

Territorial Dynamics, Gender Equality, and Women's Mobility in the City Introduction

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Summary :

This article presents a literature review of three research areas: territorial dynamics, gender equality, and women's mobility in the city. Each of these areas has been the subject of extensive research, often from different perspectives. Territorial dynamics have become a major field of development analysis, in a context of globalization, restructuring of public policies, and the growing importance given to territory as a site of development production. Gender equality has been considered a central condition for the effectiveness of development policies. Since the "Mobility Turn," Mobility has become essential for understanding social relations and territorial dynamics, rather than being considered a mere service.

These three areas are actually all interconnected but most of the time they were not linked all together in the literature. The literature on territories shows that mobility is essential for territories, and particularly for contemporary territories. Based on the literature relating to equality/inequality, we can see that mobility is an essential capability. The literature on mobility details the constraints hindering women's mobility, particularly due to societal roles. A second observation concerns the lack of research linking territorial dynamics, gender equality, and women's mobility in cities.

This perspective could contribute to designing policies better suited to the needs of both men and women, and therefore more effective, avoiding sectoral policies whose results fall short of what an integrated approach can achieve.

Key words: *Territorial Dynamics, Gender Equality, Women Urban Mobility*

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I. Introduction

This article presents a literature review of three research areas: territorial dynamics, gender equality, and women's mobility in the city. Each of these areas has been the subject of extensive research, often from different perspectives. They have also undergone significant theoretical renewal in recent decades. Territorial dynamics have become a major field of development analysis, in a context of globalization, restructuring of public policies, and the growing importance given to territory as a site of development production. Gender equality has been established since the 1970s as an essential condition for realizing human rights. Since the 1990s, it has been considered a central condition for the effectiveness of development policies. Finally, in the 2000s, mobility underwent an analytical renewal with the "Mobility Turn," which allowed it to become essential for understanding social relations and territorial dynamics, rather than being considered a mere service.

These three areas are actually all interconnected. The literature has sometimes linked two of them without truly integrating all three dimensions. The objective of this article is not to propose a unified analytical framework. It is meant to present a literature review of these areas and highlight the main theoretical and empirical contributions they have made.

It is structured in three parts. The first is devoted to the dynamics of territories, evolving to become co-actors in their own development, through approaches to agglomeration, collective construction, contemporary morphological changes, and governance. Secondly, gender equality will be presented, particularly through the concepts of capabilities, social construction, and gender-sensitive public policies. The third part is devoted to women's mobility in cities, its constraints, determining factors, and the responses to them.

1. Territories: From Passive Geographic Support to Co-Actor in Development

1.1. The Difficult Stabilization of the Concept

The concept of territory has remained difficult to define definitively. For some authors, territory refers to a social construct, for others to a space, while for others to a system of coordination between actors, resources, and institutions. These multiple conceptual uses reflect the abundance of work devoted to territories and the diversity of approaches adopted.

Beyond this diversity, the proposed definitions converge on one fundamental point: the distinction between territory and space. For Gérard François Dumon¹, the world is composed of different territories that can be distinguished according to various criteria. These criteria can include "geographical and climatic specificities, administrative boundaries, cultural characteristics, demographic trajectories, situations within the internal geopolitics of the country concerned according to its degree of centralization or decentralization, and positioning within external geopolitics for territories located on a country's borders or disputed between several states."

Two essential approaches to the study of territorial dynamics structure this field of research. The Anglo-Saxon approach, influenced by studies in human geography and political science, considers territory as a physical space, delimited by borders linked to human activities, power relations, and institutions. All of these elements create dynamics known as territorial dynamics.

The Francophone approach to territory, generally more influenced by philosophy, focuses more on the complex interactions between physical, cultural, and political dimensions, as well as the implications of the concept of territory for collective action.

Today, territory is approached as a social, institutional, and political construct, the product of interactions between actors, resources, and institutions. It is considered as an active reality that is constantly evolving according to the interactions that occur within it. Having long been perceived as a mere passive geographical backdrop for activities.

