



Chloé Salembier

Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve, Faculté d'architecture, d'ingénierie architecturale et d'urbanisme (LOCI), Bruxelles, Belgique.
e-mail: chloe.salembier@uclouvain.be

Abstract

« From the little house on the prairie to the sleep merchants »: 40 women's stories to analyze ruptures, needs and strategies to face unequal access to housing

The figures show that women in Europe and elsewhere are suffering the full brunt of the housing crisis. Housing is a strong social marker of gender inequalities. Indeed, discrimination and economic inequalities have a direct impact on the quality of women's housing. At the origin of this article and this presentation, a shared question translated into an exercise with a common instruction: « to write the life story of a woman who has experienced problems of precariousness linked to housing in her life course ». On arrival, 40 women's stories written by architecture students in the context of a habitat anthropology course. These stories allow us to put into perspective women's residential paths to identify the moments of rupture and their consequences, but also their needs and the methods of resourcefulness put in place to address the inequality of access to housing.

Keywords: housing, gender, story telling, social justice.

Introduction

At the origin of this article, a shared question translated into an exercise with a common instruction: "to write the life story of a woman who has experienced problems of precariousness linked to housing". On arrival, 40 women's stories written by architecture students in the context of a socio-anthropology course. These stories allow us to put into perspective women's experiences in order to identify the moments of rupture and their consequences, but also their needs and the methods of resourcefulness put in place to address the inequality of access to housing.

First, I will provide a general reflection on housing as a social marker of inequalities between men and women on the basis of an article by the lawyer Nicolas Bernard from 2007 dealing with the link between women, precariousness and poor housing in Brussels. In the second part, I will deal with the methodological aspects of research by presenting the life story as a way of accessing the temporal dimensions of living. The third part is devoted to the sample: age, occupation, living quarters of the women who participated to the study. The fourth part presents a reading of life courses through four "typical episodes" identified during the reading of the stories: childhood and the influence of fathers first, women's lives and the realization of dreams or social injunctions second, ruptures and finally, the time of personal and residential reconstruction. The fifth part is a conclusion and a tribute to Virginia Woolf through a questioning on the methodological, morphological and social aspects of taking into account the inequalities between men and women in the production of our living spaces.

1. Housing as a social marker of gender inequalities

In 2007, Nicolas Bernard, a lawyer at the CRISP research centre in Brussels, published an article presenting figures¹ on the impact of women's poverty on their housing conditions and showing how the problem of poor housing is deeply gendered. This study focuses on the Brussels Region with, for some questions, international perspectives with France or Canada. The author states that women "are suffering the full brunt of the housing crisis, with greater severity and intensity than their male counterparts"². What are the reasons for these disparities?

In the first part of the article, the author shows that "in all cases, the fact of being a woman subjects increased risk of poverty"³. These aggravated risks are linked to wage inequalities (up to 30% in some environments with equal degrees), which in most cases are the consequences of women's cumulative responsibilities in the domestic and professional spheres. Women work more part-time than men to take on certain family responsibilities: maternity, child-rearing, care for the disabled, sick or ageing. "Women spend twice as much time in unpaid work"⁴ as men and therefore face a higher risk of poverty (15%⁵)

¹ It should be noted that Nicolas Bernard's article is mainly based on statistics produced by the Institute for Equality of Women and Men in 2006. Another report on the same theme was published in 2011, with little variation between 2006 and 2011.

² Bernard, Nicolas, « Femme, précarité et mal-logement: un lien fatal à dénouer », *Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP*, 25, 2007/25 (n°1970), p. 5 -36, pp. 6.

³ *Opcit*, pp. 7.

⁴ *Opcit*, pp. 7.

⁵ *Opcit*, pp. 8.

before age 50 and this figure rises to 36%⁶ for the 50 to 64 age group. The risks of poverty are also increasing between men and women in the event of death, break-up or divorce⁷. This is what we will see in the analysis of the life stories produced in this study.

Nicolas Bernard also focuses his analysis in Brussels on the issue of single-parent families and notes that "nearly one household with descendants in five is led by only one parent. However, in the vast majority of cases (72.5%), this parent is a woman. (...) One in eight mothers lives alone"⁸. In reality, single-parent families are doubly discriminated because they have low incomes (one wage) but need large housing because there are often several children to raise alone. In the private housing park, most dwellings have only one or two bedrooms. As a result, larger housing units are difficult to find and therefore more expensive. In the public park, children from large families are protected by legislation that prohibits overcrowding in rooms from a certain age. This law tends to turn against the most vulnerable families because, given the limited availability of large housing units, it prevents some families from accessing housing quickly. Nicolas Bernard indicates that the waiting time for a large family is on average between 5 and 10 years to access social housing.

