

Opinion Paper: The Conseil des Montréalaises on Women's Safety during the Formula 1 Canadian Grand Prix

OPINION PAPER



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Action santé transvesti(e)s et transsexuel(le)s du Québec (ASTT(e)Q)

AGIR (Action LGBTQ avec les immigrantEs et les réfugiéEs)

Cactus Montréal

Centre d'éducation et d'action des femmes de Montréal (CÉAF)

Centre for Gender Advocacy / Centre de lutte contre l'oppression des genres

Immigrant Workers Centre (IWC)

Comité d'action contre la traite humaine interne et internationale (CATHII) / Coalition québécoise contre la traite des personnes

Concertation des luttes contre l'exploitation sexuelle (CLES)

Canadian Council for Refugees (CCR)

Fédération des maisons d'hébergement pour femmes (FMHF)

Quebec Native Women (QNW)

Native Women's Shelter of Montreal (NWSM) / Foyer pour femmes autochtones de Montréal (FFAM)

L'Anonyme

La Maison d'Haïti

La Sortie / The Way Out

Le Phare des affranchi(e)s / Beacon of the Freed

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on Women's Safety during
the Formula 1 Canadian Grand Prix**



ABOUT THE CONSEIL DES MONTRÉALAISES

The Conseil des Montréalaises (CM) was founded in 2004 and is made up of 15 volunteer members who reflect the diversity of Montréal's women. It acts as a consultative body of the municipal government on matters related to the status of women and gender equality for all. The CM takes an intersectional feminist approach to understanding the different realities of Montréal women.

The CM has the following roles:

- Providing opinions, on its own initiative or by request from the City of Montréal's mayor, executive committee, or city council, on matters related to gender equality, equality among women and the status of women and submitting its recommendations to the Montréal city council.
- Soliciting opinions, and receiving and considering requests and suggestions from any person or group on matters related to gender equality, equality among women and the status of women.
- Helping to develop and implement a gender equality policy framework for municipal employees.
- Conducting or commissioning studies and research it deems useful or necessary to the performance of its roles.

The CM is an invaluable democratic tool. It is tuned in to the ideas and ways of thinking of feminist citizens and community organizations in the region, and it keeps up with their analyses and voices. Its main areas of intervention are city life, city governance and working for the City. The CM's work therefore focuses on the quality of life of Montréal women (transportation, housing, the fight against poverty, safety, homelessness, sports and leisure offerings, etc.), on the presence and participation of women in municipal politics and on the working conditions of women who are civil servants.

INTRODUCTION

In May 2017, the Conseil des Montréalaises (CM) answered a request from the mayor's office and took on a three-year research mandate on the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation during the yearly Formula 1 Canadian Grand Prix (GP).

The CM reported its findings on the extent of the increase in the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation purposes during the GP in its *Opinion Paper: The Conseil des Montréalaises on the Trafficking of Women for the Purposes of Sexual Exploitation during the Formula 1 Canadian Grand Prix*.

The members of the CM, however, believe that the issue of women's safety during the GP is broader than the sexual trafficking of women. In keeping with what the women interviewed described and reported, this opinion paper will look at the issue of the safety of women who go out during the GP, be they F1 fans, tourists or workers.

In a way, this is the CM's follow-up to its 2017 publication, *Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal*.

In order to fulfill its mandate on the trafficking of women during the GP, the CM arranged participatory observations during the 2018 and 2019 events and interviewed participants identified through 22 organizations that work with and advocate for various segments of the population. In order to better understand women's opinions on and experiences with safety, feeling unsafe and the sexual violence they experience during the GP, we also conducted 38 individual interviews. This opinion paper is based on an analysis of those 38 interviews.

As a tourist event, the GP takes place in a number of nightlife industry venues in Montréal. This opinion paper will therefore focus on the roles women play in these settings. The CM believes that one of the ways to enact true gender equality and equality among women is to ensure women can be present in the city without feeling the threat of violence, and are able to fully participate in events organized here.

Based on its findings, the CM has issued 14 recommendations for the City of Montréal.

The CM wants to draw attention to the fact that many of the women who participated in this study have no doubt lost their jobs since the beginning of the pandemic, in March 2020. The service industry—and more specifically the hospitality, restaurant, wholesale, retail, and cultural sectors¹—has been particularly hard hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. What's more, women in these sectors have been disproportionately affected by layoffs and terminations.² Also, because the work of women who are part of the informal economy within the tourism, entertainment and nightlife industries is invisible, they are not eligible to receive government aid.

