Ottawa, pp.360-391.

Banting, Keith, 1990, "Social Housing in a Divided State" in Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds), Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Barton, Debbie, 1983, Housing in Ottawa Carleton: A Women's Issue, Elizabeth Fry Society, Ottawa.

Bassett, K. and J. Short, 1980, Housing and Residential Structure, Routledge Press, London.

Baxter, Sheila, 1991, Under the Viaduct: Homelessness in Beautiful B.C., New Star Books, Vancouver.

Birch, Eugenie Ladner (ed), 1985, The Unsheltered Woman: Women and Housing in the 1980s, The State University of New Jersey, New Jersey.

Bogart, William. T., 1993, "What Big Teeth You Have! Identifying the Motivation for Exclusionary Zoning" in Urban Studies, Volume 30, #10, pp.1669-1681.

Bondi, Liz and Linda Peake, 1988, "Gender and the City: Urban Politics Revisited" in Little, Jo, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson (eds), Women in cities, MacMillan Education Ltd., Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 2XS, and London, pp.21-40.

Bourne, L.S and Trudi Bunting, 1993, "Housing Markets, Community Development and Neighbourhood Change" in Bourne, L.S. and David Ley (eds), The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, pp.175-195.

Bourne, L. S. and David Ley (eds), 1993, The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.

Bunting, Trudi and Pierre Fillion, 1991, "Introduction: Perspectives on the Canadian City", in Bunting, Trudi and Pierre Fillion (eds), Canadian Cities in Transition, Oxford University Press, Toronto, pp.1-22.

Burke, Mary Anne and Aron Spector, 1991, "Falling Through the Cracks: Women aged 55-64 Living Alone" in Canadian Social Trends, Volume 23, pp.14-17.

Burnett, Pat, 1973, "Social change, the status of women and models of city form and development" in Antipode, Volume 5, #3, pp.57-62.

CMHC, 1994, Draft Final Report on the Evaluation of the Project Haven Program and Update on the Next Step Program Activities, Canada Mortgage and Housing, Ottawa.

CMHC, 1995, Canadian Housing Statistics: Statistiques du Logement au Canada, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Ottawa.

Canadian Women Studies: les cahiers de la femme, 1990, Volume 11, #2.

Carley, Delia and Mary King, 1988, Women in Crisis: Heading West but Going East, The Anglican Diocese of Ottawa, Ottawa.

Carroll, Berenice, 1976, Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays, University of Illinois Press, Illinois.

Carter, Tom and Ann McAfee, 1990, "The Municipal Role in Housing the Homeless and Poor" in Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds), Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, pp.227-262.

Checkoway, Barry (ed), 1986, Strategic Perspectives in Planning, Lexington, MA.

City of Ottawa, 1981, Rental Housing Crisis in Ottawa, City of Ottawa, Ottawa.

Connelly, Patricia, 1973, Last Hired, First Fired: Women and the Canadian Work Force, The Women's Press, Toronto.

Dear, Michael, 1992, "Understanding and Overcoming the NIMBY Syndrome" in APA Journal, Summer, 1992, pp.288-299.

Dear, Michael and S.M. Taylor, 1982, Not on our street: community attitudes to mental health care, Pion Limited, London.

Dear, Michael and Jennifer Wolch, 1987, Landscapes of despair: from deinstitutionalization to homelessness, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Dear, Michael and J. Wolch, 1993, "Homelessness" in Bourne, L. S. and David Ley (eds), The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, pp.298-308.

Erikson, Jon and Charles Wilhelm (eds), 1986, Housing and the Homeless, Rutgers and The State University of New Jersey, New Jersey.

Fallis, George, 1990, "The Urban Housing Market" in Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds), 1990, Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public, and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto. pp.49-81.

Fallis, George and Alex Murray, 1990, "Reflecting on the Problems and Possibilities" in Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, pp.263-287.

Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds.), 1990, Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Partnerships among the Private, Public, and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Foord, Jo and Nicky Gregson, 1986, "Patriarchy: Towards A Reconceptualization", in Antipode, Volume 18, #2, pp.186-211.

Gerecke, Kent (ed), 1991, The Canadian City, Black Rose Books, Montreal.

Globe and Mail, 1995, "Women face poverty, study says", Toronto, April 18, p.A8.