In the second part of the article, Nicolas Bernard shows that inequalities between men and women in access to quality housing are not only economic, they are also the result of sexist preconceptions. For example, when renting, many landlords do not wish to rent to single women, or to single women with children, on the pretext that they might have difficulty paying the rent or keeping the apartment in order (repair, garden care, etc.). When the landlord agrees to rent, some women report forms of intrusion into their privacy and monitoring of their comings and goings. In the field of the acquisitives, discrimination also hinders access to housing. Studies in Canada show that some banks are reluctant to lend money to single women for home loans for fear that they will not be able to pay the bills.

All these inequalities are further exacerbated at the time of the pension when women, who have contributed less than men, find themselves with a lower pension, a longer life expectancy and specific needs in terms of housing and space (reception of grandchildren, illness, etc). "Overall, the poverty rate among older women is more than twice as high as that of their male counterparts (Canada). In the Walloon Region (South of Belgium) specifically, among incomes below 900 euros, there are 2.5 times more women (alone without children) over 50 years of age than there are below. In the general picture of poor housing, seniors occupy a prominent place"⁹. How can these specific housing needs be met for single women, single-parent families, or the elderly, who seem to be the three most vulnerable categories on the housing market?

2. The life story: crossing the spatial and temporal dimensions of the paths

To answer this question, architecture students went to interview women using a qualitative survey method: the life story. Forty life stories were written as part of a socio-anthropology's course. The common instruction was to "write a life story of an aging woman who has experienced or is experiencing difficulties in housing".

⁶ *Opcit*, pp. 8.

⁷ See on this subject: Institut pour l'égalité des hommes et des femmes, « Genre et revenu : analyse et développement d'indicateurs », 2011, whose originality is to take into account income inequalities within households. The statistics included in the study are based on the individual incomes of men and women.

⁸ *Opcit*, pp. 8-9.

⁹ *Opcit*, pp. 22.

The life story is a sociological method that allows us to observe empirically "action over time"¹⁰. To access a person's life story, a narrative interview is required. It is an interview during which a researcher asks a person to tell him/her all or part of his/her experience. To deal with the notions of trajectories and pathways, the life story is effective because "it allows us to grasp the mechanisms and processes by which subjects have come to find themselves in a given situation; to discover the profound characteristics of this situation, and in particular the tensions that cross it and characterize it; and how the people who find themselves in it strive to manage this social situation"¹¹. In the course, the aim was to cross the spatial and temporal dimensions of our life paths over a long time. The methodological reference used by the students is Daniel Bertaux's book, published in 2013. The "comprehensive interviews"¹² with the women to collect their stories were conducted face-to-face (one student and one woman) during a single meeting or sometimes two or three. Most interviews were held in women's homes with an average interview duration of about one hour.

Following the interview, students were asked to transcribe the interview in its entirety and write the life's story in the first person. Some sent the story to the person for approval to finalize the writing. In parallel, the students proposed a cartographic representation of the life's story by crossing the spatial and temporal dimensions of his or her journey. In short, it was a question of inventing a way of drawing time and space, of producing a line of living that crossed these dimensions. These two components were indeed chosen as the vanishing lines for writing the life story: the life course and the inhabited dwellings.

3. Women from 19 to 89 years

Students were not given any specific instructions regarding age, occupation, place of birth or life, or type of housing for the women interviewed. In the end, the age panel is very wide since the youngest woman interviewed was born in 1999 while the oldest was born in 1930. Decades separate the stories, and yet, by comparing the stories, common similarities and trajectories appear under the sign of ruptures and forms of domination experienced daily, or at certain moments of their existence. Their names are Dominique, Brigitte, Naïké, Martine, Habiba, Marcelyne, Angelica, Antoinette, Kinsey, their stories are marked by the great events of the 20th century: the Algerian and Indochinese wars, colonization, migration, contraception, women's work, etc. They were born in Algeria, Italy, France, Belgium, most of them now live in Nord-Pas-de-Calais in France, or in the Province of Hainaut in Belgium (the two regions close to the faculty where the exercise was carried out). They have worked in various occupations often marked by gender: schoolteacher, worker, childcare worker, office worker, housekeeper, etc. They live in residential houses, social housing, apartments, studios or reception and accommodation centres.

