



The Need to Plan for Women

Planning with a Gender Lens: Issue Brief, November 2015

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OVERVIEW: PLANNING WITH A GENDER LENS

Planners can foster more equitable, inclusive and livable communities with transportation, housing and zoning, and economic development policies that address the needs of women. This requires a shift in transportation planning from a focus on commuting to a focus on mobility. Planning and zoning codes should promote affordable housing, and neighborhoods should be designed intentionally to reduce care burdens and promote integration rather than separation of spheres of work and family (e.g. progressive zoning policies that allow broader definitions of family, accessory dwelling units, etc.). Finally, economic development policies should promote access to child- and elder- care, and home-based businesses.

INTRODUCTION

Women's issues deserve special attention within mainstream planning practice. Women make up more than half of the population in the United States, but they disproportionately face poverty, are more likely to head a single-parent household (Robbins & Morrison, 2014), are responsible for the majority of housework and childcare (American Time Use Survey, 2014), and have unique travel behavior related to their combination of work and household responsibilities (Cattan, 2008). The realities of women's day-to-day lives have major implications for the planning field.

Due to the recent surge in momentum around planning for aging populations and the fact that planning for aging and planning for women share both a common equity framework and similar solutions (Ghazaleh et al., 2011; Warner & Morken, 2013; Micklow and Warner, 2014; Choi & Warner, 2015), we wanted to examine how planners' practices and attitudes towards aging populations compared to their attention to women. To gather information about the extent to which planners are considering gender in their practice, the Planning and Women Division of the American Planning Association (APA) collaborated with the Women's Planning Forum (WPF) of Cornell University from 2013 to 2015 to develop and analyze a national survey of practicing planners. We wanted to know if planners are also concerned about gender in their work, what they are doing to address the specific needs of women, and if they have identified overlap in planning for aging and for women. The survey, conducted from October to December of 2014, found that planners are less likely to plan for women than they are for aging, but attention to aging can increase sensitivity to gender concerns. The survey also revealed that many planners do not know what it means to plan for women. Thus, planning for aging provides planners with an agenda to move toward more gender sensitive planning.



This project was conducted in collaboration with the Cornell Women's Planning Forum and the Planning and Women Division of the American Planning Association. Work was supported in part by an APA Divisions Council Grant. For more information see www.mildredwarner.org/planning/genderlens and www.planning.org/divisions/planningandwomen/



BACKGROUND

While women's experiences are diverse and varied, women face similar gendered obstacles regarding housing, employment, domestic work and care responsibilities, transportation and safety. Women make up more than half of the population in the United States and 47% of the workforce (International Labor Organization, 2011), yet women earn 78 cents for every dollar that their male counterparts earn (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2015), and 56% of Americans living in poverty are women (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2013). Female householder families are also twice as likely to be impoverished as their males (Robbins & Morrison, 2014). Consequently, women are more likely to need affordable housing options than men. This is evidenced by the fact that three-quarters of households living in public housing are female-headed (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2012). Further, as more than half of sexual assaults happen in or near a victim's home or the home of a relative, friend or neighbor (Mindlin & Vickers, 2007), the need for safe communities is paramount.

Additionally, women are still the primary caretakers of both children and elders (Madfis, 2013). Balancing this unpaid care work with employment reduces women's earnings outside of the home, and the high costs and lack of access to childcare further marginalize women financially (Warner, 2007). Juggling these multiple responsibilities, women have less time to travel to and from work than men, which reduces the quantity and quality of jobs to which they have access (Rapino & Cooke, 2011; Kwan, 1999). Thus, women have unique transportation needs. They are more likely to trip-chain to do household shopping, drop off and pick up children from school, and travel to elders who need care. Even for those without child- or elder- care responsibilities, women spend a significant amount of time commuting to and from work, particularly if public transportation is their primary means of mobility (Crane, 2007).