This opinion paper is made up of seven sections. After a presentation of our research methods (**first section**) and a description of the GP (**second section**), the **third section** deals with participant accounts of their workplaces during the Grand Prix. The **fourth section** examines the sexual harassment women are subjected to at work. In the **fifth section** we present the accounts of women who go out in Montréal, including their definitions of safety and their strategies for feeling safe. In the **sixth section** we examine the limitations of how safety is defined. The **seventh and final section** concludes with an examination of the different forms of sexism related to the GP.

1. Methodology

1.1. Recruiting participants for individual interviews

As part of its mandate to look into the trafficking of women during the Formula One Canadian Grand Prix, the CM first arranged participatory observations during the 2018 and 2019 events, and interviewed participants from 22 organizations working with and advocating for a variety of communities. We then conducted 38 individual interviews.

The CM recruited interview participants in a number of ways. Many were recruited through contacts established during the participatory observations conducted on the ground during the 2018 and 2019 GPs. Researchers on the ground were able to make contact with a number of people present during the event, and many agreed to be interviewed. Two researchers also contacted acquaintances working in bars and clubs during the GP, who also agreed to participate.

We also issued a call for participants (Appendix 1), which was shared on the CM's Facebook page and was emailed to a network of CM contacts and partners over the winter of 2019. This call was addressed both to women who had worked during the GP (as waitresses, bartenders, dancers, retail staff and sex workers) and to women who had participated in GP festivities. These methods allowed us to recruit 38 participants (33 women and 5 men).

Qualitative research allows us to take into account the experiences of people interviewed, including their background, their personal experiences of violence and the strategies they create to feel safe. This kind of research also makes it possible to record the meaning people give to their own experiences.

This method was chosen because it reflects our intent to produce information based on “situated knowledge.” This idea is at the core of feminist and postcolonial theory and underpins current debates on the legitimacy of people’s voices: who should speak and for whom? The idea of “situated knowledge,” or “strong objectivity,” as defined by Sandra Harding, implies that, in order to produce objective research, we must multiply its points of view by putting democratic science into practice.³

Semi-structured individual interviews are used to collect data by asking participants questions in person. The objective of these interviews was to identify the points of view and experiences of study participants during the GP. The interviews were structured around an interview form (Appendix 2) based on our research questions about the experiences of women (those who work or are present at GP sites) as to the violence they experience and their feelings of safety or lack of safety. These questions raise others: What forms of sexist, racist, homophobic and transphobic violence are present? What is the situation regarding sexual harassment in public spaces and in spaces dedicated to the Grand Prix? What does “being safe” mean to all these women? What strategies have they developed so they can go out and have fun during the GP and still feel safe?

From June 2018 to July 2019, we conducted 38 individual interviews with store employees, waitresses and waiters, dancers, women panhandling on the street, promotional models, hostesses, bartenders, doormen and bar staff, as well as tourists. All of them had worked at or gone out to clubs, restaurants, bars and hotels in various neighborhoods. Nine of them worked at the same strip club, and two others worked at the same hotel. The participants did not know each other.

1.2. Ethical framework for the research

An ethical framework was established to protect the confidentiality and anonymity of study participants. Each participant was asked to sign a research consent form.

Financial compensation was earmarked for study participants. The amount for an individual interview was set at \$25, and a special compensation of \$100 was given to women panhandling. This compensation acknowledges the unique circumstances in which the participants find themselves and the time they spent on these interviews.

A number of research ethics guides emphasize that participants deserve compensation proportional to the risks and inconveniences associated with their participation. It has also been established that this compensation should not be randomly allocated. Nor should this compensation be used to secure participation. In all cases, participants were informed that they would receive compensation even if they decided to end the interview for any reason.

With the consent of the participants, all interviews were recorded.

1.3. Participant profiles

We conducted 38 interviews. All those who participated had either worked at or attended events during the GP, with the exception of one participant who had also worked at every other big festival in Montréal. The average age of participants was 27. Of the participants, 23 were people who had worked regularly during the GP and had also done so in previous years; 15 were employed on a contractual basis for the duration of the GP only; and 18 worked year-round in bars and restaurants, including during the GP. As for workplaces, 22 participants worked in the downtown and Old Montréal areas, and 10 worked at Jean-Drapeau Park.