1.2. Territorial Dynamics: Agglomeration Logic and Collective Construction

1.2.1. Approach Based on Agglomeration Logics: Paul Krugman's Center-Periphery Model

Paul Krugman has revitalized the classical approach to territorial dynamics based on location, notably by incorporating increasing returns to scale. He has also focused on a specific polarization with the center-periphery model. In his book "Geography and Commerce,"² he highlights the interactions between geography and economics. More specifically, he presents the relationship between the geographical location of economic activities, economies of scale, and transportation costs. In his article entitled "Increasing Returns and Economic Geography"³, he explains that companies seek to cluster in the same area to benefit from economies of scale and reduce their costs, which fosters the creation of industrial clusters and the specialization of regions. The price effect combined with the market size effect creates a dynamic linking the agglomeration of producers and workers both downstream (the variety of industrial goods increases workers' real income) and upstream (a large number of consumers attracts more businesses). This dynamic creates inequality between regions because one region grows at the expense of others, which are then relegated to the role of its peripheries.

1.2.2. Systemic Approach and Collective Construction: Bernard Pecqueur

The approach developed by Bernard Pecqueur is systemic in perspective. He understands the territory as a complex, living system that evolves and takes into account its economic, social, political, and institutional dimensions. This system is guided by the interactions between actors, its resources, and the form of governance adopted. Economic activities and society itself evolve within territories. For example, we are witnessing restructuring of productive activities and new forms of production and consumption, resulting in socio-economic transformations that must be understood, their underlying logic grasped, and analyzed to foster territorial development. These transformations can also affect demographics or economic activity, land-use patterns, spatial organization, and social interactions. In this context, the territory becomes a co-actor in development rather than a mere receptacle for sectoral policies, where development strategies are formulated based on local resources, collaboration between stakeholders, and governance mechanisms. According to Bernard Pecqueur, the three mechanisms that influence territorial dynamics and development are social capital and local networks, innovation and local entrepreneurship, and adaptation to territorial specificities. Social capital and local networks are essential for creating synergies and collaborations between different local stakeholders. These social and economic interactions within a community foster the exchange of information and the development of partnerships and

¹ Gérard-François Dumont. La dynamique des territoires Radiale ou réticulaire ? Les Analyses de Population & Avenir 2019/3 (N° 7)

² Paul Krugman, *Geography and Trade*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1991.

³ Paul Krugman, Increasing Returns and Economic Geography, *Journal of Political Economy* Vol. 99, No. 3 (Jun., 1991), The University of Chicago Press, pp. 483-499

collaborations among various local stakeholders. Furthermore, the development of innovation and local entrepreneurship can be supported by favourable environments created by territorial dynamics. As for the exploitation of the natural, cultural, and human resources specific to each region, it allows for adaptation to the particular characteristics of a territory. Overall, for Bernard Pecqueur, it is essential to analyze the territory through its complex system of local resources, institutions, organizations, and networks in order to understand its dynamics. This approach therefore calls for a multi-stakeholder perspective, based on the diversity of relationships and grounded in the specific characteristics of the territory. In his analyses of territories, Bernard Pecqueur attaches particular importance to governance. Territorial governance is considered an essentially endogenous, co-constructed, dynamic process that evolves according to the economic, institutional, and social transformations of the territories⁴.

1.3. Morphological Transformations of Contemporary Urban Territories

Contemporary territorial dynamics cannot be understood without taking urban transformations into account. Urbanization accelerated in the 21st century. In 1800, city dwellers represented 3% of the world's population; this percentage increased to 15% in 1900, then to 34% of the world's population in 1960. By 2024, according to United Nations figures, urban areas were home to 58% of the world's population⁵. This accelerated urbanization has led to the creation of metropolises. For François Ascher, metropolization consists of "the growth and multiplication of large urban areas" and a "growing concentration within them of populations, activities, and wealth". The concentration of wealth stems from the fact that these metropolises attract the most highly skilled populations, the most innovative activities, and a growing share of capital. He observed, however, in the late 1990s, the emergence of a new phenomenon that went beyond metropolization, which he termed the metapolis⁶. The metapolis encompasses "all the spaces in which all or part of the inhabitants, economic activities, or territories are integrated into the daily (ordinary) functioning of a metropolis. A metapolis generally constitutes a single employment, housing, and activity area. The spaces that make up a metapolis are profoundly heterogeneous and not necessarily contiguous. A metapolis comprises at least several hundred thousand inhabitants." Furthermore, the metapolis is embedded in international networks, breaking with the national anchoring of the traditional city. With the metapolis, urban forms change, as does their dynamic. The metapolis, in fact, encompasses discontinuous, multipolar spaces connected by flows. Natalie Roseau⁷ confirms the contemporary relevance of the concept of the metropole, emphasizing that "The issue of flows, which haunts our current era, confirms the consolidation of a 'network metropolis,' both robust and vulnerable, made up of an intricate network of pathways that connect places of different shapes, sizes, and functions, within a system of local and global interdependencies that transforms our spatial experience." Consequently, flows are of crucial importance for contemporary territories, leading to the conclusion that mobility is not a service offered by the territory. Rather, it becomes a fundamental condition for the functioning of the territory.