The differing needs of women within the built environment bear a similarity to the needs of an aging population. These needs include affordable housing, accessible transportation, and support services within a community. Unlike gender issues, aging has recently moved from the fringes of mainstream planning to the center of planning discussions. Motivated demographically and economically by the baby boomer population, the APA published the *Aging in Community Policy Guide* in 2014 noting that, "the aging of the population creates a unique opportunity and responsibility to apply sound planning approaches and policy to improve communities to serve the spectrum of needs and abilities of older adults" (APA, 2014: 1). The planning approach includes actively engaging the aging population in planning processes; the integration of housing, land use, and transportation; strengthening community support and assets for older adults; and the recognition that the needs of an aging population differ by gender. Encouraged by this connection, the Cornell Women's Planning Forum collaborated with the APA's Planning and Women division to explore how gender affects planning for aging and livable communities to identify the opportunities for further planning interventions. This project was supported by a grant from the APA Divisions Council to address the unique connection between gender, aging, and livable communities.

METHODOLOGY

The project, led by Professor Mildred Warner and Amanda Micklow, brought students from Cornell's Department of City and Regional Planning together with leaders of the Planning and Women Division (Jennie Gordon, Anna Kitces, and Fiona Atkins) over three years to study gender issues, design focus groups and develop a national survey, and use this as a strategy to build interest in the work of the Planning and Women Division. The grant proposal, written collaboratively in Fall 2013, led to a semester long workshop course on Gender and Aging in Spring 2014. Together the students and Planning and Women Division leaders reviewed the gendered history of planning, new directions in planning for aging, and used this exploration to design focus groups for the 2014 APA national conference in Atlanta. The focus group discussions were guided by four questions:

- What is a gender lens in planning?
- How do we apply a gender lens in practice?
- What are the challenges of applying a gender lens?
- How do we celebrate success?

Over forty focus group participants discussed the role of the built environment in fostering women's safety; how the built environment can cultivate community and connectivity; the need for representation of women in planning; ways communities can reflect the diversity of their citizens; and the role that planners should play in issues of domestic, private life. Additionally, the focus groups discussed workplace dynamics and how gender is integrated into professional planning practice.



Image 1: 2014 Focus Group Participants, Atlanta, GA

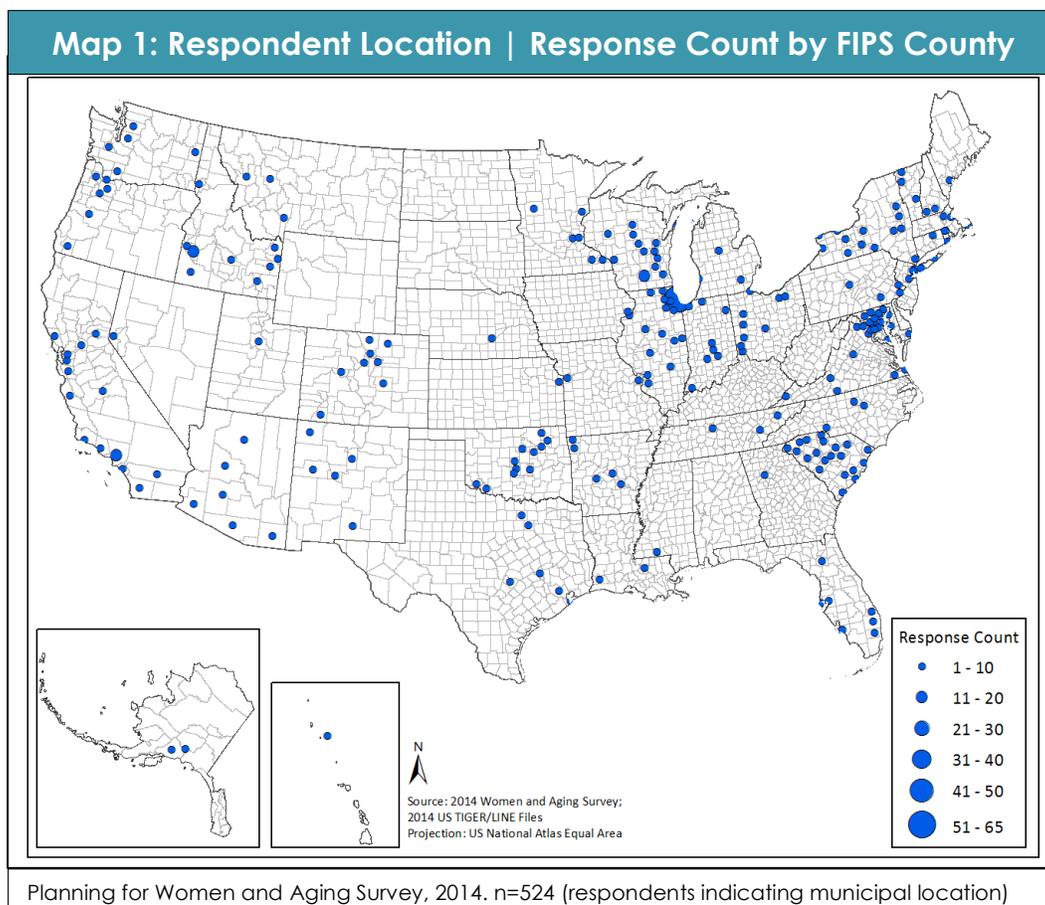
We decided to separate the issues of planning for women and women's experiences within the professional planning field into two surveys: one on planning practice relating to women and aging, and the other on workplace dynamics in the planning profession. This issue brief describes the results of the first survey on women and aging.

