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Mobility by women, for everyone

Participation and gender mainstreaming in
sustainable mobility policies
in Lyon, France

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Foreword

This research is the result of several months of work, during very special times. When I moved to the Netherlands for my Master, I could not imagine that I will write my thesis during a pandemic, mostly staying at home, not able to go to France as much as I would like to, and being subject to stress both because of the global situation and my student situation. As a part-time student, I had to juggle student job and Master thesis, which was also challenging in itself. In the end, it seems I still managed, which is both a relief and a true reward.

The topic of this research is, in a sense, personal, and reflects my values, which is very satisfying to me. I could not imagine working several months on a topic that would not allow me to express my personal convictions. At the same time, it was sometimes hard to stay neutral and not go too far in my writing, which was also challenging. It could have been better, but I am still happy to finish it and embrace holidays.

I would like here to thank all the people who, near or far, helped me to go through this work. In first place, many thanks to Francesca for being so nice and comprehensive along this research. She always gave me great advice, dense and very helpful feedback and provided me the opportunity to challenge myself during the writing.

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Thanks also go to my family, who supported me even though we were apart – and even more due to the pandemic – and showed interest in my research despite it seemed obscure to them.

Acknowledgements

This research deals with *gender* equality while dealing only with men and women. This is due to practical reasons: data are disaggregated in that way – when they are; and it is only a Master thesis – the limited time made it difficult to have a wider vision. However, it is acknowledged that gender is not binary, and women are not the only ones suffering from gender-based discrimination or violence. Queer¹ people were firstly meant to be integrated in this study, though it finally appeared too complicated for a Master thesis and too little researched to draw on different gender identities. Similarly, it seems that queer people issues are tackled only in policies on discriminations and – in France at least – they are not really integrated in other policies. It would then be important to also include them in other policies, in a way were *gender* mainstreaming would take into account not only cisgender women but also trans people and other queer identities (including sexual orientation). Indeed, from a systemic perspective, what is discriminated is any difference from the cis-heterosexual (white) men, which includes a lot of people and identities. This argues for a more comprehensive and intersectional understanding of *gender* and a better attention to women's and queer people's need thus resulting in greater inclusivity of policies.

¹ “Queer denotes those sexual and gender minority subjects who eschew LGBT identities and, indeed, often resist self-identification on the basis of sexual or gender performance.” (Nash et al., 2019, p. 197)

Abstract

As women entered the employment market, they also entered men's traditional space: the public space. Their mobility is made more complicated by spaces and services not regarding on their needs, which are different than men's. This is especially true for sustainable mobilities, such as public transport, the biking practice and walking. These observations thus enter in contradiction with the push towards these sustainable mobilities made at the expense of the private car, which generally fits better with women's gendered role of care- and household-keeper. In parallel, a framework of gender mainstreaming (GM) practices in planning developed in the last decades. These policies acknowledge the gendered character of the planning practice and aim at reducing gender inequalities in the city. This search for a more inclusive and just city is here linked to the need for collaboration between stakeholders and local participation of citizens, which allows to better answer their needs. This research investigates the power of participative and collaborative measures in the local implementation of GM policies related to sustainable mobilities. It examines the case-study of Lyon, France, where GM participative and collaborative measures have been implemented at the metropolitan level. It also digs into the local initiative of "bus lines' ambassadors", which offers women to participate in audits and write reports on the factors contributing to a feeling of unsafety on the bus network. Policy document-analysis and semi-structured interviews are conducted to investigate the gendered perspectives on sustainable mobility policies, the nature of stakeholders' collaboration and ambassadors' experiences, as both users and policymakers. The main findings of this research are the need for more gender-disaggregated data and a gendered political agenda in France, which will allow to better implement GM policies. These policies also must be transdisciplinary: collaboration appears as crucial in enhancing a gendered vision on sustainable mobilities, which also stresses the need to work with feminist associations. Moreover, participants' experience shows their proactive role in implementing GM measures on the transport network. In parallel, their transports experience seems to be little influenced by the project. It highlights a wider challenge: changing mindsets, which stresses the importance of education and the fight against sexist stereotypes. This research argues, on a wider level, for increased efforts on GM policies, specifically on the transdisciplinary aspect and for attention to all forms of gender inequalities, as they are all connected. Finally, more involvement of concerned people and reliance on their contextual knowledge appears as crucial in building a more just and inclusive city, and allows an accurate replication in different contexts.

Keywords: citizen participation, collaboration, gender mainstreaming, sustainable mobilities

Abbreviation List

AOT	Autorité Organisatrice des Transport (Authority organising transports)
CEREMA	Centre d'études et d'expertise sur les risques, l'environnement, la mobilité et l'aménagement (Studies and expertise centre on risks, environment, mobility and spatial planning)
COVID	officially COVID-19, stands for Coronavirus Disease 2019, also called SARS-CoV-2 for Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome-related Coronavirus 2
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
EU	European Union
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
HCEfh	Haut Commissariat à l'Egalité entre les femmes et les hommes (High Commissioner for Equality between women and men)
INSEE	Institut National de Statistiques et d'Etudes Economiques (National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PDU	Plan de Déplacements Urbains (Urban Travel's Plan, can be related to SUMP – Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan)
PTU	Périmètre des Transports Urbains (Urban Transport Perimeter)
SCoT	Schéma de Cohérence Territoriale (Scheme of Territorial Cohérence)
SDFE	Service des Droits des Femmes et de l'Egalité (Service for Women's Rights and Equality)
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SNTEDD	Stratégie Nationale de Transition Ecologique vers un Développement Durable (National Strategy of Ecological Transition towards a Sustainable Development)
SYTRAL	Syndicat mixte des Transports du Rhône et de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise (Mixed Union of Rhône's and Lyon Agglomeration's Transports)
TCL	Transports en Commun Lyonnais (Lyon's Public Transports)
UN	United Nations

Table Of Contents

FOREWORD	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	4
ABSTRACT	5
ABBREVIATION LIST	6
TABLE OF CONTENTS	7
1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION	10
1.1 Topic overview	10
1.2 Social and scientific relevance	11
1.3 Research gap	12
1.4 Research objectives and questions	13
1.5 Structure of the research	14
2. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS	16
2.1 Literature review	16
2.1.1 Planning, Gender and Space	16
2.1.2 Mobility infrastructure and gender	17
2.1.3 Sustainable mobility infrastructure and gender	19
2.1.4 Collaboration and participation through a feminist lens	23
2.2 Conceptual framework	24
3. RESEARCH METHODS	28
3.1 Choice of the case-study	28
3.2 Methods for policy-document analysis	29
3.3 Interviews: methods for analysis	31
3.3.1 Institutional actors' interviews	32
3.3.2 Ambassadors interviews	34
4. SUSTAINABILITY, MOBILITY, AND GENDER INEQUALITIES IN FRANCE	36
4.1 Introduction	36
4.2 The French idea of sustainability since 1880s: no integrated approach	36
4.3 Insights in the French context on mobilities	38
4.3.1 Ongoing decentralisation of transport policies	38
4.3.2 Challenges to mobility policies' implementation: coherence, cooperation, and behaviours	40
4.3.3 Sustainability as the major objective of French transport policies	41

4.3.4 Intersecting inequalities in sustainable mobilities	42
4.4 Gender mainstreaming and transport inequalities in France: need for more	44
4.4.1 A recent gender mainstreaming focus in national policies	44
4.4.2 Gender mainstreaming applied to mobility: a focus on safety measures	45
4.5 Transport governance in Lyon	50
5. GENDER VISIONS ON COLLABORATIVE PLANNING FOR SUSTAINABLE MOBILITIES	52
5.1 Introduction	52
5.2 A collaboration displayed as essential, but no clear gender insight	55
5.2.1 A clear push for sustainable mobilities	55
5.2.2 A focus on changing mobility behaviours: the biking practice	56
5.2.3 Need of an improved accessibility to mobilities	59
5.2.4 Urban planning to assert women's place in sustainable mobilities	61
5.3 Women's safety as the major theme for gender mainstreaming policies and practices	64
5.3.1 Prevention, formation, and information	64
5.3.2 Initiatives on transport service: a territorial approach	69
5.4 A critique to the gendered vision	72
5.4.1 Lack of gender-disaggregated data	72
5.4.2 Women as victims?	73
5.4.3 "The personal is political"	74
5.5 Conclusion of the chapter	75
6. BETWEEN USERS AND POLICYMAKERS: THE IMPLICATIONS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE GENDERED EXPERIENCE OF MOBILITY	77
6.1 Introduction	77
6.2 A pioneer project in France	78
6.3 A measure allowing women to have a role in policymaking	79
6.3.1 Participants already experienced gender-based violence	79
6.3.2 Proposing measures on the transport network	80
6.3.3 Taking part in stakeholders' collaboration	81
6.4 Highlighting broader challenges: women empowerment, changing mindsets and concrete impact on transports' experience	82
6.4.1 A time-consuming work, adding mental load to women	82
6.4.2 Controversies on the women-only aspect of the project	84
6.4.3 The still important challenge to change mindsets	85
6.4.4 An almost unchanged transports' experience	88
6.5 Beyond safety audits: participation in campaigns and other local planning initiatives	89
6.5.1 Actors of the SYTRAL's awareness campaign against sexist and sexual harassment	89
6.5.2 Involvement in other projects with a gendered perspective	90
6.6 Conclusion of the chapter	91
7. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS	93
7.1 General conclusion: advocating for empowering participation in GM policies	93
7.2 Discussions	94
7.2.1 Research limitations	94



7.2.2 Further research	95
7.2.3 Policy recommendations	95

REFERENCES	97
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ANNEXES	104
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Annex 1: Infography “Que fait la métropole de Lyon ?”	104
Annex 2: “Le guide qui lutte contre le harcèlement sexiste »	106
Annex 3: Dépliant “Pleine Lune”	110

1. General introduction

1.1 Topic overview

When I was a teenager, as I started to go out with friends at night, I was quickly confronted to my parent's fear that something could happen to me. As I grew up, and studied geography, I learned about the use and appropriation of public spaces; my feminist perspective on society sharpened. At some point, when I was 18 or 19, I decided that I would never avoid any public space and let men think they were the ones owning it. Though, I had strategies to avoid being annoyed late at night in public spaces, like putting my earphones on but without any music playing, so people will not talk to me but at the same time I could hear them approaching. My personal experience is not an isolated one: all the women I know developed strategies to avoid being disturbed when they walk in the public space or when they take transports. Sadly, this does not prevent being catcalled, or objectified. And it is complicated, when one does not live this experience on a daily basis, to be aware of the extent of the phenomenon.

Women's (un)safety, or more specifically, feeling of (un)safety, in public spaces is a long-studied topic, inscribed in gendered power relations. The public space, as historically and traditionally a man's space, finds itself in opposition with the private one where women are in charge (McDowell, 1983). As women entered the employment market, they also entered the public space, men's space. This resulted in several phenomena: women are not welcome in men's space, which is made by and for them; and women now have a paid job in addition to their unpaid job (that is household tasks, care tasks), resulting in time poverty and mental charge. Their mobility is then made more complicated by spaces and services not regarding on their needs, which are different than men's. For several decades, planning and transport planning acknowledged the question of gender inequalities in the city (see Fainstein and Servon, 2005) and its sexist aspect (see Hayden, 1981). Women's specific mobility has also been studied in relation to their care activities (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2016) or to the feeling of unsafety (Gilow, 2015 for Brussels).

This extensive research field in planning and transport led to policies acknowledging these gender inequalities and differences and taking measures to reduce them: gender mainstreaming policies. Gender mainstreaming is defined by Greed (2008) as "the process whereby gender issues, relations, power differentials and identities are taken into account within all stages and aspects of the plan-making process" (p. 720). Implementing measures considering gender issues in different fields of spatial planning then contributes to the reduction of gender inequalities. In terms of mobility, it would mean reducing the feeling of unsafety women tend to have in public spaces (especially at night), and tackling their specific needs, both in public spaces and public transports.

The issue of women's mobility seems even more relevant in a global context of ecological crisis, where sustainability is the ultimate goal of policies. Cities are still growing, but they are expected to grow sustainably – that is to say to meet people's needs without

endangering future generations' ability to meet their own (as defined by the Brundtland Commission, 1987) – around three pillars: the economic, the ecological and the social sustainability. In mobility, the global narrative of policies aims at people changing their behaviours, from a car-centred mobility towards the use of non-pollutant modes. A contradiction thus emerges: the push towards sustainable mobilities for all *versus* the non-consideration of women's specific needs, resulting in inequalities facing these mobilities. Starting from this observation, and drawing on Raibaud's work (2015, 2020) on gender differences in sustainable mobilities, this research first aims at investigating to what extent gender considerations are acknowledged and incorporated in local sustainable mobility policies. Moreover, as it has been long acknowledged that collaboration between stakeholders, and more importantly citizens' participation, contribute to a more just and better city, and as similar measures have already been implemented (for example in Canada, where the safety audits were born), these two approaches are also investigated, with the hypothesis that they make the implementation of GM policies in mobilities easier and more effective, because they draw on citizens' local knowledge and stakeholders discussion.

The research will draw on the case-study of Lyon, France. This city has been chosen because of the already existing gender mainstreaming measures at the local level, specifically led by the transport network: the SYTRAL (*Syndicat Mixte des Transports du Rhône et l'Agglomération Lyonnaise* – Mixed Syndicate of Transports of the Rhône and the Lyon Agglomeration) and the TCL (*Transports en Commun Lyonnais* – Lyon Public Transports). Moreover, safety audits have been conducted since 2015 on the transport network with women volunteers ("lines' ambassadors"). It is a form of diagnosis, where they "explore" both the bus line and the surroundings, identifying elements that create a feeling of unsafety or discomfort. The ambassadors later create a report of their audits and present it to the different stakeholders involved in the action (mainly the transport network, the municipalities). This initiative led to the acknowledgement of different factors of women's feeling of unsafety or people's discomfort on the network and contributed to the implementation of several measures aiming at improving users' transport experience. This is specifically interesting for this research as it is a participative project involving women and allowing them to take part in decision-making, with a specific gender insight.

1.2 Social and scientific relevance

"In any case, in the development of public spaces, we clearly see that the more we take into account, not even only women, but [...] a wide variety of uses, the more we improve the quality of what is offered" (interview with Rémy Le Floch, Lyon's Equality project manager, 3rd June 2021)

The social relevance of this study firstly lies in highlighting the benefits of gender mainstreaming policies for everyone. Indeed, a more egalitarian society, and the consideration to people's different needs results in better service offer. Putting the spotlight on mobility also aims at improving this service and making it more inclusive and accessible in practice for everyone. In a second time, the developments on citizen contribution stresses the assets of involving them in decision-making at the local level and valuing their contextual

knowledge, which also contributes to a more just city (Rydin, 2007). The French context is here also relevant because of the scarcity of gender mainstreaming measures in big cities, despite a growing number of studies and reports on gender inequalities, including in transports. As sustainable mobility policies often lack social aspect (Reigner and Brennac, 2019), this research contributes to put people – and more important, concerned people – into the decision-making to improve everyone's experience of sustainable mobilities. The gender insight is relevant for our societies because it is a space of social dominations crossing every field. This research contributes to a better understanding of *gender* mainstreaming, as it is often fuzzy (as have been seen in interviews).

The scientific relevance of this study lies in the contribution it makes to advancements in gender mainstreaming policies implementation. It also contributes to the framework of collaborative and participative governance processes and their transformative power. As the social aspect is little regarded in sustainability in general, this research participates in putting it back at the core of the notion of sustainability through the mobility aspect, that is more and more important in daily lives and appears as a challenge for sustainable cities. Tackling the gender aspect of these mobilities participates in a fuller understanding of the implications of the push towards soft modes of transports and provide concrete examples of gender mainstreaming measures that can be used as a basis for implementation in other contexts – *a fortiori* in France.

1.3 Research gap

An overview of the critics that can be drawn upon the existing or processing gender mainstreaming measures is given by Tummers et al. (2019, p. 83). In general, solutions implemented for reducing gender inequalities are not considered as such, because they are designed for short-term or too much subjected to the political agenda (Greed, 2005; Wekerle, 2005). Tummers et al. (2019) highlight the main challenges for gender mainstreaming planning policies, defining what should not be done and what should be focused. Firstly, the researchers warn about the risk of stereotyping people under homogeneous groups when wanting to define gender-specific needs, as this would deny any “perspective of change” (and gender, as culturally constructed, is subject to changes through times and place) (Tummers et al., 2019). Secondly, they point out the dilemma between “strategic and tactical objectives”, where “strategic” actions would be long-term solutions and “tactical” ones short-term solutions that will not solve the structural (gender) inequalities (*ibid.*). Long-term actions suppose that the suppression of these inequalities is the main goal of gender mainstreaming policies, which implies a continuing political agenda. Finally, Tummers et al. (2019) highlight that “the local materialisation of planning decision” may be at odds with the practice of everyday life, going through all scales of planning practice. In other words, there can be a contradiction between daily life, happening at all scales and through different sectors, and the localised and sectoral aspect of planning policies. This already suggests a need to combine daily life practices with transdisciplinary policymaking which must have long-term actions. Even though these inconsistencies are focused on planning in general, they are also relevant in transport planning.

After Hanson (2010), several aspects should be further developed or researched in the realm of gendered mobilities. Indeed, she points out that equity of mobility and access requires a better understanding of the factors leading to women's lower (or equal or greater) mobility. This necessitates answering questions such as: "When and where do women understand their lack of mobility (if applicable) as constraining and disempowering or as empowering, sustainable, and perhaps enjoyable [...]?" or "Do women with relatively low level of mobility nevertheless have sufficient access to opportunity?". Having a better knowledge of people's mobility experiences would allow to define more accurate policies in transport. Moreover, as Hanson (2010) highlighted, in the context of sustainability these issues are even more acute, as defining sustainable transport policies without challenging the power gendered relations at stake in this field will result in deeper inequalities between genders. Answering such questions also requires bringing together gender, sustainability, and mobility, and studying them as intersecting fields (what little have been done, she says).

Gender studies are well-developed in the Anglo-Saxon world for several decades now. A rather large amount of academic work can be found on this topic, in any field including the spatial planning one (see for example Fainstein and Servon, 2005; Hayden, 1980; Lindkvist Scholten & Joelsson, 2019; McDowell, 1983; Whitzman et al., 2013). Extensive research draws on gender mainstreaming policies, at the international, national, or local scales. Despite this foundation, the theme is not that much developed in France, which is lagging behind other European countries when it comes to tackling gender inequalities in a complete way. As mentioned several times in interview, one of the major obstacles to the implementation of GM policies in France is the lack of gender-disaggregated data. Another major obstacle mentioned is the French mindset, based on a very patriarchal vision of society, explicated in detail by Rey-Robert (2019), which may result in hostility towards GM measures. If the topic is more and more discussed these last years, mainly thanks to associations and activists, it still partial and sketchy. Moreover, studies on gender mainstreaming mobility policies in France mostly draw on the case of the Parisian public transports, which is a specific entity of its own among French public transports and is not easily transposable in other contexts. By studying the case of Lyon, relying on already existing measures at the local level, this research aims to offer a broader understanding on the implementation of GM policies in big cities (other than Paris) in France, keeping in mind that every context is different.

1.4 Research objectives and questions

This study will focus on a wide range of sustainable mobilities and analyse the different GM measures taken at the local level (in Lyon and its metropolitan region) to reduce gender inequalities in mobility. It will have a focal point on collaborative and participative measures, as it is considered to "produce more just outcomes" (Fainstein, 2014, p. 7) and thus improving the inclusivity of measures. By linking policies' gendered narrative to stakeholders' perspectives, a general understanding of the way gender mainstreaming policies are tackled at the local level will be drawn. Furthermore, by investigating a specific initiative involving women in the making of their safety in public transport, the research aims at understanding citizens' experience as policy implementers, and knowing if it changed their users' experience

on the transport network. The knowledge derived from this study aims at improving women's experience of sustainable mobilities and thus improving the public mobility service. It also intends to pinpoint collaborative and participative approaches in mobility as crucial in offering an inclusive, safe, and efficient transport service. This will contribute to answer the main research question:

To what extent are participative and collaborative approaches improving gender mainstreaming implementation in local sustainable mobility policies?

This main question is to be answered through the following set of sub-research questions:

- To what extent do sustainable mobility policies reflect the gendered perspectives of the different stakeholders?
- What kind of collaboration is there between the different stakeholders in tackling gender mainstreaming in local sustainable mobility policies?
- What are the implications of participation in the gendered experience of mobility?

To answer these questions, the researcher will go through the critical analysis of policy documents dealing with sustainable mobilities, focusing on gender and collaborative and participative aspects. The focus on Lyon, France, has been chosen because of already existing measures, that will be analysed through policy analysis as well as discourse analysis. Semi-structured interviews have been conducted with different stakeholders: the municipality, the transport company, local associations, and women users of public transport who took part in a participative measure on women's safety in public transports. Interviews have been conducted to answer the sub-research questions, allowing a deeper insight into their perspectives and analyse their experiences.

1.5 Structure of the research

This study starts with a literature review on gender, spaces, and mobility, which helps to better understand the links between these different concepts and how they relate in the case of this research. Collaborative and participative measures are also presented through a gender insight to show why it is relevant to tackle gender inequalities issues in sustainable mobilities through participative approaches.

The chapter on methodologies offers a comprehensive overview of the used methods to conduct this research, as well as a reflexion on their limits.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the presentation of the case-study; it first reviews different ideas of sustainability in France through time, allowing to see the evolution of this notion and better grasp the different implications of an ecological sustainability. The French context on sustainable mobility policies is introduced, explaining the administrative structure, the objectives, and the implementation of these policies. A specific focus on inequalities within sustainable mobilities and gender insight in France allows to understand the national context, which contributes to a deeper comprehension of the contextual settings, as French local policies are drawn on national – and European – ones. Finally, a presentation of the case study, the city of Lyon, allows to better grasp the local context of the study.

The chapter five and six present the investigation results and give keys to answer the research questions by delving into collaboration around sustainable mobility policies in Lyon and their gender insight. This policy analysis is completed by a stakeholders' discourse analysis on their perspective on gender mainstreaming: this contributes to a broader perspective on the gendered aspect of mobility policies in Lyon, both at the elaboration and implementation levels. Following this, the sixth chapter focuses specifically on the participative measure implemented on the transport network allowing women users to be actors of their safety within transports. The chapter considers their experience as both policy implementors and users to define what implications their participation had in (their) daily mobility.

Finally, the seventh chapter presents the main findings of this research and draws some reflexions and discussions that could constitute a deeper research on this same topic.

2. Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

2.1 Literature review

2.1.1 Planning, Gender and Space

As Fainstein and Servon stated in their introduction to *Gender and Planning: A Reader* (2005), “[f]or most of the history of planning, the subject of gender and gender differences was invisible” (p. 1). Indeed, it is only since the 1970s that several researchers focused on gender in relation to planning. To understand this relation and its implications, is it first important to define ‘gender’.

As the geographer Nightingale stated, “gender is the process through which differences based on presumed biological sex are defined, imagined and become significant in specific contexts” (2006, cited by Hanson, 2010). This helps to understand that ‘gender’ is a fluid notion, that may change through times and places. It is a system of social and cultural norms, defining roles and expected behaviours based on the biological sex of the person (Greed, 2005). It is usually seen as a binary system, constantly opposing men and women. Greed also argued that gender “contains [...] the acknowledgement of a specific form of gender relations” (patriarchy) as well as different “power levels, biological pressures [and] sexual identities” (Greed, 2005). Gender is therefore a complex and social notion implying power relations, namely patriarchy. Moreover, as Beall (1996) stated it, space and power have a strong correlation, and consequently the urban spaces are reflecting the male-dominated (patriarchal) society in which we are living (Fainstein and Servon, 2005). Indeed, when applied to space, the concept of gender is translated as the occupation of certain places by men (public spaces, workspaces) and others by women (the household, child-related spaces) (McDowell, 1983; Fainstein and Servon, 2005, p. 4). Moreover, as spaces are socially constructed, they embody this dichotomy. Several feminist researchers have shown that the dichotomy of gender is manifest within daily spaces: the public space is associated with men, and therefore adapted to them. But when it comes to women, these same spaces are disadvantaging them because they fail to answer their specific needs: indeed, different people use the space differently (Burgess, 2008).

Similarly, city planning is influenced by this gender dichotomy: all the spaces we use are influenced by the gendered social norms and because these norms are binary, these spaces tend to not be inclusive (as we saw, gender is cultural, therefore fluid and multiple). Consequently, the public spaces, as well as cities in their planning, design and building tend to be unequal and sexist spaces (see for example Hayden, 1980). Furthermore, as Fainstein and Servon (2005) pointed out, the way in which cities are planned and produced is also influenced by the vision of planners, designers, and decision-makers. These people are mainly men, which supports and reinforces a masculine domination of the city, either unwillingly because of ignorance of the inherent sexism of cities, or because they show hostility towards such issues, or because of inaction (Greed, 2005).

During the last decades, the awareness raised (mainly) by feminist planning encouraged the emergence of various national and international initiatives to reduce gender inequalities around the world. Such initiatives are contributing to mainstream gender in policies around the world, and therefore several researchers have stressed the importance to implement gender mainstreaming in national and local policies to reduce gender inequalities (Burgess, 2008; Greed, 2005; Hanson, 2010; Huning, 2014; Tummers *et al*, 2019). *Gender mainstreaming* refers to “the process whereby gender issues, relations, power differentials and identities are taken into account” within the different stages and aspects of the plan-making process (Greed, 2005, p. 720). Several policies are trying to reduce the gender inequalities produced by the city, such as the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), which is a European policy. Indeed, this treaty “requires the mainstreaming of gender considerations into all aspects of policy-making – including spatial planning – within all local authorities within the EU” (Greed, 2005, p. 1). More recently, the 2030 United Nations’ Agenda for Sustainable Development published 169 targets distributed among 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)². The Goals number 5³ and 16⁴ are dealing with gender equality and inclusivity, while the Goal number 11 aims to “Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable”. Other policies, at national and local levels, intend to reduce gender inequalities and foster a sustainable development of cities. Those policies are supposed to include a gender insight, in order to rectify the gender inequalities at stake within the urban space. The field of transport is one of the most interesting to look at when dealing with gender mainstreaming policies. Indeed, it presents a lot of gender inequalities, but it is also of a primordial importance within the city and therefore requires a special focus from the authorities.

2.1.2 Mobility infrastructure and gender

Mobility is at the heart of urban life, and therefore a central planning dimension to understand how gender inequalities are reproduced and mitigated. In this research, the concept of mobility is defined as “the movement of people from one place to another in the course of their everyday life” (Hanson, 2010, p. 7). As Pratt and Hanson argued (1994), gender is also developed and constructed through everyday practices in space, such as daily mobilities (cited by Hanson, 2010). Transport planning and mobility are therefore important instruments for the mitigation or reproduction of gender inequalities.

A wide literature about mobility and gender already exists, and it allows to acknowledge the fact that mobilities within the city are gendered. Indeed, since 1990s researchers helped to introduce new perspectives on transport, showing that transport is a gendered practice, including travel modes choices and purposes of trips (Joelsson and Lindkvist Scholten, 2019). This entails that men and women experience their mobility differently, having different travel patterns and therefore different needs (Greed, 2005, 2019;

² <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>, [no date]

³ “Achieve gender equality and empowerment of all women and girls”

⁴ “Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels”

Law, 1999; Peters, 2011). For example, it has been widely proved that women tend to have more fragmented trips (“chain-trips”) than men, because they are mostly in charge of child- and elderly care, as well as household tasks (shopping, etc.) (Dymén and Ceccato, 2012; Greed, 2019; Peters, 2011). Moreover, women tend to feel less safe when transiting, especially at night, which can be a factor of mobility constraint (Gilow, 2015; Holland Alumni Network, [no date]). Because of the neglect of the gendered nature of mobilities, women (mainly) are disadvantaged by the transport system as it does not take their special needs (safety requirement, consideration of their more complex travel patterns, etc.) into account (Joelsson and Lindkvist Scholten, 2019; Wekerle, 2005). As women’s views and needs concerning spatial functionalities (including issues such as crime, streetlight, accessibility, etc.) are not considered in the traditional land-use zoning which remains highly based on male perception of spatial functionality, their mobility is more difficult (Booth et al., 1996; Greed, 2019). These inequalities of mobility across the city still exist despite the growing number of women among decision-makers and planners, because of the persistence of male norms (seen as universal) in society and planning systems (Levin and Faith-Ell, 2019).

Mobility is also work-related; indeed, it has been showed that women are, for the majority and even in developed countries, in charge of most of the unpaid work, including caretaking activities (Greed, 2019; Joelsson and Lindkvist Scholten, 2019; Peters, 2011). As they are more and more present on the labour market (Peters, 2011), they have to combine their paid work with the caretaking activities, resulting in more “complex, multi-purpose” trips, interrupted to drop or take the children at school or doing groceries (Greed, 2019). Those trip-chain and multi-task mobilities are the reality of many people (essentially women) and are not taken into account by most of the transport systems, which consequently disadvantage those people in their mobility, as Greed showed for the case of the United Kingdom (2019). Koskela’s study found out that women in Finland are constrained in their mobility, especially at night (1997, 1999, cited by Damyanovic, 2013). Inés Sánchez de Madariaga (2013) introduced the concept of “mobilities of care”, embedding daily travels associated with unpaid care work. Pointing out the fact that this kind of work is not considered in transport planning practice (except in Scandinavian countries) she stresses the failure of city and transport planning concepts, techniques, and practices to recognise the urban and transport implications of such work, resulting in women’s trip-chain, multi-tasking, time-poverty and thus reduced mobility within the city (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2013). Similarly, Hirt (2008, cited by Peters, 2011) showed the complex situation of women (mothers) in post-socialist Bulgaria, where suburban families “still only own one car”, mostly used by husbands to go to work, and therefore leaving women “at the mercy of infrequent and often inconvenient public transit”. This results in a double burden for them, namely paid and unpaid work (the latter being rarely shared with men). As women are today as much in the labour force as men (Peters, 2011; Roberts, 2013), this fosters the urgent need of reliable and efficient transport systems, considering the needs of women as well.