1.4. Functional Territory and Real Territory and Access to Resources

Paul Krugman's model and Bernard Pecqueur's approach explain the dynamics of territories and the forces that drive them. However, they do not explain whether the territories administratively defined and to which public policies are applied—the legal territories—correspond to the spaces in which populations live, work, and move about—the functional territories. This distinction between functional and legal territory was formalized, notably, by Jean-François Troin⁸ and Mohamed Berriane. The legal or official territory represents the territory as defined by the State through administrative divisions. This territory is created to organize space and implement public policies. As for the real or functional territory, it is not created administratively and does not necessarily have administrative boundaries set by the State. It also arises from the concrete dynamics of a space (individual mobility, urban influences, economic exchanges, social relations, transportation networks, etc.). This refers to the lived territory, the one where residents go to work, to access services, facilities, and so on. For Mohamed Berriane⁹, the real territory serves more to understand than to govern. For Mohamed Berriane, these two facets of territory—distinguishing the governed space from the lived and structured space—are essential to consider for a

⁴ Pecqueur, B. (2003). *Territoire et gouvernance : quel outil pertinent pour le développement ?* Bernard Pecqueur. Actes du colloque international Umr Sagert, Montpellier, France

⁵ Perspectives d'urbanisation du monde, Nations Unies.

⁶ Ascher, F. (1995). *Métapolis ou l'avenir des villes*. Paris Odile Jacob.

⁷ Roseau, R. and Veltz, P. (2020), *Penser et agir dans la métropole*. Revue Urbanisme, n°419.

⁸ Troin J.-F. (2004) (dir.), *Maroc. Régions, pays, territoires*, Annales de géographie.

⁹ Berriane, M. (S.d). *Dynamiques territoriales et politiques publiques : territoires fonctionnels et officiels*
In *Le Maroc au présent : d'une époque à l'autre, une société en mutation*. Casablanca : Fondation
Du Roi Abdul-Aziz Al Saoud pour les études islamiques et les sciences humaines, pp. 31-60.

richer analysis of a territory. This distinction is also important because, for individuals, the functional territory does not necessarily coincide with the administrative territory or even the residential space. Thus, two individuals residing in the same legal territory may not have the same functional territory due to differences in their economic, temporal, social, and mobility resources.

1.5. Smart Cities: Technological Optimization and Equity Imperatives

In recent decades, various initiatives to improve cities have been implemented in most countries, enabling them to address the increasingly numerous and complex social, economic, and environmental challenges generated by growing urbanization. Among these challenges, Andrea Caragliu, Chiara F. Del Bo, and Peter Nijkamp¹⁰ mention the rapid growth of urban populations and its impacts, such as "difficulty managing waste, resource scarcity, air pollution, public health problems, traffic congestion, and infrastructure deterioration." This type of challenge necessitates the implementation of complex actions in collaboration with various urban stakeholders, including municipal agencies, civil society, and the private sector. This complex evolution of urbanization has been accompanied by a revolution in new information and communication technologies (ICTs). This urbanization, combined with the historical use of ICTs, has led to the creation of "smart cities," cities where ICTs are widely adopted. Two main approaches structure the literature on smart cities. The first prioritizes the technological aspect of this type of city, guided by operational optimization and emphasizing the instrumented, interconnected, and intelligent nature of these urban areas. For Caragliu, Del Bo, and Nijkamp, the term "smart city" refers to a city that uses ICTs to improve its operational efficiency and the quality of urban services (water, electricity, gas, public transportation, public facilities, buildings, etc.) while also being able to anticipate the evolution of institutions, businesses, and citizens in economic, social, and environmental terms. The second approach prioritizes the social dimension, emphasizing the increasing involvement of residents in the development of urban services. Despite the differences in these approaches, they agree on three essential elements: the cross-cutting integration of ICTs rather than through isolated sectoral applications, the adoption of a participatory approach, and the ambition to improve operational efficiency and quality of life while preserving the environment. However, several authors highlight the limitations of these smart cities. The work of Tzuhao Chen, J. Ramon Gil-Garcia, and Mila Gasco-Hernandez¹¹ emphasizes that the dominant literature on smart cities has focused more on economic and environmental dimensions and has given less importance to issues of equity, inclusion, and social justice, which could compromise the sustainability of these cities.