During the reading of the forty stories, I proceeded in a rigorous way by integrating the life courses into tables containing columns recording the moments of rupture, their consequences on housing conditions, the feelings/experiences of the woman on her situation, her needs in terms of housing today, the modes of support put in place and the expected objectives of the strategies put in place. Thanks to these summary diagram, I then created a common and imaginative timeline. It takes up the different trajectories and synthesizes the main moments in women's lives and the influence of gender inequalities on their housing conditions.

¹⁰ The definitions and data concerning the life story are taken from the book: BERTAUX, Daniel, 2013, *Le récit de vie*, Paris, Armand Colin, 125 p.

¹¹ *Op cit.*

¹² Kauffman, Jean-Claude, 1996, *L'entretien compréhensif*, Paris, Nathan, 120 p.

The first is the influence and authority of fathers over the domestic life of families. The professional life of fathers, for example, has a significant influence on the residential paths of families. Change of function, migration, bankruptcies, promotion... are all events that influence the housing of families. In most stories, women take care of the household, but it is men's backgrounds that determine where they live, how they live and how they move. These influences have important consequences on women's lives: their professional lives, the social networks they manage to build, the distance from their families, etc. When moves are repeated, women are often relayed to domestic spaces, encounter difficulties in building and developing social relationships outside the nuclear family. This will have consequences if breaks occur in the rest of the process: divorce, death, dismissal, etc.

The second recurrence concerns the way in which the domestic space of childhood serves as a place where inequalities between men and women are incorporated: girls take care of younger, they go to school for a shorter period of time, they help with the household, they do not have a say in family organisation, marriages are sometimes arranged, etc. The children's home is the space par excellence where forms of sexual domination are learned and integrated by young girls. And then there is the intimate space itself, many of them talk about their childhood room, some have shared it with siblings, others then had their own space and regret this intimacy lost as adults, still others have never really felt at home when they were still living in the family home. This first "episode-type" undoubtedly influences the entire residential journey of women.

4.2 Women's lives: the realization of dreams or social injunctions

Let us recall here that the life stories were mainly written in the North of France and in the Province of Hainaut in Belgium. Regional basins probably have a significant influence on the way people live, but I will not talk about it here. I would stick to the choices made by women in terms of housing and their influence on their life courses.

In the stories, "children" leave the family home mainly for three reasons: education, meeting a companion or work. Choices are then made. In most cases, the first moments of autonomy and freedom from the family unit, alone or with a partner, are relatively well experienced by women: financial independence, small dwellings in relatively central spaces, realization of childhood dreams, etc. As the family grows (in the case of couples having children), many couples choose, or respond to society's injunctions, to become owners and have a garden. Couples then change their lifestyles as their lifestyles change, and vice versa. The standard of residential housing for families with children has a strong impact on the choices identified in women's stories. This is undoubtedly one of the highlights of the 20th century in the regions studied. This way of living implies new responsibilities for the couple, and the woman in particular: heavier domestic tasks (large house with garden), distance and isolation from urban and social life, obligation to access relatively high incomes to pay credit bills, as well as the high costs related to energy and mobility, mainly. At certain times in their lives, women often choose either to stop working or to reduce their working time to care for the home, children, or sick or vulnerable parents.

At this stage, the relationship to housing is therefore often expressed by a contradictory feeling. At the same time, women feel they are fulfilling a dream: starting a family, becoming homeowners, having a home, improving their living conditions and housing, while being completely overwhelmed by the burden of family responsibilities. In many cases, these contradictions put pressure on the nuclear family and can potentially create a series of disruptions in their lives, as we will see in the next paragraph.

4.3 Ruptures

Ruptures in women's lives occur at different times in their lives. They are linked to different events: divorce, illness, accident, death, bankruptcy, dismissal, migration, war, debt, natural disaster or prison. When these events occur in a family, women are on the front lines. Highly vulnerable in crisis situations, they are often the most vulnerable to difficulties and assume a large part of family responsibilities. In most cases, these difficulties mark a break in their residential pathways. Women may have to find housing, either for themselves alone or for themselves and their children, or for themselves and other family members in their care (siblings, elderly parents, etc.). In the stories, when it comes to divorce, it is mainly women who leave home because they suffer violence, deception, an alcoholic husband or the consequences of debt.