When dealing with gender and transport the question of safety in public spaces also emerges. The issue of violence in public transport is a constrain to people’s mobility, and is related to gender: indeed, women are a lot more affected by unwanted sexual contact or harassment in public transports (Peters, 2011). Therefore, they take into account these risks

while making their travel choices, which affect their overall mobility within the city. For example, women tend to make less use of public transports and walk less at night because of safety reasons (for the most) and therefore experience a constrained mobility, unlike men (Peters, 2011; Wekerle, 2005). Levy (2019, p. 49) identified three important factors related to the notion of ‘travel choice’: she showed that travel decisions are based on social position, social relations (power relations) within daily spaces, and norms “exercised in the private as well as the public sphere”. The power relations on which social relations are based favour the “dominant gender, class, ethnic, religious, sexuality and age groups” (Levy, 2019). It is then important to acknowledge the intersectionality of social relations to fully understand the shaping of cities and transport systems (*ibid.*). Intersectionality thus implies that different inequalities are linked, *intersect* between each other.

Mobility being a form of appropriation of public space, it is therefore connected to Lefebvre’s concept of “the right to the city”, which implies “the right [...] to participation and appropriation” (1996, cited by Levy, 2019). Being able to move freely in the private as well as the public space is considered one of the factors of women empowerment (Hanson, 2010), which highlights the urgent need of mobility equality within the city. However, as some researchers argued, this need may be hindered by sustainable mobilities that create deeper inequalities between men’s and women’s mobilities (see Greed, 2019; Raibaud, 2015).

2.1.3 Sustainable mobility infrastructure and gender

The inequalities previously mentioned concerning gender and mobility may be reinforced by the policies fostering sustainable mobilities and sustainable development of cities.

As Greed (2019) stated, during the 1960s cities were planned according to the concept of urban decentralisation as well as the distinct separation between work and home places. This entailed a car-based urban infrastructure, helped by the democratisation of access to private car ownership (in developed countries). Consequently, public transports were on the decline, because less used. Moreover, at the end of the 20th century, out-of-town development of shopping malls, leisure facilities or supermarkets as well as the decentralisation of schools or hospitals increased traffic congestion, creating more and more commuting trips (Greed, 2019). The relationship between greater distance between home, workplace and services, greater use of private car and smaller use of public transport causing less care for it, was therefore manifest during the 20th century. This extensive use of private cars, added to the great industrial activity (mainly in the Global North) and the extensive use of Earth resources, is an important factor of greenhouse gas emissions causing an environmental crisis, mainly in the form of climate change.

For several decades, scientists documented this crisis, calling for a more sustainable management of resources. In this line, the concept of the sustainable city emerged in the 1990s, inspired from the garden cities of the 1900s and the ecological city of the 1970s (Basiago, 1996). This concept fosters a sustainable development of cities requiring to “[meet] the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their

own needs” (Brundtland Commission, 1987). Three pillars have been defined by the United Nations over several official documents⁵ to achieve a sustainable development: the economic, the environmental and the social (Basiago, 1996; Brundtland Commission, 1987). Mobility and sustainability merge when dealing with sustainable mobility, entailing the reduction of greenhouse gases (and other pollutants) emissions and of non-renewable resources as well as a greater equity of access (Hanson, 2010). A lot of different means to achieve this goal exist and reducing the use of cars is one of the main challenges that societies must cope with, because cities have been planned around the individual car (as discussed earlier). Promoting collective public transport (e.g. buses, tramways or metros) is one of the ways used by most cities to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, while enabling great access to the city. However, it must be acknowledged that the implementation of sustainable mobility measures has to be context-specific because mobility is deeply embedded in “social, cultural and geographical contexts” (Hanson, 2010).

As mentioned earlier, mobility implies an important social dimension, just like sustainability. However, some researchers have pointed out that this social dimension is often little recognised both in sustainability and mobility policies. Greed (2019), for example, denounced the “lack of consideration of the different social impacts” of transport policy, as well as “the over-emphasis” upon the environmental dimension of transport planning at the expense of the social one, in the United Kingdom. In the USA, Hanson (2010) pointed out that when dealing with gender, mobility, and sustainability, only two of the three dimensions of sustainability are met: the environmental and the economic ones. The social dimension, aiming at “social justice and equity” is not addressed. Several scholars also pointed out the importance of the gender dimension in sustainable policies and other denounced the global “invisibility of gender” (Magnusdottir and Kronsell, 2015) in sustainable policies. Hemmati and Röhr (2009) indicated this tendency in both international and national policies (cited by Wang, 2016). However, as Wang (2016) stated, the consideration of gender (as well as other social factors, such as class, ethnicity, etc.) is crucial in the change towards a sustainable lifestyle we need to operate. Indeed, acknowledging that gender (among other social factors) has a role in the choices of the individuals (Wang, 2016) would allow to better grasp and operate the sustainable shift in people’s daily lives; and neglecting this dimension would lead to deepen already existing inequalities, as everyday social practices and the use of energy resources tend to be gender differentiated across the world (in Germany, Sweden, Norway and Greece, see Rätty and Carlsson-Kanyama, 2010; in Taiwan, see Lee et al., 2010). This also allows to understand the importance of gender in sustainable mobility: the modal shift towards such mobility requires a change in daily life practices, in which gender has a great role.

However, the consideration of the social dimension varies depending on the context, which is an important aspect when dealing with gender and sustainable mobilities (see Greed, 2019). Indeed, Hanson (2010) highlighted that the changes required to “move towards sustainability” differ from place and time, insisting on the importance of “particular context-specific knowledge bases and practices” to implement such measures. These contextual

⁵ *Our Common Future*, 1987; *The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*, 1992 or the *Agenda 21*, 1992

aspects will cause different ways to tackle gender, mobility and sustainability depending on the countries. These aspects, according to Hanson (2010), “are likely to be”: (1) the integration of the individual in household, family and community; (2) the built environment at varying spatial cases and how it relates to the perceptions of personal safety and accessibility; (3) institutions; (4) access to different forms of information technology (e.g. Internet, cell phones) that affect mobility; and (5) cultural norms and expectations (related to labour market division, childcare, etc.). She therefore insists on making the “context central to the analysis”: creating several context-based studies will provide “a range of findings” that will be useful to get an overview of all realities as well as allowing researchers to make statements both contextualised and generalisable (Hanson, 2010). This will favour the transfer of knowledge and practices of sustainability measures from one place and/or time to another (*ibid.*).

The social dimension in transport planning, and even more in sustainable transport planning, thus should not be minimised: the Non-Governmental Organisation Friends of the Earth declared that “transport is one of the worst perpetrators of sexual discrimination” around the world (cited in Greed, 2019). Similarly, Wachs (1996, cited by *Agence Française de Développement*, 2015) reports that “behaviours linked to transports are one of the life domains in which gender differences are expressed the clearest” (p. 6). The term “sustainability” in this research therefore stands for both an environmental and a social sustainability as two major dimensions of a sustainable development of cities, aiming to reduce the impacts of human activity on the environment without widening already existing inequalities.

Indeed, it has been shown that in general women are among the most disadvantaged populations in sustainable mobilities, as they are foremost in charge of child- and elderly care, household tasks, and have more complicated travel patterns than men (chain-trips), which justify the use of a personal motorized vehicle (car) when they can have one (Peters, 2011; Raibaud, 2015; see also Sánchez de Madariaga, 2013). Therefore, policies instituting extra costs for the use of personal cars (such as parking fees for example) are described as disadvantaging women in their daily lives (Greed, 2005, 2019; Raibaud, 2015). Moreover, because of their lower economic status (women generally earn less than men (Greed, 2008)) they tend to be poorer than men and cannot always afford public transport, mostly in developing countries, where it is more expensive (Peters, 2011). It is also interesting to highlight that there are more differences in mobility between women in different countries (in Global North *versus* in Global South) than between men and women in general: indeed, women represent the majority of public transit users in developed countries (Henriksson, 2019; Peters, 2011). Those differences show the importance of context in the analysis of this topic. Furthermore, women tend to be disadvantaged by sustainable transport policies because of the amount of unpaid work they do and because this unpaid work is not often shared, especially in developing countries (Peters, 2011). Even in the EU, care- and household-activities are mostly assumed by women: 37.5% of them are doing care-activities every day, and 78.7% of them doing housework⁶. This unpaid work requires a lot of transportation and takes a lot of time. Consequently, a lack of public transport may hinder women’s mobility;

⁶ <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2020/domain/time>, EIGE (data from 2016)

moreover, the network must be efficient and widely developed, in order to foster sustainable mobilities. This challenge should be handled while the modal shift to sustainable mobilities is operated; with no changes in the traditional transport planning and practices, the objectives of a sustainable society and environment cannot be met. Moreover, as already discussed, research has pointed out that safety related with sustainable mobilities (walking, public transports, etc.) is an important issue and may hinder some people to use them (among them, a majority of women). For example, Roberts (2013) argued that fear is higher at night-time, and especially in urban spaces in the UK. Similarly, Gilow's study about the feeling of unsafety at night in Brussels (2015) shows how women adopt different strategies when moving in public spaces, which are symptomatic of a common feeling of unsafety. An article in The Urban Mobility Daily based on studies by Monash University XYX Lab and Plan International (2018)⁷ showed that safety in mobility is a crucial issue all around the world, studying women's experience of five international cities: Lima (Peru), Madrid (Spain), Kampala (Uganda), Delhi (India) and Sydney (Australia). Their results show that more than half women have had "a negative experience in the street" (from 59% in Delhi, up to 79% in Kampala). The numbers are lower for "a negative experience in public transport": from 18% in Madrid up to 31% in Delhi. The article also shows the consequences of such experiences: in Sydney, 47% of women avoided coming back alone, 12% never came back there and even 1% stopped going to school or work. Thus, having bad experiences or feeling unsafe in public transit or in the streets may hinder one's mobility, and even have farther repercussions on one's daily life.

A paradox in studying the relationship between gender, sustainability and mobility is also worth to highlight. Indeed, research have shown that around the world, women tend to be more concerned by ecological issues and especially in the realm of transport (Peters, 2011; Smidfelt Rosqvist, 2019). Smidfelt Rosqvist (2019) studied more precisely the Swedish case and found that "women's transport behaviour in general [...] is more in line with [...] climate and sustainability objectives", because they tend to travel shorter distances and less by car than men. Based on the analysis of Kronsell et al. (2015), she points out that sustainable transport patterns could be designed on women's ones in order to achieve more sustainability in transport (Smidfelt Rosqvist, 2019). Regarding what has been previously argued (namely that men's trips are seen as basic, and that mobility is constructed around their experience), this would mean a complete reversal of the mobility situation.

Therefore, mobility – and even more sustainable mobility – implies an essential social dimension and neglecting it will perpetuate and reinforce the inequalities of mobility within the city (including access to transports). Recognising the existence of different travel patterns and travel choices and including this knowledge in policies with the will to definitely implement them in practice would result in a better public transport service.

⁷ Dr Nicole Kalms and Ross Douglas, 2018, Complexity and Contradiction: MaaS and the Gender-Sensitive Lens, <https://urbanmobilitydaily.com/complexity-and-contradiction-maas-and-the-gender-sensitive-lens/>, [no date]. [last retrieved 12/04/2020].

2.1.4 Collaboration and participation through a feminist lens

A way to improve knowledge of women's trips patterns and improve the public transport service as well as women's experience of public spaces can be found in collaboration between stakeholders, and most importantly in participative measures. The latter allow women to get involved in the making of the city, and more specifically the public spaces. As previously explained, social and gendered power relations are reproduced in planning practices, thus making men's perspective the traditional and universal one. Feminist planning aims at challenging this tradition and showing that planning processes are ideologically based, through a feminist critique of planning (Lennie, 1999). In this context, Lennie (1999) defined an "empowering framework of participation and action" where participation and involvement of women inhabitants in planning practices would contribute to a "shift from the 'dominator model' of social and organisational relations towards a 'partnership model'" (Lennie, 1999 after Eisler, 1994). Similarly, Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia "understand participation as a tool of empowerment" in which it is "essential to include a gender perspective". This implies putting forward the transformative power of participative processes, allowing to answer "women's needs [...] without limiting women to the care role, and without reproducing gender stereotypes; transformative in the sense of promoting women's ability to challenge these roles and stereotypes." (Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia, 2015).

Among the literature about citizen participation, debates raised around its tendency to "reproduce dominant hierarchies of power" (Monno and Khakee, 2012). In a specific gender insight, it is relevant to ensure that gendered power relations are not reproduced in participation processes; for example, by conducting women-only activities, workshops, or roundtables when appropriate (Lennie, 1999). Moreover, an action is also to be conducted upstream, when recruiting for the participation process, as women are less likely to engage in such processes. The reasons can be multiple, such as the time and place of the discussions (often overlapping with their caring activities, forcing them to organise differently and then adding mental charge); the feeling illegitimacy, of not having any valuable input (more present among women than men); or their traditional belonging to the private space, which creates a dichotomy with the public space field of planning and make them harder to reach in the eyes of planners (as it has been shown by Listerborn (2008) for the case of Rosengård, Malmö in Sweden).

In her article, Lennie (1999) draws "tentative moves" of an "empowering feminist framework for participation and action" along three axes: "epistemological assumptions", "methodological assumptions" and "assumptions about planning and community participation". Thus, she tackles the question of knowledge, opposing the scientific knowledge to the non-expert one consisting of local, contextual knowledge and experience. The latter is to be valued in the construction of a feminist empowerment participation process as it offers a greater understanding of local realities. Indeed, the relationship between scientific knowledge and lay knowledges has been more and more emphasised in science studies (Rydin, 2007 after Wynne, 1996). The importance of involving citizens in the planning practice has been specifically illustrated in the environmental domain, because people "live and work in close relationship with their physical environment" and consequently developed extended

knowledge on it through experience (Rydin, 2007). However, alongside the importance of local, experiential, and contextual knowledge, global context should still be taken into account (Lennie, 1999). Because of the equal value of scientific and non-expert knowledge, hierarchies are to be challenged, which avoids reproducing domination (Lennie, 1999). Indeed, “break[ing] hierarchies” is an aspect of gender-transformative urban planning, as stated Ortiz Escalante and Gutiérrez Valdivia (2015).

Lennie (1999) also fosters a transdisciplinary approach to community participation, which allows to grasp gender power relations and women experiences in their entirety. Such an approach requires collaboration and discussion among the stakeholders and among departments. Collaboration needs to be seen as a mutual learning and open communication, leaving space to participants and their contextual knowledge. Because of these criteria (and others, see Lennie, 1999), such partnerships empowering a feminist perspective are considered easier to implement at the local level. Indeed, Lennie (1999) argues that “at the level of the nation or the state, it is still predominantly men who are the decision-makers” which hinders the participative process between men and women, as Eisler has put forward (1994, cited by Lennie, 1999). Moreover, as already seen, the persistence of men in decision-making positions is a factor hindering the implementation of gender mainstreaming measures (Greed, 2008) and reinforcing patriarchal domination through a *boys’ club*⁸ logic. Nevertheless, partnerships between men and women, as well as between different levels and entities of decision-making, including citizens and valuing their experiences is central in the creation of a “more equitable and sustainable future” (Lennie, 1999).

2.2 Conceptual framework

Following Lennie’s work (1999), planning and participation are here conceptualised as socially constructed, which means they bear values and beliefs of those involved in these processes. This include power relations, such as the two being researched here: gender power relations and knowledge power relations. The former is reflected at all levels and in all fields because of the patriarchal society. In planning specifically, decision-makers are mainly men, and cities are made from their perspective. Moreover, the traditional women’s space is the private one, opposed to the public one that is often not friendly to them and where men’s domination occurs (among other spaces). This appears problematic notably in the field of mobility, as women face more constraints in practice. The latter is conceptualised by Foucault’s knowledge/power nexus, which implies that those having knowledge have the power (in Lennie, 1999). To overthrow this hierarchy sustaining a relation of domination, planners can involve citizen in the planning process, giving value to their local and contextual knowledge.

⁸ A boys’ club designates an informal, private network, only open to men where they help each other through co-option, excluding women. It is here used to express the tendency that men have to favour and defend other men, even though they are strangers (see the podcast (in French) *Les Couilles sur la Table #35: Ligue du LOL, la force du Boys’ Club*, Victoire Tuillon, Binge Audio, 2019, <https://www.binge.audio/podcast/les-couilles-sur-la-table/ligue-du-lol-la-force-du-boys-club-2>).

It thus appears that GM approaches in urban mobility should acknowledge gender power relations and involve citizens. Combining these two approaches lead to an empowering participation framework for women as defined by Lennie (1999). This will result in sharing knowledge, gaining precious insights from women's experiences and being able to answer their needs more accurately.

Moreover, collaboration between stakeholders from the public sphere (planning authority), the private sphere (enterprises) and the civil sphere (associations) around gender issues in mobility would contribute to a broader understanding of these matters by working in an interdisciplinary manner. In this case as well, gender power relations must be taken into account and knowledge should be shared in a non-hierarchical way. Gender sensitivity in sustainable mobility policies can be evaluated with the '9 Ps' of gender-sensitive urban transport planning and policy making' that can be found in Chapter 3.2 (Peters, 2011 after Greed, 2008 and Reeves and Greed, 2003). Empowering women's participation, collaboration between stakeholders and gender sensitivity in planning are thus interrelated and contribute to the implementation of GM policies in sustainable mobilities. Moreover, they embed a part of the social sustainability often neglected in mobilities (at the profit of economic and environmental sustainability).

The main research question of this study is the following: *To what extent are participative and collaborative approaches improving gender mainstreaming implementation in local sustainable mobility policies?* The expected answer is that participative and collaborative approaches have a major influence on the good practices and implementation of GM policies. Thanks to interdisciplinarity, it is expected that the policies will offer a more accurate and complete tackling of gender issues. Participation of citizen, and here specifically of women is expected to produce more accurate answer to women's specific needs in mobility, relying on their experiences. This consequently implies valuing people's contextual/local knowledge and using it in implementation of GM policies, alongside a complete and transdisciplinary approach to gender issues and a sensitivity to gender matters. It is expected that if these three concepts are considered when designing and implementing GM policies in sustainable mobilities, it will result in more inclusive and just mobility for all. *Figure 1* shows these relations in a visual way, while *Table 1* presents how these three concepts relate with sub-research questions, as well as the respective expected answers.

Table 1. Concepts derived from the theoretical framework, related to sub-research questions, and expected answers

Concept used for GM policies in sustainable mobilities	Research question	Expected results
Gender sensitivity: There is a need of political support and implication from different stakeholders for GM policies to have a real impact on people's mobility.	<i>To what extent do sustainable mobility policies reflect the gendered perspectives of the different stakeholders?</i>	Blurry perspectives because of the vagueness of the term "gender mainstreaming", which is quite new in France and especially in mobilities. However, gender is expected to be an important focus especially since change in Lyon's municipality.
Transdisciplinary collaboration: It is required because gendered power relations are reproduced in every field of urban planning. Gender must be a theme going through different documents and departments. This allows to tackle gender issues in an exhaustive way.	<i>What kind of collaboration is there between the different stakeholders in tackling gender mainstreaming in local sustainable mobility policies?</i>	Horizontal and vertical collaboration on different topics related to gender issues in mobility (education, safety, care role). Space for and power/value to associations and their discourses is expected, as well as the presence of both feminist and mobility associations.
Citizen participation: (When accurate, specifically women participation) It will allow citizen to take part in the construction of their mobility, and to point out their specific needs through their contextual knowledge and experiences, which will lead to a more inclusive mobility.	<i>What are the implications of participation in the gendered experience of mobility?</i>	The implications expected are more accurate policies to answer people's needs in mobility. Specifically, an improved mobility for women: smoother (in schedules, intermodality, facilities) and safer (feeling of unsafety restored on the network and trust in transport agents).

Author's work, 2021

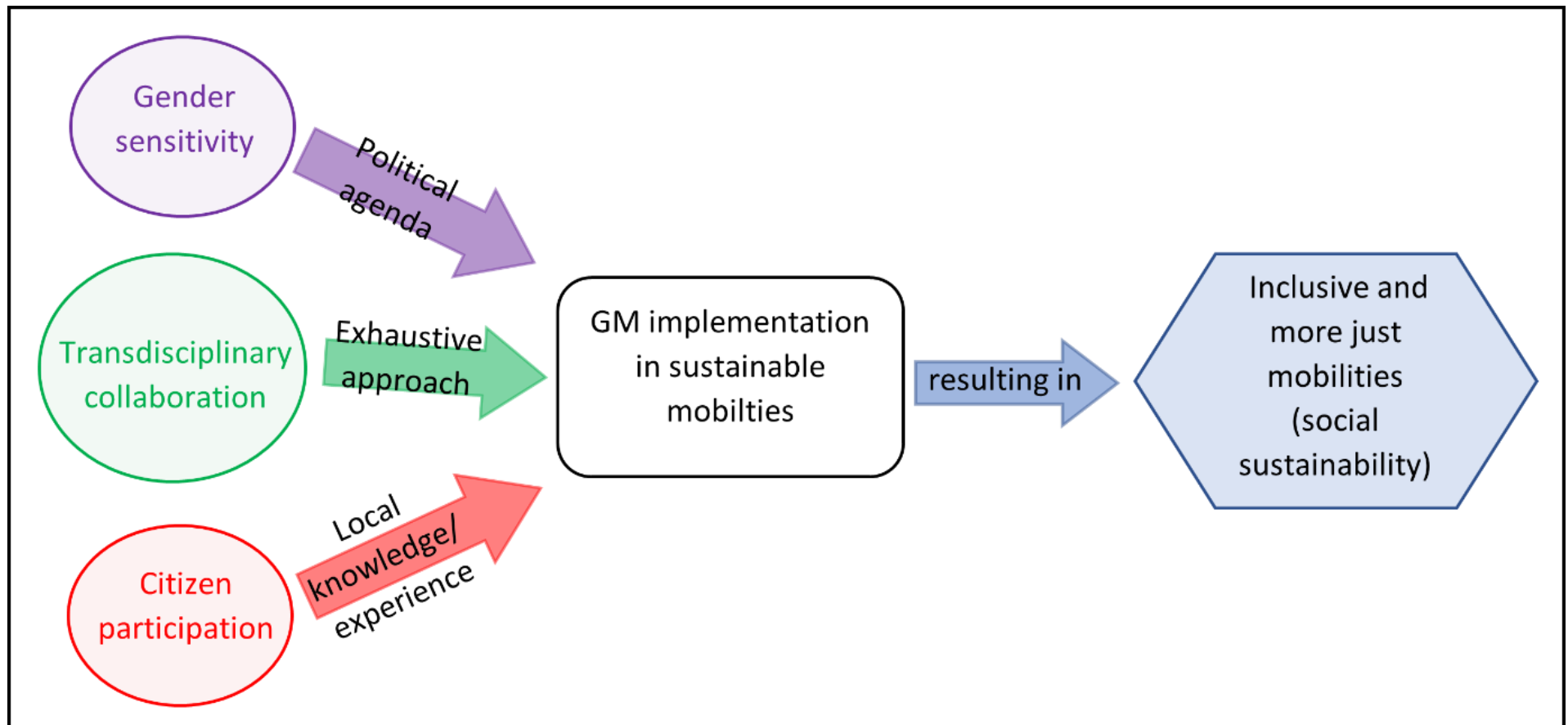


Figure 1. Visual representation of the conceptual framework. (Author's work, 2021)

3. Research methods

This research aims at studying collaborative and participative approaches in gender mainstreaming in sustainable mobilities and determine if they have a positive influence on their implementation at the local level. To this goal, qualitative research methods will be employed: policy-document analysis and semi-conducted interviews, followed by discourse analysis. Interviews are important for this study, as they will represent the practice of the policies *versus* the theory expressed in policy documents. They will help pointing out differences, understanding the implementation of GM measures and get insights in stakeholders' and users' perspectives. Moreover, the strong focus on a feminist topic for this research calls for a qualitative approach, closer to people's experiences. Furthermore, as statistics often do not consider this specific gendered dimension, a quantitative approach seems less relevant. However, statistics are important to understand and handle this issue, and some of them are gender disaggregated (especially in the field of transport). Consequently, quantitative methods will be used in the analysis of the issues, but in a less prominent way than qualitative methods.

As Bryman (2012) argued, social research is inherently influenced by the beliefs and own influences of the researcher. It is therefore important to acknowledge those influences and be aware of them, to be as neutral as possible in the conduct of the research (even though social research is never neutral). This research falls within the feminist framework in planning, which implies several considerations. Feminist research induces to be conducted by women for women, fostering their political needs (Bryman, 2012). It also implies a strong preference for qualitative research methods because quantitative ones are considered to be related to male values of control and hierarchical relationships (which is especially true for interviews, see 3.3) (Oakley, 1981 in Bryman, 2012). Even though this division between qualitative and quantitative research methods is nowadays more blurred in feminist research (Bryman, 2012), those considerations are still relevant to acknowledge.

3.1 Choice of the case-study

This research will draw on a case-study, as it is interested in local implementation of GM policies. The city level is here relevant as urban mobility is the most used on a daily basis. Moreover, participation of citizens is usually rather implemented on the local level. A French city has been chosen because of the easier access to policy-documents, as French is my native language. Lyon has been chosen because it is one of the biggest cities in France, thus presenting several challenges in mobility. It has been little researched, as most of research on this topic relies on the Parisian case, as previously argued.

Moreover, the city already implemented GM measures in mobility, which are to be analysed in this research. In addition, the 2020 local election saw the victory of the ecological party, which stressed the importance of gender equality. It is then supposed that the new municipality will focus on implementing GM measures which could notably imply enhancing collaboration with feminist associations.

3.2 Methods for policy-document analysis

To analyse gender mainstreaming policies implemented by Lyon municipality, and especially the gender insight in the collaborations around sustainable mobilities policies, I will run a policy-document content analysis on local policies. The local authorities in France are committed to the national State in terms of policy orientation; therefore, the objectives are nationally defined, then locally implemented. I will analyse strategic plans from the public transport authority as well as guides and handbooks edited by the city and the public transport authority to inform people about gender inequalities in mobility. This analysis will be conducted to answer the following sub-research questions: *To what extent do sustainable mobility policies reflect the gendered perspectives of the different stakeholders? What kind of collaboration is there between the different stakeholders in tackling gender mainstreaming in local sustainable mobility policies?*

To evaluate the gender-sensitive dimension of the policy document studied, the analytical framework ‘The 9P’s of gender-sensitive urban planning and policymaking’ (see *Box 1*) will be adopted (Greed, 2008 after Reeves and Greed, 2003; Peters, 2011). More precisely,

Box 1. The ‘9 Ps’ of gender-sensitive urban transport planning and policy making

Preliminaries: What supportive initiatives, resources and possibilities exist already?

Specifics: Review pre-existing international and national gender mainstreaming policies and/or any additional locally specific mandates. Reach out to national or local advocacy organizations which can support gender-integration into the process.

Planners: Who is doing the planning? Who are perceived to be the planned?

Specifics: Make sure the planning team has female decision-makers on staff. Integrate a Gender Impact Assessment into early stages of the process. Make sure planners pay attention to the complex constraints that women’s (or men’s) multiple roles as wage earners, caretakers and community workers place on their trip-making behaviour. Do not over-emphasize the needs of (male) commuters who are making simple journeys to and from work.

Populations: How are statistics gathered and who do they include?

Specifics: Make sure pedestrians are included as a key transport user category in all statistics. Make sure all data is collected in a gender/sex-disaggregated manner. Ensure that complex trip-chains are properly reflected in the statistics. Employ participatory methods, gender-sensitive surveys and focus groups in the manner specified below.

Priorities: What are the values, priorities and objectives of the plan?

Specifics: Again, make sure all non-motorized movement is included and recognized in the plan. Make sure gender-disaggregated data is not only collected but also properly analyzed and integrated into the plan-making process. Focus on access, not mobility. Consider household travel patterns as intra-linked. Make sure transport and land-use patterns are understood as intimately linked. Pay greater attention to non-commute trips and complex trip chaining patterns required to navigate between places of residence, work, education, social services and leisure.

Participation: Who is consulted and who is involved in participation?

Specifics: For household surveys, make sure interviews do not simply consult male heads of households but include all household members. Come to the home when women are likely to be present. Factor in cultural or religious factors, e.g. by sending female interviewers in contexts where contact with male strangers is

not tolerated inside or outside a home. Complement surveys with gender-sensitive and gender-focused stakeholder consultations. Document results in a gender-disaggregated manner. Find ways to document latent, unmet travel demand among sedentary household members.

Piloting: How is the policy evaluated? Are discussion groups used? How are they selected?

Specifics: Make sure women and men with diverse age, socio-economic, ethnic backgrounds are selected to comment on the programme/policy. Document results in a disaggregated manner. Reach out widely into community.

Programme: How is the policy or the project implemented, monitored and managed?

Specifics: Ensure that implementing individuals are sensitive to gender issues. Allocate budget resources to monitoring and evaluation. Allocate budget resources to Gender Audits.

Performance: Who benefits? Who loses out? What side effects are there?

Specifics: Ensure that concerns from Gender Impacts Assessments are being continually addressed. Focus on system flexibility, affordability, comfort rather than a simplistic preoccupation with single-journey time savings. Trace who bears the burden of increased costs or time costs. Consider the gendered effects of service cuts (especially for off-peak travel in outlying areas).

Proofing: Is gender incorporated into each policy? Does it make sense?

Specifics: Develop programme or project specific benchmarks. Re-evaluate gender-specific assessments and performance expectations over the life course of the project.

Source: Peters, 2011, after Greed (2008, pp.250–251), and Reeves and Greed (2003).

this analytical framework will be adapted to this research, as it is meant to be adjusted depending on the context. This adaptation is even more required as it has primarily been designed to analyse project prior to their implementation and will be used here to analyse already implemented projects. The results will be put in regard with the results of the interviews so the gap between the policies and the implementation will be further analysed.

