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Résidential Segregation and daily activities, an international comparison

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Introduction

The subject of this article is a study of the activities of city dwellers in the spaces of contemporary cities. It more specifically questions the dynamics of segregation, and is based on a research thesis presented in June 2009 [Ravalet, 2009]. Through their activities, city dwellers maintain a specific relationship with their environment. This relationship between the city and the individual represents the point of departure of our reflection on segregative dynamics. To analyze this issue we do not limit ourselves to residential location (where do city dwellers live?) but rather consider all of the spaces of daily life, spaces that city dwellers pass through as they go about their various activities. The existing literature has not made much progress on this question, although many researchers have called for this type of approach ([Dureau & alii, 2000], [Préteceille, 2004], [Kaufmann, 1999]). Starting with the dwelling, the point of departure for individual trips, we study the type of activities carried out. We thus try to determine whether individual behaviors on the daily level tend to limit or accentuate residential segregation situations. The problematic is presented in the first chapter.

The exploratory nature of this questioning and the variety of urban contexts concerned led us to implement an international comparison. It was necessary to take methodological precautions, with an effort to systematize the analysis strategy. Thanks to work done on data from household transport surveys, it was possible to successfully study segregative dynamics in Niamey (Niger), Puebla (Mexico), Lyon (France) and Montreal (Canada). More precise methodological information will be supplied in Chapters II and III, which respectively concern the identification of residential typologies (to describe situations of residential segregation) and the study of the activities of city dwellers.

I. Residential segregation and access to amenities in contemporary cities

*"At the urban scale, the idea prevails that (...) there is a trend towards increasing socio-spatial segregation, which is not new but has been accentuated"*¹ (Dubresson, 2000:24).

A. An attempt to define the notion of segregation

Rather than limit our approach to residential spaces only, as research on segregation implicitly does, we propose, as does E. Preteceille [2004], to concentrate on the existence or absence of inter-individual interactions during daily activities.

The spatial expression of segregative phenomena is of several orders. The notion of *among ourselves* represents the preference of certain city dwellers to group together with other city dwellers they feel close to. *"(...) taking ownership of space is increasingly characterized by the real estate market, which facilitates residential substitutions and the grouping together of the strongest"* (Rémy, 1996:148). Turning inward to one's community can also be the preferred choice of certain social (or ethnic) groups, since they perceive this as a way to facilitate the integration of the newly arrived and maintain their social capital. *"Social groups tend to be spatially isolated for economic reasons, but also because they tend to turn inwards upon themselves to defend, maintain and promote their cultural identity"* (Bassand, 1997:157). This spatial withdrawal, which may sometimes reflect a difficult social situation (whose paroxysm is exclusion), may target a spatial concentration of relationship networks,

¹ Quotations in French were translated by the author.

thus facilitating urban integration or helping individuals overcome certain constraints through mutual support. There is also a form of segregation referred to as "from the bottom". Certain neighborhoods suffering from a negative image concentrate underprivileged populations. The residents of these neighborhoods wait until they have the necessary resources to move out, and thus the poorest populations remain, constantly renewed by new arrivals. In these two cases, voluntarily simplified for the clarity of our demonstration, segregation is linked to a constantly renewed process of social specialization of urban spaces. This concerns most housing searches, but can be easily generalized to encompass the spaces of daily life, i.e. all of the spaces used on a daily basis by city dwellers. *"There has been little thinking about the use of data on the personal use of space (physical and social) as an indicator of social exclusion"* (Schönfelder & Axhausen, 2003:274). This approach to segregation therefore concerns the spaces and activities preferred by certain city dwellers to foster an *among ourselves*, to be further described, and the territories and occupations that are avoided.

In their work, F. Dureau et alii [2000] emphasize the importance of preferring an approach to segregation that takes into account the spatial principles and uses of the city by the different population categories. For V. Kaufmann (1999:20), *"the fragmented contemporary city is composed of worlds whose inhabitants encounter each other very rarely, due to a collision of the speeds and spheres of daily life"*. In our study we also try to precisely identify the populations that are "set aside from others" and the urban spaces that they occupy.