During the summer of 2014, we integrated the focus group feedback into an online survey, *Planning for Women and Aging*, which was launched in October 2014. The survey was advertised through multiple divisions of the APA (Small Town and Rural, Housing and Community Development, and Private Practice), and the APA's national monthly e-newsletter, *Interact*. We shared the results of the survey at the Women and Planning Division's 'Aging & Gender in Livable Communities' session during the 2015 APA National Conference in Seattle, Washington. This session, which drew a standing room only crowd, generated further discussion about how to put a gender lens on planning. The session focused on the gender biases in planning practice and the potential to take a multi-generational approach to planning to better address the needs of both women and an aging population.

The 2014 national survey asked questions about land use and zoning, transportation planning, comprehensive planning, public participation, community attitudes, planner attitudes and actions, and respondent characteristics. We categorized these questions by practices, attitudes and barriers. Questions about practices identified if and how planners are planning for women, while questions about attitudes gauged both planners' and communities' opinions about the importance of considering women and aging in planning. Questions about barriers explored the mechanisms that hinder planners from considering women and aging in their practices.

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Six hundred and twenty four planners responded to our survey, representing 325 municipalities/counties across the country (Map 1, Table 1). In addition to municipal planners, respondents included 44 regional, 19 state and 3 federal planning agencies. Respondents were primarily practicing planners in the public sector (81%), but also included private (13%), and nonprofit (6%) planners. Fifty-five percent of respondents providing demographic information were between the ages of 30 and 50 years old; 66% were women (Table 2).



Of the 624 respondents, 340 completed the full survey. Survey respondents tended to drop off at the land use questions that required more detailed responses about zoning regulations in their communities. Each survey question is analyzed based on its full response rate.

Table 1: Respondent Communities		
Population of Municipality Where Survey Respondents Work	No. of municipalities/counties	No. of respondents
Over 1,000,000	9	55
500,000-1,000,000	14	48
250,000-499,999	15	26
100,000-249,000	37	71
50,000-99,999	42	70
25,000-49,999	70	99
10,000-24,999	63	74
5,000-9,999	34	38
2,500-4,999	22	24
Under 2,500	19	19
Regional/State/Federal Planners	--	66
No jurisdiction given	--	34

Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014. n=624

Table 2: Respondent Characteristics		
Survey Item	Number	Percent (%)
Age (n=333)		
Under 30	20	6
30 – 50	184	55
51 – 65	106	32
Over 65	23	7
Sex (n=332)		
Female	219	66
Male	113	34
Scope of Planning Practice (n=333)		
Local	264	79
Regional	51	15
State	14	4
Federal	4	1
Type of Planning Practice (n=333)		
Public	270	81
Private	44	13
Nonprofit	19	6
Years in Current Position (n=326)		
Less than 1	28	9
1 – 5	110	34
6 – 10	78	24
Greater than 10	110	34

Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

RESULTS: PLANNERS' PRACTICES

Comprehensive Planning and Participation

In the first section of the survey, we asked about the inclusion or recognition of women's needs and the needs of an aging population in comprehensive plans, as well as participation in the planning process itself. Survey respondents indicated that 94% of their communities have a comprehensive plan, yet only 2% of those comprehensive plans pay specific attention to the needs of women, compared to 55% for aging (Table 3).