The '9Ps' are a "mini-toolkit" to help transport decision-makers and planners in their task, by defining key factors to take into account to achieve gender equality. It is part of the gender mainstreaming strategy developed by Greed (2008) for the Royal Town Planning Institute (after Reeves and Greed, 2003). The toolkit, primarily thought to enable local spatial planners "to mainstream gender into planning policy and practice" (Greed, 2008), is not meant to be rigidly followed as she explains. It is rather designed to put gender mainstreaming into debate and guide the planning process by questioning each stage of it. Moreover, as Greed specifies it (2008), "every planning location is different and [...] it is up to the planning authority itself to [...] apply [the principles] as best suits them." Thus, even though this toolkit was firstly developed for the UK case, it is possible to adapt it for other case-studies. This analysis will allow to have a broad overview on the gender issue in sustainable mobilities in Lyon and therefore will help to point out more accurately its shortcomings. As the analysis will take place after the implementation of GM measures in Lyon's sustainable transports, the goal here is not to influence projects' implementation, but rather to provide a gendered critique. This could be useful for adjusting the current policies, implementing future ones, and/or improving the understanding of gender mainstreaming in mobility.

The '9Ps' toolkit for this research will be adapted as follows. The already existing policies on gender mainstreaming in sustainable mobilities will not be analysed mainly

because of time constraints, which justifies the removal of “Preliminaries”. Moreover, as the issue of gender mainstreaming is quite recent in French policies (see 4.4), it seems better to focus on current policies at the local level, that are in relation with national policies. “Priorities” have been updated: here, we will analyse “policies” and not “plans”. Finally, “Proofing” seems here irrelevant because the analyse is made on policies already incorporating gender: indeed, it is more the gendered vision than its presence (or not) that will be analysed. This adapted ‘9Ps’ method will be used as a guide for the policy-document analysis (Chapter 5).

3.3 Interviews: methods for analysis

Seven interviews have been realised in the conduct of this research, of experts and non-expert people: a policymaker at the municipality level, local associations’ managers and a person working for the transport network. Non-expert people interviewed are lines’ ambassadors who participated in gender mainstreaming policies implementation (see 3.2.2) and are daily users of sustainable mobilities. The interviews are semi-structured ones, in accordance with the qualitative methods used for this study. Such interviews are conducted following a guide with topics to tackle and open questions, and allow a greater flexibility in the interview to envision new questions during the conversation and to better reflect the interviewee’s point of view. As the researcher conducted little interviews before this research, the guide consists of precise questions that must be answered through the interview. The flexibility relies on the opportunities to react to interviewees’ discourse and to ask more questions while in interview. In addition, one of the goals of these interviews is to get insight in respondents’ perspectives, thus letting them speak freely.

Moreover, conducting semi-structured interviews as part of a qualitative research method, is more in compliance with the values implied by feminist research. As Bryman (2012) stated it, feminist research is characterised by as little power relationships as possible between the interviewer and the interviewee to create a trust relation between them, therefore having deeper insight in personal views or experiences of the interviewee. This method is relevant to investigate people’s experiences and their perspectives on GM policies and collaboration.

The interview guides are quite different for decision-makers and associations’ managers because the aims of these interviews are different: the goal for interviews with decision-makers is to bring a more precise and complete view on municipality’s actions and organisation concerning gender mainstreaming in sustainable mobilities; but interviewees’ perspectives on the gendered aspect of mobilities have also been investigated. Understanding if municipality’s planners in charge of transports are concerned and/or committed to this cause, aware of the gender insight in sustainable mobilities is important for this kind of research (see Burgess, 2008; Greed, 2019). A discourse comparison has later been conducted to point out visions’ differences or similarities that will help to improve policies. Concerning the ambassadors, the guide differs as I focused on their experiences as participants to the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies and crossed it with their experience as users.

Due to the COVID-pandemic, it was not possible for me to go to Lyon. Consequently, the interviews have been held online. All the interviews have been conducted in French. The quotations reported in this research have been translated by the author. A list of all interviewees as well as additional information on interviews can be found in *Table 2*, at the end of this chapter.

3.3.1 Institutional actors' interviews

The experts interviewed are from different institutions. At the city level, the respondent is Rémy Le Floch, the Equality project manager (*Chargé de Mission Egalité*) working on gender issues. Concerning transport matters, the interviewee is Sandra Bernard, Security Manager of the SYTRAL. Two people from local associations have been interviewed: Michèle Vianès, President of the local feminist association *Regards de Femmes* and Leslie Agabriel, secretary and member of the board of directors at the local biking association *La Ville à Vélo*. The aim of these interviews is to compare different actors' visions on gender mainstreaming in mobility and point out the gaps and issues that need to be further reflected upon in their collaboration.

All institutional actors have been reached by mail. The interviews have been conducted through Zoom.

Policymaker

To have a more precise insight in municipality's work on the gender issues in transports and their work with relevant associations, an expert from the Equality Mission has been interviewed. After trying several times to reach the municipality – without success – and the metropolis, I finally get in contact with Rémy Le Floch. He at the municipality but is also in narrow collaboration with the metropolitan level, as he tackles issues such as gender inequalities, discriminations, or urban planning.

I wanted to get a deeper understanding of policies relating to these issues by discussing on policy results and identified gaps. The topics addressed comprise gender mainstreaming, sustainable transport, collaboration with associations. His own perspective on gender issues has also been investigated. This aspect has been examined through discourse analysis and did not consist of the main point of the interview. As several scholars pointed out, a cross-cutting work between different departments is important to better understand and implement gender mainstreaming measures. It is also crucial to not see the gender issue as detached from planning. This transdisciplinary aspect was then also investigated. By conducting this interview, I aimed at understanding and analysing how the municipality is tackling and implementing gender mainstreaming issues and what kind of collaboration they carry out around these matters.

The interview guide has been constructed depending on the issues found in the policy-analysis and during interviews with other stakeholders. They have been adapted during the interview, when deeper insight into topics tackled by the interviewee was needed.

Local associations

Local associations can mediate requests and bring progressive or critical understanding of gender mainstreaming policies. The goal was to interview manager or associated from a local association, preferably dealing with gender issues who could also tell about mobilities. I interviewed Michèle Vianès, President from a local feminist association, *Regards de Femmes*. Her association is also member of the Lyon's City Council for Women-Men Equality, which makes it interesting as it already points out a collaboration with the public authorities. I reached her by mail. Other local feminist associations have been reached by mail, without any success. However, the *Planning Familial 69* answered by giving contacts of biking associations dealing with the access to the biking practice for women. Thanks to them, I mailed and interviewed Leslie Agabriel, secretary and member of the board of directors in the association *La Ville à Vélo* (The City on Bike).

In the interview guides I focused on the work of the association, their point of view on gender mainstreaming policies implemented by the municipality, their collaboration with the municipality and their work within the Council for women-men equality in Lyon (for Michèle Vianès). For the biking association, I also asked about their actions related to gender issues. The focus was not on their personal experience, but one of the interviewees talked about it, which was interesting for the topic.

As associations' managers are part of the militant world and have progressive views, carefulness is required in their discourse analysis; indeed, the researcher should stay neutral. However, as their experience is also relevant for the research, personal views can be expressed.

Transport network

In order to have a deeper insight into specific public transport issues and in the measures implemented within the public transport network I interviewed Sandra Bernard, SYTRAL's security manager as she is among the people that pushed the lines' ambassadors' initiatives. She is also involved in measures to combat sexist and sexual assaults on the network.

A specific guide has been written this interview, focused on SYTRAL's actions to reduce gender inequalities in the transport network and specifically the ambassadors' initiative. I wanted to investigate the implementation and effects of their measures as well as what means were used for the implementation (participative roundtables, surveys, etc.). The discourse analysis has been compared with the policy analysis around a critical discussion on these measures.

I reached the SYTRAL by mail, asking for a contact with Sandra Bernard, and I was then able to e-mail her. One of the downfalls of this interview is that she told a lot about the measures already presented in the policy documents. It was complicated to get insights into controversial topics or eventual issues. This was partly because it was one of my first interviews. A complementary interview could not be done, due to time constraints. This is

eventually overcome with a focus on her views on the ambassadors' initiative, put in regard with the personal experiences of ambassadors.

3.3.2 Ambassadors interviews

As previously mentioned, SYTRAL's ambassadors have been interviewed for this research in order to get insight into their personal experience of this specific participative measure (both at the policymaking and results levels). Back in 2015, the SYTRAL launched a campaign aiming at reducing gender-based violence on its transportation network and created the role of "line ambassador". Volunteering women could consequently participate, by informing SYTRAL about their experience in transports. They conducted safety audits on the network, presenting their reports to committees of stakeholders gathering the SYTRAL and its partners and different municipalities (see Chapter 6). These women, as they participated in the development of gender mainstreaming policies for the transport network were crucial to interview.

They have been reached through the SYTRAL: Sandra Bernard forwarded my message to them. Moreover, as I was looking for users to interview through Facebook groups dealing with Lyon's transport network, one of the administrators of a group gave me the email of the SYTRAL's communication manager, who also forwarded my demand. Only three ambassadors answered to participate in interviews. Two are from the same 'wave' (the first one) and the last one recently conducted her safety audit (in 2019).

These interviews have been led with a different guide: their goal was to have a deeper insight into the actions they took with the SYTRAL, as well as their personal views on it. Moreover, a perception of their experience as users helped to understand if and how the policies they participated in implementing changed their users' experience.

The limitation here is that only three ambassadors answered positively, despite the fact that my demand was sent two times. This is a rather small sample, and it cannot be representative of an overall perspective. Interviewing more ambassadors would provide a better perspective on their experiences and potential improvement opportunities.

Finally, it was firstly intended to also interview women users of the network, to get insight in their view on the SYTRAL's measures and the way it changed – or not – their mobility on the network. However, this was not possible due to time and location constraints; not being able to go to Lyon in person also hindered the opportunity to interview users. It would nevertheless be an interesting perspective to have on the policies: as they aim at improving women's experiences of public transport, interviewing these users – who did not participate in the implementation – would allow a better valuation of the policies implemented.

Table 2. List of interviewees

Respondent	Function/Role	Date of interview	Time	Recording consent	Anonymisation required
Michèle Vianès	President of the local feminist association <i>Regards de Femmes</i>	22 nd April 2021	54min 24s	Yes	No
Michèle	SYTRAL ambassador	30 th April 2021	44min 36s	Yes	No
Pauline	SYTRAL ambassador	4 th May 2021	31min 11s	Yes	No
Sandra Bernard	SYTRAL Security manager	6 th May 2021	58min 04s	Yes	No
Anonymous (A3)	SYTRAL ambassador	8 th May 2021	50min 13s	Yes	Yes
Leslie Agabriel	Secretary, member of the board of directors of the local biking association <i>La Ville à Vélo</i>	12 th May 2021	29min 53s	Yes	No
Pauline (complementary interview)	SYTRAL ambassador	2 nd June 2021	6min 42s	Yes	No
Rémy Le Floch	Lyon's Project manager for Equality	3 rd June 2021	51min 28s	Yes	No

Author's work, 2021

4. Sustainability, mobility, and gender inequalities in France

4.1 Introduction

This research relies on a case-study conducted in Lyon, France. This city has been chosen on one hand because of its important transport network, in line with sustainable practices. On the other hand, Lyon has experimented and implemented several gender mainstreaming measures, mainly in its public transport network that are worth to analyse for this research. Finally, little research on sustainable transport and gender mainstreaming have been conducted in Lyon, the Parisian region being the most studied in this field. Yet, the latter is planned and managed differently from the rest of France because of the weight of Paris and its suburbs in the country. The Lyon's case is therefore different from the Parisian one and may be more accurate for a generalisation to the rest of France, despite the new missions and scope of action of the *Grand Lyon* metropolis (see 4.5). It stays interesting to see what is going on and how it is going on in Lyon concerning the collaboration and participation in sustainable transports and gender mainstreaming.

This chapter begins with a section dealing with the evolution of the idea of sustainability in French mobilities, briefly reviewing the history from the 1880s (beginning of industrial era) and giving a first insight into this issue. The second section focuses on French context and policies about mobilities, that are today inherently turned towards sustainability. This section allows to better understand the French political structure and objectives and implementation of these policies. Moreover, it also offers a quick overview of mobility challenges, tackling inequalities. The third section reviews gender mainstreaming in policies and in mobilities. This allows to grasp the national perspective on GM, both in global terms and in mobility, to provide a complete background for the case-study. Finally, the fourth section focuses on the city of Lyon, presenting the city and its position in French administrative framework, as part of a metropolitan area having a great weight in its department and region.

4.2 The French idea of sustainability since 1880s: no integrated approach

The concept of sustainable development, as firstly defined by the Brundtland Report (1987), fosters the balance between three pillars of sustainability: the economy, the environment and the social. Nowadays, the most emphasised of these pillars is often the environmental one, as climate change is one of the most urgent crises the humanity is facing. As Greed (2019) stated, the social pillar is often the forgotten one, but it was not always the case. Flonneau, Huré and Passalacqua (2018) identified three (successive) periods of 'sustainability' in French urban mobilities, each corresponding to a pillar of sustainability. If it seems anachronic to talk about 'sustainability' for the beginning of the 20th century, they argue that the preoccupation for certain forms of sustainability tackled through time cannot be denied. This article highlights the evolutions in both sustainability and mobility; in that sense, it helps to provide a general background for sustainable mobilities in France.

The first period identified is from the *Belle Epoque* (1880s) to the Second World War. From the 1890s onwards, motorisation was introduced in urban public transport, succeeding to horse-drawn vehicles that became obsolete because of the urban extension (1830s-1840s) to which they contributed. Motorisation was in line with the hygienist dynamic of the time, but it also allowed a bigger capacity and higher speed of transports (Flonneau et al., 2018). It induced progress and development of urban public transports and was financially attractive. This is seen as a form of economic sustainability, in the sense that it put forward a long-time vision linked with the necessity to guarantee investment profitability.

The second period identified starts after the Second World War, with the time of strong economic development (*Les Trente Glorieuses*). This period is accompanied by a universal vocation of urban travels thanks to the individual car, diffusing the idea of a renewed mobility that was prevented or constrained by the war (Flonneau et al., 2018). Individual motorisation spread widely in France, contributing to the “economic miracle” of the time. Mobility was “democratised and total [...] both physically and socially” (*ibid.*). The massive use of the personal car changed the spatial shape of cities as well as their infrastructures, supported by a voluntarist French State. Flonneau et al. (2018) argue that this period saw a social sustainability in mobility because the democratisation of the individual car contributed to the social prosperity of the *Trente Glorieuses* and reduced mobility inequalities. The car allowed to go further, which participated in the development of leisure travels for all. During the 1970s, a “violent and often ideological” criticism of the *Trente Glorieuses* emerged as the fuel crisis of the 1970s questioned the car dependence (Flonneau et al., 2018). Nowadays, this period is still broadly condemned because of their lack of (environmental) sustainability.

Since the 1970s, Flonneau et al. (2018) argue, we entered in a period favouring the ecological aspect of sustainability over the two others. The criticism of car-dependence fostered collective transports, biking, walking, and new car uses. Supported by international and national institutions and a change in French public policies, the relation to urban transport changed (Flonneau et al., 2018). In France, decentralisation and regionalisation encouraged integrated urban transport, putting forward intermodality (*ibid.*). It is also during this period that appeared new actors such as citizens and users of public transports, in the idea of a participative governance in the transport field. The article highlights that since the 1970s, the use of ‘sustainability’ translates a new period of transport development, where economic and social issues are completed by environmental ones (only one issue was considered in the previous periods) (*ibid.*).

Sustainable mobilities however reinforce or cause inequalities and power relations⁹, which challenges the notion of social sustainability. Therefore, the authors argue, using the adjective ‘sustainable’ for mobility raise the same contradictions as those in ‘sustainable development’ that is “ensure a growing and accessible development of mobilities while

⁹ For example, it has been shown that shared-bike services managed by companies (obeying to the market laws and therefore implementing those services in big urban centres with sufficient economic resources to financial profit) reinforce the interurban competition, which is the “major factor of inequalities between cities” (Flonneau et al., 2018).

reducing their environmental impact” (Flonneau et al., 2018)¹⁰. Finally, the article underlines that even though the impact of sustainable mobilities policies were proved to be positive, it has barely put into question the hegemonic place of the individual car; and when car travels managed to be reduced in urban centres, it kept growing in peri-urban spaces and in big cities of emerging countries (mainly China, India and Brazil), showing great territorial division in transport policies (*ibid.*). Consequently, the article questions a new meaning of the sustainable mobility, closer to ideas of proximity, accessibility, maybe even immobility.

This article helps to see the evolution of the idea of sustainability in French mobilities, even though it was not necessarily defined as such at the time. It also underlines the structural and systemic obstacles to the implementation of a complete sustainability reuniting the economic, social, and environmental pillars. It also challenges the notion of ‘sustainability’ and raises the question of inequalities strengthened by sustainable mobilities, as Raibaud, for example, denounced the gender inequalities reinforced by the sustainable city (2015). Finally, it allows to see the crucial role of the French national State in the implementation of (sustainable) urban mobilities as well as the emergence of more local authorities since the 1970s (regions, cities).

4.3 Insights in the French context on mobilities

As a member of the United Nations and the European Union, France must follow their directives concerning sustainability and sustainable development, such as the SDGs (UN, 2015) or the Amsterdam Treaty (EU, 1997). A lot of national laws edited in those two fields depend on the UN and EU laws or recommendations (Crozet et al., 2012); they are then implemented in the country according to its institutional structure.

Therefore, it is important to firstly present the political and institutional French context to better grasp the organisation of the territory. Transport policies in France will be introduced, showing the focus on environmental sustainability. Their implementation will be presented to better understand the challenges that can be faced at the local level (and in the case-study). Finally, the focus will be made on inequalities that sustainable mobilities may reinforce, challenging the very positive views that are often given on sustainable mobilities and putting the social aspect at the core of the topic.

4.3.1 Ongoing decentralisation of transport policies

France is divided into regions, themselves divided into “départements” (close to the idea of counties). Within the latter can be found “intercommunalités”, constituted by groups

¹⁰ Considering those contradictions (among others), the advocates of an economic decrease drew a criticism of sustainable development. See: Duverger, T. (2011). *La Décroissance, une idée pour demain : une alternative au capitalisme. Synthèse des mouvements*. Paris : Sang de la Terre. or Latouche, S. (2007). *Petit traité de la décroissance sereine*. Paris : Mille et Une Nuits.

of municipalities, managing a territory collectively¹¹. Under the intercommunal level is the municipal level, concerning municipalities and agglomerations. Each level (national, regional, departmental, or local) has specific abilities in spatial planning and transports, although the central state has the planning authority and regions have little regulatory power and are entitled to undertake plans (Tuggener and Zibell, 2019). Thus, it is the central government that gives directions to follow (in transport planning), through laws (themselves derived from UN and especially EU ones).

France passed several laws of decentralisation, known as the Decentralisation Acts in 1982-1985 and 2003-2004¹²; and in 2010, regions were reorganised to balance the disparities between them caused by the strong centralised power¹². The decentralisation led to a reorganisation of the administrative levels and abilities at the sub-national scale¹². It had a great influence on the field of spatial planning because it reorganised the abilities of the different levels of administration. Transport planning is consequently led by different administrative entities using different planning tools.

The abilities for transport planning are distributed among into four public actors with specific roles, summarised in *Table 3*.

Table 3. Actors of transport planning in France and their abilities

Administrative level	Abilities in transport planning
National State	Defines the general frame of public transport policy (law and control) and finance public transports. Used to be a major actor in funding, but now rather calls for proposals.
Region	Has authority on the organisation of regional trains and inter-urban road services. Is also the chief of intermodality on the regional scale (elaborates a regional scheme of inter-modal commuting).
Department	Is a social actor of the mobility. Was also an actor of the transport cooperation, until 2017 (ability transferred to the region)
Municipality (and groups of municipalities)	Is in charge of urban public transport, urban mobility (comprising shared modes, walking and the parking policy) and the urban logistic policy.

Author's work, 2021, after Saubion, CEREMA, 2017

¹¹ Created at the end of the 1990s, "intercommunalités" are administrative and territorial entities with geographical boundaries exceeding those of just one city (or town). They can therefore plan transports on a bigger level than the city and implementing more coherent transport scheme and offer (<http://geoconfluences.ens-lyon.fr/>, 2013).

¹² <https://www.interieur.gouv.fr>, 2012

The region and the municipalities, specifically, are major actors since 2017, date on which the department abilities were transferred to the region (Saubion, CEREMA, 2017); this follows one of the major objectives of a greater coherence of the transport network (see 4.3.3).

4.3.2 Challenges to mobility policies' implementation: coherence, cooperation, and behaviours

The fact that public transports governance is shared between different local authorities leads to a challenge in French mobility: the coherence of public transports. The legal frame of public transports is defined by several laws integrating this issue. The law on solidarity and urban renewal (SRU – *loi sur la Solidarité et le Renouvellement Urbain*, 2000) for example, reinforces the cooperation between the different organisational authorities of transport (*Autorités Organisatrices de Transport* – AOT) (Saubion, CEREMA, 2017). This is crucial because greater cooperation brings more coherence in the transport network. Another example of the efforts from the government to build a coherent transport network is the law on the new territorial organisational of the Republic (NOTRe – *loi sur la Nouvelle Organisation Territoriale de la République*, 2015) that transfers some transport abilities from the department to the region (Saubion, CEREMA, 2017). This helps to find coherence because the transports are planned at the regional (higher) level, which allows better connections (while working on schedules, for example) as well as unified transport policies (in terms of pricing, for example). The ideal of coherence in the public transport network also serves the ideal of sustainability, as more unified and better-connected transports would facilitate multimodal trips and participate in the development of intermodality.

Planning for the transport network implies to follow an administrative and territorial hierarchy, where scales are embedded into each other. Thus, cities are in charge of editing several tools for transport planning (such as the Urban Movement Plan or *Plan de Déplacements Urbains* – PDU) that have to be coherent with the Scheme of Territorial Coherence (*Schéma de Cohérence Territoriale* – SCoT), edited at the intercommunal level (Crozet et al, 2012). Moreover, cities define the Urban Transports Perimeter (*Périmètre des Transports Urbains* – PTU) that is the geographical area on which a chosen operator manage the transport network. Outside the PTU, it is the department that is in charge of transports (of both goods and people) (Crozet et al, 2012). Cooperation and intermodality are fostered as factors for a greater coherence on the transport network. They also favour the use of sustainable mobilities through complementary transport offers (e.g. schedule harmonisation, favouring and easing correspondences); users information or tickets; and pricing (e.g. a unique ticket for several networks, multiservice tickets, integrated pricing).

Despite the focus on sustainable transports (public transport, biking) at different administration levels, the change towards sustainable mobilities is also a social issue; indeed, it is strongly related to the modal behaviour of people (Rocci, 2019). It is therefore also important to understand the travel behaviours of people and the reasons of their travel choices (A'Urba, 2015; Rocci, 2019). For instance, the Urban Planning Agency of Bordeaux metropolis and the Observatory of Mobilities, and Rhythms of Life conducted in 2015 a study as well as a "debate workshop" around the question "How to change mobility behaviours?"

(A'Urba, 2015). Even though it is not mentioned in this summary, gender is an important factor that determines the travel choices and behaviour of people and especially of women (see Hanson, 2010). The question of sustainable mobilities is therefore strongly related to social considerations (among others), including the question of gender and gender equality.

4.3.3 Sustainability as the major objective of French transport policies

The environmental crisis pushes the country to commit with the idea of sustainability especially in public transports (of goods and people). Here as well, the legal frame is turned towards this issue. For instance, the Grenelle laws (2009 and 2010) aim at promoting sustainable development and conciliate the protection and valorisation of the environment with the economic and social development. It integrates an ecologic dimension to the transports issue through two main objectives: the development of collective and shared transports through evolution of infrastructures and behaviours, and the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions¹³. Similarly, the Law on Energetic Transition for Green Growth (*Loi sur la Transition Énergétique pour la Croissance Verte* – LTECV, 2015) is mainly focused on the access to and the management of a cleaner energy by developing alternative transport modes¹³.

At the policy level, the Ministry of ecologic and solidary transition regularly edits a National Transition Strategy for Sustainable Development (*Stratégie Nationale de Transition Ecologique vers un Développement Durable* – SNTEDD). This strategy aims to realise the three objectives of sustainable development (economic, ecological, and social) by defining several goals and priorities collectively. Its objectives (among others) are defined as “accelerat[ing] the energy transition; the diminution of greenhouse gas and the fight against pollution and roads congestion”; emphasising the use of less polluting individual and collective modes of transport; and facilitate multimodal travels (SNTEDD, 2015). This will be achieved through the development of the daily practice of shared, less polluting, and active mobilities, benefiting to “the environment, health, security and competitiveness” as stated in the law on orientation of mobilities (law n° 2019-1428, Article 1, 2019). Three pillars each divided in three axes, define on one hand a basis for sustainable development policies, and on the other hand guarantee the cohesion of this action at different scales (see *Table 4*)¹⁴. The SNTEDD also allows the participation of different public and private actors such as officials, NGOs, local public authorities, employers organisations, unions organisations, experts, and citizens through a public consultation. This suggests an interest in collaboration and participation in building the sustainable city. This strategy should be implemented at both national and local levels. The local actors are especially encouraged to initiate programmes or actions to promote sustainable measures in different fields, as their abilities have been reinforced since the 2010 territorial reform. Moreover, the State wishes to foster the creation of regional committees to help reaching the Strategy's goals. Finally, to be aware of the Strategy's impacts, a report is

¹³ <https://www.avise.org/articles/une-transition-vers-une-mobilite-durable>, 2018

¹⁴ <https://www.ecologique-solidaire.gouv.fr/>, 2019

to be given each year by a specialised commission from the National Council of Ecologic Transition¹⁵.

Table 4. Pillars and axes of the 2015-2020 National transition strategy for sustainable development (SNTEDD)

Defining a vision for 2020	Changing the economic and social model for a green growth	Favouring the appropriation of ecologic transition to everyone
Axis 1: Developing sustainable and resilient territories	Axis 4: Inventing new economic and financial models	Axis 7: Educating, forming and sensitising to ecologic transition and sustainable development
Axis 2: Committing in circular and low-carbon economy	Axis 5: Accompanying ecologic mutation of economic activities	Axis 8: Mobilising actors at all scales
Axis 3: Preventing and reducing environmental, social and territorial inequalities	Axis 6: Orienting knowledge production, research and innovation towards ecologic transition	Axis 9: Promoting sustainable development at European and international levels

Source: Ministry of ecologic and solidary transition, France, 2019

4.3.4 Intersecting inequalities in sustainable mobilities

As we have seen in the first part of this case-study (4.2), after the Second World War a period of strong economic growth happened in France. In transports, this growth translated in democratisation of the individual car and the transformation of cities, built around the car, and facilitating its use. These circumstances were concomitant with changes in the spatial organisation of cities: urban expansion, also facilitated by the massive use of the individual car (Caubel, 2006; Orfeuill, 2010); and periurbanisation (Caubel, 2006). A social repartition of people was also at stake, with a distinction between the resident neighbourhood (associated with the bourgeoisie) and the industrial and working neighbourhood (associated with workers) (*ibid.*). These spatial changes induced changes in mobility, as trips are longer and mostly done by car (*ibid.*). This led to a decline of public transport, at the expense of the poorer people who cannot afford a personal car (Mignot, 2004; Orfeuill, 2010). Seeing the importance of the car in our society, determining the access to the city and its services, to leisure and to employment, several researchers argued that mobility is “a new social norm” or “an imperious necessity” (Orfeuill, 2010; see also Mignot, 2004).

Nowadays, sustainable mobility is at the heart of cities development and policies. Public transports and alternatives to the car are enhanced as new modes of mobility. Spatial composition of cities changed: as the historical centres are renewed, they are also welcoming a wealthier population. Consequently, poorer people are living in peripheral neighbourhood

¹⁵ <https://www.ecologique-solidaire.gouv.fr/>, 2019

or at the margins of the city while being less likely to have a personal car, and their living place is also less likely to have a sufficient and adequate offer in public transports (Mignot, 2004; Orfeuill, 2010). Inequalities are therefore the most acute between people who own a personal car and those who does not. Moreover, poorer owners are more likely to have an older car and have a different use of it (calculate money for gas, use it for emergencies, ...); the share of their budget dedicated to the personal car is also much more important for them (Orfeuill, 2010). In our society, where employment areas are bigger and bigger, the ownership of a personal car is also guaranteeing the access to a job (Coutras, 1997; Orfeuill, 2010).

Some researchers consequently advocate for financial help for poorer people to help them getting a car, which would reduce inequalities in mobility. This can be done in line with sustainable objectives, they say (see Mignot, 2004). Some financial helps already exist, for instance to get a licence (*“Le permis à un euro par jour”* – Licence for one euro per day), but owning a car implies a lot of other expenditures that cannot always be afford. Mignot (2004) also advocates for the development of cheap subscriptions to public transports, as it is already implemented in several cities (Lyon, Nancy and Nantes are studied by Mignot), for poorer people (depending on revenues or status, for example).

If financial and spatial inequalities in mobility are studied in France for several years, this is less the case for gender inequalities. For example, Orfeuill (2010) mentions several reasons that can lead to unequal mobility among the population: physical capacities, territorial situation, or poverty. The gender issue is tackled in a paragraph named “family constraints”, where he acknowledges the difficulties for women to combine professional life and personal life (as they are the main caretaker in most families). This, Orfeuill argues, may be an obstacle to a professional life, or lead to part-time jobs, consequently combining with a situation of poverty in the case of a single mother (7% of the households in France in 2010). The gender aspect is very little tackled in this article and is not really taken into consideration. However, it can be argued that the perspective of the family caretaker is usually not the dominant one in policies or academic work on the gendered aspect of mobilities, as they rather tackle (un)safety – or feeling of (un)safety. This ‘private’ aspect is then important to consider in a gendered perspective on mobilities.