Globe and Mail, 1995, "Harris says economy near crisis", Toronto, June 29, p.A4.

Godley, Claudette, 1986, "Housing and Homeless Women: Choice or Policy", in Canadian Housing: habitation canadienne, Volume 3, #2, pp.34-45.

Golden, Stephanie, 1992, The Women Outside: Meanings and Myths of Homelessness, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Greed, Clara, 1993, Introducing Town Planning, Longman Scientific & Technical, London.

Greed, Clara, 1994, Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities, Routledge Press, New York.

Grimm, Kirsten and Jaime C. Maldonado, 1995, "No Home of Her Own: Gender and Homelessness" in Women and Environments, Volume 14, #2, p.21.

Harman, Lesley D., 1988, When a Hostel Becomes a Home: Experiences of Women, Garamond Press, Toronto.

Harris, Richard, 1991, "Housing" in Bunting, Trudi and Pierre Fillion, Canadian Cities in Transition, Oxford University Press, Don Mills, pp.350-378.

Harvey, David, 1973. Social justice and the city, Edward Arnold, London.

Harvey, David, 1985, "The geopolitics of capitalism" in Gregory, Derek and J. Urry, Social relations and spatial structures, MacMillan, London, pp.128-163.

Hayden, Delores, 1980, "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like?" in Stimpson, C., E. Dixler, M. Nelson, and K. Yakatrakis (eds), Women and the American City, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp.167-184.

Hayden, Delores, 1981, The Grand Domestic Revolution, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Hendrick, Colleen, 1989, Strategic Housing Plan for Homeless Single Adults, RMOC Social Services and Planning Departments and City of Ottawa Planning and Property Department, Ottawa.

Hobbs, M. and R. Pierson, 1988, "A Kitchen That Wastes No Steps: Gender, Class and the Home Improvement Plan, 1936-1940", in Histoire sociale: Social History, Volume 21, pp.9-37.

Hodge, Gerald, 1991, Planning Canadian Communities: 2nd Edition, Nelson Canada, Scarborough.

Hulchanski, J. David, 1988, Canada's Housing and Housing Policy: An Introduction, UBC Papers, Vancouver, pp.11-45.

Hulchanski, J. David, 1991, "Social Welfare versus Market Welfare", in Gerecke, Kent (ed), The Canadian City, Black Rose Books, Montreal, pp.207-216.

Hulchanski, J. David, 1993, "And Housing for All: Opening the Doors to Inclusive Community Planning - The Rationale" in Plan Canada, May 1993, pp.19-26.

Johnson, Louise, 1989, "Geography, Planning and Gender: an extended review of a planning textbook and its peers" in New Zealand Geographer, Volume 45, #2, pp. 85-91.

Johnston, R.J. (ed), 1993, The Challenge for Geography, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Jordan, Terry and Lester Rowntree, 1986, The Human Mosaic, Fourth Edition, Harper and Row Publishers Inc., New York.

Kalbach, Warren E. and Wayne McVey, 1971, The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society, McGraw Hill Ryerson Limited, Toronto.

Klodawsky, Fran, 1985, Employment opportunities for women in architecture and urban planning: problems and some prospects, Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa.

Klodawsky, Fran and Aron Spector, 1988, "New Families, New Housing Needs, New Urban Environments: The Case of Single-Parent Families" in Andrew, Caroline and Beth Moore Milroy (eds), Life Spaces, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, pp.141-158.

Klodawsky, Fran, Colleen Lundy, and Caroline Andrew, 1994, "Challenging Business as Usual in Housing and Community Planning - The Issue of Violence Against Women" in The Canadian Journal of Urban Research, Volume 3, #1, pp.40-58.

Kobayashi, Audrey and Suzanne Mackenzie (eds), 1989, Remaking Human Geography, Unwin Hyman Inc., London.

Laws, Glenda, 1992, "Emergency shelter networks in an urban area" in Urban Geography, Volume 13, pp.99-106.

Leavitt, Jacqueline, 1986, "Feminist Advocacy Planning in the 1980s" in Checkoway, Barry (ed), Strategic Perspectives in Planning, Lexington, MA., pp.181-194.

Leung, Hok Lin, 1989, Land Use Planning Made Plain, Ronald P. Fry & Company, Kingston, Ontario.