Limiting the spaces visited by city dwellers to the home results in a twofold reduction in the analysis of segregation: spatial, since the mobilities and spaces visited daily differ within a same city and between cities, and social, since the analysis is then limited to the household only, erasing the differences between individuals (men-women, young people-adults, etc.). We therefore recommend simultaneously taking into account the "immobile" residential segregation and the mobile segregation that individual behaviors reveal in terms of activities. Very little research has been carried out in the framework of this approach to segregation ([Scheiner & Kasper, 2003], [Schnell & Yoav, 2001]), and to our knowledge none has been carried out with a comparative objective and an exploratory aim.

B. From residential polarization to the isolation of daily life

The word *segregation* comes from the Latin *segregare* and means: *"to separate the herd", "to set aside, isolate, take away"*. In our approach we wish to be faithful to this root, since we propose to try to understand the spatial configurations and the individual socio-economic characteristics that lead to the setting aside and isolation of certain urban populations. *"We feel that there is an under-estimation of the role of spaces and living places in the experience and the individual process of exclusion"* (Mathieu, 1997:6). Residential spaces do not suffice to explain the situations of social exclusion of certain populations and must be considered together with living places to allow a better description of the "social isolation" of underprivileged city dwellers. Although social exclusion can affect city dwellers who are not necessarily spatially concentrated, this is nevertheless often the case [Grieco & alii., 2000].

Because activities, jobs and even services are not homogeneously distributed in urban spaces, and because distances to access them are sometimes long, the variable ability to control space and time is a fundamental input in the analysis of social exclusion in urban areas. From this standpoint, it is essential to simultaneously study residential locations and the effective behaviors of city dwellers in urban spaces (in terms of activities) to better understand

segregation in contemporary cities today and determine which populations may be concerned by social exclusion (if it is impossible for them to access urban amenities).

While the low mobility capacities of underprivileged populations may accentuate their exclusion from the activities offered by the city, we must refrain from proposing an overly idealistic vision of the positive impacts of mobility. First of all, the grouping together of certain city dwellers may facilitate mutual support and the consolidation of solidarity networks. However, our approach is in line with the work carried out on the relationship between transport and exclusion (see especially [Church & alii., 2001] and [Schönfelder & Axhausen, 2003])

C. A few urban contexts

This article focuses on four cities: Niamey in Niger, Puebla in Latin America, Montreal in Canada and Lyon in France. Whatever the city studied, the questions of segregation and exclusion stand out strongly, and the responses they call for are focused on individuals, making it possible to highlight the differences between the members of the same household in terms of their daily habits (the effects of age, gender, and employment status).

The choice of these four cities was the result of an arbitration between the availability of the raw data from the household surveys, our previous knowledge of each urban context, and the high variability of modal practices between the cities. The panel finally chosen is not representative of contemporary cities, nevertheless it reflects a fairly wide range of situations that we propose to describe below.

Niamey is the political and economic capital and the most populated city of Niger. The river Niger separates the city into two parts: the South bank is essentially residential and the North bank extends on either side of the depression formed by the Gounti Yena thalweg (former buffer zone between the white and black cities as laid out by the French colonialists). Due to its rapid and poorly planned development, horizontal habitat dominates and building density is fairly low, although population density reaches 23,000 inhab./km² in the central areas [Ravalet, 2009]. Walking is the most widespread transport mode, representing almost 70% of all trips. Puebla was founded in the 16th century by the Spanish Conquistadors, and is the fourth Mexican city today in terms of population. In 2008, the number of inhabitants in the territory covered by the household survey exceeded 2 million², versus only roughly 1.3 million in 1994 [G.I.M., 1994]. This important regional centre is located along the Mexico City-Veracruz route (130 kilometers from the capital). The share of public transport is particularly high, representing 40% of all trips.