Table 3: Comprehensive Planning		
Survey Item	Yes (%)	No (%)
Does your community have a comprehensive plan? (n=624)	94	6
Does your community's comprehensive plan give specific attention to the needs of women? (n=464)	2	98
Does your community's comprehensive plan specifically address the needs of your community's aging population? (n=464)	55	45

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

One possible explanation for the absence of specific language regarding women's needs in comprehensive plans is that historically men have dominated the real estate sector (Fainstein, 2001) and the planning field, designing and constructing cities and suburbs according to traditional views of appropriate gender and family relations (Fainstein & Servon, 2005; Hayden, 2002; Saegert, 1980). This results in a lack of attention to gender and family concerns, which has been documented in other national surveys of family friendly planning (Israel & Warner, 2008) and planning across generations (Choi & Warner, 2015).

This is not just a problem of lack of professional attention to gender issues. Women's participation also matters and has been shown to be key in helping planners address a broader array of concerns faced by women (Warner & Rukus, 2013). Lack of women's participation limits their influence on planning outcomes and contributes to the ignorance of planners regarding differing women's needs for housing, employment, safety, transit, childcare, and other forms of social support (Fainstein & Servon, 2005). Our survey measures women's level of attendance and engagement in community planning processes. We found that despite being equally represented in terms of numbers at community meetings (Table 4), the majority of survey respondents indicated that women are less likely to be engaged than men (Table 5).

On the other hand, our survey found that seniors are more engaged in community planning processes than any other age group. This is likely due to public meeting schedules conflicting with either work or home responsibilities, which may be less of a problem for seniors. Forty-eight percent of respondents indicated that their communities rarely held public meetings at multiple times of day to help alleviate such issues (Table 4). Planners also reported

that it is challenging to engage meaningful participation from a broad spectrum of residents (Table 5).

Table 4: Public Participation			
Survey Item	Always/Often (%)	Sometimes (%)	Rarely/Never (%)
Attendees at public meetings are representative of both genders. (n=433)	81	17	2
Attendees at public meetings are representative of all ages. (n=432)	48	33	19
Public meetings are offered at multiple times of day to allow constituents with different schedules to attend. (n=435)	22	30	48

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

Table 5: Level of Engagement			
Survey Item	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Don't Know (%)
Women are more engaged in community planning processes than men. (n=432)	28	43	29
Seniors are more engaged in community planning processes than other age groups. (n=432)	63	22	15
It is challenging for planners to engage meaningful participation from a broad spectrum of residents. (n=434)	82	14	4

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

Zoning

We next asked respondents about zoning regulations in their community. Of the respondents, 92% indicated that their communities utilize traditional zoning ordinances (or a hybrid form) to regulate land use in their community (n=391). Traditional zoning ordinances are those that separate and segregate incompatible land uses from one another and give preference to single-family detached residences as the highest and best use (Micklow & Warner, 2014). These types of ordinances, however, impact women and the aging population by limiting housing and employment options, reinforcing outdated family structures, failing to provide adequate support systems, constraining mobility, and affecting safety both inside and outside of the home. Each of these issues will be discussed in the following sections.