In fact, the analysis of life stories shows that ruptures in women's lives are often made in a hurry for multiple reasons specific to the female gender: unexpected pregnancy, domestic violence, obligation to care for relatives, etc. Most of the women met during these 40 stories face the same difficulty, finding housing with a double constraint, urgency and low cost. Indeed, after a divorce, many women live below the poverty line. These constraints lead to additional difficulties that N. Bernard also raises in his article¹⁵, women are forced, given their situation, to accept degrading housing conditions and to face abuses from some homeowners.

It should be noted that in some cases, during divorces, women continue to live in the family home with the children and the husband moves away. It then appears that the typologies of housing have an influence on the success of the single-parent family's housing project. Stories reveal that when they in pavillons, women may have to move because they cannot bear the costs of such housing on their own. In many cases, the stories show that the pavilion can turn into a dream that excludes women: debt, loans, charges, multiple and precarious jobs. We are then far from the happiness promised by the images produced by the consumer society to sell real estate. However, I have noted in some stories that when families initially choose to buy houses in the city, this way of living adapts much better to the disruptions that women may experience in their life course. Housing is being transformed, people are living together, subletting a space to a student to ensure additional income and fight against loneliness. Unlike residential housing, which excludes by offering mono-functional spaces adapted to a very specific period of life (marriage with young children when everything is going well), town houses are better adapted to the hazards of life and the transformations specific to the lives of these women.

4.4 To bounce back

To get back on track to face ruptures, housing and the construction of a safe place is the first step towards a form of autonomy, self-rebuilding and social integration. As previously expressed, in order to access housing, women must fight against all kinds of discrimination: the lack of resources, of course, the urgency of their situation too, but also the prejudices of landlords, banks that are reluctant to offer real estate loans, and when the project is implemented, prejudices still exist, entrepreneurs or architects who discredit choices or do not listen to the needs expressed. So as always when forms of domination¹⁶ appear or are established, the dominated imagine "tactics"¹⁷ to fight against the dominant. I revealed some of them when I read the stories.

¹⁵ Bernard, Nicolas, "Femme, précarité et mal-logement: un lien fatal à dénouer", *Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP*, 25, 2007/25 (n°1970), p. 5 -36, pp. 22.

¹⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre, 1998, *La domination masculine*, Paris, Le Seuil, 134 p.

¹⁷ De Certeau, Michel, 1990 *L'invention du quotidien – 1. Arts de faire*, Paris, Gallimard, 416 p.



- squat housing to respond to the emergency,
- shared rental in their own housing or elsewhere to reduce costs, fight loneliness, exchange small services and regain a social existence,
- falsification of administrative documents such as contracts, pay slips, etc. to obtain rented accommodation,
- the use of social services to obtain housing,
- the return to the parents' homes to rebuild after a divorce,
- studies to improve their professional situation,
- credit from the family, especially from parents,
- ask to children for help when the woman is older,
- the request for a compensatory benefit from the husband to create additional income upon divorce,
- the rapprochement of a familiar environment,
- the use of friendly and family networks,
- the use of the presence of men to gain credibility and be respected by owners or social landlords.

Conclusions

The project of a "place of one's own": Letter from Brussels to Virginia Woolf

Women's life stories are marked by ruptures, but in reality, all individual journeys are multi-directional because life is dynamic, it is only transformations. Housing as it has been designed and conceived in recent decades is based on normative references largely inspired by patriarchal and neo-liberal systems that do not take into account the complexities of life courses. The injunctions of neo-liberal society to the happiness of a perfect family living in a four-sided house and detached from all material constraints, do not correspond in any way to the practices of living and the realities experienced by most families.

The answers offered in this article to think about the inequalities suffered by women in their residential life are neither legal nor financial. I have identified in the stories, needs that women express and that meet their expectations to build a "place of their own", in accordance with what Virginia Woolf advocated already at the beginning of the 20th century concerning women and their creative autonomy. Here the reflection concerns mainly housing, but the spatial scales are intertwined, thinking of mixed and egalitarian spaces cannot be conceived on a single scale, it is important to think of the transversality of housing: from the room to the city. Nevertheless, I would not go back here to the many reflections and studies of feminist geographers and urban planners on the place of women in the urban space. Rather than answers or recommendations, this conclusion will be written in the form of three types of questions: methodological, morphological and sociological.