The Lyon urban area comprises close to 1.8 million inhabitants, according to the most recent available census (2005). In existence for at least 20 centuries, the city has experienced periods of great political, religious and commercial renown. Its strategic location along the Rhone river valley has played an important role in its development over the ages. In this first of the two Western cities we studied, the modal share for private cars reaches almost 55%. Finally, the city of Montreal is located in the province of Quebec in Canada. The 2001 census indicated 3,380,000 inhabitants in the greater urban area, while the municipality itself totaled 1,812,000 at the same date³. A multi-ethnic city, Montreal resembles other North American

² United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division

³ figures available at <http://www.statcan.ca> or at <http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/>

cities with its sprawling form, high rising business center and dominant modal share for the private car (over 70% of all trips).

D. Data used

If the approach used is the same in the four cases, the analysis method must also be similar. Therefore, the data bases used are of the same type, i.e. household surveys carried out in the second half of the 1990s (see Table 1). These surveys make it possible to take an inventory of mobility behaviors and the activities engaged in outside of the home on the day before the survey by all of the city dwellers over 5 years old in the chosen households. Demographic, economic and social information is provided on the surveyed households and individuals. The advantage of this type of data is that it is easily available in many cities around the world and makes it possible, with the necessary precautions, to compare the diversity of urban contexts and behaviors of city dwellers in space. Yet this common framework must not hide certain important differences between the surveys. In Niamey and Puebla, the surveys were carried out by academics, and therefore the objectives that guided them throughout the data production were quite different from those that SYTRAL and AMT (two transport *organizing authorities*) set for themselves. The latter use household surveys more as planning support tools. The variability of the metadata prevents a direct comparison of the indicators and other measurements according to city, but allows us to analyze urban segregation in the four urban areas in a similar way. To do so, we used the same analysis strategy.

Table 1: Household surveys in Montreal, Lyon, Puebla and Niamey

Cities	<i>Year of the survey</i>	<i>Entity in charge of survey</i>	<i>Number of individuals surveyed</i>
<i>Niamey</i>	1996	L.E.T.	2732 people
<i>Puebla</i>	1993-1994	G.I.M.	14,818 people
<i>Lyon</i>	1994-1995	SY.TR.A.L.	13,997 people
<i>Montreal</i>	1998	A.M.T.	164,075 people

"Comparability is rarely a given, it is on the contrary something to be built" (Hassenteufel, 2005:118). The diversity of the urban contexts considered and the features specific to each of the household surveys used challenge the possibility of successfully carrying out a comparison. Insofar as the research question underlying this study (or this problematic) and the way to try to answer it are identical in the four cities, we advance the argument that Niamey, Puebla, Lyon and Montreal are comparable. We avoid directly comparing the results, but we place the results reached on the same level. The strong structuring trends will be those that emerge for all 4 cities. Certain specific features will remain, and if so, will have to be identified.

II. Residential spaces: taking stock of the types of specialization underway

A. Methodology

The data mobilized to build the residential typologies were mainly taken from the household surveys presented above. To complete them, we sometimes used census data, in particular to determine the population densities in the areas studied. Since the zoning system used by the

censuses differed slightly from that used for the household surveys, the geographical divisions used for the two data sources were placed in correspondence.

The variables used to build these typologies are part of the framework of a reflection on residential segregation. They concern the socio-economic, demographic and ethnic dimensions mentioned in the problematic. We will add a dimension specific to the developed framework and to the location of the zones in the urban areas in question. The characteristics of the urban fabric indeed have an impact on the choices of city dwellers for their residence and the territorial location of their activities. The groupings carried out in this portion concern the zones of the urban areas and are based on characteristics specific to the latter (type of housing, resident density and distance from the centre) and to the households that live in them (household structure, ethnic group of the head of household, and income level). It should be noted that the centre as such was defined and delineated previously via an analysis of the urban functions present and the associated attractiveness in all of the zones of the urban area⁴.

To produce the typology, we used several ascending hierarchical classifications and factorial analyses of the simple and multiple correspondences. The precise description of the method used is described in the body of the text (pages 174 to 178) of our thesis [Ravalet, 2009].