Housing

This section of the survey focused on the connection between zoning and housing in respondent communities. Affordable, safe, and inclusive housing is an issue for women as they account for the majority (56%) of individuals living in poverty, with female householder families twice as likely to be impoverished as their male counterparts. Older women are also more

likely to live in poverty due to factors such as more limited access to pensions and other sources of retirement income, lower lifetime earnings, and a greater need for long term care services at older ages (IWPR, 2015). Denying or limiting the conversion of accessory apartments and single-family houses inhibits women from supplementing their incomes as suppliers of this type of housing, limits low income women from residing in this type of affordable housing as tenants, and precludes alternative family and care arrangements (Markovich & Hendler, 2006; Hayden, 2002). Accessory apartments are also an important way to meet the needs for supportive housing for elders (Warner & Baran-Rees, 2012; Liebig et al., 2006). Thirty percent of survey respondents indicated that their communities permit accessory dwellings in single-family areas by right, 34% indicated the need for a special use permit, and 37% responded that such a use is prohibited (Table 6). A special use permit imposes an additional burden that is both costly and time consuming, with no guarantee of an outcome in the petitioner's favor.

Retrofitting single-family houses for more than one family is another way to provide affordable housing in established communities as well as enable seniors to age in place. This is one way to meet the needs of the rising number of multigenerational households (Ghazaleh et al., 2011). For example, a traditional three-bedroom house can be retrofitted into a three-unit structure by reconfiguring the interior space to create apartments with individual kitchens (Weisberg, 2005). However, the majority of communities responding to the survey do not permit this type of residential conversion (Table 6).

Table 6: Do the land use regulations in your community permit...			
Survey Item	By Right (%)	By Special Use Permit (%)	Not Permitted (%)
Accessory apartments in residential districts. (n=352)	30	34	37
Retrofitting single-family houses for more than one family. (n=341)	16	35	49

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

Shared housing arrangements, informally known as “Golden Girls housing,” provide residents with private sleeping quarters while sharing public spaces such as kitchens and living rooms. This type of living arrangement generally involves financial support, assistance with household tasks, or both, in exchange for housing. Shared housing may provide an affordable housing option for working professionals, single parents, or residents who desire to age in place. It may also lessen the need for household and child/elder care services, as well as long-term institutional care for seniors (National Shared Housing Resource Center, 2015). Shared housing is also viewed more positively than retrofitting single-family homes, with 70% of respondent communities permitting such living arrangements (Table 7). This is likely due to the fact that shared housing does not require alterations to the exterior or interior of the home.

Family Structure [Composition]

We were interested in how many respondent communities still use traditional family definitions to regulate density and household composition. The ability of communities to regulate family structure is a major concern for women, as zoning policies favoring the traditional, nuclear family continue to remain in place regardless of the extent to which the family structure has changed (Ritzdorf, 1994). In 1960, 88% of children under 18 were living with two married parents, and only 8% in mother-only households. By 2014, just 64% were living in two-parent families and 24% in a mother-only household (US Census Bureau, 2011; 2014).

Despite this change in family structure, 63% of survey respondents indicated that their communities use a definition of family that regulates the number of unrelated people that may live together (Table 7). This means that nontraditional family types or caregiving structures may be illegal under many zoning ordinances.

Table 7: Family Structure		
Survey Item	Yes (%)	No (%)
Does your community use a definition of family that regulates the number of people that may live together? (n=369)	63	37
Does your community allow more than one unrelated family to reside in a single-family home? (n=320)	58	42
Does your community allow shared housing arrangements?	70	30

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

Child, Elder Care, and Home-Based Work

We asked respondents about the ability to locate childcare and eldercare services in residential zones. Affordable, quality, and conveniently located childcare is a serious need for many families. Forty-six percent of respondents indicated that their communities allow childcare services by right, and 52% by special use permit in residential zones (Table 8). However, traditional zoning ordinances may condition this service. For example, Ritzdorf (1994) found zoning ordinances often restrict care services only to the principal structure, prohibit play equipment from front or side yards, or restrict the number of employees to those living in the residence. Zoning ordinances that limit employees to only those living in the residence are particularly problematic for those wishing to manage or utilize a larger childcare facility in a residential zone, as state laws generally mandate that a second caregiver be present if five or more children are present (Ritzdorf, 1994). Recent reports from the APA find progress in planners addressing childcare issues (Warner, 2007).

Eldercare services, such as family day care homes, are regulated more stringently than childcare services with only 37% of survey respondents indicating that this type of use is

permitted by right in residential zones (Table 8). This difference in regulations will become more significant as the US population continues to age.