The French context on mobilities is thus centralised, even though local institutions get more and more power in the organisation of transports on their own territories. Sustainability is the major objective of these policies, both at the national and local levels, which is in line with international goals. However, this idea of sustainability is more oriented towards an environmental one (as argued in 4.2). This highlights challenges, as inequalities in mobilities can be reinforced by the push towards sustainable mobilities. Moreover, a lot of social factors may be barriers to their use. Consequently, it is important to understand people’s mobility choices before wanting to change them, as it would allow to offer better transport services, closer to their needs. As these needs will differ from the context and as France presents a great diversity of contexts, it seems necessary to give more and more abilities to the local levels and put efforts in inclusive sustainable mobilities through collaborative and participative measures, while keeping a global coherence of networks of public transports.

4.4 Gender mainstreaming and transport inequalities in France: need for more

As this research focuses on inequalities between genders in mobility and the policies aiming at reducing them, the next section will firstly develop on the different gender mainstreaming policies in France. The EIGE's website (European Index for Gender Equality) offers a comprehensive overview of gender mainstreaming policies and tools in France, which helps to better understand both the administrative and legal structure in terms of gender mainstreaming, and the tools offered for practice. This section focuses on national gender mainstreaming policies, then digs into GM applied to mobility.

4.4.1 A recent gender mainstreaming focus in national policies

As the EIGE's website points out, France is increasingly committed to gender issues, nationally and internationally¹⁶. The first explicit reference to gender mainstreaming in French national policy documents dates back to 2000; and since then, it is a way to promote equality both in society and public policies. Even though there is a legal basis for gender mainstreaming, it is in practice relying on the ability of inter-ministerial cooperation; indeed, the Law n°2014-873 (2014) promotes an “integrated and transversal approach to gender equality”¹⁷. Similarly, the Service for Women's Rights and Gender Equality (*Service des Droits des Femmes et de l'Égalité* – SDFE) is an institution responsible for gender mainstreaming at the local level and implements action plans.

The EIGE's website offers an overview of the different structures committed to GM in France, allowing to better understand the place let to women's issues in French policies¹⁸. At the State level, different bodies have been responsible for gender equality through time. Since 2017 the issue of gender equality is handled by a Secretary of State to the Prime Minister, which may positively impact gender mainstreaming thanks to the prime position of the office¹⁸. However, Secretaries of State usually have less resources and staff than Ministries. Because of that, it seems that the gender issue is considered a second-stage question; moreover, as its location within government bodies changed a lot during the last years, it also seems that the different governments do not agree on ‘where’ to put it.

Regional, departmental, and local authorities, can implement their own gender equality policies, overseen by the SDFE and its regional or departmental units¹⁸. This delegation of authority contributes to the decentralisation of the French territory and may consequently allow more accurate policies thanks to local decision-making and implementation. Moreover, as the SDFE coordinates Delegations for Women's Rights and Gender Equality on the whole territory and at different levels (national, local), it offers a dense

¹⁶ <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/countries/france>, EIGE, 2019

¹⁷ <https://travail-emploi.gouv.fr/demarches-ressources-documentaires/documentation-et-publications-officielles/textes-et-circulaires/lois/article/loi-no-2014-873-du-4-aout-2014-pour-l-egalite-reelle-entre-les-femmes-et-les>, Ministère du Travail, de l'Emploi et de l'Insertion, 5th August 2014

¹⁸ <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/countries/france>, EIGE, 2019

institutional network to implement gender mainstreaming strategies. However, as it is highlighted by the EIGE (2019), the regional units have limited resources and limited staff.

An important body is the High Council for Equality between Women and Men (HCEfh), an advisory body created in 2013 (and recognised as independent since 2017). In 2015, the HCEfh produced a crucial document pointing out gender inequalities in public transport, focusing on gender-based violence. It contributed to better grasp the extent of the phenomenon and called for responsive measures from the government (see 4.4.2). On the transport issue, The Defender of Rights¹⁹ led a campaign against sexual harassment that contributed to rise the number of related complains, even though it stays under the true extend of the phenomenon. This body also offers an intersectional approach, linking gender-based discrimination with other grounds (such as disability or ethnicity). However, the EIGE states that the Defender of Rights has neither a “dedicated unit for gender equality” nor “experts [...] dedicated to gender-based discrimination”²⁰.

Finally, the EIGE presents different methods and tools used for gender mainstreaming in France. One of them is gender budgeting. Even though this concept is documented since the early 2000s, few has been done. In, 2019, the HCEfh proposed a methodology to develop gender budgeting. In 2021, Lyon will become the first city (of more than 500 000 inhabitants) in France to implement gender budgeting²¹. To efficiently carry out GM methods and policies, data are crucial. Specifically, gender-disaggregated data are a way to better grasp and tackle the issues related to gender equality. Their production should be systematic, which is not the case in France²². In 2013, a report stated this lack in statistics and provided recommendations to improve the production of this kind of data²³. A lot of these recommendations are still to be implemented, even though web pages dedicated to gender statistics are now available on different websites such as the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), the Ministry of Labour or the Ministry of Education²⁴. Gender-disaggregated data are thus not systematic, uncomplete and hardly available, even for gender equality bodies²⁴. This lack makes the production of effective gender mainstreaming measures even more complicated, as there are little data to rely on.

4.4.2 Gender mainstreaming applied to mobility: a focus on safety measures

An intricate relation between women’s mobility and their caretaker role

¹⁹ The Defender of Rights is an independent administrative authority created in 2011 to combat discrimination and promote equality and human rights. Its missions are not directly and fully related to gender inequalities, but they are committed to this cause (see <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/countries/france>, 2019).

²⁰ <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/countries/france>, EIGE, 2019

²¹ <https://www.eelv.fr/budget-genre-de-lyon-pour-legalite-reelle-femmes-hommes/>, 11th March 2011

²² <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/countries/france>, EIGE, 2019

²³ Ponthieux, S. (2013). *L’information statistique sexuée dans la statistique publique: état des lieux et pistes de réflexion*. INSEE, p. 50. retrieved on the 8/07/2021 through <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/countries/france>, EIGE, 2019

²⁴ <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/countries/france>, EIGE, 2019

The question of gender inequalities within transports was studied in France notably by Jacqueline Coutras who already acknowledged these inequalities in the 1980s. The changing status of women in society from the 1960s onwards also contributed to change their mobility; indeed, as they entered the job market, they also entered public spaces that are historically men's spaces (see McDowell, 1983). In terms of mobility, women were constrained by their residential proximity (which comprises places that can be accessed by feet) and consequently limited to their neighbourhood, or captive from public transports. In France, as Coutras (1997) argues, these strong constraints were recognised as such during the 1990s. Since then, statistics show that men and women do have a different mobility (Coutras, 1997). Coutras (1997) demonstrates that men are more present in public spaces than women and consequently have more bounds with it, appropriating the space more. Furthermore, women tend to go further to work as having more mobility only helps them to stay in the course for a job; they travel more for the same result as men. But having a job is not especially synonymous of more mobility for women, as unemployed women have a higher mobility than unemployed men (among 24-54 years old) (Coutras, 1997). This can be explained by the mobilities of care, that is of importance and should be taken into account in statistics. As Coutras argues, the real catching-up is to happen in the field of household tasks as this factor has an important influence on women's mobility (1997).

Indeed, the EIGE points out that women still suffer from different inequalities within the French society, mainly in the fields of knowledge (66.0 points), time (67.3 points) and work (72.4 points)²⁵. The Time score specifically deals with household tasks, reflecting Coutras' statement (almost twenty years later). The time repartition within the household is still handled mainly by women, as they represent 45.6% of people conducting caring activities (which is higher than the European score at 37.5%) and 79.6% of people doing cooking and/or housework (which is also higher than the European score at 78.7%)²⁶. This unequal time distribution is directly related with transport and women's mobility issues, as there are mostly in charge of "care mobilities" (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2013), that is the multiple travels related with taking care of children or elderly, as well as housework tasks. This unequal repartition of care and household tasks is also interrelated with their working conditions, especially part-time work (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2013). In France, among employees, 27.4% of women and 8.4% of men have a part-time job (INSEE, 2021). The statistics also show that turning towards part-time as a woman is influenced by the number of children and their age, while these criteria have very little influence on men's part-time jobs (INSEE, 2020). Because part-time jobs are mostly done by women, they tend to travel more outside peak hours and consequently may suffer from lower transport services. Despite France's Index increasing since 2005 (EIGE, 2017), its Time score declined between 2005 and 2017; we can therefore suppose that the mobility of women also changed depending on this factor.

Women's fear and internalised stereotypes in their mobility

²⁵ <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2019/FR>, 2019

²⁶ <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2019/domain/time/FR>, 2019

In 2015, an exploratory study published by the Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development and Energy investigated women's mobility and violence's received or feared in collective transports. The quantitative research states that there are less abuses in collective transports than in the streets; that the abuse differs depending on the gender of the victim; that women are more abused in buses and school buses, and men in trains; finally, that women feel more unsafe than men in collective transports (p. 4). The study also states that this feeling of unsafety is stronger for women, even though they suffer less from physical attacks than men (p. 5). The study states it could be linked to underestimations of violence against women: for example, some behaviours should be considered as abuses but are not because of gaps in the legal frame. But this also has to do with the relationship of women and public spaces: women tend to be socialised as belonging to the private and not the public space (men's space). Women tend to be taught to fear the public space, especially at night, which results in a strong feeling of unsafety despite the fact they are not the most attacked in public spaces. The study reports that other researchers say that women are less physically abused than men because they avoid certain places, situations or being outside at night and consequently face less risk. This perspective says a lot about women mobility, and the fact that public spaces are not so much public, since women develop different strategies driven by the fear of violence. This psychological aspect (being afraid despite the facts) is then a violence and constrains women's mobility.

The qualitative approach used in this exploratory study shows that the differences between men's and women's mobility is not always acknowledged by women themselves except for care mobilities (p. 6). The feeling of unsafety is mostly expressed at night, and all women interviewed adopt strategies to run as little risk as possible. Moreover, stereotypes are very much integrated by women themselves, as they raised issues such as their outfit: one of the strategies observed is to erase marks of femininity as much as possible (p. 6). The study displays different solutions that are implemented in France and/or in other countries to combat gender inequalities in mobility. The difference is made between "sex-specific measures" (that is to say, that focus on gender) and "measures focusing on the planning of urban environment" (p. 7). The former is seen as temporary and may even reinforce violence against women. The latter can include safety audits, such as the ones initiated in Toronto and Montreal in 1989 and now also implemented in France. A methodological guide designed specifically to conduct safety audits has been published in 2013 by the City Ministry (p. 8). Similarly, lines ambassadors have been instituted in France, firstly in the Parisian region and now in other regions, such as the city of Lyon (p. 8; see Chapters 5 and 6).

This study also provides several recommendations to improve women's safety or feeling of safety in collective transports. These measures include the need to have a gendered perspective on statistics on transports' violence; the development of safety audits in order to better know which environmental factors contribute to reinforce women's feeling of unsafety; a focus on the surroundings of collective transports to make sure that the urban environment is also safe; the priority to urban planning solutions instead of sex-specific ones; a specific attention on prevention campaigns, also among younger people to prevent banalisation of sexist and sexual abuses and perpetuation of gender stereotypes (p. 10).

A massive and acknowledged gender-based violence in transports

Similarly, the HCEfh published a notice in 2015 stating the reality of gender-based violence in public transports and putting forward measures to combat it. This phenomenon is recognised as “serious, massive and under-tackled”, as well as “limiting women’s freedom to move” (HCEfh, 2015). Indeed, it is reported that sexist abuses occur mainly in public spaces and in public transport; victims are mainly women (89%)²⁷. Harassment in public spaces and especially in public transports is recognised as being a “violation of human rights (freedom of movement and right to security), an obstacle to equal access to public service of transports and a gendered violence” (HCEfh, 2015). This is even more important as women represent 2/3rd of users of public transports, and 100% of them have already been victim of sexist harassment of sexual abuse in public transports (Duchène, 2011, cited by HCEfh, 2015). Moreover, women tend to feel more insecure in transport than men (HCEfh, 2015). These results prove the need to change this overall negative experience of public transports, even more since their use is fostered by sustainable policies. The massive aspect of this phenomenon calls for actions.

The notice gives recommendations and orientations for a National Plan to fight sexist harassment in public transport. The first orientation aims at defining and measuring sexist harassment and sexual abuses in public spaces and specifically in public transports, thanks to studies and citizen participation (p. 7). The second orientation fosters an action at the transport operators’ level concerning the reporting systems and the support of victims. This follows the observation that most people are not aware of the existence of reporting systems, or do not know that they can use it to report sexist harassment (p. 20). It is also important to be aware that such a situation can be reported afterwards, online (p. 26). The formation of transports workers is also promoted, so that they can react adequately and give support to victims (p. 27). Diversity within transport workers is also encouraged, as it has been shown that it is mainly ‘a men’s world’: hiring more women and favouring their access to technical jobs that are more perceived as being men’s ones would ensure a better diversity and therefore help to reduce sexist stereotypes in the field (AFD, 2015, p. 14). The stop-on-demand is also a measure supported by the HCEfh, as well as other re-organisation of transports such as schedules or frequency (pp. 27-28). The third orientation fosters an action at the level of public authorities in coordination with citizens to put the phenomenon in light and combat its perception as ‘banal’ or ‘normal’ (p. 8; p. 17). This pass through a national campaign, education on sexual and sexist harassment within schools and ensure a better application of the law (p. 8; p. 31). This shows the need to involve different institutional, private, and civil actors, as the law must first punish sexist or sexual assaults. Agents of the transport network then must be able to tackle such situation; the police have to follow by ensuring the law is applied and providing support to victims, if needed. The whole chain must work in collaboration for a real change. The importance of education is also stressed by the HCEfh, with interventions in schools and an awareness campaign proposed, which aims at long-term results in the fight against gender-based violence by changing mindsets.

²⁷ Except in the case of abuse committed because of the (supposed or real) sexual orientation: in that case, 60% of the victims are men (HCEfh, 2015).

Following the recommendation given by the HCEfh, a National Plan to Combat Sexist Harassment in Transports has been developed in 2015. Several measures such as stops-on-demand, better reporting systems or the renewal of the legislative system have been implemented. The Transport Nantais²⁸ was the first transport authority to experiment stops-on-demand with their night service. Since 2015, several other cities (such as Bordeaux, Poitiers, Strasbourg, Lyon) implemented the possibility for users to ask a stop between two regular bus stops at night, to prevent abuses on their way home. This measure is often presented as a gender mainstreaming measure because it tackles the higher feeling of unsafety women have at night, though it benefits to everyone.

Punishing sexist harassment in public transports: changes in the French law

Furthermore, an infraction for “sexist or sexual outrage” has been added to the Penal Code in 2019 (article 621-1) through the Law n°2018-703 reinforcing the combat against sexual and sexist abuses. The “sexist outrage” is defined as a “statement or behaviour upon sex, sexual orientation, real or supposed sexual identity of a person in order to create an intimidating, degrading, humiliating or abusive situation and violate this person’s dignity” (Law n°2018-703, Article 15). It is punished by a fine from 90 to 750€, that can go up to 1.500€ in case of aggravating circumstances. The law defines as “aggravating circumstances” (among others) a sexist outrage happening “in a vehicle meant for collective transport of travellers or in a space meant to access a mean of a collective transport of travellers” (Law n°2018-703, Article 15). This is an important step in the combat against sexist and sexual behaviours in public spaces, as it covers some behaviours that were not condemned before. However, the association *Osez le Féminisme !* reports that the punishment for sexist or sexual outrage is sometimes given for a more serious sexist or sexual assault in transports, which questions the progress this measure represents (Osez le Féminisme !, 2019). Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the law is not always applied: for example, a lot of sexist or sexual harassments in public transport are not punished (*ibid.*).

The Mobilities’ Orientation Law (Law n° 2019-1428, 2019) also takes into account gender-based violence in transports: the Article 117 states that sexist attacks in public transport are yearly analysed by national institutions in charge of this issue in order to take action against those attacks (Article 117). The Article 118 states that “action is taken in training public transport workers to prevent sexist abuses and attacks” (Law n° 2019-1428, Title 5, First chapter, 2019). These changes in the Transport Code indicate a will to punish gender-based violence in mobilities, but as we have seen before, the whole chain must follow and more importantly the mindset around such violence²⁹.

²⁸ <https://www.tan.fr/fr/service-de-nuit>, [no date]

²⁹ In 2020, the French government was reshuffled, and Eric Dupond-Moretti was appointed Minister of Justice. This raised controversies especially among feminists, as in 2018, when the law about “sexist or sexual outrage” passed, he questioned the regulation of these “behaviours”, stating that some women “regret not being hustled in the streets anymore”. He is also known to be against the #MeToo movement, denouncing the “social networks’ tribunal” (see “Infraction d’outrage sexiste: Certaines femmes «regrettent de ne plus être sifflées», estime Eric Dupond-Moretti”, Manon Aublanc, *20 Minutes*, 6th November 2018, <https://www.20minutes.fr/societe/2366835-20181106-infraction-outrage-sexiste-certaines-femmes->

As seen, gender inequalities in sustainable mobilities in France have been studied by different bodies and determined through different indicators that should enhance action among State deciders. Specifically, the HCEfh notice from 2015 allowed to highlight the extent of the phenomenon and called for concrete action. One of them consisted of regulating by law sexist harassment, which is a step forward to the condition that the law enforcement bodies take this kind of gender-based violence seriously, which is not always the case. Thus, a proper implementation of such GM measures also requires education and information among stakeholders. On the contrary to Anglo-Saxon countries, gender mainstreaming is rather new in France, which also explains its vagueness and recent implementation in national policies. At the local level, some examples of GM measures already existed, but they are now a requirement, in line with national policies.

4.5 Transport governance in Lyon

Before running the policy analysis at the local level in the city of Lyon, it is useful to present the city and understand the administrative frame in which it is embedded. Moreover, a quick presentation on the transport governance at the local level is essential, as it will provide the basis to understand who the actors are and how they collaborate.

The city of Lyon has a specific status within the French administration, as it is part of the Lyon metropolis, also called *Le Grand Lyon*. This metropolis has been created in 2015 and regroups the abilities of two administrative bodies: the urban community of Lyon and the Rhône department. The territory of the metropolis includes 59 municipalities on 538 km², which represents 1.4 million inhabitants (2019)³⁰. The metropolis' missions are diverse and include a lot of different topics such as energy and environment, travel policies, economic development, water sanitation, urban planning, etc. (see Annex 1). Its missions comprise among others travel policies, and energy and environment; the metropolis oversees public transport development via the SYTRAL (*Syndicat Mixte des Transports du Rhône et de l'Agglomération Lyonnaise* – Mixed Union of Transports for the Rhône and Lyon Agglomeration), favouring mobility in its territory and encouraging soft modes of transport. The metropolis is also in charge of preserving the air quality and accompanying the energy transition, which is also an important issue in the transport field. Gender issues are not

[regrettent-plus-etre-sifflees-estime-eric-dupond-moretti](#), in French). In this same government reshuffle, Gérald Darmanin was appointed Ministry of the Interior while being accused of power abuse to gain sexual favours and rape when he was mayor of Tourcoing. This was also subject to a lot of controversies, as the Ministry of the Interior is "France's first policeman", meaning he commands to the police forces (see "Gérald Darmanin nommé à l'Intérieur malgré une plainte pour viol : "C'est du jamais vu"", Marion Dubreuil, *Europe 1*, 7th July 2020, <https://www.europe1.fr/politique/gerald-darmanin-nomme-a-linterieur-malgre-une-plainte-pour-viol-cest-un-choc-3979668>, in French). These two appointments were subject of a lot of demonstrations in France (and elsewhere) to denounce the scorn they show to gender-based violence victims. This shows that France still lags in handling gender-based violence despite some measures that could be considered as progressive.

³⁰ <https://www.grandlyon.com/metropole/>, [no date]

specifically tackled as a mission of the metropolis, though a gender insight has to be taken when defining policies, which makes it (in theory) transdisciplinary.

The city of Lyon presents itself as very committed to the question of sustainable transport, in line with the national directives³¹. Moreover, as it is highlighted on their website, the question of mobility and climate issues are crucial for the metropolis because of their high density of population and services, implying that a lot of people travel daily in their territories and that they pollute more than smaller cities³¹. Thus, Lyon fosters alternative uses of the car, as well as the use of alternative modes of transport: “soft modes” (walking, biking) and, of course, public transports. The public transport network in Lyon is in the hands of the SYTRAL since the creation of the Lyon metropolis in 2015, as it became the unique authority organising transports (AOT) in the department. The SYTRAL now organises public transports on the whole Rhône department, managing different public transport networks. This unification of abilities is in line with the national law on mobilities (Law n°2019-1428, 2019), fostering the cohesion of public transports and advocating for less ruptures between the urban, departmental, and regional scales.

The city of Lyon is part of the TCL network (*Transport en Commun Lyonnais* – Lyon’s Public Transport), managed by the SYTRAL and consisting of several buses, metro, tramways, and funicular lines³². As the manager of public transports in the city of Lyon, the SYTRAL must follow the principles of the transports, traffic, and parking organisation, as defined in the urban mobility plan (*Plan de Déplacement Urbain* – PDU). One of the main goals of the PDU, is the safety on the transport network, including the combat against all forms of harassment or abuses. In line with this objective, the SYTRAL implemented several initiatives with a specific focus on women’s safety and sexist abuses.

The next chapters will focus on the City of Lyon, analysing the collaboration and participation included in gender mainstreaming measures in sustainable mobilities. The Chapter 5 will present a policy analysis, showing how the different actors work around the gender issue in sustainable mobilities to improve women’s mobility. Those documents are tackling different levels of governance, as the SYTRAL manages the public transports on the whole metropolis (thus going beyond the city borders). For cycling and walking practices, the focus is on the measures taken in the city of Lyon (nine districts), but it must be remembered that urban planning issues are the ability of the metropolis’ administration.

³¹ <https://www.lyon.fr/deplacements>, [no date]

³² <https://www.tcl.fr/a-propos-de-tcl/le-reseau-tcl>, ©2021 Sytral

5. Gender visions on collaborative planning for sustainable mobilities

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at investigating which kind of collaboration exists between the different stakeholders on the issue of gender mainstreaming in sustainable mobilities, that is to say the city (public authority), the private actors (such as the transport company), the citizens and different associations (feminist or mobility associations). This will allow to answer the following sub-research questions: *To what extent do sustainable mobility policies reflect the gendered perspectives of the different stakeholders? What kind of collaboration is there between the different stakeholders in tackling gender mainstreaming in local sustainable mobility policies?* Investigating the different gendered perspectives of stakeholders will contribute to better understand the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in the mobility field. Highlighting collaboration between stakeholders will help to answer the main question by analysing concrete GM measures in regard with GM framework.

This is done through an analysis of the different documents on mobility at the local scale and qualitative semi-directed interviews conducted with different actors of mobility's or women's issues in Lyon: Leslie Agabriel (secretary and member of the board of directors of the local mobility association *La Ville à vélo*), Sandra Bernard (SYTRAL security manager), Michèle Vianès (president of the feminist local association *Regards de Femmes*) and Rémy Le Floch (Lyon's Equality project manager). Three different women have also been interviewed, as participants to the SYTRAL's safety audits on bus lines (see Chapter 6), who are "lines ambassadors": Michèle, Pauline and an anonymous ambassador, referred to as A3 (also see Chapter 6).

The Urban Travels' Plan (PDU): defining directives in mobility

Collaboration around mobility themes is stressed in the PDU of the agglomeration, edited by the TCL SYTRAL. It is the major document defining the objectives in the field of transportation and mobility and organising the transport network on the whole Rhône department. The current document, defined for the years 2017-2030, follows four main guidelines, among which "Equity and social cohesion", which define guidelines to improve everyone's access to mobility (see later in this chapter). The action plan for the PDU is structured with eight strategic axes (*Figure 2*) for which are defined different types of action, thematically grouped in 'Action sheets'.

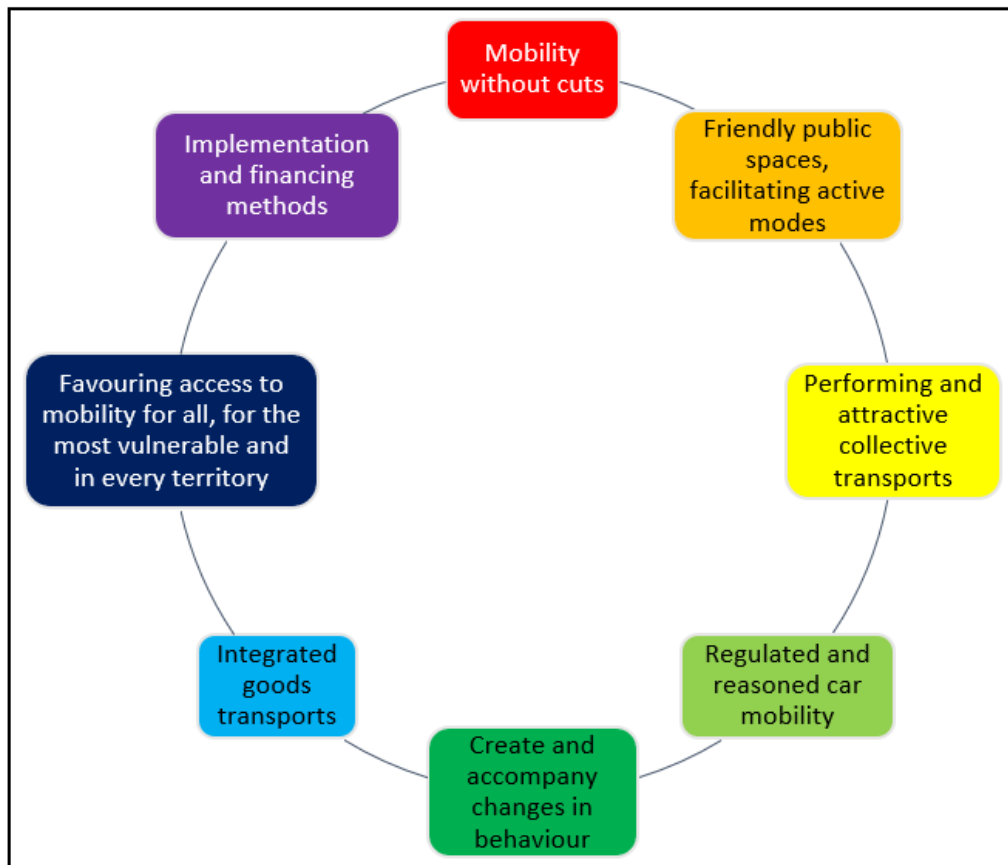


Figure 2. The eight strategic axes of the PDU 2017-2030 (after SYTRAL, Lyon agglomeration, 2020)

As Figure 2 shows, these eight strategic axes are focused mainly on people transports (axis 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8) and themes can be identified: planning (axis 1, 2, 8), means of transports (axis 3, 4) and social practices (axis 5, 7). They suggest that the public authorities are mainly relying on a change in people's mobility habits, as they aim at changing people's behaviours while proposing them more travel possibilities. This policy orientation illustrates Reigner and Brenac's (2019) critique of urban transport policies in France as "stressing user's individual responsibility [...] and conveying moral injunctions for them to adopt the 'right', safe, healthy, sustainable mobility behaviours", which, they argue, ignores "a certain number of macrosocial determinants" and can lead to "a selective and uneven treatment of urban spaces" (Reigner and Brenac, 2019). The goal here is not to review all the macrosocial considerations taken into account in the PDU, but one of them (the gender one) that can be linked to others (ethnicity, socio-professional category, economic situation, living location) and need to be tackled as a whole in this document.

The territory of the PDU is quite broad, as it has authority on the whole agglomeration which expands beyond the 'borders' of the municipality (Figure 3). As can be seen in Figure 3, the agglomeration is divided in four sectors around the "Center", which is the city of Lyon in itself: North, East and West. This helps to have a better, more local insight for each of these

territories that do not have the same needs in mobility (for example there are rural and urban spaces).