Indeed, most studies on smart cities have failed to consider the differences between users in terms of gender, age, socioeconomic status, and access to digital tools. However, city residents do not have equal access to digital services, in terms of availability, ability to obtain them, and skills to use them, which could exacerbate existing inequalities within cities. In other words, by assuming universal users, the dominant literature has overlooked inequalities among residents, particularly gender inequalities and inequalities in mobility, which ICTs could exacerbate if the specific needs of different user groups are not taken into account. Pablo Jensen¹² sheds light on this issue by emphasizing that the models, algorithms, and data used by these systems are never neutral. When a city uses "smart" systems to manage transportation, these systems will consider the data available at the time of their creation and may no longer be suitable if individual mobility changes. Furthermore, if the system observes that mobility tends to be more commuter-oriented, linear, and driven by connected users, it will optimally produce services tailored to the needs of this population, notably excluding women whose journeys are more fragmented, multifaceted, and combine several modes of transport. The key point is not to make the city more efficient by leaving out some users, but to have an efficient city that truly benefits everyone.

1.6. Territorial Governance: A Multidisciplinary and Negotiated Approach

André Torre¹³ emphasizes the fundamentally negotiated nature of territorial development. He stresses that "a development process is managed and negotiated, making it necessary to involve local populations in decision-making processes." This economist acknowledges that territorial development is not based solely on cooperation, but also on conflict, tension, and arbitration. Governance thus becomes a space for ongoing negotiation. He emphasizes the major role of collaborative and conflictual mobilizations, as well as residential

¹⁰ Caragliu, A. Del Bo C., F. and Nijkamp, P. (2011). Smart Cities in Europe. *Journal of urban technology*, 18(2), pp.65-82.

¹¹ Tzuhao Chen, T., Gil-Garcia, J., R., and Gasco-Hernandez, M. (2022). Understanding social sustainability for smart cities: The importance of inclusion, equity, and citizen participation as both inputs and long-term outcomes. *Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy & Center for Technology in Government*, University at Albany, State University of New York.

... Chen, T., Gil-Garcia, J. R. et Gasco-Hernandez, M. (2022). Understanding social sustainability for smart cities: the importance of inclusion, equity, and citizen participation as both inputs and long-term outcomes. *Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy & Center for Technology in Government*, University at Albany, State University of New York.

¹² Jensen, P. (2018), *Pourquoi la société ne se laisse pas mettre en équation*, Seuil.

¹³ Torre, A. (2015), *Théorie du développement territorial*. Géographie Économie Société.

mobility, in shaping territorial trajectories. Rey-Valette and Elinor Ostrom¹⁴ stress that the analysis of territorial governance falls within a multidisciplinary approach: "The study of institutions is inherently interdisciplinary." It draws on economics, geography, sociology, and political science to analyze governance in order to better understand the interactions between actors and territorial dynamics and to identify the levers best suited to the specific characteristics of each territory.

Taking these territorial dynamics into account makes it possible to propose solutions tailored to the specific problems of each territory, based on identifying the potential and limitations of each territory and incorporating them into the design of more appropriate, and therefore more effective and sustainable, public policies.

Considering these dynamics will thus promote social cohesion, economic development, and environmental protection. A question arises here: does this negotiated territorial governance involve women? The same question arises regarding Bernard Pecqueur's participatory governance, which mentions stakeholder involvement without specifying whether women are among these stakeholders.

II. Gender Equality

2.1 Gender: An Essential Social Construct for Analysis

Gender relates to the socially constructed relationships between men and women, relationships linked to the roles and responsibilities that society assigns them at a given time. It is therefore considered a social construct that evolves over time and space through public policies or changes in norms¹⁵, which differentiates it from sex, a "stable" biological fact. This shows that inequalities in access to resources at the territorial level, such as those related to transportation, are not biologically determined and can be modified.

2.2 Towards Effective Equality

At the heart of the contemporary approach to equality lie the contributions of John Rawls and Amartya Sen. John Rawls laid the foundations for a just society, a society based on two principles: the equality of liberties and rights, and the difference principle, which justifies inequalities insofar as they improve the situation of the most disadvantaged individuals¹⁶.