Methodological question: for attention to women's daily lives

To understand the inequalities experienced by women and the influence of relationships of domination on their lives, it seems important to document women's daily lives. As early as 1929, Virginia Woolf denounced the poverty of descriptions of women's relationship to the world and their daily lives in literature. The author asks the following questions to support his demonstration: in the novel, are there women with family names? If so, do they have discussions with each other? And if so, are they talking about something other than man? Descriptions of women's daily lives and feelings before the 20th century are largely written from a male perspective. Similarly, for several decades, our cities and living spaces have been designed by men¹⁸. What is the daily life of women? How do they live in their living spaces? How do they organize themselves in relation to the constraints of their spaces? Feminist literature on spatial issues converges on the idea that it is important to describe daily practices, to meet the realities experienced by women in order to integrate their demands and needs into spatial design at all scales, taking into account current inequalities and forms of domination. Women do not differ when they organize non-mixed night walks or training in urban participation. What role can architects play in building equal living spaces at all scales? In this respect, it seems important to study the different spatial scales because they are intertwined. To date, there are more gender studies on the scale of public spaces than on the scale of the domestic. Yet, we know that many forms of sexual domination are expressed in domestic spaces. From a methodological point of view, it therefore seems interesting to work from qualitative methodologies such as life stories or comprehensive interviews. Methodologies and representations have yet to be invented when it comes to describing the close links between the temporal¹⁹ and spatial dimensions of housing.

Morphological question: for multi-purpose dwellings

How can we produce housing that better corresponds to these multidirectional trajectories and transformations? How to produce housing that adapts to the needs of different moments of life when we know the importance that social networks built locally by women can have on a neighbourhood or city scale, while not confining women to certain spaces, in this case domestic spaces²⁰.

The aim here is not to consider space as being all-powerful in regulating the relations of domination between men and women, what some authors call "spatial fetishism"²¹, but to initiate the design of living spaces that better meet women's needs in order to fight against inequalities. The needs revealed by women through life stories are as follows: feel safe, be able to receive your family, leave a property for your children, be close to shops, buy your own home, secure your home in the long term, keep your memories, have privacy alone or with your spouse, be able to welcome your children if they are in need or if they live far away, not be a burden to your children, be calm to fight against fatigue accumulated over the course of life, enjoy an outdoor space such as a garden, enjoy the light and be able to take care of the different

¹⁸ Raibaud, Yves, 2015, *La ville faites par et pour les hommes*, Paris, Belin, 80 p.

¹⁹ See Salembier, Chloé, *Questionner l'Habiter en temps de transition post-communiste*, thèse de doctorat, UCL, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2015.

²⁰ See Jacqueline Coutras' warnings on "spatial duty". "Spatial duty" is a concept developed by Jacqueline Coutras that has highlighted the links between productive and reproductive spaces in cities. The concept refers to the obligation for women to occupy the reproductive spaces of the household, mainly domestic. Through this concept, she shows how male domination is inscribed at the heart of certain living spaces (COUTRAS, Jacqueline, "Territoires du quotidien et espaces sexués. Du voisinage résidentiel aux espaces d'anonymat", *Strates*[Online], 14 | 2008, uploaded on 05 March 2013, consulted on 09 October 2018. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/strates/6737>).

²¹ DIRENBERGER, Lucia, SCHMOLL, Camille, « Ce que le genre fait à l'espace... et inversement », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* (en ligne), 21/2014, uploaded on 20 octobre 2015, consulted le 21 décembre 2017, URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/cedref/953>

aspects of daily life (in retirement homes, some complain about being dispossessed of these tasks that they have accomplished all their lives). Autonomy, hospitality, serenity, intimacy are all factors that seem to shape the forms of a feminist housing that responds to the inequalities experienced by women today. And if all these space needs could be shared, what form would take a dwelling designed to meet women's aspirations?

Societal issue: for the emancipation of women through housing

How to answer this question of urgency, which is often one of the characteristics in the search for housing in women's lives? How to respond to women's inadequate housing at each stage of life? Where do you start? If we stick to one of the references on the question of the relationship between women and space, Virginia Woolf defends the idea that having a room of one's own and what to eat is emancipatory in itself, "the author maintains that autonomy as a woman is acquired through the possession of a space of it's own"²². In the same way, some minorities claim spaces of non-mixedness, "both place and network, resource space. It's an essential condition to transform unequal mixity into egalitarian mix"²³. How can space be a support for transforming patriarchal society and proposing ways of living that make it possible to fight against current inequalities and forms of domination? To what extent can the production of housing including women be emancipatory and what forms of governance can be invented to produce these spaces?