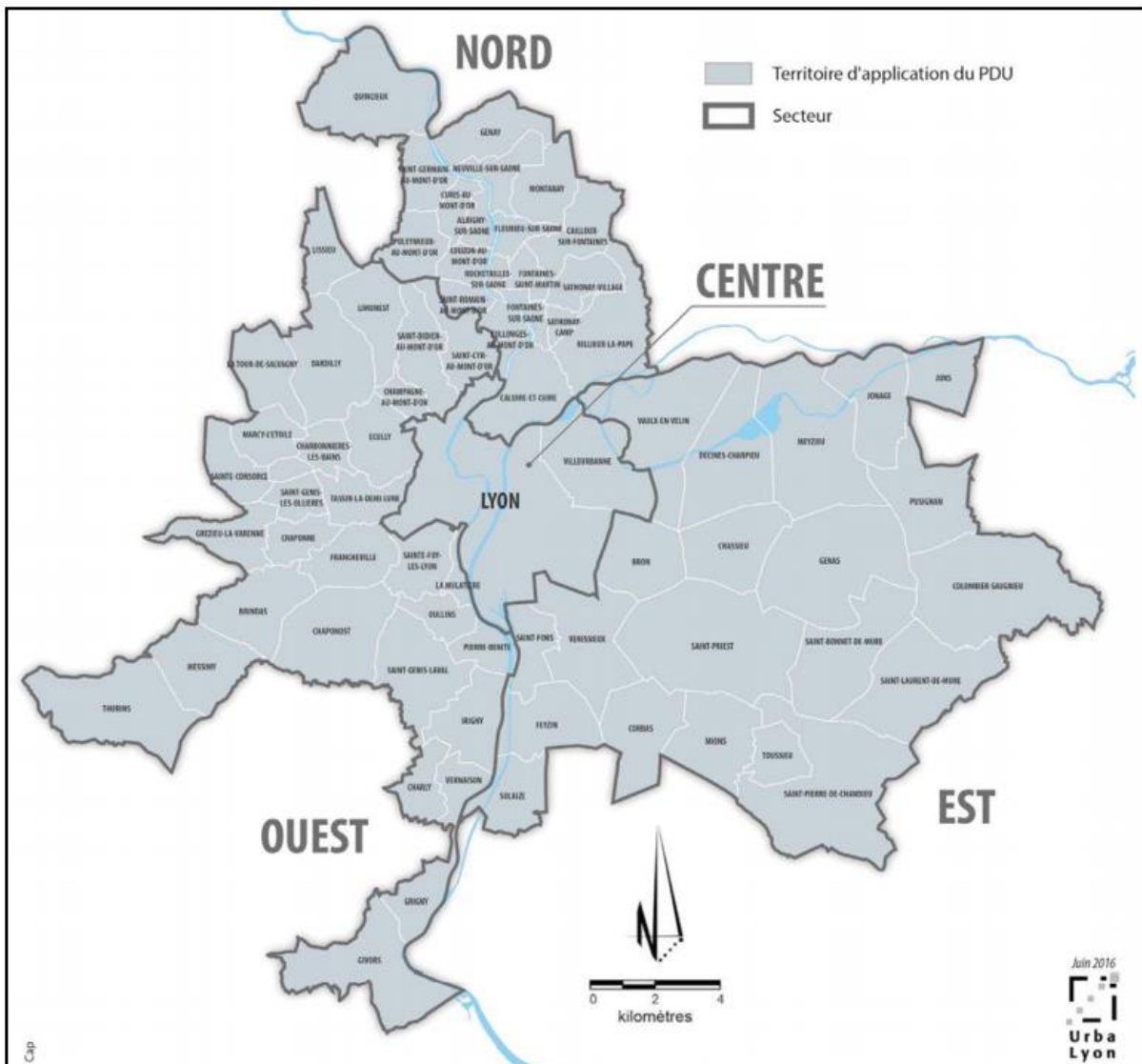


Figure 3. Territory covered by the PDU and the sectors of the agglomeration (SYTRAL, Lyon Agglomeration, 2017)

This chapter first analyses collaboration measures related to gender mainstreaming in sustainable mobilities, through policy-document analysis crossed with discourse-analysis from interviews. It shows that collaboration between stakeholders is the focal point of local policies, but it does not clearly and systematically involve gendered considerations. Women's (un)safety appears as the most tackled gendered aspect of mobilities, especially in public transports, which will be studied in the second section. The third section gives a critical reflexion on the gendered perspectives of stakeholders as researched in both policy-documents and interviews, pointing out shortcomings of GM policies in Lyon.

5.2 A collaboration displayed as essential, but no clear gender insight

In the introduction of the plan for the years 2017-2030, partnerships and collaboration are stressed. The PDU is intended to be “a shared document between actors in charge of its implementation” (p. 16). Similarly, concertation and participation of citizens is a clear “ambition” from the SYTRAL: their goal is to gather professional, technical, academic and “lay knowledges” (Wyne, 1996 in Rydin, 2007). To do so, they developed “partnership workshops” with municipalities, experts, and associations’ representatives; citizens also participated in the elaboration of the PDU (p. 18). Working sessions (“mini-publics”) with non-specialist citizens have been organised in order to discuss their mobility practices, visions and expectations for mobility policies. The evaluation of the PDU is also intended to be a participative process, as the SYTRAL draws on “partnerships or dialogues between partners” (p. 178) in the different steps of the PDU’s follow-up through “shared diagnosis”, “citizens forums to co-build major public spaces’ projects” or “conferences” on “major travel topics to shed light on public decision” (p. 179). Similarly, the inhabitants and users are involved in the implementation and evaluation of the plan, as they can “enrich the evaluation with a non-specialist view” (p. 178). Inhabitants will have a role in some projects, to better fit their needs and expectations, that will also be gathered by public authorities to help them in their decision-making (p. 178-179). The elaboration of this document, central in mobility issues, has thus been a common work, with collaboration as a central theme, and is intended to be commonly reviewed, with inhabitants’ participation.

5.2.1 A clear push for sustainable mobilities

Several topics that can be found in the PDU present a strong wish for collaboration related to sustainable mobility issues. This is the case for education and support to sustainable modes, as changes in people’s mobility behaviours are one of the most important aspects in sustainable mobilities. These changes in mobility are encouraged by the agglomeration, with a specific focus on changes in users’ behaviours, through the highlighting of health and environmental issues. The objectives for the year 2030 in terms of modal repartition are defined in the PDU and summed up in *Figure 4*. It shows that the efforts towards a higher

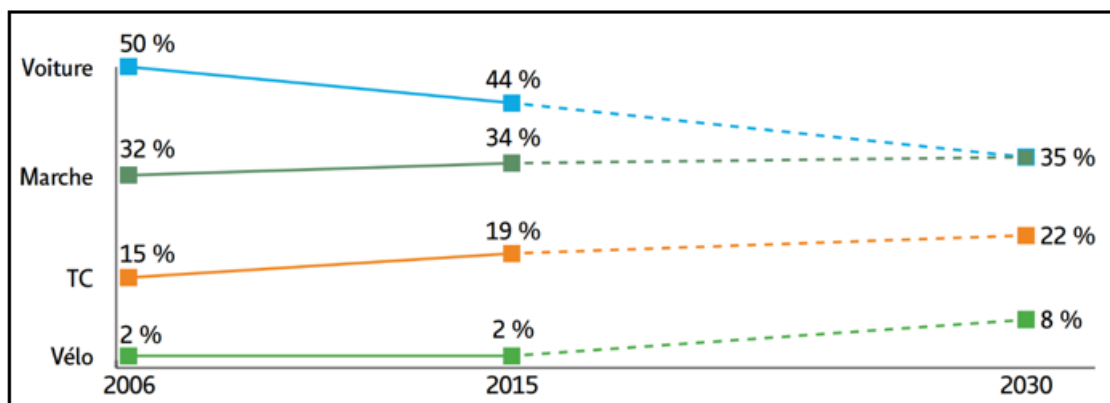


Figure 4. Modal shares objectives for 2030 defined in the PDU of Lyon agglomeration (SYTRAL, Lyon agglomeration, 2017)

share for sustainable mobilities are reinforced: the share of bike (light green), public transports (orange) and walking (dark green) are intended to rise, while the share of car (blue) should drop. This aligns with the global policy on transports and suggests that the public authorities as well as the transport companies will reinforce the mobility alternatives to the car.

In Figure 5 some results of the 2015 SYTRAL's Travel Inquiry in Lyon and Villeurbanne

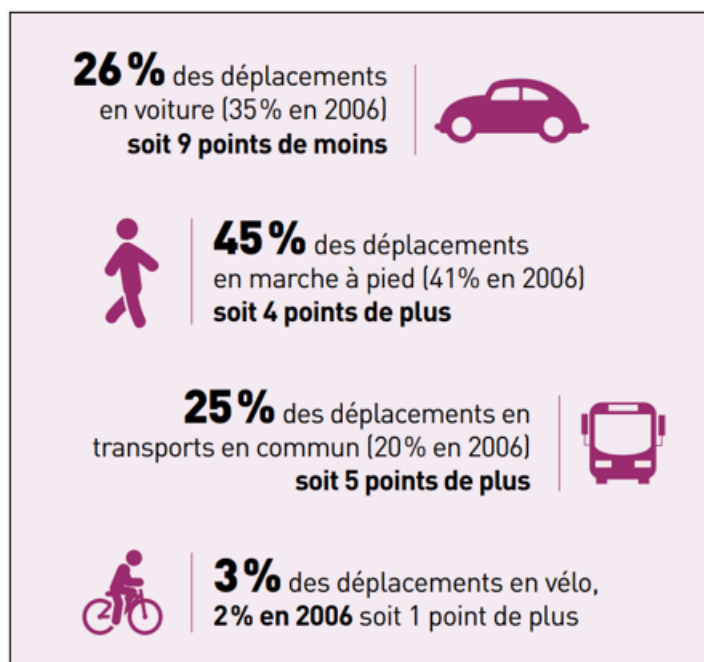


Figure 5. The share of different mode of transport in Lyon and Villeurbanne in 2015 compared to 2006 (SYTRAL's Travel Inquiry, 2015)

are displayed. The trips by car dropped from 35% in 2006 to 26% in 2015; the walking practice to travel raised from 41% in 2006 to 45% in 2015; 25% of trips were done with public transport in 2015 *versus* 20% in 2006; and 3% of travels were done by bike in 2015 *versus* 2% in 2006. Thus, even though the bike share is raising slower than the other modes, people tend to walk more, bike more, and make more use of public transports, which already reflects changes in people's transport behaviour. This can be linked to a certain extent to the efforts to improve infrastructure (for biking) or efforts on the transport offer, from both the public authorities and the transport company. Similarly, as Reigner and Brenac (2019) argued, the French narrative on sustainable mobilities morally pushes people to ditch car use.

5.2.2 A focus on changing mobility behaviours: the biking practice

Using the bike is made easier thanks to a bike-share service, available on the whole metropolitan territory³³ (PDU, p. 27). The city website also highlights associations promoting the biking practice in Lyon; it also refers some shops to fix bikes, a synthesis of rules for a safe bike ride and measures taken to prevent thefts, making this practice more available and accessible for everyone³³. Similarly, associations help to widen the biking practice by giving classes, also making it more available and accessible for all, such as *La Maison du Vélo* (The Bike House).

Collaboration is implemented with associations encouraging active modes and supporting a change in people's behaviours towards more sustainable mobilities (p. 73, 80). A whole chapter in the PDU is dedicated to the support of changes in mobility behaviours. The support (financial, marketing) to associations fostering soft mobilities is affirmed, and "events

³³ <https://www.lyon.fr/deplacements/les-modes-doux/velov-velos-et-trottinettes-en-libre-service>, City of Lyon, [no date]

encouraging the evolution of mobility practices” are intended to be organised “as much as possible in partnership” with enterprises, municipalities, associations, and citizens (p. 133). Similarly, schools are included in this collaborative approach, with workshops around soft mobilities, eventually with “the help of partners associations supported by municipalities” (p. 137). This suggests that education around soft mobilities is an important part of the collaboration between municipalities and associations, specifically over young people, that are educated to prioritise these mobilities.

An example of collaboration between public authorities and an association was given in the interview by Leslie Agabriel, secretary and member of the board of directors for the biking association *La Ville à Vélo* (The City on bike). It is a “lobbying association favouring the biking practice for all within the Lyon metropolis” whose role is “to bring cyclists’ voices to public authorities, that are the decision-makers” (interview with Leslie Agabriel). As such, they “intervene on infrastructures, parking, everything that can put new people on the saddle” and consequently dialogue with the metropolis for biking infrastructure and road and with municipalities for parking (interview with Leslie Agabriel). Within this dialogue, their role is to “support a proposal by indicating it is relevant at the local level”: they are then an important “interlocutor” between local cyclists and public authorities, as they have members on the whole metropolitan area, and the association also participates in “meetings about active modes [of mobility], dialogues.” (interview with Leslie Agabriel). As a lobbying association, *La Ville à vélo* does not have any public subventions (since 2018), which allows them to be “independent” (interview with Leslie Agabriel). However, they are still working with public authorities, also through “involved volunteers who [...] work on different projects to anticipate some needs and forward information to the metropolitan level.” (interview with Leslie Agabriel). This shows that citizens are represented through associations, which contributes to bringing their voices to public authorities. *La Ville à vélo* is present on the whole territory of the metropolis, and it is important for them to have local members, talking about local issues or problems as it is also a “very heterogeneous” space (interview with Leslie Agabriel). Similarly, the PDU indicates that, to widen the practice of sustainable mobilities, initiatives from local associations could be supported by the State and the SYTRAL, as they would be closer “to population’s needs” (p. 150). This collaboration and dialogue with associations also means to be closer to people’s needs on the different territories of the metropolitan area.

Thanks to their link with local institutions, associations can bring up topics such as road safety, planning requirements or women’s needs in the public debate (interview with Leslie Agabriel). Indeed, the biking practice and experience are also different depending on people’s gender:

“[...] being a woman on a bike means you have more control on where you are, on fleeing if there is an unfavourable situation [...] there is a more securing side. But being a woman on a bike also opens a brand-new range of harassment” (interview with Leslie Agabriel)

Similarly, one of the ambassadors interviewed said she rather bikes at night, both because it suits her travels more and she feels safer. She adds:

“When I was younger, I had a moped, and I had the same spirit. Imagine a car is following me, or there is a group of boys: I turn around with my bike, I ride on the pavement, and I don’t have any problems.” (interview with Michèle)

Even though the gendered aspect of biking is not tackled in the PDU, it can still be a theme of discussion with institutional actors. For instance, as Leslie Agabriel pointed out in the interview, the association *La Ville à vélo*, evolved from its creation 25 years ago and now is more attached to gender experiences when biking. She explains:

“I came [as a member of the board of directors] with the idea that I was tired of seeing this lobbying association always representing the same cyclist profile: a white man, engineer in energy or mobility. I did not feel represented by the association; we were in the cliché of “biking is for sporty men who have time to have fun”. In the association we were several women who tried to bring this speech at the same time, so we are working on that.”

Their collaboration with local public authorities is then also a way to expose certain issues that women might face when biking in the city, which is not always acknowledged by public authorities. For instance, Leslie Agabriel stated that within the association they “know that women, to start biking, need more infrastructures than men”, or that they “said that lighting on bike paths was more reassuring for women”. This shows that even though the gendered aspect of the biking practice is not the main focus of the association, it is still a discussed topic. This states the importance of local structures and knowledge, which is a crucial issue in such a metropolitan territory as Lyon. The collaboration between public authorities and biking associations thus focuses on accessibility and education to the biking practice. Gender issues can be brought to public authorities thanks to associations and their common dialogue, as Leslie Agabriel explained. Moreover, local associations as interlocutors allow to have a better insight in local needs (in terms of infrastructures, for example).

The PDU thus gathers several measures meant to change the transportation behaviour of citizens (p. 76 for walking; p. 80 for biking; see also pp. 132-134). While these changes are stressed on the basis of environmental or health issues, which give responsibilities to users, no measure seems to be taken to understand why such mobilities would not be used. This would however be interesting especially for gender issues, because it would allow to tackle them more adequately. For example, as several researchers pointed it out, biking is an ecological practice that however disadvantages or even discriminates women (Sayagh, 2018; Raibaud, 2020; Ulrich, 2014) because of their multiple tasks (childcare, household tasks), considerations on their clothes (to go to work, to go out) or safety and security issues. A study conducted by Raibaud (2020)³⁴ shows that women do not have any difference in their feeling on unsafety, whether they are biking or walking. This statement has also been confirmed by Leslie Agabriel during the interview, though she stated that the feeling of unsafety “is also a question of personality”. This is illustrated by Michèle (one of the ambassadors) who indicated several times “on my bike, I don’t have any problems”, though she still “watch out” during her travels. According to Rémy Le Floch, an interesting study to conduct on the local scale in Lyon

³⁴ see <https://lejournel.cnrs.fr/billets/femmes-et-hommes-sont-ils-egaux-a-velo>, CNRS, 2020

would be to “stay next to a bike station and see who takes the bikes; or staying next to a bike path and seeing who passes by, at which time, with which kind of bike, for which kind of trip” (interview with Rémy Le Floch). This illustrates the need for more quantitative studies on the bike practice and its gendered aspect, as it is still underdeveloped, and specifically at the local level.

The gendered aspect of the biking practice is then acknowledged by associations that can help to bring this issue out, to the public through actions such as the one conducted by *La Maison du vélo* for the International Women’s Day 2020³⁵, or to the institutions through their shared dialogue. However, for Rémy Le Floch, “there are connexions, but they are not formalised as a ‘*vélorution*’³⁶ movement for women”; it does not have the same dimension as in the Parisian region for example, with associations such as *Les Francs-Moisins*³⁷ (from the name of their neighbourhood) or Girls on Wheels³⁸, that are groups of women gathering to bike together as both a leisure activity and a reappropriation of the public space. The biking practice is also seen as empowering and contributing to women’s mobility autonomy in the city which makes it highly political.

5.2.3 Need of an improved accessibility to mobilities

Accessibility to sustainable mobilities is also an important aspect of the PDU, as it is directly linked with changing people’s behaviours: indeed, easier and wider accessibility to sustainable mobilities will encourage people to use them. Collaboration for accessibility with associations is highlighted, specifically with those dealing with accessibility for disabled people or people with a reduced mobility (p. 17), as accessing the network is determining the use of alternative transport modes (p. 102, 104). Inequalities between people to access mobility are acknowledged, such as the difficulty to afford costs of transportation; the “competence and knowledge” required to be able to travel on a large territory offering different transport modes; the lower offer in public transports in social housing districts; or the difficulty of accessibility for people with reduced mobility (p. 48). This indicates that social factors hindering mobility are considered, as well as the inequalities they create, which is not always done (see Reigner and Brennac, 2019). Following these statements and observations, the social objectives aim at improving the mobility and accessibility to it for all. Mobility is

³⁵ see <https://www.maisonduvevelolyon.org/en-s-elles/>, 4th February 2020

³⁶ The ‘*vélorution*’ movement aims at promoting the biking practice as ecological and political. It goes beyond the travel aspect, criticising policies in favour of cars and motorcycles. The movement is decentralised, which contribute to local implementations of the *vélorution* in each city. Each year, the different ‘*vélorutions*’ from different cities meet at the ‘Universal *Vélorution*’. More info can be found on their website (in French): <http://velorution.org/organisation/>, [no date]

³⁷ see <https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/paris-ile-de-france/seine-saint-denis/saint-denis/saint-denis-femmes-cite-du-franc-moisin-manifestent-velo-droit-pedaler-securite-1796009.html>, 6th March 2020

³⁸ see <https://www.lequipe.fr/Velo-mag/Stories/Actualites/-girls-on-wheels-les-filles-s-emparent-du-velo/1120634>, 18th March 2020. Girls on Wheels also have a group Facebook, from which they organise the rides: <https://www.facebook.com/girlsonwheelsparis/>.

considered as “a factor of social integration” (p. 48) and is intended to be improved mainly in regard with access to employment and services (p. 48), which shows that employment is a priority in the mobility policies. This aspect is interesting to tackle with a gender insight, as it has been showed that women are today as much as men on the job market and are also in charge of household tasks. Mobility is an issue in this case, as they have different travel paths than men and consequently different needs. This aspect has been raised by Rémy Le Floch in interview, as he stated:

“[...] there is a kind of distinction between women who have very segmented trips, and men who have commute trips. I think it would be also interesting to see that women’s employment rate keeps on reaching men’s one. And they [women] have commute trips in addition to chain trips.”. He added: “This contributes to the impression that, with these small, chained-trips, women do not work or only work part-time, which nurture the stereotype of women’s work as a side-work compared to (in a heterosexual couple) men’s work, that ensures the household’s income.”

This shows that professional life frames mobility and the personal life and having a gender insight on one of these aspects calls for a gendered vision on the others. However, as Rémy Le Floch pointed out: “To me, it is a very important topic on which, honestly, we don’t have anything.”. This also show that the lack of gendered data in France, at all levels, hinders the proper understanding and treatment of gender issues.

A better access to mobility also includes a better access to the car (specifically for women) and before that, to a driver’s license. Moreover, owning a car and being able to drive it is an important condition to find a job (PDU, p. 149). Its access is consequently also related to the access to employment. In collaboration with social driving schools, getting a drivers’ license is easier for people with low revenues. Similarly, in the Second Action Plan for women-men equality in Lyon (2016)³⁹, women’s access to drivers’ license is intended to be favoured, in collaboration with partners, such as social driving schools (p. 12, Action 60). Indeed, being able to drive a car is an important aspect in women’s mobility, as they are statistically more in charge of care tasks. Moreover, the individual car is also a safety guarantee for women and can help to palliate to the feeling of unsafety, especially at night (interview with Michèle Vianès). Thus, according to Michèle Vianès (president of the feminist association *Regards de Femmes*): “we can’t talk about safe travel mode for women and make a clean sweep of the personal car”. She added: “it is important that the car is not dismissed out of hand because it is a means of transport for women, and even of protection”. The access and use of the private car are not specifically fostered, as it is not sustainable; but with a gender insight, new issues appear, such as the safety one.

³⁹ The City of Lyon elaborates an Action Plan for women-men equality, which can be found on the municipality’s website and present actions to be reinforced or to be implemented in order to reach gender equality. This Plan is valid for three years, and the last one dates back from 2016, defined for the years 2016-2019. It is the Second Action Plan for women-men equality in Lyon and aims at tackling gender inequalities issues in a lot of different sectors.

5.2.4 Urban planning to assert women's place in sustainable mobilities

Collaborations and participation are also mentioned in the PDU in relation with infrastructures and planning for sustainable mobilities, such as the involvement of users (through associations) in planning projects aiming at better integrating “active modes” in the city (p. 72). As previously said, Lyon is putting efforts in extending its biking network and providing the city with bike infrastructures⁴⁰. Moreover, associations are also involved in planning infrastructures contributing to widen biking practice. For example, *La Ville à vélo* brings “the voice of cyclists to public authorities that are decision-makers” on topics such as “infrastructures, parking, what will make it easier to get new people in the saddle” (interview with Leslie Agabriel). Specifically on the topic of infrastructure, gender issues may appear thanks to associations, as they are aware that women, children, and the elderly “would need more infrastructures” to bike than “men [who] are more at ease in the traffic” (interview with Leslie Agabriel). Of course, the biking practice is “not only linked to infrastructures” but they could help to widen it, and would also guarantee some safety for children, women, and the elderly who tend to be less sportive and require more safe roads away from traffic (for example biking paths with a safety guard to mark the separation with the road). Consequently, this would also allow more women to use the bike for their daily travels: indeed, as it has been highlighted in the interview with Leslie Agabriel, women tend to question more their travels, as they are also in charge of children. She talked about the societal issue related of the share of household's tasks:

“It is still things that are devoted to women in a large majority, groceries, children. But strangely enough, when it comes to biking, fathers are way more involved.”. She added: “today, women's place in the city is limited also because children's place is limited.”

This quote highlights the importance of infrastructure and planning, specifically dedicated to safety of bike roads.

Following the bus ambassadors' project (see more details in Chapter 6), a huge mural was painted by Céleste Ganglophe and Vincent Leclerc on the walls of a tunnel at the Vaise station (see *Figure 6*). It celebrates women's place in public space – and specifically in this unwelcoming one – and affirms their appropriation of the space (interview with Sandra Bernard). The colourful mural also ‘lightens’ the tunnel. Moreover, a part of it (picture on the right side) displays women's issues in transports (“some women avoid public transports at night”, “sexual harassment”, “feeling of unsafety”) and present the actions conducted by the SYTRAL related to these issues (“women's safety audits”, “field diagnosis”, guide against sexist harassment, “solutions implemented”). This mural is then a concrete action, that can be seen by all, brought by women's participation to safety audits on the transport network (see Chapter 6), showing that participative measure can help changing the spatial environment to be more welcoming for women – and finally for all. Furthermore, this art can raise reflexion

⁴⁰ <https://www.lyon.fr/deplacements/les-modes-doux/lyon-velo>, City of Lyon, [no date]

on women's place in public transport and in public spaces, which could contribute to a global reflexion on women's place in the city.



Figure 6. Different views of the finished mural at the Vaise station in Lyon and a view of the ongoing work (top left: © Radio SCOOP/Céline Boucharlat, [no date]. middle: © SYTRAL, 2016. bottom left: ©Ville de Lyon, 2018. right: © TCL SYTRAL, 2020)

Spatial planning is also evoked in the Second Action Plan for women-men equality in Lyon as able to promote gender equality. Thus, some actions are meant to give more space to women in the urban life, for example in discussions for urban projects and the pursuit of a reflection for more egalitarian urban planning (Actions 36 and 37, p. 9). Moreover, objectives are defined in public policies to “promote a more egalitarian city in urban planning” (Action 65, p. 13) that would be more practical for women especially for “activities that are socially devoted to them”. These activities are not further developed though, and it could have been interesting to better qualify them and challenge this social order, for example in acknowledging that a more practical city regarding care and household needs would encourage a fairer share of these activities. Addressing gender issues in their globality is important because it helps to better understanding and therefore handling the problem, leading to sustainable solutions. Different measures to promote the “egalitarian city” include discussing “the issue of domination relations between women and men in urban space” at

different scales; “experiments on urban parks planning” and evaluation of public spaces frequentation; and the integration of these reflexions and knowledge in “volunteering” urban renovation sites (Action 65, p. 13). Those last points are important as they acknowledge the fact that city planning is inherently bearing (gender) inequalities, and that the gender issue should be considered in this field. However, the fact that the issue is intended to be implemented only in “volunteering” sites is controversial, because all public spaces and all renovation work should integrate a gender reflexion. This hesitation in integrating a gender insight suggests a lack of political support to this topic which can be linked to Rémy Le Floch’s words: “Gender [...] is a potentially flammable term when it is put in official documents [...]. You have to know when, where you use this term”.

The need for gender-disaggregated data

Another gender mainstreaming measure in public policies inscribed in the Action Plan is the construction of gender-disaggregated data and specifically statistics (Action 66, p. 13). This last measure is important, as it will provide data on the differences between women and men at the urban level and allow to better grasp the scope of the problem, and better address it. According to Michèle Vianès, the city of Lyon provides studies about gendered space occupation as well as gender-disaggregated statistics, but nothing is specifically done for now to implement adequate gender mainstreaming public policies (interview with Michèle Vianès). Moreover, the city of Lyon is one of the first ones in France to introduce gender budgeting in public policies, but as Michèle Vianès pointed it out, it seems that it is still a vague measure:

“[...] we reacted immediately when we heard about gender budgeting. There has been a meeting of Lyon’s Council [for women-men equality] [and] our representative questioned the deputy to ask her about it, and she was not able to answer.”

Rémy Le Floch, who is in charge of gender budgeting, indicated:

“We cruelly lack of objectivation, so how do you want to qualify an expense as benefiting more to men than women, if you do not have those basic data.”

On one hand, then, the municipality states there is not enough gendered data on the occupation of public spaces which hinders an efficient implementation of gender budgeting; on the other hand, the feminist association criticises a vagueness in measures about gender equality, even though studies are conducted. This suggests a complex collaboration between the two entities despite the existence of the Council for Equality in Lyon.

This Council, as Rémy Le Floch indicated, is an important space of “interconnexions and exchanges” around gender issues, where “the quasi-entirety of feminist associations’ panel is represented”. It holds an important collaboration with local feminist associations, on the topic of violence against women. Rémy Le Floch explained that the collaboration is on the one hand financial, as the city subsidises numerous local associations; on the other hand, they work together on awareness campaigns on gender issues. He also told that the Council can “make propositions, and working groups are implemented; and that is how [they] produced the Guide for women’s health in Lyon: it is a proposition of the Council for Equality”. The Council

also organises “important moments around the 8th of March and the 25th of November⁴¹”. However, this collaboration seems to be complicated: as the interview with Michèle Vianès showed, dialogue between the municipality and associations is not always smooth. Moreover, the pandemic may have delayed related projects, which shows a political agenda and priorities that are not always in line with associations’ ones.

5.3 Women’s safety as the major theme for gender mainstreaming policies and practices

Women’s safety is the most tackled issue around gender inequalities in mobilities, and collaboration and participation are also an important aspect in this. The gender issue is tackled in the PDU within the third strategic axis (“Performing and attractive collective transports”) and more specifically in the ‘Action sheet 3.7’, dedicated to “Reinforcing security on the TCL network to allow peaceful travels for all” (p. 106). Four actions are defined to reach this goal, dealing with prevention and sensibilisation to delinquency and vandalism and improvement of security and safety. The Action 3 specifically deals with the gender issue: it aims to “Improving security and tranquillity of women on the TCL network” (p. 106), as it is acknowledged that sexist and sexual abuses in public transports constrain the “free access to collective transports” for women (p. 106). Moreover, in the Territorial Strategy for safety and delinquency prevention, written by the SYTRAL and Keolis, nine actions out of twenty-one are specifically dedicated to gender matters.

The Strategy is developed in partnership with the different municipalities and the State. Indeed, the “transport space” is both a public space (bus stops for instance) on which the State has authority and a limited space (like metro stations, inside the buses) where the SYTRAL has authority (interview with Sandra Bernard). Consequently, to guarantee security both inside and in the surroundings of transport, both entities need to work together around a common document. The strategy is thus a shared document with shared objectives between the SYTRAL and the municipalities, as Sandra Bernard indicated: “if the partners do not engage themselves, we [the SYTRAL] can’t do it [implement the Strategy]”. Here, nine mayors from the nine biggest cities in the metropolis signed the Strategy and are involved in a collaboration with the SYTRAL and TCL for safety and security in transports. Similarly, the SYTRAL is a “partner of [other cities] own safety strategy [...] so [they] exchange processes, what [they] can implement together to [...] benefit the inhabitants and citizens of the territory” (interview with Sandra Bernard). Several themes can be identified in the strategy to improve women’s safety in transports.

5.3.1 Prevention, formation, and information

Intervention on young people

⁴¹ The 8th of March is the International Women’s Day commemorating the political, cultural, social, and economic achievements of women and bringing attention on women’s rights and gender equality. The 25th of November is the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against women.

As tackled in the PDU, prevention and information are carried on, in “partnership with actors of public safety and education” (p. 106). This can be seen in the Territorial Strategy, where there is a focus on the prevention of sexist and sexual abuses in transports, by educating young people on this issue (p. 16). This is of importance as in 2017, 27% of the authors of sexual abuses were minor (at the national level) (Keolis Lyon & SYTRAL, 2021, p. 7). Moreover, sexist and sexual abuses are the result of power relations learned from a very early age; thus, acting among teenagers to prevent those behaviours can have a real influence. These interventions are done in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, that agrees for such workshops to be conducted “and today, young people are educated, within schools and by the transports, on the question of sexist harassment” (interview with Sandra Bernard). These workshops are developed in collaboration with victim support associations and agents from the TCL formed to the question of sexist harassment by these same association (interview with Sandra Bernard). This implies collaboration with different stakeholders: the State (Ministry of Education) but also associations, here being experts in the fight against sexist and sexual assaults in mobility (in transports, on the streets).