B. Presentation of the typology

We will not come back to the intermediate calculations, as this is not the purpose of this article. The four residential typologies produced are presented in Map 1.

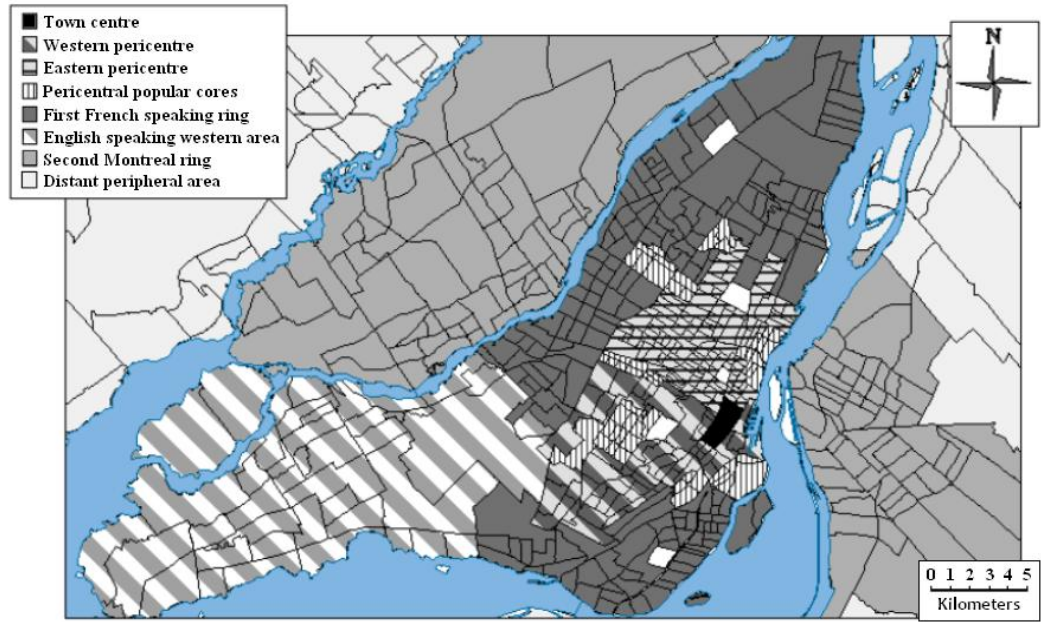
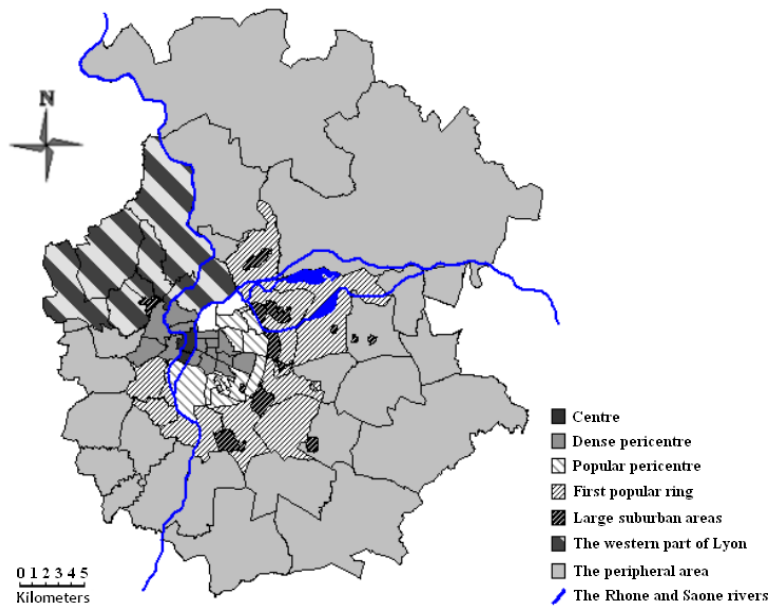
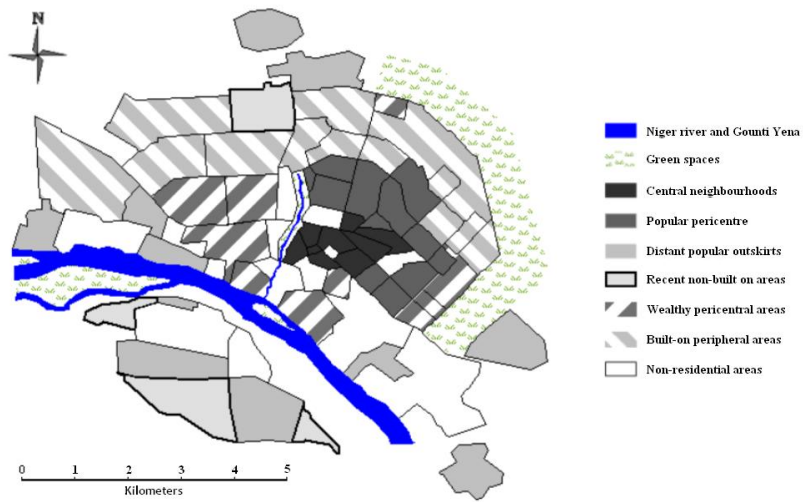
In the case of Niamey first of all, the centre is located on the North bank of the river Niger, east of the Gounti Yena. Population densities are very high here, especially given the horizontality of the habitat. Two types of residential spaces emerge from this typology: the affluent pericentral zones, mainly containing permanent structures, with a high proportion of villas (nearly 40%) and the recent undeveloped zones, often located far from the centre, with low densities (4000 inhab./km²) and frequent single family habitats around courtyards (nearly 60%). The latter spaces contrast, especially with respect to these two points, with the working class peripheral neighborhoods, often former villages absorbed by expanding urbanization. In Puebla, the physical characteristics of the buildings and the socio-economic characteristics of the resident populations are fairly similar in the centre and a few adjacent territories, and form the "centre and working class pericentre" zone. The first ring is composed of a fairly affluent area from the Southwest to the Northwest (clockwise) and of several composite spaces in the North-East, South and West of the centre, grouped together under the heading "middle class pericentre".