Amartya Sen goes beyond John Rawls's Theory of Justice by emphasizing that the principle of equality of liberties and rights, the basic foundation of John Rawls's theory, cannot alone guarantee justice within a society because the essential element is not equality of means or of what individuals possess, but rather equality of the actual possibilities to perform various functions and carry out certain actions. It therefore becomes crucial, for this economist, to take into account the different situations of individuals due to the diversity of their circumstances, such as family situation, their characteristics such as age, sex, health, level of education, physical or mental disabilities, but also the environments in which they live, such as the country, their exposure to famines and diseases, which can influence access to freedoms. It is therefore necessary to consider the concrete situation of individuals, what they possess, their capacity and their freedom to use their resources to choose their own way of life. Hence his Capability Approach, which he explains as the opportunities and actual freedoms that individuals have "to lead the life they value." This framework will later be enriched by the results of Esther Duflo's¹⁷ empirical work, which demonstrates that development promotes the reduction of gender inequalities and that Women's empowerment accelerates development.

2.3. The sexual division of labor and the burden of unpaid work contribute to unequal access to resources.

Beyond the Capability Approach, which allows to analyze and understand the reasons for inequality and what women truly lack—in other words, real freedoms—the Gender Roles Framework and unpaid work helps us understand the reasons behind the absence or weakness of these freedoms for women¹⁸. It distinguishes between productive roles, representing work done in exchange for cash or in-kind compensation, and reproductive roles, which focus on tasks that ensure the replication of society, physically through reproduction and family care, and culturally through the transmission of a society's customs and value system. A third role was later added by

¹⁴ Rey-Valette H., Chia E., Mathé S., Michel L., Nougaredes B., Soulard C.T., Maurel P., Jarrige F., Barbe E., Guihéneuf P.Y. (2014), *Comment analyser la gouvernance territoriale ? Mise à l'épreuve d'une grille de lecture*, Géographie, Économie, Société, 16 : p. 65-89.

¹⁵ Bertini, M.-J. (2006), Un mode original d'appropriation des Cultural Studies. Les études de Genre appliquées aux Sciences de l'information et de la communication. Concepts, théories, méthodes et enjeux. MEI- Médiation et information, pp.115-124.

¹⁶ Sen A., (1981), *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford University Press.

¹⁷ Duflo, E., (2011), Women's Empowerment and Economic Development. Working Paper 17702. National Bureau of Economic Research.

¹⁸ The Gender Roles Framework is an analytical framework developed by researchers at the Harvard International Institute for Development and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Caroline Moser and other researchers¹⁹ is the community role, which includes work at the community level, aimed at community development, and which falls more particularly within the purview of women. Hence her "Triple Roles Framework".

This distribution of roles assigned to men and women, based on stereotypes and prejudices, impacts individuals' choices and decisions, and therefore their capabilities²⁰. In most societies, women assume a large share of reproductive labor, work that is unpaid and invisible but crucial for the functioning of the household. It is considered by many researchers as the primary obstacle to women's equal access to resources. Unpaid work imposes time constraints on women and limits their access to opportunities. For Nancy McGuckin and Elaine Murakami²¹, the activities women undertake within their reproductive role, such as housework and childcare, require different modes of transportation compared to the responsibilities generally borne by men, which are primarily financial in supporting the family. Claudia Goldin²² has demonstrated later that unpaid work, and more specifically the arrival of a first child in the household, is at the root of inequalities in women's career and wages. Dolores Hayden²³ highlights the paradoxical relationship between women's status and their economic position in society. She emphasizes that, on the one hand, women's status cannot be improved within their households without an improvement in their economic position in society, and on the other hand, they cannot improve their status in paid work if their share of unpaid work is not reduced. This paradox demonstrates the central importance of inequalities in access to resources compared to gender inequalities.

2.4. "Neutral" Public Policies

Recognizing inequalities in a country is fundamental to progress toward equality, but it is not sufficient. This recognition, coupled with the maintenance of "neutral" policies—that is, policies that do not take into account the specific needs of men and women—will not significantly advance equality. According to Diane Elson, this lack of gender consideration in public policies reproduces, or even reinforces, existing inequalities between men and women²⁴. These "gender-neutral" public policies can intensify constraints on women's access to resources within a territory and reinforce their exclusion from the functional territory—in other words, the aforementioned territory that effectively allows both men and women to access its resources and participate in its dynamics. Claudia Goldin demonstrated that development alone cannot be sufficient to reduce gender inequalities. It must be accompanied by changes in social norms, labor market structures, and public policies. If we apply these relationships to territorial policies, an investment aimed at strengthening infrastructure, for example, transportation, does not automatically lead to equal mobility between men and women if it is not accompanied by measures aimed at changing social norms and labor market structures, as well as gender-sensitive public policies.