Training and formation for the network’s agents

Agents from the transports network are also formed to considerate and punish sexist harassment, notably with the introduction of a punishment for “sexist outrage” (Law n°2018-703; see 4.4.2). As previously mentioned, it has aggravating circumstances (among others) if happening “in a vehicle meant for collective transport of travellers or in a space meant to access a mean of a collective transport of travellers” (Law n°2018-703, Article 15). However, it could also be the case when it happens in any public space (maybe especially the streets), as it would be acknowledged and recognised that those behaviours are limiting the mobility, which consist in a constraint in Humans’ Rights.

The sexist outrage differs from the sexual harassment or the sexual assault: the harassment implies a repetition, and the assault implies the idea of physical violence. However, the outrage does not need physical violence or repetition to be punished; it can be a verbal offense as well. This is important regarding public transports, as it is a common offence that was not included in the law before. The fact that agents on the network can give those fines contributes to a better support of victims and more knowledge on how to act in case of such abuses (Strategy, p. 53). This should also reinforce the confidence in employees and consequently systematise abuses reports, which is important as sexual and sexist abuses are seldom reported (p. 7). Agents are also formed to victims’ support and care: after an aggression, victims can be followed-up by the SYTRAL (if they left their contact data, which is not mandatory), that will indicate victims support associations (interview with Sandra Bernard). Similarly, city agents are also formed to react to violence against women, as stated in the Second Action Plan for women-men equality (Action 84, p. 15), even though how it will be done is not further detailed. Furthermore, actions such as safety audits (at night or during the day) are to be initiated by the municipality to better consider women’s feeling of unsafety on public spaces (Action 88, p. 15).

Prevention among users: awareness campaign

Prevention is also conducted among users of the network, with a communication campaign focused on the penalties incurred in case of sexual or sexist harassment or abuse; what to do as a witness; what to do as a victim (Strategy, p. 36). Information on where to seek help and who to contact on the TCL network is also fostered by this campaign, that won the national prize of ‘Best information campaign’ (p. 36). It has been realised in collaboration with the Regional Delegation to Women’s Rights, but also with the police: indeed, as the campaign encourage victims of sexual or sexist harassment to complain, institutions receiving those complains must be formed on and aware of the issue (interview with Sandra Bernard). Moreover, the lines ambassadors participate in the campaign to “exchange on the message and the experience of the campaigns” (interview with Sandra Bernard). The campaign is usually presented publicly for the 8th of March or the 25th of November and displayed in the stations, in the transports (metro, buses, tramways), but also in public spaces such as bus stops and elevators leading to the metro stations. It is then clearly visible in the city and in open public spaces and can inform everyone (interview with Sandra Bernard).

Thanks to this campaign, the SYTRAL observed a raise in reports of sexist or sexual abuses on the network, which was not “a raise in sexual aggressions, because [the SYTRAL] knew very well the problem was complaints filling and reports” (interview with Sandra Bernard). Moreover, the first campaign (in 2017) on sexist and sexual harassment in transports was very successful and shared a lot on social networks, which also contributed to spread the awareness on the topic (interview with Sandra Bernard). A new campaign is currently in preparation, Sandra Bernard said.

Besides, TCL and SYTRAL also launched “guide against sexist harassment” stating legal definition and punishments, what to do when being a victim or a witness and the TCL’s actions to combat sexist and sexual harassment in public transports (see Annex 2). It also explains what an abuse looks like, so users can act to prevent it. The guide has been written in collaboration with support victims associations and several phone numbers for victims support or help can be found in it, as well as means mobilised by the SYTRAL to prevent harassment and actions they conducted to combat sexist and sexual harassment on the network. This collaboration with associations is here crucial to correctly inform users.

A focus on reporting means

The attention is also put on the means to react to an aggression, which goes alongside the formation of TCL employees. An identified problem is that sexual and sexist abuses or harassment are not always reported (Strategy, p. 7), thus they cannot be quantified, and the measures are likely to be insufficient to face the problem. To improve this situation, the TCL network created a webpage dedicated to the report of abuses and violence, including sexual

and sexist ones (see *Figure 7*). It is designed for both victims and witnesses of those abuses



Figure 7. Online form to report any event that happened on the TCL network. Several categories are proposed as a topic of the report, among them “sexist harassment” and “sexual assault” (<https://www.tcl.fr/a-propos-de-tcl/tous-les-services-tcl/signaler-fait-incivilite/formulaire>, 2021)

and should allow the safety staff to act, mainly in victims’ support in their legal démarche (such as filling a complaint, for example). This relates with the collaboration with victims’ support associations and the police described in the Territorial Strategy (pp. 27-29). Similarly, a brochure dedicated to help victims of sexual or sexist abuses have been edited by the SYTRAL and TCL, in collaboration with victims’ support associations (interview with Sandra Bernard). It encourages victims to report abuses and support them in the legal approach, as well as establish contact with association helping victims of gender-based violence, if they want so. Moreover, using new technologies, further developments are sought that would contribute to better grasp the feeling of unsafety (p. 27).

Linked to the feeling of unsafety, the city would like to encourage women’s self-confidence through the practice of a self-defence sport (Second Plan for women-men Equality, Action 75, p. 14). This will be done in the form of workshops, for example held on the 25th of November (International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women) in collaboration with local sport clubs. This can be seen as a measure that would improve women self-confidence while outside at night in the streets (for example). However, this initiative suggests a form of women’s responsibility of their own safety, instead of putting the accent on aggressors’ accountability. Consequently, this should be seen as a temporary measure: focus should be kept on prevention for (young) people, which will have a long-term effectiveness.

Information as a limit to the measures implemented

Considering measures and actions implemented by the SYTRAL on the transport network, limits can be found to the support of victims after an aggression in the transports, as Box 2 suggests it. In this comment left under an article explaining the SYTRAL's support policy



Box 2. A comment reporting fails in SYTRAL's policies for women's safety (<http://magazine.sytral.fr/contre-harcelement-sexiste/>, 9th March 2020)

for harassment, a woman reports she has been “assaulted in the metro”. She complains about the fact that videos from the video protection are suppressed after 48h; she said she “had the courage” to leave her home to fill a complaint only four days after the harassment and the police could not do anything because the videos have been suppressed. She proposes to put more security staff and extend the delay of suppression. She highlights the fact that the harasser is “living his life easily” while she has to “live with this trauma”. The SYTRAL answered, indicating that 48h is a legal delay and they cannot change it. Their answer stresses that they try to make as much communication as possible on the legal delays and encourage a quick reaction. This situation reveals a need to better inform the users and better support them after such a situation; they should not feel alone but supported and in their right. This could help the victim to act quickly (or at least informing the staff on the network, as they are trained to answer such situations). Consequently, more efforts should be put on users' information on the legal delays for cameras' footages, and more consideration should be given to the psychological state of victims, as it can be a traumatising experience for them.

5.3.2 Initiatives on transport service: a territorial approach

Concrete initiatives are also implemented to improve women's feeling of safety in the surroundings of the transport network. Most of them are carried out thanks to the participation of ambassadors and include collaboration with public authorities – such as the city, for instance.

Stop on demand: implementation thanks to bus ambassadors

On the transport network, these measures include for example stop on demand, implemented since 2019 first on the five lines explored by the ambassadors (C14, 7, 52, C5 and C12), then generalised to the whole network. This service allows people (who are alone or accompanied by one or two minors) to ask the conductor to get out of the bus between two stops, to be closer to their home and spending less time walking alone at night, as indicated in the Territorial Strategy (p. 24). It is available from 10pm until the end of the service⁴². This measure has been implemented especially for women's safety, answering to the needs highlighted by lines ambassadors during safety audits (p. 25; also see Chapter 6), though the measure is open to every user. It was something that “a lot of people” wanted to be implemented on the network, especially women going home late with children (interviews with Pauline and Michèle). Bus drivers were already used to do that, even though it was forbidden (interviews with Pauline and Michèle). Lyon is “not the first network to implement [stop on demand], but the biggest one that generalised it” to all bus lines, since November 2019 (p. 25; interview with Sandra Bernard).

The institutionalisation of an already existing initiative, that was out of the rules but answering to users' needs, is here contributing to a better experience of public transports for all, and especially women that usually have a higher feeling of unsafety at night. As stated in the Strategy, this service is used by roughly a third of users and the demands are stronger on Friday nights (p. 25). This service contributes to an improvement in the feeling of safety; moreover, it also improves public transport's offer by being more flexible for users' needs and consequently increases its competitiveness facing other night transport modes (such as taxis, vehicles for hire, personal vehicle).

Pleine Lune (Full Moon): a reinforced night service

To accompany stop on demand, the night service has been reinforced, specifically on Friday and Saturday nights. The service, called *Pleine Lune* (“Full Moon”), allows to travel from the city centre to the north-east, north-west, and south-east parts of the metropolis (see *Figure 8*)⁴³. Those initiatives are a great beginning and may indeed reassure some people when

⁴² Usually between midnight and 00:30am on weekdays, until 3:15am or 4:15am on weekends.

⁴³ Three out of the four lines have four departures from the city centre (every hour from 1:15am to 4:15am) on Thursday nights, Friday nights and Saturday nights, while the fourth one has only two departures (at 1:15am and 3:15am) on Friday nights and Saturday nights. Similarly, the fourth metro lines have prolonged schedules until 2am on Friday nights and Saturday nights (see Annex 3 – in French).

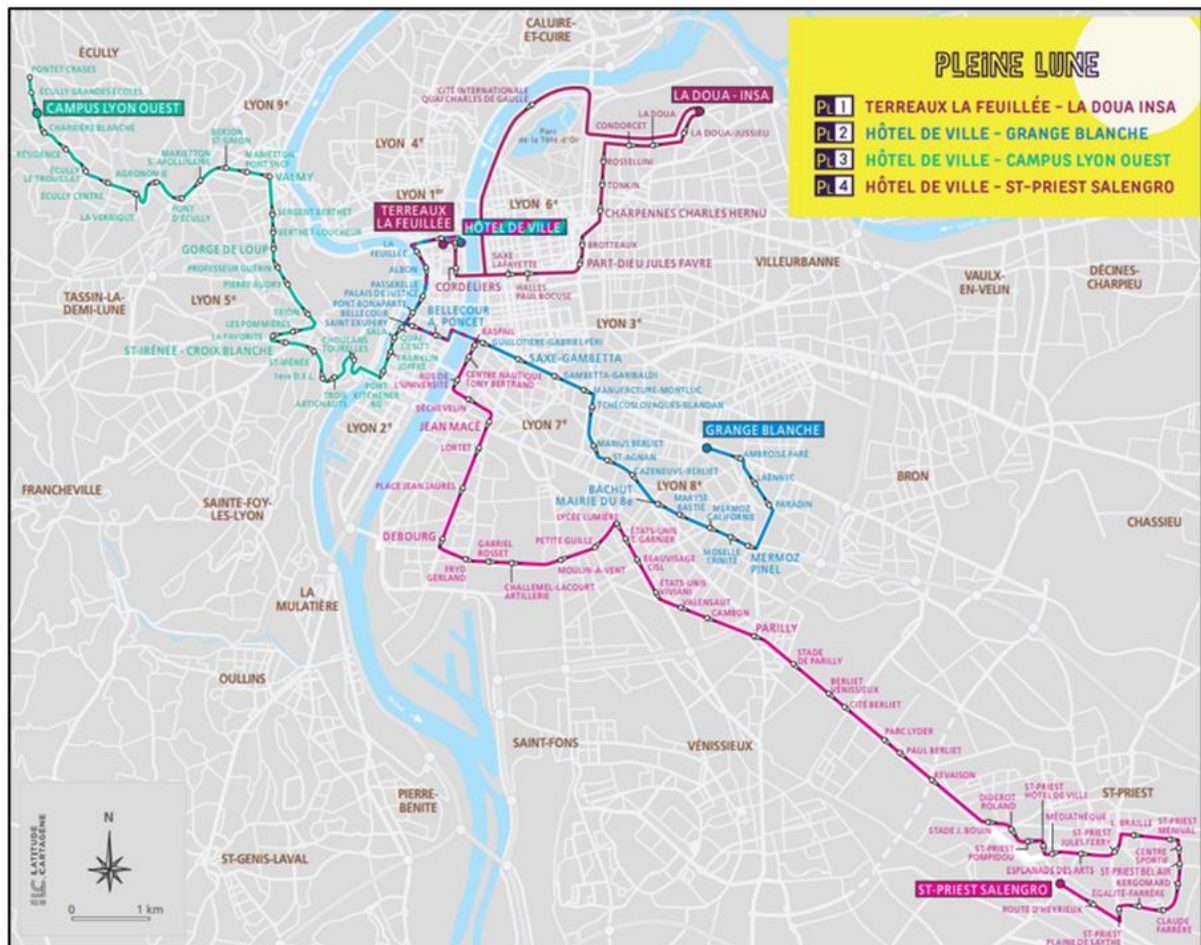


Figure 8. Night public transport network in Lyon and its surroundings (TCL SYTRAL, 2019)

they go out at night. Knowing that it will be possible to go home with public transports can be an important factor when deciding to go out or not, as the feeling of insecurity or unsafety may be a reason constraining one's own mobility (specifically for women). Moreover, security is reinforced in collaboration with partners, such as the City of Lyon: measures are to be taken concerning night mobility outside the public transport, especially in public spaces that are also subject to feeling of unsafety and spaces of power relations and gender violence – among others (Territorial Strategy, p. 31). This measure is not implemented for women specifically, but it has an important role in facilitating their (night) mobility.

Mon Chaperon: a controversial initiative highlighting double standards

Outside of the transport network, measures are also thought to reassure people travelling alone. The SYTRAL and TCL launched in 2019 a partnership with a co-travel application, called *Mon Chaperon*. Though it stopped during COVID-period, the partnership will soon be re-developed (interview with Sandra Bernard). The application is meant as a complement to the other measures related to (women's) safety (interview with Sandra Bernard). It aims at reinforcing social links between people doing the same trip or improving the feeling of safety by travelling with another person (Strategy, p. 41). Users of the app can themselves choose the "co-walker", among the different people proposed by the app (depending on the percentage of trip in common). Several ways to prevent negative

experiences are proposed by the app, such as an alarm button to reach relatives, members of the app in a 200m radius or the police (p. 41). If a user has a bad experience with someone, the latter can be reported and a note and comment can be added, which is a mean to warn other users. The goal is to build a safe online space, for and by the users.

This initiative also highlights the double standards in mobility between women and men: on the website, a section “What people say” display two different users’ testimonies (see Figure 9). We can here read that the man uses the app to meet new people working in



Figure 9. “What people say” section of the website *Mon Chaperon*, illustrating the gendered use of the app (<https://www.monchaperon.fr/>, 2017)

the same area as him⁴⁴; while the woman uses it to avoid feeling unsafe when walking alone at night⁴⁵. This major difference in mobility of men and women in the city can initiate a discussion on the perception and appropriation of the public space and spread awareness on the gendered issue in mobility.

Despite the quite large media covering (several radio stations, news on TV), the application is not known from the ambassadors (interviews with ambassadors). This could be because the 2019 partnership was mostly a “test” (interview with Sandra Bernard). In interviews, after a quick explanation of the role and function of the app, they did not seem very enthusiast. Most of the critic were related to the safety of the measure, the fact that it requires anticipation, the fact that the person to travel with is a stranger (interviews with Michèle; A3). However, as a complementary measure to the other already taken by the SYTRAL, and because several verification steps⁴⁶ limit the ‘bad uses’ of the app, it can be seen as a good thing (interview with A3).

⁴⁴ “JR, Aubervilliers – I use the app to meet people around my place and who go to work in the same zone.”

⁴⁵ “Laure, Paris – I did not feel safe when taking the RER [train linking Paris and its suburbs] late at night to go back from work. Going home with other people is more reassuring.”

⁴⁶ <https://www.monchaperon.fr/>, [no date], ©2017

5.4 A critique to the gendered vision

5.4.1 Lack of gender-disaggregated data

The interviews with different stakeholders allowed to grasp their different visions on gender issues, which can be linked to the gendered vision displayed in policy documents. The first statement is that France is still lagging in terms of gendered policies and gendered visions in general (not only in planning). As Rémy Le Floch indicated, this topic “is quite innovative, and we have little insight on it”. Moreover, as he repeated several times during the interview, there is few data available on the topic of gender inequalities that could help to direct public policies: “The problem is, we lack objectivation on the topic and the question of gender in public space” (interview with Rémy Le Floch). He also pointed out:

“In Lyon, we started talking about the question of gender in public space in 2013, on how to tackle these issues in urban planning. So, there is still an expertise that has been progressively consolidated, by experimentation, by trial and error, in Lyon.”

This suggests that there are also few works conducted on the topic, as the city’s “expertise” has been constructed “by trial and error”. Similarly, the gender department at the metropolitan level (who has the ability on spatial planning issues) has “just been created, it is under construction”. At the local level, it is then complicated to conduct efficient and documented policies, even though more and more directives come from the national level.

On the topic of mobilities more specifically, the SYTRAL conducted an important project on gender inequalities and women’s feeling of unsafety, involving users in the process (see Chapter 6). For other types of sustainable mobilities, however, little work has been conducted. Rémy Le Floch mentioned:

“The only work that has been done in 2020 was in Bordeaux with Yves Raibaud, who worked on that. There is also an interesting work conducted in Seine-Saint-Denis on the biking practice with a gender insight; there was an interesting online conference about that, that was highlighting several women’s biking practices. But outside of these initiatives, there is not much for the moment, neither in Lyon nor elsewhere.”

This lack in gender insight is also linked to the lack of gender disaggregated data, and specifically in mobility inquiries, even though it is an issue often raised by activists within the Council for Equality in Lyon (interview with Rémy Le Floch). Similarly, the TCL conducts inquiries about safety on the network, which consider sexist or sexual harassment or assaults. But once again, on the public space, this kind of data is not enough or even inexistant (interview with Rémy Le Floch). Victimisation inquiries, such as the ENVEFF (*Enquête Nationale sur les Violences Envers les Femmes en France* – National Inquiry on Violence Against Women in France), allow some frame to gender-based violence but stay very general, as national inquiries. Moreover, the only one that have been conducted dates back from the year 2000;

a more recent one could help to grasp the issue more accurately, as it would also take place in a context of women's speech liberation on the gendered-based violence.

The issue of violence against women is then not that much documented both at the national and local level, and even less in the context of mobilities. This hinders the implementation of relevant policies, as Rémy Le Floch indicated:

"It is a topic on which some agents are not fully sensibilised [...]. It is complicated to know to what extent it deals with impressions, [...] lived experiences [...] and to what extent it is generalisable, to what extent we can draw a public policy on that. Because a public policy also means having some arguments to justify a financial arbitration with a few million euros at stake..."

This shows the complexity of gender mainstreaming policies, that must be founded on academic and statistical work that are today limited for the French case. Nevertheless, the fact that the differentiated gendered use of public spaces is questioned – even though a lot of (anglophone) academic work proved the reality of it – suggests either a lack of knowledge on the topic, or a political statement. This emphasises the need for education at all levels in policy making. This seems even more required because the opposition to gender mainstreaming policies can be seen as a "French specificity", as Rémy Le Floch illustrated:

"[...] the gender issue, to take it into account, is something potentially inflammable when you put it in official documents, it has to be supported by a political will." He added: "Remember some years ago, the ephemeral Minister of Equality wanted to implement the 'Equality's ABCDs' in primary schools. There had been an outcry, demonstrations, children were taken out of school, some said children will be taught gender theory and masturbation at school..."

This illustrates how gender is a touchy topic in France, which can also be illustrated by the French reaction to the #MeToo movement: it has been designated as a "witch hunt" or despised in a press box defending the "freedom to annoy" in a national newspaper (Riego-Liron, 2019). This "French specificity" which is extensively described in Rey-Robert's book *Une culture du viol à la française (A French rape culture)* (2019) also participates in this lag in gender mainstreaming policies.

5.4.2 Women as victims?

Within gender mainstreaming measures implemented in mobility policies, the focus is made on women's safety (see 5.3). As it has been argued, this results in an incomplete consideration of gender issues, as the urban environment is also not considering women's needs.

Within the PDU, the question of a least mobility for women is not labelled as an "inequality". The question of unsafety and insecurity is indeed brought up as a specifically women's issue, but the word "inequality", compared to men's freedom in mobility, for example, is not displayed. This would have been more relevant because dealing with systemic

inequality is different than dealing with question of safety. It requires to have a broader understanding of power relations that create the inequality (the ‘system’).

Moreover, when the PDU mentions “vulnerable” people, that are needing more help and consideration from authorities, women are not included in it (p. 141). As it is defined, “vulnerable” people subject to a “form of fragility harming their mobility” (p. 141). To a certain extent, women do fit in the proposed definition of “vulnerable people”, with the difference that their mobility is hindered by social and gendered power relations. However, tackling gender issues in relation with “vulnerability” would have been controversial, as Rémy Le Floch explained:

“I am not sure that it is judicious to tackle women’s issues, or a gendered approach, through vulnerability. Several feminists would say that no, women are not necessarily small, fragile, and vulnerable things [...], that they constitute more than half of humankind and are not to be considered as ‘hindered minorities’ [...].”

Indeed, this statement was also mentioned by Michèle Vianès, who claimed that she does not “talk about ‘victims’ because [she does] not like victimising women [...]”. This suggest the reject of a classic scheme of a woman being assaulted by a man. However, because women’s issues in transports are only tackled through safety issues, it still gives the global impression that women are more vulnerable in transports. Moreover, in the Territorial Strategy for Safety and Delinquency Prevention, the second Axis “Going towards vulnerable people to better protect them” presents several measures implemented on the transport network and initially designated as improving women’s experience, such as the stop-on-demand, victim support, public information on measures against delinquency in transports (which is a lot focused on sexist or sexual harassment, with the awareness campaign) and the co-travel application. As a result, it seems that women are sometimes included in “vulnerable users” and sometimes not. This suggests a blur in women users’ consideration, but also reflects an incomplete concern about gender issues in mobilities.

5.4.3 “The personal is political”

A complete focus on gender inequalities in mobility would rely on different issues, as women-men inequalities are symptoms of patriarchal domination. As previously seen, the major difference between men and women’s mobility is the nature of their trips. More complete data would help to better link differentiated mobility with gender roles. For example, it has been argued that women are more likely to be in charge of household tasks, which has influence on their mobility. The intricate relations of these inequalities was expressed by Rémy Le Floch:

“[...] the unequal repartition of domestic and familial tasks [is] the basis of a lot of other inequalities and has consequences on work, on remoted work, on part-time work; which has consequences on salary, career, thus on autonomy, thus on precarity (specifically in the case of separation); which has consequences on retirement conditions, etc.”

This reflects the necessity to fully tackle gender inequalities in mobility, as they reveal a lot of personal ones, such as the handling of a household. This relates to a slogan appeared during the 1960s and 1970s feminist movements stating that “the personal is political” (Hanisch, 1970), suggesting that the “experiences, feelings and possibilities” of personal life are “limited, moulded and defined by the broader political and social settings” (Dillon, 2010). This is also applicable to mobilities, as systemic oppression (here based on gender) is visible in differentiated mobility practices. In France, public policies were long reluctant to tackle private issues and the politisation of such matters is the result of economical and ideological rationales (Achin and Levêque, 2006). First seen as an “American obsession” that “threatened the idea of the Republic [...] by questioning the division private sphere/public sphere”, issues on “gender, sexuality, and norms” are publicly debated since the early 2000s (*ibid.*). This allowed to implement parity policies, especially in the professional sector, but also diversity policies, and a better support to gender- and sexual orientation-based violence (*ibid.*). This suggests that the integration of personal questions into the political realm allowed to better tackle gender inequalities, as they are the outcome of systemic oppression and thus cross the public/private division.

5.5 Conclusion of the chapter

Extensive collaboration despite the absence of feminist associations

This chapter focused on the gendered perspectives reflected in sustainable mobilities, as well as the kinds of collaboration existing between the different stakeholders and around the topic of mobility. It appeared that a lot of initiatives aiming at improving women’s experience of public transports have been implemented thanks to citizens participation, in the form of women’s lines ambassadors (further developed in Chapter 6), that contributed to voice out women’s needs in buses but also in the urban environment. These measures were implemented in collaboration with the municipality and the metropolis, in charge of spatial planning issues. Moreover, collaboration with associations and other institutions (such as schools) around prevention of and information on sexist and sexual harassment in transport have been conducted, which allows a wider knowledge on how to react to it (as a witness, a driver) but most importantly teaches to younger people to not sexually harass women.

Outside of the transport network, active modes of transports are promoted, with the contribution of mobility associations and specifically biking associations. This collaboration is both financial and focused on education, with the goal to change people’s mobility behaviours. In policies, the gendered aspect of the biking (or walking) practice is not mentioned, with indicates a lack of both gender-disaggregated data and political willingness. As interlocutors between inhabitants and institutions, (biking) associations can bring gendered issues to public authorities even though they are not making the decision in the end. Moreover, it appears that some focus on the gendered biking practice exists in Lyon, without being as wide as a feminist biking revolution.

An incomplete gender perspective, lacking data

The gendered vision in policies related to sustainable mobilities is rather uncomplete, as there is an important lack of gendered data on this topic, which makes it more difficult to implement policies and see the real extent of the phenomenon, especially in open public spaces. There is a real need for more quantitative data on the gendered use of public spaces and sustainable mobilities in France.

The fact that gender issues are only tackled through women's safety may contribute to a vision of women as victims, even though this is not intended. Moreover, it offers an incomplete vision of gender issues in mobility, as the latter is also linked to personal life, ruled by gendered roles (in a heterosexual family), which have influence on a lot of other inequalities. Consequently, the fact that spatial planning and infrastructures are mostly using a men's perspective (because it is seen as universal) could be more tackled, especially in relation with biking infrastructures.

Gendered perspectives on sustainable mobilities are then lacking more in-depth considerations especially related to the personal as non-political. However, collaboration on education around sexist and sexual harassment in transports, and participation of citizens and the value of their experience allow to have a concrete influence on this gendered vision.

The next chapter will develop on this participative measure, represented by SYTRAL's bus lines ambassadors, and will delve into the experience as both users and policymakers.

6. Between users and policymakers: the implications of participation in the gendered experience of mobility

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at investigating the project of bus ambassadors, by answering the sub-research question: *What are the implications of participation in the gendered experience of mobility?* This will contribute to answer the main question by examining the experience of ambassadors as well as the role they played in the measures implemented on the transport network. It will help to understand how participation is implemented, its objectives and concrete results. Getting insights into personal experiences will provide opportunities to understand how ambassadors lived this experience as policymakers, which role they had in measures' implementation and how it changed their users' experience of transports. It could also allow to detect flaws in the initiative or aspects that could be improved.

One of the most important initiatives implemented on the transport network is the lines ambassadors, who work with the SYTRAL on bus lines to conduct safety audits. Their role is mainly described in the Territorial Strategy for Safety and Delinquency Prevention 2021-2026, but the SYTRAL also edited numerous documents about this initiative. On a voluntary basis, several groups of women users explore buses, stops, and the immediate surroundings of the concerned line to detect or point out factors contributing to a feeling of unsafety. The criteria used to select which women will be a "line ambassador" are their use of the network (regularity, frequency, and time schedules in which they usually travel), their socio-professional category, their age. On the network, they are accompanied by a TCL expert of mobility and safety and together they conduct a diagnosis of the line (and on a broader level, of the network), pointing out the weaknesses and the strengths of it. The diagnosis is meant to analyse the bus network itself (punctuality, regularity, planning) but also the surroundings of the bus lines (video protection, stops, lighting) and the buses in themselves (lighting, cleanliness, visual and auditory comfort, video protection) (TCL SYTRAL, 2020). The diagnosis and the propositions resulting from these safety audits are synthesised in a report that helps the different actors (SYTRAL, Keolis Lyon, the State, Lyon metropolis) to take actions to improve the safety of the public transport network. This project has a gender orientation, as feeling of unsafety in public transports is higher among women than men and reflects gender power relations in the public space. Moreover, as it is a women-only initiative, their gendered perspective is valued.

This project illustrates an important aspect of participation: users are considered experts. They are here to share their personal experience on the bus line, their contextual knowledge. It comes from both their daily life and the safety audits conducted with a safety expert. They share their views, both between them and with SYTRAL's experts. They are then also working with experts, but their knowledge and experience is considered as relevant and useful to improve women's experience of public transports. Participating in this project thus gives ambassadors a double role: they are users sharing their experience but also

policymakers, as they make propositions to improve the transport service and participate in the implementation.

To get insights into personal experiences, semi-structured interviews have been conducted, providing flexibility for interviewees to talk about their personal views and experiences. Three different ambassadors have been interviewed: Michèle, Pauline and an anonymous ambassador, referred to as A3. Michèle and Pauline are from the first ‘wave’ of ambassadors (2015-2016) while A3 conducted her audit in 2019.

6.2 A pioneer project in France

Lyon’s transport network is the first in France to implement these safety audits, since 2015 (interview with Sandra Bernard, 6th May 2021). According to Sandra Bernard, “it is a true participative approach, with women who are voluntarily constructors of safety, comfort and serenity in public transports” (interview with Sandra Bernard). Indeed, these women who are labelled “ambassadors for life” by the SYTRAL (interview with Sandra Bernard) are a bridge between users (because their audits finally benefit to anyone using the network) and policymakers, to whom they bring their experience. This corresponds to some of the strategies described by Lennie (1999) to create an “empowering feminist framework of participation and action”: their local, contextual knowledge and experiences are as valued as scientific knowledge and seen as positive inputs; their diversity is recognised; and it is a women-only measure, allowing them to (re)appropriate the space of public transports.

The first lines explored in 2015 were the 7 and C12. The first one rides to the north-east of Lyon and the second one rides to the southern part of the city. Both lines go beyond the borders of the city as they connect Lyon with two cities in its surroundings (Vaulx-en-Velin for line 7 and Vénissieux for line C12). Moreover, the line C12 is one of the major bus lines of the TCL, with a higher service as the ‘normal’ ones (such as the line 7). In a video, Patrick Aujogue (Security Director at Keolis Lyon) explains that these lines have been chosen because of a higher rate of aggressions, compared to the other bus lines in Lyon⁴⁷, which Sandra Bernard also stated in interview:

“Lines have been chosen for two reasons: the first is the feeling of safety [...]. For lines that end in specific zones, we know that the feeling of safety is less strong because at night there is no one, or only men, in public space. And the second is the number of incidents on those lines.”