Then there are the more distant peripheral areas, much less dense, inhabited by populations much less well-off than in the rest of the urban area. Certain peripheral zones can be distinguished in the South with a high proportion of apartment buildings, a fairly high density, and a middle class population.

Using the same method in Lyon, it was possible to confirm the well-known contrast between the working class East and the affluent West (or rather Northwest). The suburbs with large housing projects are also revealed through a leopard-skin type spatial organization. Income levels are low on average and the families are large in proportion.

⁴ For more information, see pages 151-153 of our thesis [Ravalet, 2009]

Map 1: Residential Typologies in Niamey, Puebla, Lyon and Montreal



In Montreal, the centre is at the heart of the demarcation line between the French-speaking East and the English-speaking West. The more affluent territories are found in the second category. One finds pockets of poverty closer to the centre, somewhat similar to the typology in Lyon. The second ring and then the distant peripheral areas extend well beyond the island of Montreal, with decreasing densities.

These residential typologies make it possible to reexamine certain strong trends in contemporary urbanization. In the two Northern cities, urban sprawl reflects family life (the average number of children per household is high). The real estate offer thus rapidly adapted to this situation, and in the central and pericentral zones one finds fairly low proportions of dwellings sufficiently spacious to accommodate families. In the two Southern cities the peripheral zones correspond more to spaces of banishment in which underprivileged populations are numerous. Several former urbanization cores are mixed into these spaces, both in Niamey (Saga, Goudel, Lamordé, Gamkallé) and in Puebla (Cholula and Amozoc). In Lyon and Montreal, rather than being banished to the periphery, the underprivileged populations are concentrated in certain territories: the suburbs (*banlieues*) with large housing projects in Lyon, and the pericentral working class cores in Montreal.

III. Activities carried out

A. Method

In this chapter we aim to improve the understanding of the factors - spatial, individual and linked to households - that may influence the possible performance of activities. The objective is to complete the approach to segregation proposed in the previous chapter using residential typologies by studying the activities carried out. The latter are considered based on the percentages of city dwellers performing each activity.