This section on gender equality leads us to consider mobility not as a simple physical movement but as a capability, since it constitutes effective freedom of access to resources and social opportunities.

III. Women's Mobility in Cities: Issues and Constraints

Mobility is a very broad field of research that has established itself as a distinct area of study with the "mobility turn." The "mobility turn" demonstrates that the approach of the social sciences, as sociologist John Urry points out, has changed, shifting from an analysis of society as a set of fixed structures to an analysis of society through the flows, movements, and evolving interactions, and more broadly, the dynamics that drive societal transformations. Mobility thus appears as an essential element of contemporary life. This article will focus solely on daily mobility, and more specifically, that of women.

3.1. Positive Impacts of Transport Infrastructure

Growing urbanization poses a number of challenges, including that of mobility. It generates traffic congestion and necessitates the implementation of more efficient and less polluting transport solutions, as several researchers have emphasized.

¹⁹ Des chercheurs de l'Université de Londres. Development Planning Unit.

²⁰ Poggi, C. et Waltmann, J. (2019), La (re)production des inégalités de genre dans le monde du travail : des discriminations légales à l'autonomisation. Edition AFD, Pages 1 à 36.

²¹ McGuckin, N. and Murakami, E. (1999), Examining Trip-Chaining Behavior Comparison of Travel by Men and Women. In Transportation Research Record: Journal of the Transportation Research Board, No. 1693, TRB, National Research Council, Washington, D.C.

²² Goldin, C.. (2003), The Quiet Revolution That Transformed Women's Employment, Education, and Family. American Economic Review.

²³ Hayden, D. (1980). What Would a Non-Sexist City be Like? Speculation on housing, urban design, and human work. Sign: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 5(3), pp. S170-S187

²⁴ Elson, D. (1995), Male Bias in the Development Process. Contemporary Issues in Development Studies Manchester University Press.

Transport infrastructure is considered by the World Bank to be "the backbone of modern economies." Investment in transport infrastructure is crucial for growth, particularly in rapidly urbanizing countries, as it reduces social isolation and connects people to jobs and services, thereby supporting growth.

O. A. Mitnik analyzed the impact of improved urban transport systems on women's employment outcomes, such as Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) and light rail investments in the Lima metropolitan area of Peru. He highlights the significant gains in employment and working hours associated with these investments for women. Most of the gains stem from the increased number of women employed, despite the lower quality of the jobs held. In addition to the increase in women's employment, he also observes an increase in public transport use. Overall, these results suggest that infrastructure investments that make public transport use more convenient and safer for women can generate significant impacts on the labor market for women residing in the area affected by the infrastructure improvements.

3.2. Transport Infrastructure: A Response to the Challenges of Increasing Urbanization and a Means of Improving Access to Opportunities, particularly for Women

Traditional, single-modal systems based on private vehicles are no longer suited to the dynamics of contemporary urban mobility. Multimodal transport, based on a combination of different modes such as buses, taxis, and carpooling, allows users to move seamlessly from one mode of transport to another.

Furthermore, investment in urban transport networks has a significant impact on people's lives, as demonstrated by Morocco's investment in bus-tram intermodality. This investment has enabled commuters in Rabat and Casablanca to reduce their travel and waiting times by at least twenty minutes per day. This time saving becomes substantial when multiplied by the number of days per week or per month. This time saving can improve access to existing jobs and encourage job seekers to broaden their search beyond their immediate neighborhoods, thus increasing their chances of finding employment.

Consequently, training options, access to services, and job search opportunities can all be enhanced with faster and more reliable urban transport systems. Indeed, this leads to traffic congestion and necessitates the implementation of more efficient and less polluting transport solutions, as several researchers have pointed out.

According to a 2024 study by Samuel Jesupelumi Owoade, Abel Uzoka, Joshua Idowu Akerele, and Pascal Ugochukwu Ojukwu²⁵, these more suitable alternatives improve the efficiency of transport management and the lives of users, while reducing the environmental impact of transportation. However, this study highlighted several challenges, including the need for sufficient infrastructure to support multimodal transport systems and the development of information and communication technologies that facilitate real-time data integration, thereby improving transport management, connectivity, and reducing user wait times.