In this respect, European housing experiments attempt to question gender in the production of dwellings. La Borda²⁴ housing cooperative project in Barcelona, currently under construction in the Sants district around the Can Batllo project, is exemplary and quite remarkable. A discussion group was indeed created around gender issues where participants asked questions such as: how to allow equal access to voice in governance? How to set up training so that women participate in the self-construction phases of the project on the same basis as men? How can we relieve ourselves of some of the domestic tasks by collectivizing them? How to avoid domestic violence in collective housing? etc. These questions are innovative and make it possible to bring the gender issue across the different spatial scales, from domestic space to public space.

In Vienna, two contemporary projects take gender into account in their self-management and housing production processes. The first is [Ro*sa] (Frauenwohnprojekte)²⁵. These projects are tailor-made for the women who live there. The project is mixed, but the rental contracts are totally in the hands of the women. The latter have a key role in the governance of the housing cooperative and manage their projects themselves. The second is Verein für nachhaltiges Leben.²⁶

In Brussels, a completely innovative project has just been launched thanks to European funding (UIA). The project is called CALICO (Care and Living in Community)²⁷. It brings together 3 associations whose aim is to question our ways of living by proposing ways to fight against real-estate speculation (Community

²² DIRENBERGER, Lucia, SCHMOLL, Camille, « Ce que le genre fait à l'espace... et inversement », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* (en ligne), 21/2014, uploaded on 20 octobre 2015, consulted le 21 décembre 2017, URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/cedref/953>

²³ COLLIN, Françoise, 1992 citée par DIRENBERGER, Lucia, SCHMOLL, Camille, « Ce que le genre fait à l'espace... et inversement », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* (en ligne), 21/2014, uploaded le 20 octobre 2015, consulted on the 21.12.17, URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/cedref/953>

²⁴ <http://www.laborda.coop/en/>

²⁵ <http://www.frauenwohnprojekt.info>

²⁶ <https://wohnprojekt.wien>

²⁷ <https://www.uia-initiative.eu/fr/uia-cities/brussels-capital-region>



Land Trust), dwellings including the question of birth and death (Pass-Age) and a feminist co-housing (Angela D).

These new dynamics of housing co-production, including gender issues, should be studied in depth to understand how gender equality strengthens the empowerment of everyone and produces living spaces that are closer to our daily needs.

Bibliography

BERTAUX, Daniel, 2013, *Le récit de vie*, Paris, Armand Colin, 125 p.

BERNARD, Nicolas, « Femme, précarité et mal-logement: un lien fatal à dénouer », *Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP*, 25, 2007/25 (n°1970), p. 5 -36.

BOURDIEU, Pierre, 1998, *La domination masculine*, Paris, Le Seuil, 134 p.

COUTRAS, Jacqueline, « Territoires du quotidien et espaces sexués. Du voisinage résidentiel aux espaces d'anonymat », *Strates* [En ligne], 14 | 2008, mis en ligne le 05 mars 2013, consulté le 09 octobre 2018.
URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/strates/6737>

DE CERTEAU, Michel, 1990 *L'invention du quotidien – 1. Arts de faire*, Paris, Gallimard, 416 p.

DIRENBERGER, Lucia, SCHMOLL, Camille, « Ce que le genre fait à l'espace... et inversement », *Les cahiers du CEDREF* (en ligne), 21/2014, mis en ligne le 20 octobre 2015, consulté le 21 décembre 2017,
URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/cedref/953>

Institut pour l'égalité des hommes et des femmes, « Genre et revenu : analyse et développement d'indicateurs », 2011, URL : https://igvm-iefh.belgium.be/sites/default/files/downloads/60%20-%20Genre%20et%20revenu_FR.pdf, consulté le 27.08.18.

RAIBAUD, Yves, 2015, *La ville faites par et pour les hommes*, Paris, Belin, 80 p.

SALEMBIER, Chloé, *Questionner l'Habiter en temps de transition post-communiste*, thèse de doctorat, UCL, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2015.

WOOLF, Virginia, 1928 (réédition 2018), *Un lieu à soi*, Paris, Denoël, 176 p.



European Network for Housing Research