We chose to carry out an a-spatial analysis in a first phase, studying the factors (individual or linked to the household) influencing the performance of activities by city dwellers. The residential locations are taken into account in a second phase. This choice was based on our desire to specifically distinguish the factors linked to spatial (residential) configurations from those which are not.

We chose to first consider individual statuses, so as to better determine their effects subsequently. The effects of gender, income and the structure of the household are successively examined. We conclude this chapter by taking into account residential locations and their effects in terms of the activities performed. The existence of a relationship between these explicative variables and the activities performed is tested using a chi2 test (with risks of 5% and 1%).

B. Statuses

Statuses, which make it possible to separate city dwellers into schoolchildren, students, the active, the inactive, the unemployed, and retirees, have a very clear effect on the activities performed. They make it possible to define a whole set of constraints to which they are linked [Hanson & Hanson, 1981]. We will not spend too much time on mandatory activities directly dependent on status (the active go to work, the students study, etc.) and we will concentrate

on the one hand on the visits outside of the home in the Niamey context and on the other hand on shopping.

Many Niamey inhabitants visit others to maintain their social networks in general and their family networks in particular, and even 55% of the inactive (versus 40% on average for the other city dwellers) make this type of trip. *"Thanks to the (...) permeability of innumerable social networks, each city dweller can create and reinforce a capital of relationships that proves especially useful to face the difficulties of daily life"* (Piga, 2005:159). The fact that the inactive pay more visits than other city dwellers is specific to Niamey. The importance of social networks for these city dwellers, often facing difficult socio-economic conditions, is confirmed here.

Status also has an effect, this time in all four cities studied, on shopping habits. Economically inactive city dwellers and retirees travel more for this type of activity, provided of course that they have the time. Gender and the structure of the household (presence of children or not) are also not completely unrelated to this trend.

C. Gender

Table 1 summarizes the results obtained concerning gender effects on the activities performed in all four cases. This table was drawn up on the basis of the chi2 tests. When the test revealed no effect, the sign 0 was used. When an effect was revealed, with a risk of error of 5%, the sign – or + appears (depending on the direction of the relationship). Finally, the double signs - - and + + designate a relationship with a risk of error of 1%. A negative sign means that less women participate in the activity in question than men.

Table 2: Gender effect on the activities performed

	Women in:			
	Niamey	Puebla	Lyon	Montreal
Work	- -	- -	- -	- -
Education	-	-	0	0
Shopping	++	++	++	++
Visits	- -		+	0
Leisure	- -	-	0	-
Accompaniment	0	++	++	0

This table indicates the gross effects, and in order to understand the information it provides, one must highlight the links between gender and the other explicative variables, first of all status. Women represent respectively 77%, 98%, 97% and 75% of the inactive category in Niamey, Puebla, Lyon and Montreal. Conversely, the active population (working full time in the two Northern cities) are most often men (68%, 69%, 60% and 57%). This distribution explains the difference between men and women with respect to commuting between home and work. These figures raise the question of access to employment for women. In Africa, *"access to employment is the result of a long process that not only structures the social environment from school onward, but also endows individuals with a different human capital. The lesser participation of women in salaried employment and their higher numbers as marginal independent workers is precisely part of this process"* (Lachaud, 1997:185). It would seem that the relevance of the social roles associated with gender persist, not only in Niamey, but also in Puebla, Lyon and Montreal. However, although access to the status of an active employee is quite limited for women, it is accompanied by a re-balancing between men and women of the activities performed. For L. Diaz Olvera & alii [2004], in certain West

African cities, access to a formal job appears to be a way to escape from the domination of male control over activities and the places visited. (op.cit.:240).