Six bus lines have been explored with safety audits for now, as indicates the Territorial Strategy (p. 45). This process takes time, because of the numerous steps it involves: after the recruitment, sensibilisation, and exploration by the ambassadors and the experts, diagnosis and recommendations are realised; working tables with experts are organised; implemented measures are then studied in practice, and finally ambassadors participate in a result overview.

⁴⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eSqqg1HbLjA&list=LL&index=20>, SYTRAL Rhône, posted on 24th November 2015.

6.3 A measure allowing women to have a role in policymaking

6.3.1 Participants already experienced gender-based violence

Three ambassadors have been interviewed about their own experience of this initiative and their role on the transport network. Two of them are from the same ‘wave’ of ambassadors, the first one (conducted in 2016): Michèle is (and was already, at the time) retired, and Pauline is a young woman who was studying at the time. The third ambassador conducted her safety audit in 2019 and is (and was at the time) a working woman.

In overall, the ambassadors mentioned they were very satisfied with the initiative and their experience was positive. One of them sees Lyon as an example in France: “I think there is a sincere will, as I see it, to change things, and I think that if all France’s regions want to take Lyon as an example, it’s marvellous.” (interview with A3). Similarly, Pauline quickly shared her experience in other cities:

“I lived in Montpellier, Marseille, Paris and abroad, so I can see what is cool here. With Montpellier it is not very comparable, because there is no metro, there are only tramways, and they are well lightened. In Marseille, the metro is a total angst, in the evening it is not enticing, it is not well lightened, and the metros are old, so it is not very reassuring. In Paris [...], I already went back home quite late, and there is light everywhere.”

She sees Lyon as one of the best French cities for women’s feeling of safety in transports and relies a lot on the lighting to feel safe. Indeed, Lyon is the first big city in France to have implemented measures specifically for women’s safety, such as the stops-on-demand for example (interview with Sandra Bernard).

The youngest women specifically related with the issue of inequalities in transports, as they suffered from it themselves (interviews with Pauline and A3). This is also one of the reasons why A3 decided to become an ambassador:

“I think it was a moment when there have been a #MeToo wave, it was also the after #MeToo. And at that time, some small stuff happened to me in the public transports, so it resonated with me [...].”

They all have been approached with a different mean, which shows that the recruitment campaign was quite broad in its methods: Michèle was recruited by mail and answered because she was “curious” about it and wondered “what [was] going to happen”. She also mentioned it was interesting for her to talk about “woman in public spaces”. Pauline has been “approach in the bus” and A3 saw “a flyer in the bus, saying they were recruiting ambassadors [...] and [she] was very intrigued.”. The interest came from their own experience of gender-based violence in transport, but also simply curiousness of what was this initiative about.

6.3.2 Proposing measures on the transport network

As mentioned earlier, the three of them were really satisfied with their experience, and mostly with the quick reaction of the designated problems on the network. Pauline and Michèle mentioned that “a lot of stuff have been taken into account” such as “the stop on demand” and that the staff was “very responsive” and “paid attention” to ambassadors’ reflexions. Pauline explained:

“Something that was not done, and that was forbidden, was the stop on demand. We realised there was a lot of people who wanted this to be implemented on some bus lines, so we had to take the step, asking [for this measure to be implemented], proving it was not so [...] complicated.”

Specifically, Michèle and Pauline felt they had a “real implication” and a “real voice” in decision-making (interview with Pauline), with Michèle mentioning “[they] were not just puppets on the field”.

As part of propositions for new measures, A3 said she indicated in her report that it would be relevant to “put back drivers in the centre, give them more power to react, because they are the ones on the field and are more able to react than the general manager, or the board of directors.”. Indeed, as they have been trained to recognise and react to a situation of sexist or sexual harassment (see Chapter 5), bus drivers could have a bigger role on the network in the case of such assault, but “strangely enough, they have little power”, according to A3. This measure, proposing to give more power to drivers would allow them, in addition to a direct reaction supporting the victim, to give fines instead of calling the hierarchy. However, as A3 did not presented her team report to experts yet (see 6.4), this proposition is still in suspension. It nevertheless shows the way ambassadors implement measures on the network: they travel on the bus, make a diagnosis, reflect about it, and make up propositions that could improve users’ experience; then they write a report and present it to experts, which then discuss about the feasibility of the proposed measures.

Pauline also observed that “among bus controllers, there is a majority of men” and that “there [is] more and more female drivers”, which she finds “great”. Indeed, she thinks “some people are more at ease to talk to a woman in that case [of sexual or sexist harassment]”, but at the same time she “find[s] [it] more reassuring if the driver is a man” as he could “fear” the perpetrator and is “stronger”, even though she is aware that this kind of discourse is “very gendered”. The question of more women agents in buses is then also an interesting topic to discuss. For example, more men drivers could be in service at night, and women drivers during the day. Another solution could be to work in mixed team at night, so there is still a woman’s presence which can be more appreciated in the case of reporting sexist or sexual harassment or assault.

The debates they had with members from the metropolis, the municipality and other experts were described as “very interesting” (interview with ambassadors), also because they had an insight into urbanisms questions (interview with A3) and were able to understand how planning work and be aware of different projects. For example, Pauline pointed out:

“There was a supermarket parking that was in the dark, where we conducted an audit at 11pm, and we had to cross it to go to a neighbourhood. We told it was dangerous and we were not okay with that, that there are spaces where they [the city] should keep the lights on. This has been taken into account, they said they were renewing the electric network, that it was taking time. It was interesting also because we learned they were renewing the neighbourhood to make an eco-district that will be less dangerous, with smaller buildings.”

Participation of ambassadors then contributed to point out weaknesses in the urban landscape that can result in feeling of unsafety, specifically at night, for women. This quote however suggests that these weaknesses were already (to some extent) acknowledged by the planning authority, as an urban renewal operation is here intended.

6.3.3 Taking part in stakeholders' collaboration

In addition, interviewees perceived there was a real collaboration between the transport network and the municipal authorities: as Pauline mentioned, safety audits are “not just taking the bus”, but also “going out at each stop, looking around in the neighbourhood [...] to see what is dangerous, what is not, if there are risks, if a quick intervention can be done”. This necessitates an involvement from the municipality and the metropolis. This partnership shows that public institutions are also involved and that a dialogue is created between ambassadors, representing very local interests, and public authorities at a higher level, here the metropolitan one.

Furthermore, Pauline mentioned they “met a women’s rights activist who explained what fines or prison sentences are incurred for sexual aggressions in transports”. It was probably someone from the Regional Delegation for Women’s Rights, as Sandra Bernard mentioned they worked together on that project. This shows a will to rely on both experts and local knowledge on women’s rights and gender inequalities. In addition, the fact that only women were invited to take part in this initiative is allowing them to have a voice on their own and not constrained by men’s voice. This was an important aspect for the SYTRAL, as Sandra Bernard pointed it out, thought it was not always a shared point of view (see 6.4.2). An interesting input brought by Pauline is that women’s audits were not only centred on their experience, but they also considered minorities’ interests. As she indicated, they also tackled

“[...] equality with minorities, for example disabled people of homosexual communities, that also have big problems on transports. To me, all of this has to be taken into account, otherwise it will create problems. [...] When we gave feedback, we immediately talked about minorities, not only women. [...] it is really a global reflexion, that started from women and spread, because they are not the only ones facing problems [in transports].”

This is an important perspective, as women often find themselves at the intersection of other oppressions, that it is important to acknowledge to be able to tackle women’s issues entirely. However, this perspective has not been mentioned by other ambassadors or by Sandra Bernard, which suggests that it was rather marginal.

According to the three ambassadors interviewed, the project is then a success, and it allowed to put in place measures to improve women's experience of transports, such as the stops on demand, but also to give a real voice to users.

6.4 Highlighting broader challenges: women empowerment, changing mindsets and concrete impact on transports' experience

6.4.1 A time-consuming work, adding mental load to women

Even though the experience was positive and that the ambassadors could have a “real voice” in decisions and projects, some flaws were pointed out. The most obvious is the amount of time that this voluntary work requires. Implementing policies takes time, but the ambassadors work besides (paid and/or unpaid work). Moreover, as all ambassadors are women, they bear a double charge balancing their professional life with their private life, which appears complicated specifically for mothers. Consequently, a project requiring time from women should take into account this fact (Lennie, 1999) and it was not always done. As a result, some women that firstly volunteered disengaged from the project after a first meeting where the SYTRAL presented the initiative. Pauline pointed out that after the very first presentation about the ambassadors' role, a second has been conducted “with those who decided to stay. [...] we were around ten at the first meeting, and five or six at the end.”. These women did not stay, she said, mostly because

“[...] there was a real involvement, it was a lot of time because we had to take a bus at every time of the day. After each audit, we had to do a report, it took [...] between thirty minutes and an hour, maybe more. We also conducted several audits per week, so it was an important time investment.”

Interviewed ambassadors mentioned it was complicated to be there at every walk, especially for mothers (interviews with Michèle and Pauline). Indeed, some of them were conducted late in the evening or early in the morning (interviews with Pauline and A3), which requires to organise the day differently regarding children's care. Similarly, Pauline explained she was studying at the time, and it required more organisation to be able to conduct the audits: “at that time in was in *prépa*⁴⁸, and I told my teachers about that, to be able to be late or leave earlier, to participate in it.”. She added: “we had to see according to the schedules who could come.”. A3 mentioned she had to “take a day off” to be able to assist to the meeting dedicated to the communication campaign (interview with A3). She also added:

“[...] it is on a voluntary basis, so we can be more or less involved. I like to deepen stuff, because I feel like I am involved in it, and I would like the project

⁴⁸ The formal name is *Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Ecoles* or CPGE (‘Higher School Preparatory Classes’ in English). It is part of French post-secondary education system and offers an intensive preparatory course which aims at training students to be later enrolled in one of the French *Grandes Ecoles* (Graduate schools) through national exams. CPGE have one of the highest workloads in Europe (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Classe_pr%C3%A9paratoire_aux_grandes_%C3%A9coles, 2021).

to progress so it could reach as much people as possible. Also, it is an issue affecting everyone, it is not just me and my feelings.”

Indeed, it is still voluntary work, but for it to have a real influence on transports’ experience, implication is required, which can be difficult for women and especially mothers. The interviewed ambassadors though managed to adapt their lives to the project (interviews with Pauline, A3). As volunteers, they were also willing to participate in it.

Moreover, the process is rather slow, as it involves a lot of different steps. One of the ambassadors shared the presentation they gave to the SYTRAL’s President after their audit’s synthesis, where the different steps are detailed (see *Figure 10*). The ambassadors were

involved in two reunions of presentation and formation, five audits, five debriefing meetings, four preparation meeting, two meetings with experts, one meeting with managers of the bus terminus (*la Soie*) and two meetings with SYTRAL’s president. These steps were spread on several months, from January 2015 to September 2016, while the audits themselves started in January 2016 (for the first ‘wave’). Opposite to what is displayed in this

L’Engagement des Ambassadrices

- o 2 réunions de présentation et de formation (01/2015)
- o 5 marches (01 à 04 / 2016)
- o 5 réunions de débriefing (01 à 04/2016)
- o 4 réunions de préparation (04 et 09/2016)
- o 2 réunions avec les experts (04/2016)
- o 1 réunion avec les responsables de la Soie et visite du site (06/2016)
- o 2 rencontres avec la Présidente du SYTRAL (01 et 09/2016)

Figure 10. Detail of reunions and audits consisting of the involvement of the ambassadors, and the related dates (presentation made by the ambassadors, 2016)

presentation, the ambassadors said they did not have any formation previously to the safety audits in buses (see 6.4.2), which suggests that it was not presented in that way when these meetings have been held. It is complicated to understand what this “formation” consisted of, as it was not mentioned by Sandra Bernard neither. There are also numerous meetings and five safety audits, after which reports must be written.

Furthermore, this process is slow. Once the reports have been presented by the ambassadors, implementations of measures on the network can start, which can also be a long process. Moreover, the COVID crisis seemed to change the schedule, as A3 indicated:

“I conducted my safety audit in the end of 2019, we wrote the report, and we were supposed to hold a committee in the beginning of 2020, but it was never held and [...] this report is always postponed. I say that because we are in 2021 and it is still not done.”

It seems that ambassadors have not been a priority during the sanitary crisis, which is problematic because gender-based violence did not stop during the lockdown; it even became more important as several newspaper reported⁴⁹.

6.4.2 Controversies on the women-only aspect of the project

The fact that the lines' ambassadors is a women-only initiative was important for the SYTRAL, as Sandra Bernard mentioned it in the interview. However, there was some caveats from ambassadors, as A3 illustrated: she mentioned questioning this aspect of the project during meetings. She added: "I understand their point of view, but that is not to say I 100% agree with it.". This shows a different vision or knowledge on gendered relations: as Sandra Bernard explained

"[It was important that these safety audits were women-only groups] because some of them would not have had the same discourse, would not have been as much involved, if men were present. [...] it is a reality. But finally, it benefits to everyone."

However, it did not seem to be acknowledged by the ambassadors: for example, Michèle argued today's feminism is "taking away their role from men", even though she did not mention discussing SYTRAL's decision to choose only women for the project. This specific view on feminism, can also come from a lack of knowledge on gendered power relations, which are insidious and everywhere, making women-only activities necessary to empower women (see Lennie, 1999). In that sense, maybe (in)formation on gendered power relations and inequalities between women's and men's mobility would have been interesting and allowed women to better grasp their role.

At the same time, as A3 indicated: "I did not have a formation, and I think it was relevant because you cannot ask to train women. It is about the real life and feelings that women have in public transports; it is very trivial.". Similarly, Michèle considered a formation was not necessary because "it was not complicated" as "there was a lot of observations". Pauline also considered that involving men in the project would have been "very interesting" and it could "bring another look" during their audits, as women "are not always the only ones to feel bad in transports or in public spaces". Furthermore, A3 pointed out another aspect of the women-only activity here:

⁴⁹ see for example "Confinement : dans les transports déserts, des femmes racontent leur sentiment d'insécurité", Le Parisien, 6th May 2020. According to the anthropologist Chris Blache, the lockdown offers "a precipitate of what we usually know" about men's domination of public spaces, as she explains: "When the public space is empty, mechanical principles come back: owners of these spaces experiment their property right" ("Confinement: dans les rues désertes, les femmes constatent l'augmentation du harcèlement et des agressions sexuelles", Franceinfo, 2nd May 2020, https://www.francetvinfo.fr/sante/maladie/coronavirus/confinement-dans-les-rues-desertes-les-femmes-constatent-l-augmentation-du-harcèlement-de-rue-et-des-agressions-sexuelles_3945027.html).

“In my opinion, a group of women for women excludes men, and the message would be that it is a women’s concern, and it is not supposed to be so. I do not see why women should make sure to not be harassed, assaulted, and raped while it is a common problem [...]. And excluding men from that would mean that it is our problem, and we deal with it: that is what makes me angry. Moreover, I think it dismisses their responsibility, they do not feel involved. Also, I find it very interesting to confront different genders’ points of view.”

This highlights a challenge of feminist empowering frameworks in planning: how to involve men and make them interested in the project, without them taking the space.

6.4.3 The still important challenge to change mindsets

This challenge I think is linked to one of the issues A3 referred to with the lines’ ambassadors: “It is true that adding lights or demolishing sidewalks is not what will solve the problem of sexist and sexual harassment, in the sense that it is the mindset [that has to change].”. To reach that goal, she highlighted the importance of the awareness campaign and prevention, because “it brings out questions and reflexions”, which is “a first step in [changing] mindsets”. Indeed, mentalities will change through education: that is why actions such as the lines’ ambassadors should be a complement to prevention and education. Mentalities are thus to be changed, and besides educative projects for young people, the awareness campaign led by the SYTRAL on the whole transport network is a way to do that, as thinks A3. This also relates to the reflexion she made, stating that “excluding men would mean that it is our problem, and we deal with it”: this issue is a common one and society should feel concerned about it. Consequently, authorities are also part of that mindset change, as they push for prevention and education (see Chapter 5); but they are sometimes part of the problem. Indeed, two of the ambassadors mentioned that the treatment of the complaints by the police was not always following the common effort for a better recognition of sexual or sexist aggression:

“[...] we can see today that the law does not punish aggressors. [...] I think there is a low percentage of people that fill a complaint for rape or sexual violence which cases going until the end [...]. To me, there problem nowadays is that in the law, the Penal Code says it can be reprimanded, there is a punishment, it is punishable to sexually assault or harass someone. But [the law] is not doing it [punishing], and that is what inhibits me.” (interview with A3)

In a more concrete aspect, Michèle told:

“[...] any police station has to take your complaint. They will tell you “No, you have to go in your neighbourhood”, but that is wrong [...]. It happened in our group [...] one of the students had a problem [...] and she went to the police station, and they did not take her complaint.”

Sandra Bernard also mentioned this element in her interview, pointing out the collaboration between the SYTRAL and the police force:

“[...] if we incite women to fill complaints but that thereafter it does not work with the reception [of those complaints], we are obliged to work in partnership with them. When we offer support to victims, if there is someone noticing us [...] that there was a problem at the police station, that they have been sent to another police station, we interfere and we check in with the prefect and the director of public safety [...]. And they also try to improve the chain.”

The change therefore must happen on every layer of society, and especially in institutional bodies treating the issue. Michèle explained that “during a press conference”, the prefect “encouraged women to fill complaints” instead of “*mains courantes*”⁵⁰ [...] otherwise there is nothing [he] can do”. This shows the ambivalence between reporting and exposing sexual and sexist harassment and not being taken seriously by the authorities when filling a complaint. This makes the collaboration and formation of institutional bodies, and specifically of police forces, even more necessary.

Similarly, the project of the ambassadors and their reports were not always fully understood by public authorities, as explained Pauline:

“At first, they [municipalities] were not convinced at all. I felt they were thinking that it was smoke and mirrors and that they were about to have problems with activists. That is why we insisted on everything that was positive, because it was important to show them there was not only negative points, but only things to improve and understand.”

This shows that gender issues and inequalities are not widely acknowledged, and that aiming at reducing or suppressing them may be seen as a side fight, less important than other projects. This is often because all the consequences of these inequalities are not known, or because of the majority of men in decision-making (see Greed, 2008; Raibaud, 2015). Among citizens also, this issue is not always seen as an important one. As A3 explained:

“[...] it is a bit complicated, we were seen as the feminists of public transports, as if it were a swear word... [...] people are mostly sceptic. They think that it is not adding lights that will solve the problem of harassment. Which is not wrong, but our work is not limited to that.”

⁵⁰ In France, a *main courante* is a journal in which events of an association's or police station's life are registered. Legally, « declaring a *main courante* » is stating a declaration that is registered by another person in cases where one does not want to fill a complaint but only reporting an event (see [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_courante_\(registre\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_courante_(registre)), 2021) The goal of a *main courante* is not to press charges against someone, but reporting the nature of the event and its date to police authorities. The perpetrator will not know about the *main courante* and won't be convoked. The *main courante* is only a part of a proof and requires other documents to complete the declaration in case of a trial for example (see <https://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F11182>, 2020).

Similarly, a comment posted on the website of the SYTRAL's magazine (see *Box 3*) illustrates this idea: a man seems angry about the ambassadors' project that will be launched



Box 3. A comment showing concerns about the ambassadors' project and its cost for users. The author is also mocking the project by ironically proposing to offer "bodyguards to women" (<http://magazine.sytral.fr/ambassadrices-de-ligne/>, 3rd October 2016)

by the SYTRAL (the post dates from 2016), and is specifically worried about the financing of it, probably because he does not want his taxes to pay for it. A SYTRAL agent answered, explaining that this project will *in fine* benefit to every user and that it is not specifically expensive, suggesting that the project has been misunderstood. Misunderstanding, or reluctance to "feminist" projects can be faced by the project holders and constitutes another challenge for its implementation.

Finally, it is worth to highlight that among women as well – and even among ambassadors – mindsets are to be changed. Indeed, A3 said she volunteered as an ambassador partly because

"[...] at that time, some small stuff happened to me in the public transports, so it resonated with me [...]."

Though she did not go into detail, it can be guessed that it is here question of gender-based violence (physical or not), because it is what the initiative deals with. This shows that women are so used to it that they consider it is "small stuff". Moreover, they can have integrated men's domination, and consider it is not a big deal when they are disrespected or objectified in public space. These two factors are intricated and show that being part of such a project does not prevent one from having integrated patriarchal norms.

6.4.4 An almost unchanged transports' experience

Once the project is implemented, and once the safety audits have been conducted and changes start to appear on the network, one may think that the feeling of unsafety would drop, and especially among ambassadors who know every measure that is applied within transports. However, according to the interviewed ambassadors, this not the case for all of them. Among them, Michèle does not specifically use the public transports, as she prefers the bike. Her experience of mobility thus did not really change with the project. However, she has a different look on transports in a general way:

“I look at the neatness, I look at how people behave (even though I was already doing it), how the driver speaks to the public [...] I have a different look, as if I was continuing my audit, in a sense.”

The fact that she does not feel any change in her (un)safety can be linked to the fact that she has a different mobility that does not include public transports, as she “use[s] more the bike than the bus”. She also recognised she does not “have a fearful nature”, even though she added “But one still watches out, of course”, which shows that the thought of danger is still present. Moreover, she is an elderly woman, thus has different issues than sexist and sexual harassment (even though it can also be an issue). As A3 mentioned:

“[...] there is a very wide age panel for ambassadors [...] so we don't see the same problems. [...] The 60-year-old ambassador does not see the looks or reflexes that we, younger people, see. [...] Consequently, we are more oriented towards the feeling of unsafety [...].”

This same ambassador said she does “not feel safer” now in public transports, as to her “the campaign against sexist and sexual harassment in public transports, the posters, do not create protection but rather awareness.”. She added: “Physically, I did not see nor felt a change, however I saw it was creating questions and reflexion.”. This connects with her view on the failure of the judicial institutions when dealing with gender-based violence mentioned earlier. To her, it is more important to focus on prevention and education to prevent this kind of violence than working on punishing it, because the goal is to change mindsets about this issue. She pointed out the importance to tackle the issue on several sides, with different and complementary approaches. Thus, even though this ambassador was very involved in the project and was satisfied with it, she reflected on the role of public institutions and their own implication in this cause. This interview shows that even though a project is successfully implemented on a local level, the collaboration with national institutions may be complex.

Finally, Pauline said this experience helped her to realise that there was “no reason to be afraid” because she now knows “[they] are permanently monitored, there are solutions afterwards”. Being an ambassador also boosted her feeling of space appropriation:

“[...] by dint of using public transport that much, in that way [the safety audits], we are appropriating them differently [...] and we can appropriate public space.”

This led to a different appropriation of the public transports, in every city she lived in since. Her feeling of unsafety also seemed to come from her ignorance on the means to report and help victims or the punishment of sexist and sexual harassment. Thus, informing users appears as a major point of the fight against gender-based violence: it gives responsibility to the harassers and supports the victims, because assistance from the transport network and judicial punishment are planned.

In conclusion, despite a very positive experience, some flaws have been exposed by the ambassadors which could help to improve the action. The ambassadors, if they were sometimes negatively viewed as feminist activists, managed to implement a lot of changes on the network. Nevertheless, it appears that the most important aspect for women's safety is changing mindsets, through education. In that sense, their participation in informing users about the issue of sexist and sexual harassment in public transports, mainly through the SYTRAL's awareness campaign, could be seen as the most influential action as it is expected to have long-term results.

6.5 Beyond safety audits: participation in campaigns and other local planning initiatives

6.5.1 Actors of the SYTRAL's awareness campaign against sexist and sexual harassment

Beyond the safety audits themselves and the meetings and reports they included, ambassadors have been involved in other initiatives led by the SYTRAL, still as part of the fight against sexist and sexual harassment on the transport network. They notably participated in the development of the awareness campaign, as the interviewees explained (interviews with Michèle, Pauline and A3). The two ambassadors from the first 'wave' were very satisfied about this project as well, as their point of view was taken into account: Michèle explained they "had a meeting to give [their] opinions on the different drawings [proposed]" and "it was very gratifying", saying they "participated in the development of the campaign [...] by choosing the agency" that will design it. Similarly, Pauline indicated they "thought together a lot" for the awareness campaign and were able to "give [their] opinion on the designs, the content" of the first one. A3 added:

"There is a committee meeting, and we debate about that with the ambassadors, seeing if it resonates with us, as users, because we are the first clients, and it has to reach us first. [...] we discuss about it and see if it's feasible, for example if the changes we ask are achievable within the allotted time."

Thus, the SYTRAL is also relying on their users' perspective to evaluate the impact of the campaign. However, A3 also mentioned having a negative feeling about the preparation for the campaign:

"[...] two years ago, before the COVID, for the first or second campaign, we did not agree at all. And seeing the deadlines coming, they chose the one that has

the least modifications, which was the easiest. There was a *mea culpa*, there were apologies, but what is the purpose of inviting us if it is not to listen to us? So even as ambassadors, even if we want to defend a cause, it is not sure that one will listen to us.”

Though she insisted on the fact it was the only meeting she could go to, and it could not be representative of the whole project, it gave her the feeling that ambassadors’ voices were not always taken into account (interview with A3). She seemed to have a bitter feeling about that, which is understandable as she had to take a day off to be able to participate in meetings. This suggests a lack of communication on deadlines as well as a dysfunction in the process of participation. Ambassadors are still invited to brainstorm around awareness campaign: Pauline explained she participated in “each campaign, the first or the last one”. She added that since they entered as ambassadors, “[their] opinion is asked” and “a month and half ago, [they] give [their] opinion by mail on the next ad campaign, and [they] should have a meeting” soon.

Related to that first awareness campaign, launched in 2015, the first ambassadors’ ‘wave’ was part of a field action where they travelled on “several stops on metro lines with flyers, to raise awareness about women’s rights.” (interview with Pauline). Michèle said she noticed different behaviours from users during this action that took place on the 8th of March:

“[...] we were in different metro stations, and we distributed flyers, explaining the whys and wherefores to people. It was funny because you had avoiding behaviours; or others, on the contrary, came to talk to [us] [...]. [...] We showed them what they risk, that is to say prison and a fine of 15 000 euros or so (I’m not sure about it anymore).”. She added: “Men avoid [us] a bit, couples don’t; women alone, on the contrary, come [to us].”

This contributes to reinforce the idea that men do not feel concerned about this issue, but also indicates that they do *not want* to be related to it. However, as Sandra Bernard claimed, the first campaign “worked very well”, which was specifically demonstrated on “social networks”: “We never have had a campaign with as much echo as the 2017 one on sexist and sexual harassment.”. This also suggests that it has had a wide audience coverage. Related to Michèle’s words, it would be interesting to study who relayed the campaign the most on social networks (women or men) as it would also be an indicator of people’s concern about the topic.

6.5.2 Involvement in other projects with a gendered perspective

Another action that was beyond SYTRAL’s safety audits and in which ambassadors have been involved was explained by Pauline:

“The municipality of Vaulx-en-Velin (as both Vaulx-en-Velin and Villeurbanne are on the path of line 7) was really into it [women-men equality]. Three out of five ambassadors lived in Villeurbanne and two in Vaulx-en-Velin. And we have been offered to do other things besides like interventions, [...] we were in contact with local feminist associations.”

This shows the impact of the safety audits and SYTRAL's actions on cities' gender mainstreaming measures. Following SYTRAL's project, Vaulx-en-Velin took the initiative in tackling gender issues and involving citizens in the policies, as well as implementing a real collaboration with experts.

Similarly, the Lyon metropolis recently developed the project of a "Metropolitan Walking Plan" in which the ambassadors have been invited to participate. A mail forwarded by A3 to the researcher explained the whys and wherefores of the project: "this document will be a strategic frame to guide the collectivity's actions and reach a safer and wider walking practice in every city of the metropolitan territory.". As indicated, a "process of concertation" is the first step in the elaboration of the Plan and a meeting was organised in June to tackle several topics around two main themes: "the securing and widening of the walking practice in every city of the metropolitan territory.". These themes will be tackled through "pedestrian negative points" and "the prioritisation on interventions on public spaces to facilitate and secure the walking practice for all publics (children, elderly, people with reduced mobility ...)." A list of intended participants follows, in which several associations working around mobility, accessibility, or for young or elderly people can be found, including SYTRAL's ambassadors.

Even though this Walking Plan is not specifically focused on women's safety and experience, but rather on safety on a broader level, the fact that SYTRAL's ambassadors were offered to participate in it shows that citizens (added to associations) will be involved in this project, and that women's safety is a part of it. Moreover, it also means that women's experiences are intended to be valued. However, no feminist association is expected in those meetings, which can be a negative point as they can also bring interesting inputs on women's mobility. As it is still on an early stage, it is not possible to say more about it, but this could be an interesting project, as no similar initiative to SYTRAL's safety audit has been implemented by the public authorities at the walking or biking level yet (see Chapter 5).

This relates with A3's remark that safety audits focused on the walking or biking practice could be useful to organise on the metropolitan territory, after conducting "studies to see if there is a correlation between planning spaces, for example adding lights, bringing down a wall, and sexist and sexual harassment.". She added that if "spatial planning can actually reduce it", the question of safety audits for public spaces (other than public transports) would come on the table. However, as Pauline and Sandra Bernard indicated, safety audits conducted by ambassadors are already considering the urban environment around the bus line and the bus stop, which participates in pointing out flaws of the urban landscapes regarding the issue of women's feeling of unsafety.