Little, Jo, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson (eds), 1988, Women in cities, MacMillan Education Ltd., Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 2XS, and London.

Little, Jo, 1994, Gender, Planning and the Policy Process, Pergamon, Oxford.

Lorimer, James, 1978, The Developers, Toronto Press, Toronto.

Mackenzie, S. and D. Rose, 1983, "Industrial change, the domestic economy and home life" in Anderson, J., S. Duncan and R. Hudson (eds), Redundant Spaces in Regions and Spaces?, Academic Press, London, pp.155-199.

Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1984, "Editorial Introduction" in Antipode, Volume 16, #3, pp.3-10.

Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1988, "Building Women, Building Cities: Towards Gender Sensitive Theory in the Environmental Disciplines" in Andrew, Caroline and Beth Moore Milroy (eds), Life Spaces, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, pp.13-30.

Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989a, "Women in the city" in Peet, Richard and Nigel Thrift (eds), New models in geography: the political-economy perspective, Unwin Hyman, London, pp.109-126.

Mackenzie, Suzanne, 1989b, "Restructuring the relations of work and life: women as environmental actors, feminism as geographic analysis" in Kobayashi, Audrey and Suzanne Mackenzie (eds), Remaking Human Geography, Unwin Hyman Inc., London, pp.40-61.

Mazey, Mary Ellen and David R. Lee, 1983, Her Space: Her Place: A Geography of Women, Association of American Geographers, Washington, D.C.

McClain, Janet, 1993, "Housing as a Human Service: Accommodating Special Needs" in Miron, John (ed), House, Home and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986, McGill Queen's University Press and CMHC, Montreal, pp.238-239.

McClain, Janet and Cassie Doyle, 1984, Women and Housing: Changing Needs and the Failure of Policy, Canadian Council on Social Development and James Lorimer and Company, Publishers, Ottawa.

McDowell, Linda, 1983, "Towards an understanding of the gender division of space" in Environment and Space D: Society and Space, Volume 1, pp.59-72.

McDowell, Linda, 1993a, "Space, place and gender: Part 1 - Feminist empiricism and the geography of social relations" in Progress in Human Geography, Volume 17, #2, pp.157-179.

McDowell, Linda, 1993b, "Space, place and gender: Part II - Identity, difference, feminist geometries and geographies" in Progress in Human Geography, Volume 17, #3, pp.305-311.

McLaughlin, Mary Anne, 1987, Homelessness in Canada: The Report of the National Inquiry, Canadian Council on Social Development, Ottawa.

Milroy, Beth Moore, 1991, "Taking Stock of Planning, Space and Gender" in The Journal of Planning Literature, Volume 6, #1, pp.3-15.

Milroy, Beth Moore, 1993, "People, Urban Space and Advantage" in Filion, Pierre and Trudi Bunting (eds), Canadian Cities in Transition, Oxford University Press, Toronto, pp.519-544.

Milroy, Beth Moore and Caroline Andrew, 1988, "Gender Specific Approaches to Theory and Method, in Andrew, Caroline and Beth Moore Milroy (eds), Life Spaces, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, pp.176-186.

Miron, John (ed), 1993, House, Home and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986, McGill Queen's University Press and CMHC, Montreal.

Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1994, Homelessness in Canada, Canada Communications Group, Publishing, Ottawa.

Mostoller, Michael, 1985, "A Single Room: Housing for the Low Income Single Person" in Birch, Eugenie Ladner (ed), The Unsheltered Woman: Women and Housing in the 1980s, The State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, pp.191-216.

Murray, Alex, 1990, "Homelessness: The People", in Fallis, George and Alex Murray (eds), Housing the Homeless and Poor: New Perspectives among the Private, Public and Third Sectors, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, pp. 16-48.

Novac, Sylvia, 1990a, "Not Seen, Not Heard: Women and Housing Policy" in Canadian Woman Studies: les cahiers de la femme, Volume 11, #2, pp.53-57.

Novac, Sylvia, 1990b, "Sexual Harassment of Female Tenants" in Canadian Woman Studies: les cahiers de la femme, Volume 11, #2, p.58.