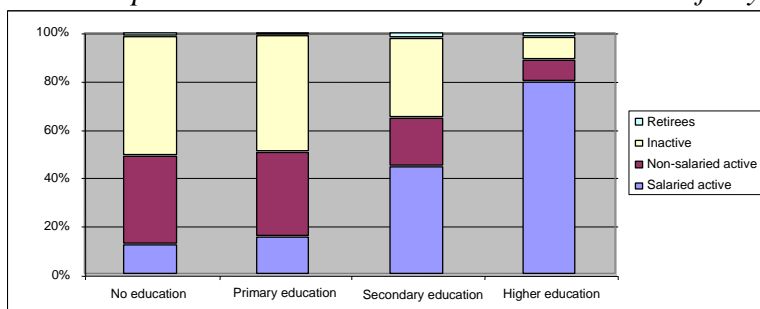
Part-time professional activity concerns women more often than men, both in Lyon and in Montreal. According to J. Bué [2002], part-time jobs are linked to different realities depending on whether they are "imposed at the time of hire", "chosen to take care of children" or "chosen for other reasons". In the second case, the individuals concerned are almost exclusively women. H. Garner & alii. [2005] also confirm the fact that active individuals with children prefer part-time professional activities. For women, part-time jobs thus represent an intermediate position between the inactive and women with full-time jobs. For these three categories, when there are children in the household, the women take care of the shopping and accompaniment more often than the men. Shopping is thus twice as frequent for women as for men in the full-time active category (35% versus 18% in the families)...

The second trend common to the four cities concerns shopping, for which women systematically travel more than men. They take care of food shopping more frequently than men. These differences are confirmed and become more clearly defined when one successively considers each of the groups of city dwellers defined by status. Even when they have a paid job, women continue to do this shopping much more often than men. This is the case for example in the group of non-salaried active individuals (30% of the women made trips for shopping versus 9% of the men).

Travel for leisure purposes more often concerns men in Niamey, but this trend is seen only partially in Puebla and Montreal, and not at all in Lyon. There is a small but persistent gap concerning access to education between girls and boys in both Southern cities. Finally, as concerns accompaniment, it is mainly carried out by car, which explains why this is more often done by men than women in Niamey (they are usually in charge of the household car).

D. Income

Graph 1: Relationship between status and the educational level of city dwellers in Niamey



Individual statuses and household income are not independent from each other. In Niamey for example, the average household income decreases according to whether the individuals are active salaried employees, active non-salaried workers, or inactive. This same type of relationship (status vs. income) can be seen with educational levels, often used as a proxy to approach the income conditions of city dwellers (see graph 1). According to the same logic, the educational levels of the unemployed and the inactive are lower than those of the active, not only in Puebla but also in Lyon and Montreal, although the trends are less pronounced in the latter two. In other words, the differences between the activities performed by the most affluent and the most underprivileged are largely due to the employment access differential. With the same status, one no longer observes any differences for city dwellers in Lyon and

Montreal. In Niamey and Puebla, income levels again play a role (marginal) among salaried employees, especially with respect to leisure.

This effect of income on activities in Southern countries has been highlighted in several studies, with significant differences in access to private cars according to income levels [Plat, 2002]. As for the Northern cities, it is above all in extreme poverty that one observes the effects of low income on the activities carried out [Mignot & alii, 2001].

E. Structure of the household

In both Niamey and Puebla, the structure of the household does not have a notable effect on the activities carried out by city dwellers. As a simple example, in both cities family life is not different from the life of a single person. The situation is quite different in the two Northern cities, where the structure of the household has an important effect on activities. We decided to study this for a same status. All of the differences made explicit in this part were confirmed by the chi2 test with a 1% risk of error.

For Lyon inhabitants with full-time jobs, the household structure has a direct impact on the activities engaged in outside of the home. We were able to distinguish between city dwellers living alone, in couples, in a family or a family unit of another type (single-parent families, polynuclear families, co-tenants, etc.). Shopping, leisure activities and visits are more frequent for the active who live alone, and accompaniment more often concerns those who live in a family or another type of family unit. The presence of children is an important factor, for both the active and inactive, and is reflected by a reduction in the number of shopping trips and above all trips for leisure activities and visits. The people who take care of children have limited time due to an increase in the activities restricted to the home [Degenne and alii, 2002].