6.6 Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter aimed at answering the sub-research question *What are the implications of participation in the gendered experience of mobility?* by getting insight into ambassadors' own perspectives and their double role of policymakers and users. This contributes to the answer to the main research question by understanding the involvement of ambassadors and the changes they initiated on the transport network to improve users' experience. This

chapter shows that in that case, participants felt they had a real voice in the decision-making as they fully participated in the policy-making process by proposing measures. They felt their contextual knowledge was valued as much as an expert one, which is a main feature of a good practice in citizens participation. As their safety audits and reports resulted in the implementation of new measures on the transport network, we can conclude they had a proactive role in the participative process. Moreover, they are involved in a long-term participation, as they are invited to participate in SYTRAL's awareness campaigns around sexist and sexual harassment on the transport network. Nevertheless, some flaws can be pointed out, such as the fact that this women-only project requires a lot of time and involvement, which can be a problematic especially for mothers. Surprisingly enough, the participation in the project did not specifically changed interviewees' experience in public transports, as it was pointed out that the problem is a societal one and cannot be fully solved by such measures.

Beyond the case of Lyon, conclusions can be drawn from this case-study: first, the importance to empower participants by allowing them to be involve in the decision- and policymaking, valuing their experiences and taking their remarks into account. Moreover, the use of citizens' contextual knowledge allows to be closer to their needs and better examine the context of each transport network. It can contribute to bring out issues that policymakers did not think about. This is especially true for gender issues, as policymakers are mainly men and thus have different perspectives on mobility. The choice to conduct a women-only project is also a good practice, as it allows women to talk more freely and share their experiences with people having the same ones. This aspect can raise controversies – as it did in Lyon's case – but it is not meant to separate categories (here men and women), rather balancing the social power relations by empowering those who are the least heard. Measures can be later implemented to make men feel concerned about gender issues, as it appeared as a problem in Lyon.

This case-study demonstrated that participative processes could have a real influence on the transport service, when participants' voices are valued as much as experts' ones. Moreover, it showed the importance of gender issues in women's daily mobility (in public transports) which advocates for more consideration to these matters. It also suggests that frameworks to implement GM measures require more attention, to not create or reinforce other inequalities when aiming at reducing others. In other words, extra attention should be given to schedules and workload of women-only initiatives to not add mental charge. This kind of initiative finally seems accessible to replication in different contexts, as it is a contextual knowledge that is (partly) driving the policies.

7. Conclusions and discussions

7.1 General conclusion: advocating for empowering participation in GM policies

The main question to be answered by this research was: *To what extent are participative and collaborative approaches improving gender mainstreaming implementation in local sustainable mobility policies?* This question aimed at pointing out the need for GM implementation in sustainable mobility policies on one hand, and the role of collaboration and participation in reaching that goal, on the other hand. This research relied on the case-study of Lyon, France, as GM measures and a participative process to improve women's experiences in public transports ("lines' ambassadors") are already implemented. Moreover, GM policies are little developed in France, and studying them in a big city other than Paris offered interesting insights for a wider implementation in the country. Policy-document analysis and semi-directed interviews of stakeholders involved in GM policies in sustainable mobilities in Lyon have been conducted to define the gender vision stakeholders have on sustainability policies as well as the nature of their collaboration. Attention was also given to participation through SYTRAL's ambassadors' project, focusing on their role and the implications of their participation for their gendered experience of transports.

The literature stresses the need of a systematic gender insight when implementing policies which will *in fine* benefit to everyone. The need of a transdisciplinary approach to such issues is highlighted as gender power relations exist in every layer of society – thus including urban planning and sustainable mobilities. Moreover, a strong involvement of concerned people (here women) in decision-making is underlined by researchers. In addition, as the importance of context has been stressed by several scholars, valuing contextual knowledge contributes to a better tackling of such issues. The advocated process is then to involve citizens in decision-making, giving them a real opportunity to express their perspectives and propose measures and policy orientations.

Reviewing the French context allowed to show that sustainability is focused on the environmental aspect these last decades. Scholars argued the social aspect was often marginal in sustainable policies – and mobility policies are no exception. At the level of Lyon, the policy-analysis, combined to institutional stakeholders' interviews, reflected an uncomplete and lacking gendered vision as the main aspect brought to the attention is safety. While it is one of the main factors hindering women's mobility, it is not the only one and a more integrated approach could produce more relevant policies. In addition, the lack of gender-disaggregated data is a real problem in tackling gender inequalities and implementing GM policies. The production of statistics or studies on the gender aspect of urban planning is consequently a necessity.

It also appeared that collaboration between different institutional actors on sustainable mobilities is mainly on education and accessibility, as part of changing behaviours towards soft modes of transports. However, it bears little gender insight. A major gendered vision can be found in relation to (un)safety, which reflects the high feeling of unsafety women

mainly have in transports. To change behaviours, collaboration is implemented at the local level with mobility associations (mainly to promote the biking practice) but not with feminist associations. Involving them would be an added value, as they have a more acute gendered perspective, even though mobility is not their focus. On the safety aspect, it has been found that collaboration is carried out at different levels (local, metropolitan), where it is seen by stakeholders as a chain, whose every link must be trained to tackle and handle gender issues. Collaboration is then a core point of sustainable mobility policies in Lyon, though the gender insight is scarce. On this side, mindsets are still to be changed, which entails gaps in the chain and thus in fighting gender inequalities. Hence, efforts must be reinforced, and education (especially among young people) has to continue, as it is an effective way to see a thoroughgoing change in patriarchal society.

As part of participative processes, semi-structured interviews with SYTRAL's ambassadors revealed that even though they felt they had a real voice and a proactive role in implementing policies on the transport network, some aspects of the process could have been more in line with feminist empowerment framework (especially in terms of workload). Another finding was that participating in this project did not drastically change ambassadors' mobility: this reinforces the idea that a deeper change is needed in society's mindsets and considerations on women.

Thus, drawing on the case-study of Lyon, it can be argued that gender mainstreaming is an urgent need in sustainable mobility policies. The involvement of all stakeholders as well as a transdisciplinary approach is required to produce integrated GM policies, drawing on a complete outlook of gender inequalities in mobilities, going beyond the borders of the public realm and implying a politicisation of the private sphere. This is mainly brought out by feminist associations today, which demonstrate the relevance for public authorities to collaborate with them. Moreover, it is also clear that involvement of citizens and reliance on their contextual knowledge allow to point out important issues that policymakers do not see, especially in gender matters. Finally, the contextual aspect of participation also makes it accurate for replication in different contexts.

7.2 Discussions

7.2.1 Research limitations

This research bears methodological flaws, as previously discussed (see Chapter 3). Firstly, a wider sample of interviewed ambassadors would have helped to get a broader perspective on their experiences and be more representative of the overall experiences (as policymakers) and implications (as users) of the project. Secondly, interviewing more local associations' representatives would have contributed to further insights into collaboration between associations and mobility authorities (TCL SYTRAL, the municipality, the metropolis) that would have been more representative and would have brought different gendered vision on mobilities. Thirdly, interviewing people from other planning levels, especially from the metropolis, would have provided an interesting insight on GM policies at this level. However, as the Lyon metropolis is a large territory, it is unsure to what extent it is still considered local

and able to involve citizens efficiently and broadly in decision-making. Finally, it was not possible to go to Lyon due to the sanitary situation; but supplementary methods, such as participant observation would have provided interesting input in users' experience by observing people's behaviours in public transport and in the streets. Moreover, it would have been interesting to see the different measures aiming at raising awareness on sexual and sexist harassment in transport (such as the SYTRAL campaign for example) in the local environment.

7.2.2 Further research

Further research needs to be conducted in France and elsewhere on the gendered aspect of sustainable mobilities. Both qualitative and quantitative studies are required, to investigate women's experiences of GM measures and produce statistical data on which policymakers can rely to support and implement GM policies. Having a focus on users' experiences of sustainable mobilities and on the eventual changes GM policies brought into their mobility would contribute to determine their efficiency.

Another interesting standpoint would link women's experiences of sustainable mobilities with queer people ones, as they are also subject to gender-based violence and should consequently be included in *gender* mainstreaming.

More interesting outcomes could come from a comparative case-study across the European Union, for example with Scandinavian countries or with Austria, where GM policies are long implemented. This could contribute to a more specific definition of good practices and give inspiration for the French context (and others across Europe).

7.2.3 Policy recommendations

This research investigated the power of participative and collaborative measures in the local implementation of GM policies related to sustainable mobilities. It results that involving citizen in decision-making make a difference. More specifically, involving concerned people in the making of the transport service they use on a daily basis allows a general improvement of this service. People's proactive role in the construction of the public spaces they daily use and valuing the least heard voices could help to balance inequalities embedded in place-making. In that sense, spatial planning should give more way to such initiatives with planners as mediators between citizens and decision-makers, aiming at a more just city.

The flaws of participative and collaborative processes should also be noted: it takes time to implement, and require participants' time, which can be an important obstacle to their participation. It is then also important to acknowledge these barriers and organise the participative process in a way that does not hinder participants' personal lives, especially when the goal of the project is to enhance the voices of the voiceless (that is to say, people that are already suffering from systemic inequalities or discriminations in their daily lives), as it is the case with GM measures. It also worth highlighting the need to rely on scientific data to implement such policies, which implies the existence of and accessibility to gender-disaggregated data and scientific work at the local level. Finally, such collaboration and

participation necessitate involvement in and sensitivity to gender issues from policymakers; indeed, even though GM is now fostered by international bodies such as the UN or the EU, engagement in the matter is always an added value when defining policies.

Through the policy analysis, it appeared that in Lyon, GM policies in mobilities were mainly implemented in public transport. However, other mobilities should be studied and provided with GM measures, such as the biking practice or walking. For instance, the gendered aspect of the biking practice has been studied in Bordeaux, which supports the implementation of GM policies. Moreover, Rémy Le Floch underlined, this implementation must be supported by a strong political agenda and involvement.

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Annexes

Annex 1: Infography “Que fait la métropole de Lyon ?”

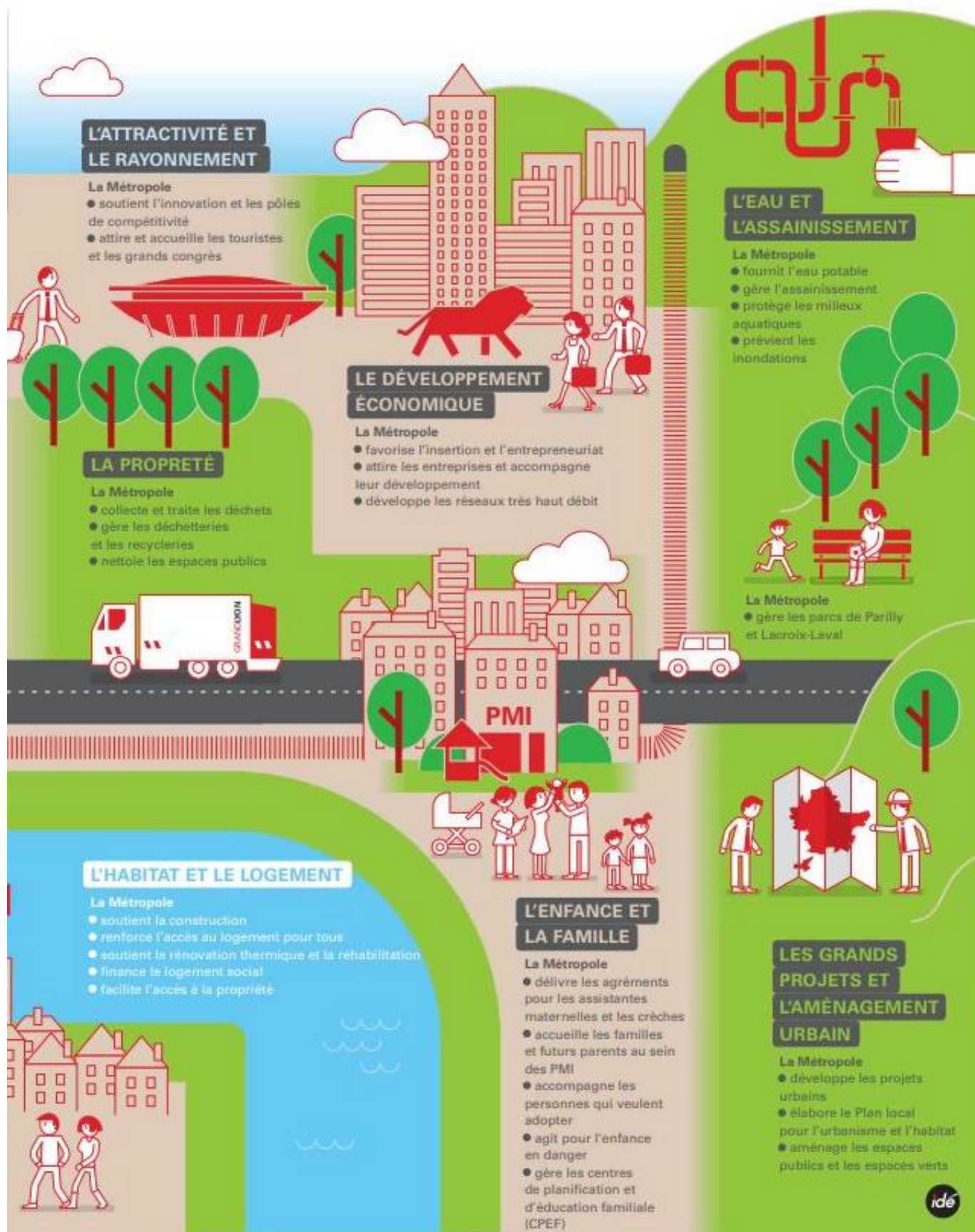
Gaelle Lenoir, ©Idé, 2015 (<https://met.grandlyon.com/que-fait-la-metropole-de-lyon/>)

Que fait la **Métropole de Lyon** ?

1^{er} janvier 2015 59 communes, 1,3 million d’habitants sur 538 km²

A partir du 1^{er} janvier 2015, la Métropole de Lyon rassemble toutes les missions de la Communauté urbaine de Lyon et du Conseil général du Rhône sur le territoire du Grand Lyon.





Annex 2: “Le guide qui lutte contre le harcèlement sexiste »

TCL SYTRAL, 2020 (https://www.tcl.fr/sites/default/files/2020-03/KEOLIS_GUIDE_A5_20200228_OK.pdf)



LA LUTTE CONTRE LE HARCELEMENT SEXISTE EST UNE PRIORITÉ !

Le SYTRAL et le réseau TCL s'engagent pour assurer la sécurité de tous, et particulièrement des femmes.

Tous les moyens humains et techniques, tous les acteurs de la sécurité, de la justice et de la citoyenneté sont mobilisés pour identifier, arrêter et punir les agresseurs.

Le réseau TCL est globalement l'un des plus sûrs de France, mais une agression est toujours inacceptable, toujours de trop.

Vous trouverez dans ce guide des informations pratiques, des conseils et des ressources pour vous aider à réagir que vous soyez victime ou témoin d'une agression.

Il appartient à chacune et à chacun d'entre nous de ne pas laisser faire, de ne pas se taire.

Nous comptons sur votre aide pour lutter ensemble contre le harcèlement sexiste et les agressions sexuelles.

TOUT LE RÉSEAU FACE AU HARCELEMENT SEXISTE FAIT BLOC

HARCELEMENT SEXISTE ET VIOLENCES SEXUELLES MOTS POUR MAUX

LE HARCELEMENT SEXISTE : le fait d'imposer tout propos ou comportement qui crée une situation intimidante, humiliante ou offensante portant atteinte à la dignité de la personne.

LES VIOLENCES SEXUELLES : définies par la loi, elles recouvrent l'exhibition et le harcèlement sexuel ainsi que les agressions sexuelles dont le viol.

LE HARCELEMENT SEXUEL EST UN DÉLIT

Le harcèlement sexiste et sexuel est puni par la loi. Une même agression peut commencer par du harcèlement sexiste et se poursuivre par des violences sexuelles. C'est pourquoi il ne faut pas banaliser, minimiser ou tolérer ces comportements.

OUTRAGE SEXISTE

- SIFFLEMENTS
- COMMENTAIRES SUR LA TENUE OU LE PHYSIQUE
- REGARDS APPUYÉS, PROPOS SEXISTES, QUESTIONS INTRUSIVES

ENTRE 90 ET 750€* D'AMENDE et entre 1500 et 3000€ d'amende en cas de circonstances aggravantes ou de récidive.
*Article 67-1 du code pénal - L'art. 104 du 10/10/2019 (J.O. du 2 août 2019) - art. 152
*Assommoirs, les contributeurs du réseau TCL peuvent constater cette infraction et délivrer les amendes allant de 90 à 750 €.

Ces comportements ne sont pas acceptables. Ils constituent une atteinte au droit à la sécurité et à la liberté de circuler. Les règlements intérieurs propres à chaque société de transports en commun garantissent la tranquillité et le confort des passagers. Les comportements contraires à ces règles doivent être signalés aux sociétés de transports en commun. Ces comportements n'ont pas besoin d'être répétés pour que l'infraction soit caractérisée.

HARCELEMENT SEXUEL ET VIOLENCES SEXUELLES

- INJURES, MENACES → 6 MOIS D'EMPRISONNEMENT ET 22 500€ D'AMENDE
- EXHIBITION, MASTURBATION EN PUBLIC → 1 AN D'EMPRISONNEMENT ET 15 000€ D'AMENDE
- EXPOSITION À DES IMAGES PORNOGRAPHIQUES, AVANCES SEXUELLES, GESTES OBSCÈNES → 2 ANS D'EMPRISONNEMENT ET 30 000€ D'AMENDE
- BAISERS FORCÉS, MAINS AUX FESSES, FROTTEMENTS, AGRESSIONS SEXUELLES → 5 ANS D'EMPRISONNEMENT ET 75 000€ D'AMENDE
- VIOL → 15 ANS DE RÉCLUSION CRIMINELLE

QUAND UNE SEULE SE FAIT HARCELER C'EST TOUT LE QUI DOIT S'INTERPOSER.

L'AGRESSEUR ET SES STRATÉGIES

Il n'y a pas de profil type de l'agresseur ou du harceleur.

Cependant, il est en général conscient de ses actes et donc responsable de son comportement et de ses propos.

L'agresseur cherche à établir une domination sur sa victime tout en s'assurant une certaine impunité. Le plus fréquemment, il utilise les stratégies suivantes :

- Il instaure un climat de confiance (demande de renseignements sur le trajet, conversations anodines).
- Il cherche à isoler sa victime physiquement.
- Il reporte systématiquement la responsabilité de ses actes sur sa victime.
- Il la culpabilise, etc...

La victime n'est jamais responsable : aucune tenue, aucune parole, aucun comportement ne peut justifier le harcèlement et les violences sexuelles.

NON, C'EST NON !

Non, c'est un mot, un signe de tête, une attitude comme ne pas répondre, tourner la tête, s'éloigner...

DANS LES PAS DE AU HARCELEMENT SEXISTE.

#ONFAITBLOC

Votre mot ou votre geste, accompagné d'un agent TCL, va appuyer la loi.
Les citoyens et les 4 000 agents TCL s'engagent ensemble !

CONSÉQUENCES ET BONS REFLEXES POUR LA VICTIME

Une victime développe un stress aigu. Elle peut revivre continuellement la scène, être en état d'hyper vigilance ou dépressif voire suicidaire, développer des peurs...

Ces symptômes entraînent une souffrance importante. La victime peut s'isoler, fuir les lieux publics et sa vie sociale et professionnelle s'en trouve dégradée.

FACE AU HARCELEMENT :

- S'éloigner de l'agresseur, ne pas se laisser isoler.
- Dire « NON » et « STOP » de manière claire et forte.
- Se rapprocher d'agents TCL, comme le conducteur du bus, qui sauront vous accompagner ou d'autres usagers et demander de l'aide.
- Actionner l'appel aux bornes d'urgence dans les stations, les métros et les tramways ou composer le 17.
- Signaler tout fait de harcèlement ou d'agression sur le site tcl.fr, rubrique Assistance / Sécurité sur le réseau

EN CAS D'AGRESSION :

- Composer le 17.
- Actionner l'appel aux bornes d'urgence dans les stations, les métros et les tramways ou le signaler immédiatement à un agent TCL (conducteurs, contrôleurs...).
- Porter plainte dans n'importe quel commissariat ou gendarmerie. Les forces de l'ordre doivent recevoir votre plainte. Vous pouvez vous faire accompagner par un proche si vous en ressentez le besoin.

Il est important de signaler rapidement une agression aux TCL pour pouvoir utiliser les images des caméras du réseau, identifier l'agresseur et le faire condamner.

TÉMOIN D'UNE AGRESSION : RÉAGIR VITE ET BIEN

FACE AU HARCÈLEMENT :

- Se manifester pendant l'agression pour essayer de l'interrompre sans se mettre en danger. Par exemple s'adresser à la victime comme si on la connaissait : amie, collègue, cousine...
- Prévenir des agents TCL, comme le conducteur du bus.
- Actionner l'appel aux bornes d'urgence dans les stations, métros et tramways ou composer le 17.

EN CAS D'AGRESSION :

- Prévenir rapidement les agents TCL, comme le conducteur, ou appeler le 17.
- Informer la victime qu'elle peut et doit déposer plainte. Lui proposer d'appeler vous-même le 17 et de témoigner (par écrit, en précisant bien le lieu, la date, les circonstances et les personnes présentes). Lui proposer vos coordonnées.
- Si elle est blessée ou choquée, contacter immédiatement le 15 ou le 18 pour une prise en charge médicale.
- Être disponible et instaurer un climat de sécurité avec la victime. Ne pas minimiser les faits. Soutenir la parole de la victime.



LES MOYENS DU RÉSEAU TCL

DES MOYENS HUMAINS ET TECHNIQUES :

- 4 600 agents dont + de 250 agents de contrôle et d'intervention
- 8 200 caméras
- Des bornes d'appel en station et dans les tramways et métros
- Un appel direct aux forces de police et de secours depuis tous les bus et le PC sécurité TCL.
- Un PC sécurité qui fonctionne 24 h / 24 toute l'année. Des interventions rapides.

DES PARTENAIRES ENGAGÉS

Porteur de la Stratégie Territoriale de Sécurité et de Prévention de la Délinquance, le SYTRAL et l'opérateur du réseau TCL travaillent au quotidien avec leurs partenaires :

- La préfecture du Rhône (préfet délégué pour la Défense et la Sécurité)
- Le ministère de la justice (procureur de la République)
- La police nationale et la gendarmerie nationale
- La délégation régionale aux droits des femmes et à l'égalité
- Les polices municipales
- Les services prévention et sécurité des communes

6 - GUIDE CONTRE LE HARCÈLEMENT SEXISTE

7 - GUIDE CONTRE LE HARCÈLEMENT SEXISTE

HARCÈLEMENT SEXISTE, ARRÊTONS D'ÊTRE



#ONFAITBLOC



Témoign d'une agression, je la signale via les bornes d'appels en stations et dans les tramways et métros.

LES ACTIONS ENGAGÉES

- Depuis 2015, les marches exploratoires : Des utilisatrices volontaires du réseau TCL identifient les éléments d'insécurité sur leurs lignes. Elles proposent des améliorations et deviennent actrices de leur propre sécurité. Les marches exploratoires ont eu lieu sur les lignes C5, C12, C14, 7, 15 et 52. Les campagnes de communication de lutte contre le harcèlement sexiste ont été souhaitées par les ambassadrices. Depuis 2017, une nouvelle signalétique valorisant la présence des 8 200 caméras dans le réseau est déployée. Plus d'information sur sytral.fr
- Une sensibilisation au harcèlement sexiste et à la prise en charge d'un voyageur victime d'une agression sur le réseau est effectuée auprès des conducteurs nouvellement embauchés.

En complément, pour aider les victimes dans leurs démarches, des professionnels TCL du Service Prévention de la délinquance sont disponibles et à leur écoute au 04 69 66 92 00.

- Un nouveau service de descente à la demande, effectif dans un premier temps sur les lignes qui ont fait l'objet de marches exploratoires, a été généralisé en novembre 2019 à l'ensemble des lignes de bus du réseau. Ce dispositif permet aux voyageurs de descendre après 22h, entre deux arrêts, afin d'être déposés au plus près de leur destination.

EN 2019
225 agents formés

- La prévention éducative : Pour sensibiliser les jeunes aux bons comportements à adopter dans les transports en commun, des agents TCL vont régulièrement à leur rencontre dans leur quotidien scolaire, périscolaire ou associatif. Un des objectifs est de pouvoir les sensibiliser sur la thématique du harcèlement sexiste dans les transports en commun.

EN 2019
673 jeunes sensibilisés sur la thématique du harcèlement sexiste

- Une fresque artistique a été réalisée à la station Gare de Vaise pour revaloriser l'image de la femme et sa place dans l'espace public.



8 - GUIDE CONTRE LE HARCÈLEMENT SEXISTE

9 - GUIDE CONTRE LE HARCÈLEMENT SEXISTE

LE HARCÈLEMENT SEXISTE C'EST ET UN DÉLIT PASSIBLE DE PRISON.

#ONFAITBLOC

Victimes, déposez plainte : l'agression sexuelle est un délit :
5 ans de prison et 75 000 € d'amende.

HARCÈLEMENT SEXISTE, ARRÊTONS D'ÊTRE

#ONFAITBLOC

Victimes et témoins, alertez-nous au plus vite !
8200 caméras veillent sur vous dans les métros, les tramways et les bus.

NUMÉROS D'URGENCE

17 : POLICE SECOURS • 18 : POMPIERS • 15 : SAMU
112 : NUMÉRO D'APPEL D'URGENCE EN EUROPE
114 : POUR LES PERSONNES AVEC DES DIFFICULTÉS À ENTENDRE OU À PARLER

SOUTIEN ET CONSEIL

39 19 : VIOLENCE FEMMES INFO (NUMÉRO NATIONAL)
116 006 : FRANCE VICTIME (NUMÉRO NATIONAL)
04 78 85 76 47 : VIFFIL
04 78 60 20 21 : LAVI
04 78 39 32 25 : CIDFF
04 78 60 00 13 : LE MAS INFO VICTIMES
OU TOUTE AUTRE ASSOCIATION DE VOTRE CHOIX.

SIGNALEMENT EN LIGNE DE VIOLENCES SEXUELLES ET SEXISTES

TCL.FR
SERVICE-PUBLIC.FR/CFMI





BOUGEZ, VIVEZ, AIMEZ!

Annex 3: Dépliant “Pleine Lune”

TCL SYTRAL, 2020 (<https://www.tcl.fr/sites/default/files/2020-09/200831%20DepliantPleineLune%20web.pdf>)

Avec PLEINE LUNE, profitez de vos soirées !

Les lignes de bus “Pleine Lune” vous ramènent chez vous pendant la nuit. Découvrez les horaires et les 4 itinéraires !

NOUVEAU ! DÈS LE 15 NOVEMBRE 2019

Les horaires des 4 lignes de métro sont prolongés jusqu'à 2h du matin tous les vendredis et samedis. Les horaires des lignes PLEINE LUNE évoluent.

PLEINE LUNE 1, 2 ET 3 :

4 départs du centre-ville à 1h15, 2h15, 3h15 et 4h15 du matin, dans les nuits du jeudi au vendredi, du vendredi au samedi et du samedi au dimanche.

PLEINE LUNE 4 :

2 départs du centre-ville à 1h15 et 3h15 du matin, dans les nuits du vendredi au samedi et du samedi au dimanche.

4 LIGNES “PLEINE LUNE”

- **PLEINE LUNE 1 (PL1) :**
> Terreaux La Feuillée > La Doua INSA
- **PLEINE LUNE 2 (PL2) :**
> Hôtel de Ville > Grange Blanche
- **PLEINE LUNE 3 (PL3) :**
> Hôtel de Ville > Campus Lyon Ouest
- **PLEINE LUNE 4 (PL4) :**
> Hôtel de Ville > Saint-Priest Salengro

4 LIGNES DE BUS QUI VOUS RAMÈNENT DURANT LA NUIT

À partir de 1h15

PLEINE LUNE 1

TERREAUX LA FEUILLÉE > LA DOUA INSA
Vendredi, samedi et dimanche

Terreaux La Feuillée	1h15	2h15	3h15	4h15
Départ rue Constantine				
Cordeliers	1h18	2h18	3h18	4h18
Part-Dieu J. Favre	1h25	2h25	3h25	4h25
Charpennes Ch. Hernu	1h29	2h29	3h29	4h29
La Doua INSA	1h35	2h35	3h35	4h35
Cité Internationale	1h55	2h55	3h55	-
Terreaux La Feuillée	2h12	3h12	4h12	-

PLEINE LUNE 2

HÔTEL DE VILLE > GRANGE BLANCHE
Vendredi, samedi et dimanche

Hôtel de Ville	1h15	2h15	3h15	4h15
Bellecour A. Poncet	1h23	2h23	3h23	4h23
Saxe-Gambetta	1h30	2h30	3h30	4h30
Bachut Mairie du 8 ^e	1h40	2h40	3h40	4h40
Grange Blanche	1h50	2h50	3h50	4h50

PLEINE LUNE 3

HÔTEL DE VILLE > CAMPUS LYON OUEST
Vendredi, samedi et dimanche

Hôtel de Ville	1h15	2h15	3h15	4h15
Saint-Irénée	1h29	2h29	3h29	4h29
Valmy	1h40	2h40	3h40	4h40
Ecully Centre	1h45	2h45	3h45	4h45
Campus Lyon Ouest	1h52	2h52	3h52	4h52

PLEINE LUNE 4

HÔTEL DE VILLE > SAINT-PIERRE SALENGRO
Samedi et dimanche

Hôtel de Ville	1h15	3h15
Bellecour A. Poncet	1h25	3h25
Jean Macé	1h34	3h34
Debourg	1h38	3h38
États-Unis Tony Garnier	1h46	3h46
Saint-Priest Salengro	2h13	4h13

Tous les tickets et abonnements TCL sont valables sur les lignes “Pleine Lune”.

Ne pas fêter sur la voie publique

POUR EN SAVOIR PLUS

www.tcl.fr

ALLÔ TCL 04 78 30 12 12 (du lundi au dimanche)

APPLI TCL

INFO TRAFIC @TCLtraffic