Oberlander, H. Peter and Arthur R. Fallick, 1988, Homelessness and the Homeless: Responses and Innovations, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Ontario Court of Justice (Divisional Court), delivered by Justice Louise Charron, May 26, 1993, Court File 396-93.

Ontario Ministry of Housing, 1991, A Housing Framework for Ontario, Ministry of Housing, Toronto.

Ontario Ministry of Municipal Affairs, 1985, A Citizen's Guide: Zoning Requirements, Queen's Printer for Ontario, Toronto.

Ontario Municipal Board, Decision delivered by J. Gagnon-Gravelle and the Order of the Board, January 1993, File R920197 and in the matter of Section 34(19) of The Planning Act and in the matter appeals by Shabbir Ahmad, D.E. Green, Michel Tremblay and others against Zoning Bylaw 6-92 of the City of Ottawa.

Ottawa Citizen, Sean Upton, January 17, 1993, "Board rides against region's plan for women's shelter", p.B1.

Ottawa Citizen, Jack Aubrey, November 28, 1993, "Region buys shelter for women", p.A10.

Ottawa Citizen, Randall Denley, May 2, 1995, "Think twice before paying the panhandler".

Ottawa Citizen, Jeremy Mercer, May 10, 1995, "A picture from life's other side".

Ottawa Citizen, Carolyn Abraham, September 28, 1995, "Downtown shelters brace for welfare cuts", p.B5

Patterson, Jeffrey, 1993, "Housing and Community Development Policies" in Miron, John (ed), House, Home and Community: Progress in housing Canadians 1945-1986, McGill-Queen's University Press and CMHC, Montreal, pp.320-337.

Peet, Richard and Nigel Thrift (eds), 1989, New models in geography: the political-economy perspective, Unwin Hyman, London.

Petty, Donna and Marnie Smith, 1988, No New Tales to Tell, Canadian Mental Health Association, Ottawa.

Pickup, Laurie, 1988, "Hard to Get Around: A Study of Women's Travel Mobility" in Little, Jo, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson (eds), 1988, Women in cities, MacMillan Education Ltd., Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 2XS, and London, pp.98-116.

Ramazanoglu, Caroline, 1989, Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression, Routledge Press, London.

Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Social Services Committee, 1991, Services to homeless and at-risk men in Ottawa-Carleton, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Ottawa.

Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton (RMOC), 1994, A Socio-Cultural Approach to Planning in Ottawa-Carleton, RMOC, Ottawa.

Reinharz, Shulamit, 1992, Feminist Methods in Social Research, Oxford University Press, New York.

Rose, Albert, 1980, Canadian Housing Policies (1935-1980), Butterworth and Company (Canada) Limited, Toronto.

Rose, Damaris and Paul Villeneuve with Fiona Colgan, 1988, "Women Workers and the Inner City: Some Implications of Labour Force Restructuring in Montreal", in Andrew, Caroline and Beth Moore Milroy (eds), Life Spaces, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, pp.31-64.

Rousseau, A.M., 1981, Shopping bag ladies: Homeless women speak out about their lives, Pilgram Press, New York.

Russell, Betty, 1991, Silent Sisters: A Study of Homeless Women, Hemisphere Publishing Company, Baltimore.

Sandercock, Leonie and Ann Forsyth, 1992, "A Gender Agenda: New Directions for Planning Theory" in Journal of American Planning Association, Volume 58, #1, pp.49-59.

Smith, Peter, 1978, "Municipal Social Policy Development: Some Initial Approaches" in Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Social Objectives and Urban Planning, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and CMHC, Toronto.

Smith, P.J. and P.W. Moore, 1993, "Cities as Social Responsibility: Planning and Urban Form" in Bourne, L.S. and David Ley (eds), The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, pp.343-367.

Smith, Susan, 1993, "Social Landscapes: Continuity and Change" in Johnston, R.J. (ed), The Challenge for Geography, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, pp.54-75.

Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, 1987, The Issue is Poverty...An analysis of emergency food, clothing and shelter services in Ottawa-Carleton, Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, Ottawa.

Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, 1990, Report of the Task Force on Resources to Homeless Women, Social Planning Council of Ottawa-Carleton, Ottawa.

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1978, Social Objectives and Urban Planning, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and CMHC, Toronto.