Table 8: Do the land use regulations in your community permit...			
Survey Item	By Right (%)	By Special Use Permit (%)	Not Permitted (%)
Childcare services in residential zones. (n=352)	46	52	3
Elder care services in residential zones. (n=339)	37	54	9
Other home-based businesses in residential zones. (n=352)	52	46	2

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

We also asked respondents about how their communities regulated home-based businesses, beyond childcare or eldercare services. Permitting certain home-based businesses would benefit women by allowing closer integration of work and family responsibilities and eliminating some need for childcare outside of the home. Home-based work also creates an opportunity for those disproportionately impacted by traditional zoning practices, like divorced women, elderly, single mothers, and the carless, to engage in paid labor. Our survey finds that over 50% of respondent communities permit some home-based businesses by right in residential zones (Table 8).

Transportation

Table 9: Transportation			
Survey Item	Always/Often (%)	Sometimes (%)	Rarely/Never (%)
Transportation planning in your community addresses trip chaining. (n=347)	22	34	44
Transportation planning in your community addresses mobility management. (n=349)	35	38	27
Roads in your community are being built or redesigned with dedicated (or delineated) space for biking and walking. (n=356)	51	33	16
Design standards in your community ensure that public spaces allow all ages and genders to feel safe and welcome. (n=354)	50	34	16

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

We asked respondents about transportation planning in their community, specifically to what extent plans address trip chaining. Trip chaining refers to multi-segmented trips that include both primary and secondary activities and begin and end at home (Primerano et al., 2008). Trip chaining and multi-tasking are key features of women's travel, and an inevitable result of women trying to combine their home and work duties within a spatially segregated

landscape. Incorporating trip chaining behavior into transportation plans and land use regulations could alleviate some of the burden facing women by reducing the number of trips, distance, or time spent commuting, which in turn would increase the time women (and men) can spend on household or leisure activities (Israel & Warner, 2008). However, only 22% of respondents report that their communities regularly address trip chaining in their transportation planning efforts (Table 9). We also asked respondents about mobility management in their transportation plans. Mobility management, like trip chaining, recognizes the different transportation needs of its users including older adults, single parents, children and individuals with lower incomes. The majority of respondents (65%) indicated that their communities do not address mobility management in their transportation planning efforts.

Safety

Safety issues are one place where planners are more aware of the needs of women and the aging population. This came out of the focus group discussions at the 2014 APA national conference as well the open-ended comments section in the survey, which asked respondents to share a program or planning element in their community that addresses the needs of women or the aging population. Multiple respondents shared programs that support domestic violence shelters, and complete street initiatives that promote safe and walkable communities. Eighty four percent of respondents indicated that design standards in their community ensure that public spaces are designed to allow all genders to feel safe and welcome (Table 9).

PLANNER AND COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

Only 58% of responding planners specifically consider how their work decisions may affect genders differently, compared to 91% for the aging population (Table 10). What might explain this difference? The larger communities and cultures in which planners work, create significant barriers to gender sensitive planning (Burgess, 2008).

Table 10: Planner Actions				
Survey Item	Often (%)	Sometimes (%)	Rarely (%)	Never (%)
I consider how my work decisions may affect genders differently. (n=332)	17	41	33	9
I consider how my work decisions may affect those of varying ages. (n=331)	52	39	7	2

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

We asked planners about their communities' culture and attitudes of gender conscious planning, and found that communities, planning boards and developers are generally unaware of the needs of women (Table 11). Without the support or approval of the planning or zoning board, planners cannot pursue gender sensitive initiatives such as zoning or comprehensive plan amendments. By contrast, age conscious planning is much more common; 80% of respondents report that planning/zoning boards are aware of the needs of

this group, and 66% report developers are responsive to the needs of an aging population (Table 11). While 75% of respondents agreed that communities that give attention to gender issues are better able to meet the needs of an aging population (Table 11), in subsequent statistical analyses we find communities that give more attention to aging are more likely to give attention to women's issues as well. This suggests that attention to gender may benefit from attention to aging, and leveraging women's needs in communities would create more livable communities for all.