In Montreal, the results are similar to those we have just described for Lyon, but it is possible in this context to specifically study the single-parent households. Full-time active individuals living alone or at the head of a single-parent household travel more often for their shopping (20% versus 13 to 15% for the city dwellers in the other three types of households). In parallel, leisure activities and visits are twice as frequent for active individuals living alone. The group of active individuals living in a single-parent family is the only group dominated proportionally by women (they represent two-thirds), and is also distinguished by a relatively low average income. E. Algava [2002] confirms the vulnerability of single-parent families, while still underlining the differences linked to the history of each one (separation of a couple, widow(er)hood, etc.).

F. ... and residential location

In Niamey, the location of the residence has an influence on the type of activities carried out. The city dwellers who live in the centre thus engage more frequently in leisure activities, but more rarely in visits (note that visits received were not counted). Among the non-salaried active individuals, the residents of the affluent pericentral areas do the most shopping. In our opinion, the most important differences concern the city dwellers who live in the recent non-developed peripheral areas, in comparison with those who live in the distant working class peripheral areas (including numerous villages absorbed by expanding urbanization such as Goudel, Saga, Gamkallé, etc.). The most pronounced differences concern women and are found again among the inactive (where women are the majority). Their activities are thus

reduced to the smallest portion of the shopping (which itself is less frequent). The women who live in these peripheral areas are thus strongly limited in their activities and the spaces visited. They are part of the populations considered "at risk" with respect to social exclusion. In Puebla, life in the peripheral areas also seems to be a risk factor for the populations the least able to move around for their activities. The inactive travel less when they live in these peripheral neighborhoods.

In the two Northern cities, similar trends emerge when we analyze activities with respect to residence location. A location in the peripheral areas does not impact the daily participation in activities the way it does in Niamey and Puebla. However, the city dwellers living in pockets of poverty such as those identified in the second chapter of this article are distinguished by their less frequent participation in leisure activities. This trend is moreover accentuated for the inactive, 13% of whom travel for leisure purposes during the day versus 24% on average in the other neighborhoods of the Lyon urban area. This lower frequency of leisure activities for the residents of the suburbs and the working class pericentral cores in Montreal is compensated for in these territories by visits (from family members, friends, neighbors), as frequent as those of the other city dwellers, if not more frequent.

Conclusion

This article provided an opportunity to highlight the important differences between city dwellers in a same city with respect to the activities they engage in outside of the home. Among these differences, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between those generated by inequality and those that are not. Given the available data, we took precautions not to make this distinction. Nevertheless, certain populations whose activities are restricted by exogenous factors such as residential location can be considered at risk in terms of social exclusion. This is the case in particular for women in the two Southern cities, and above all those who live in the peripheral zones (non-built on in Niamey). Visits and shopping then represent a minimal number of trips. Access to employment for these women (especially to salaried employment in Niamey) is a determining factor since it is accompanied by a diversification of activities.

Beyond approaching the questions of exclusion through the limitation of activities performed, we also observed the existence of trips imposed by the situation in which certain city dwellers find themselves. For example, the presence of children in a household requires a greater mobility capacity. In Lyon and Montreal, family life is much more peripheral than central, which imposes certain specific trips (including shopping and accompaniment). The question of the choice of residential location for these families, who therefore live segregated from couples without children and singles, remains an open one insofar as the mobility cost associated with living in the peripheral areas is high [Wenglenski, 2003]. In both of these cities, access to leisure activities outside of the household is more limited for the residents of the pericentral working class cores (the suburbs with large housing projects in Lyon).

Therefore mobility at any price is perhaps not a viable political objective. Indeed, to paraphrase A. Begag [1995], are people really so unhappy when they do not leave their home or neighborhood very often? Poverty limits certain trips but implies others, in other words it is linked to specific trips [Damon, 2004]. The objective should rather be to guarantee a mobility capacity for people who need to access certain activities. In this respect, it is necessary to find a way to better understand the dynamics of exclusion, which can affect populations who are still geographically mobile on a daily basis...

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