3.3. Technology and Mobility-as-a-Service

Effective multimodal transport systems rely on information and communication technologies. Multimodal solutions, through real-time data management, can improve connectivity, reduce user wait times, and thus enhance their lives. With the development of smart cities, mobility systems are becoming more responsive, adaptable, and efficient. Indeed, based on algorithms and big data analysis, forecasts can be made, improving bus scheduling, for example, and reducing public transport delays, thereby contributing to improved public transport efficiency. Furthermore, electric modes of transport are paving the way for new perspectives with more sustainable, efficient, and, above all, user-centric urban mobility solutions. The development of information and communication technologies has facilitated the creation of interfaces such as Mobility as a Service (MaaS). This single interface integrates numerous mobility services, simplifying journey planning for users who want to book multiple multimodal transport options for their trips. For Chengyuan An and Jiawei Shen²⁶, MaaS goes beyond a simple application. It requires a systemic configuration and not simply a digitization of the transport offering. Despite the positive environmental effects attributed to it by many researchers, the environmental impact of MaaS, according to Chengyuan An and Jiawei Shen, depends on the transport services offered, the integration of public transport, and economic incentives. It also depends on the quality of the digital infrastructure—in other words, its level of maturity, robustness, and reliability—as well as on the socioeconomic characteristics of the users. Indeed, in their literature review on the MaaS system, they observed that gender influences the adoption and use of MaaS because men and women do not place the same importance on safety and reliability, as well as on the practical and technological aspects of the systems.

²⁵ Akerele J., I., Ugochukwu, O.P., Owoade S., J., and Uzoka A., (2024), "Optimizing urban mobility with multi-modal transportation", P.No. 3193-3208 Page 3198 Engineering Science & Technology Journal, Volume 5, Issue 11.

²⁶ An, C. and Shen, J., (2025), "Assessing the impact of Mobility-as-a-Service (MaaS) on sustainable urban travel behaviors: a systematic literature review", Central South University, China.

3.4. Motility: Potential Capacity to Move

The concept of motility, first introduced by Vincent Kaufmann²⁷ in the 2000s, refers to the potential capacity of an individual or group of individuals to move. It is not about the act of moving, but about the possibility of doing so. For this sociologist, this capacity depends on "physical abilities, income, aspirations toward a sedentary or mobile lifestyle, social conditions of access to existing technical transport and telecommunication systems, and acquired knowledge." Within this framework, women who lack all these resources have potentially limited mobility.

3.4. Gender Differences in Mobility

According to Carey Curtis and Tim Perkins, the difference in journeys between men and women, in terms of both distance and number, is due to economic and social differences, as well as factors such as age, gender, household composition, and income. Women tend to have more journeys outside of work and peak hours, unlike men. Furthermore, they travel to a more diverse range of destinations using more complex and shorter journey patterns and are more often accompanied by children or elderly people. Men's journeys tend to be more linear and longer. For Wei-Shiuen Ng and Ashley Acker Bien²⁸, beyond the difference in journey length between women and men in cities, women are more likely to prefer public transportation and taxi services to personal cars. They also often choose to walk for their journeys, even when the household owns a vehicle. Non-motorized transport is used more out of necessity than choice for the majority of poor urban dwellers in developing countries.

3.5. Constraints on Women's Mobility: Safety, Security, Limited Directions, and Distance from Public

Transport Women encounter a number of constraints during their journeys, including the problem of insecurity. They therefore adopt avoidance strategies. This constraint hinders their mobility and limits their access to opportunities. Various studies have shown that passengers' fears and concerns about safety influence their travel decisions. Furthermore, the perception of safety differs significantly between men and women in many cases. The perception of safety also varies significantly among women of different socioeconomic statuses, races, ages, education levels, and cultures. According to the results of Rebecca Cadelli's study²⁹, feelings of insecurity among women can be linked to lived or witnessed experiences of violence, as well as to anxiety stemming from the internalization of gender norms, particularly the notion of female vulnerability, which increases their risk of experiencing violence or being assaulted. Sexual harassment and theft represent, for Natalie Gardner, Jianqiang Cui, and Eddo Coiacetto, one of the main reasons affecting their feelings of insecurity when using public transportation. To overcome these feelings of insecurity, the women in Rebecca Cadelli's study all adopted strategies to maintain access to public spaces. These strategies, explains this gender researcher, will not have the same effect on women in terms of autonomy and freedom of movement. Indeed, by adopting avoidance strategies, planning outings, or positioning themselves in public spaces, they contribute to the perpetuation of gender norms. According to G. Lynch and S. Atkins, when people do not feel safe, they avoid factors likely to make them feel unsafe in order to protect themselves. This is especially true for public transportation, since fear is one of the main reasons why women avoid public transport.