Table 11: Community Attitudes		
Survey Item	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)
There is a culture of gender conscious planning in your community. (n=270)	17	83
Planning/zoning board is aware of the different planning needs of women. (n=241)	13	87
Planning/zoning board is aware of the planning needs of an aging population. (n=294)	80	20
Developers are responsive to the special needs of women. (n=225)	7	93
Developers are responsive to the special needs of the aging population. (n=271)	66	34
Communities that give attention to gender issues are better able to meet the needs of an aging population. (n=321)	75	25

Source: Planning for Women and Aging Survey, 2014

One barrier to gender sensitive planning revealed in the open-ended comments section was planners' ignorance of gender as an issue. One respondent shared, "as a woman, I'm not sure what type of 'planning program' should be done specifically for women as a separate group." Other respondents found it difficult to understand what gender sensitive planning would mean in practice, "I am curious what it is that you think are the 'special needs of women.' [...] OK, women need more toilets in the bathrooms than men, but otherwise I don't see a difference." A few respondents revealed hostility towards considering women's needs in planning, "I'm a little tired of this stratification of people and attempts to define people's needs as 'special' or different based on race and gender and sexual orientation and every possible social and cultural difference." The open-ended comment section did not reveal the same regarding the aging population. Respondents provided many examples of housing, transportation, and community-wide programs to support aging residents.

CONCLUSION: PLANNING FOR GENDER CREATES INCLUSIVE COMMUNITIES

The 2014 Women and Aging survey results show that we are not giving significant attention to planning for women. While academic scholarship has been aware of the differing needs of women, planning practice has been slow to respond. Conventional forms of land use regulation constrain mobility and limit employment opportunities for women, reinforce outdated family structures as the norm, and provide inadequate support systems. The

limitation or prohibition of home-based work in many zoning ordinances denies women opportunities to engage in paid labor. Zoning ordinances that highly condition childcare services in residential zones put an added burden on women who need to access affordable childcare. Likewise, spatially segregated landscapes and transit plans that do not consider women's mobility needs further burden and isolate women. Affordable housing and neighborhood design that do not consider women's safety is shortsighted. It is clear that gender affects women's opportunities and choices, and planning has a role to play in promoting greater equity for women. We can look to recent shifts in planning practice for aging populations for guidance.



Image 2: 2015 APA National Conference's *Aging & Gender in Livable Communities* Session. Pictured Amanda Micklow, Anna Kitces, Mildred Warner.

Despite the large gap in planning practice, women's needs are beginning to pique planners' interests. A consistent theme arose in our research, debates, focus groups and survey: planning for women and aging populations is planning for everyone. Considering the impact of plans on women means that the needs of most people are also considered. Asking "Would a woman feel comfortable walking here at dusk?" and getting an affirmative response likely means that most people will feel comfortable using the space. Women can be used as a bellwether for safety, as well as other planning priorities. Regarding transportation planning, women

are choice riders: if more women ride transit, more people will ride. Older people and those with disabilities often depend more on public transit than the general population, therefore planning with women in mind will ensure that the needs of multiple groups are met.

While reporting the survey findings to a standing-room-only audience at the 2015 APA National Conference's 'Aging & Gender in Livable Communities' session, an audience member reflected, "I don't give much thought specially to women and the aged. I think they would be good to consider first, because if a project or plan is good for them, it is likely going to be better for everybody." Planners must champion planning for women and aging in order to create more equitable, inclusive, and livable communities for all.



Image 3: 2015 APA National Conference's *Aging & Gender in Livable Communities* Session. Standing-room-only audience.

IMAGE CREDITS

Image 1: Cornell Women's Planning Forum. (2014). *Focus group*. APA National Planning Conference. Atlanta, Georgia.

Image 2: Robinson, Rita R. (2015). *Panel participants*. APA National Conference Aging & Gender in Livable Communities Session. Seattle, Washington.

Image 3: Kancilia, E. (2015). *Standing-room only*. APA National Conference Aging & Gender in Livable Communities Session. Seattle, Washington.

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