Sorenson, Jean, Social Services Department, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, 1991, Report Outlining Proposed Principles and Components of a Residential and Services System for Homeless and At-Risk Single Women in Ottawa-Carleton, Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, Ottawa.

Spector, Aron and Fran Klodawsky, 1993, "The Housing Needs of Single Parent Families in Canada: A Dilemma for the 1980s", in Hudson, Joe and Burt Galaway (eds), Single Parent Families, Thompson Educational Publishing, Inc., pp.239-252.

Sprague, Joan Forrester, 1991, More Than Housing: Lifeboats for Women and Children, Butterworth Architecture, Boston.

Statistics Canada, 1990, Women in Canada, Second Edition, Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Ottawa.

Statistics Canada, 1995, Women in Canada, Third Edition, Canadian Government Publishing Centre, Ottawa.

Stetler, Gilbert and Alan Artibise (eds), 1983, The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social History, Carleton University Press, Ottawa.

Stimpson, C., E. Dixler, M. Nelson, and K. Yakatrakis (eds), 1981, Women and the American City, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Stoner, Madeleine, R., 1986, "The Plight of Homeless Women" in Erikson, Jon and Charles Wilhelm, (eds), Housing and the Homeless, Rutgers and The State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, pp.279-294.

Tucker, William, 1990, The Excluded American: Homelessness and Housing Policies, Regnery Gateway Publishing, Washington, D.C.

Valentine, Gill, 1992, "Images of danger: women's sources of information about the distribution of male violence" in Area, Volume 24, #1, pp.22-29.

Watson, Sophie, 1986, "Women and Housing or Feminist Housing Analysis" in Housing Studies, January 1986, Volume 1, #1, pp.1-10.

Watson, Sophie, 1988, Accommodating Inequality, Allen and Unwin, London.

Watson, Sophie and Helen Austerberry, 1986, Housing and Homelessness: A Feminist Perspective, Routledge Press and Kegan Paul, London.

Weaver, J. 1978, "From Land Assembly to Social Maturity: The Suburban Life of Westdale (Hamilton), Ontario, 1911-1951", in histoire sociale, Social History, volume 11, pp.411-440.

Weisman, Lesley Kanes, 1992, Discrimination by Design: Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment, University of Illinois, Illinois.

Wekerle, Gerda, 1981, "Women in the Urban Environment" in Stimpson, C., E. Dixler, M. Nelson, and K. Yakatrakis (eds), Women and the American City, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp.185-211.

Wekerle, Gerda, 1984, "A Woman's Place is in the City" in Antipode, Volume 16, #3, pp.145-153.

Wekerle, Gerda, R. Peterson and D. Morley (eds), 1980, New space for women, Westview Press, Colorado.

Wekerle, Gerda and Carolyn Whitzman, 1995, Safe Cities: Guidelines for Planning, Design, and Management, Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York.

Wilson, Elizabeth, 1991, The Sphinx in the City, Virago Press Limited, London.

Wheeler, Karen, 1990, "Gimme Shelter: Toward Housing as a Right, Not a Commodity", in Canadian Woman Studies: les cahiers de la femme, Volume 11, #2, p.63.

Wolch, Jennifer, Afanseh Rahimian and Paul Koegel, 1993, "Daily and periodic Mobility Patterns of the Urban Homeless" in Professional Geographer, Volume 45, #3, pp.159-168.

Wolch, Jennifer and Michael Dear, 1993, Malign Neglect: Homelessness in an American City, Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers, San Francisco, California.

Wolfe, Jeanne, "Theory, hypothesis, explanation and action: the example of urban planning" in Kobayashi, Audrey and Suzanne Mackenzie (eds), Remaking Human Geography, Unwin Hyman, Boston, pp.62-77.

Wolfe, Jeanne, 1994, "Our Common Past: An Interpretation of Canadian Planning History", in Plan Canada, July 1994, pp.12-34.

Women and Geography Study Group of the IBG, 1984, Geography and Gender,
Hutchison, London.

Wright, G., 1981, "Public Housing for the Worthy Poor" in Building the Dream, pp.220-
239.

Zelinsky, W.J., J. Monk and S. Hanson, 1982, "Women and Geography: A Review and
Prospectus in Progress in Human Geography, Volume 3, #6, pp.317-366.