Women often feel compelled to change their modes of transport or schedules, or even to walk, in order to avoid these constraints. When means of transport do not meet women's needs, they avoid them: mobility becomes a barrier to their employment.

3.6. For more effective, inclusive mobility policies that meet the specific needs of women

Several authors agree that public transport should offer services that take into account the needs of its users. Public transport use would increase if the level of service appropriately met users' expectations³⁰.

According to Wei-Shiuen Ng and Ashley Acker Bien³¹, understanding the behaviour of men and women will allow for the design of more efficient and equitable transportation policies. These two authors emphasize that

²⁷ Kaufmann V. (2002), *Rethinking mobility*, Farnham, Ashgate, Lausanne, Presses polytechniques et universitaires romandes. P13-78

²⁸ Wei-Shiuen Ng and Acker Bien, B. (2018), Understanding Urban Travel Behaviour by Gender for Efficient and Equitable Transport Policies. Cette étude avait pour objectif de mieux comprendre les comportements de déplacement chez les hommes et les femmes et de concevoir des politiques de transport plus efficaces et plus équitables. Les villes objets de l'étude sont Auckland, Dublin, Hanoï, Helsinki, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Lisbonne et Manille. 2018

²⁹ Cardelli, R. (s.d). Les déplacements des femmes dans l'espace public : ressources et stratégies. Dynamiques régionales n°12 Espace public et inégalités de genre

³⁰ Ramos, S., Vicente, P., Passos, A., M., Costa, P. and Reis, E. (2019), Perceptions of the Public Transport Service as a Barrier to the Adoption of Public Transport: A Qualitative Study.

³¹ Wei-Shiuen Ng and Acker Bien, A. (2018), Understanding Urban Travel Behaviour by Gender for Efficient and Equitable Transport Policies, International Transport Forum, Paris.

women often have multiple tasks and activities due to the division of labor within households. Consequently, they are more likely to have short, frequent trips. Women also have more non-work-related trips and travel during off-peak hours. Therefore, they tend to choose more flexible modes of transportation. One of the proposed measures is the adoption of gender-responsive budgeting, particularly in the transportation sector. Gender-responsive budgeting is a process that systematically integrates the gender dimension throughout the budgeting process, from the diagnostic stage to the evaluation stage. For Diane Elson, it is an approach that aims for equality between men and women through the reallocation of spending and the collection of state resources in favor of equality. According to Rhonda Sharp and Diane Elson, government spending and resources must be redirected to address gender inequalities in income, decision-making power, service needs, and social responsibilities for care, including unpaid work for families and society. This translates, in particular, into a restructuring of revenues and expenditures to promote gender equality. Furthermore, Caroline Moser emphasizes that women's participation in planning is essential for identifying and addressing women's practical needs in planning processes. She is supported by International Research on Women's Personal Safety on Public Transport, which also recommends recruiting more women, alongside men, in the transport and urban mobility sector, as women are more familiar with women's specific needs.

IV. Conclusion

This literature review has demonstrated the growing interest in these research areas, as evidenced by the richness and diversity of the approaches employed. In light of this literature review, territories are no longer perceived as a simple, fixed, and passive framework, but rather as a collective construct that gives a privileged place to governance. It further shows that gender equality depends on formal freedoms and remains significantly limited by the sexual division of labor and "gender-neutral" public policies. Finally, it demonstrates that mobility is a fundamental element for territorial development, and for women, a capability limited by various constraints.

This literature review has led to two key observations. The first is that each of these three fields has been linked to one of the two other fields by various research projects. The literature on territories shows that mobility is essential for territories, and particularly for contemporary territories. Based on the literature relating to equality/inequality, we can see that mobility is an essential capability. The literature on mobility details the constraints hindering women's mobility, particularly due to societal roles. A second observation concerns the lack of research linking territorial dynamics, gender equality, and women's mobility in cities.

This perspective could contribute to designing policies better suited to the needs of both men and women, and therefore more effective, avoiding sectoral policies whose results fall short of what an integrated approach can achieve. This could also contribute to the inclusive and sustainable development of territories. Understanding the mechanisms linking territorial dynamics, gender equality, and women's mobility in cities, and how they mutually reinforce each other, would constitute a very interesting analytical undertaking.

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