1.4. Research limitations

There are several limitations to this research. First, the experiences and opinions of study participants are not representative of those of everyone participating in the GP, which is to say that the 38 people we interviewed are not a representative sample of all GP workers and attendees. We therefore can in no way claim that their experiences and opinions represent those of all people frequenting the GP event.

The different recruitment methods used also had an impact on the study participants' profiles. The call for participants was circulated on social media networks specific to feminist subjects, and a number of participants felt it was important to contribute to this research and to talk about what happens during the GP:

“That’s why, when I saw the ad for this research, I wrote to you right away because I thought, hey, I kind of sell my soul for those couple of days, so at least I can come talk about what really goes on.”
(Interview-05, Waitress)

For the same reasons, the subject of our call for participants may not have appealed to some people. Others might not have realized that their experiences of racist, homophobic or transphobic harassment were also part of the subject of this research. Indeed, black women identified this as the reason they shared their experiences of sexual harassment as part of the #BlackLivesMatter movement rather than the #MeToo movement.⁴ Research on the profiles of people who file sexual harassment charges shows that those who do speak up or file charges are mostly women who are white and Canadian citizens.⁵ None of our participants were women working illegally or lacking immigration status. However, we know that the tourist industry generally relies heavily on the unstable or marginal work of young migrant women.⁶ Additionally, racialized women are underrepresented in more visible positions, such as waitresses and hostesses,⁷ which were the positions we saw most frequently among our participants.

2. The Montréal Formula 1 Grand Prix

The GP is an international event marking the beginning of the Montréal summer festival season. This car race has been held at the start of June every year since 1978, following the schedule set by the Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile. Since 2010, the GP has been held at the same time as the Francos de Montréal festival, which takes place near the area marked off by Peel, Maisonneuve, Crescent and Saint-Catherine streets, where some of the GP festivities are located.

Unlike other festivals, the GP is actually a series of events that take place in different Montréal neighbourhoods: Jean-Drapeau Park, where the race is held; Little Italy; downtown between Crescent and Peel streets; and Old Montréal. Events take place in a variety of neighbourhoods and at different times of day, and feature various types of activities that attract a range of customers. According to one participant, there are actually several GPs:

“... on Crescent Street, it’s a completely different vibe, like, there’s a stage, the street is closed to traffic, there are so many people, so many tourists, it’s younger, there are booths with showcases and cars, energy drinks, and women wearing, you know, more provocative clothes... Then there’s the Grand Prix in Little Italy, which is more “family friendly,” with grandmas and kids, you know.”
(Interview-10, Waitress)

2.1. One big party

The GP is advertised as one big party, to which everyone is invited. Many participants in our study had gone out a few times with friends during the GP, for fun. Some reported not being interested in the races themselves, preferring activities on the sidelines. These participants reported positive experiences:

“Personally, I thought it was festive. Even when we were dancing, I mean, nobody knew each other, but everyone was friendly. There were big screens, so we would wave at each other. No, personally, I thought it was good. I thought people were mostly there to have fun, honestly, even if there were a lot of groups of guys, they were all having fun, we joked around with them... No, for me, it seemed like a good atmosphere.” (Interview-24, Bartender)

“I think it’s an important part of the festivities in Montréal. It’s kind of the opening party for our awesome summer. I think it’s positive. I’ve never been onsite. Every year I celebrate the Grand Prix but I’ve never gone to see a race. [...] I have fun during the GP. There are so many events.” (Interview-16, Waitress and Bottle Girl)

Study participants who worked at the GP also said that it was a party atmosphere and that their customers attended the GP for that reason.

“I like the atmosphere at the GP. People are really amped up and excited. There’s a great atmosphere. They’re there to have fun. It’s rare for customers to be grumpy or angry. So, I like the GP, yeah. That’s why I did it a second time.” (Interview-26, Hostess)

“Well, for the week of the GP, everyone’s there to celebrate. Like... Yeah... I don’t know how to describe the interactions exactly, but it’s really like people are on vacation. Even if it’s people from here, people are on vacation for the GP.” (Interview-16, Waitress and Bottle Girl)

A number of participants felt the GP is a unique event. To them, it differs from the other festivals that take place in Montréal during the summer, in terms of its attendees and its atmosphere.

2.2. GP attendees

Study participants highlighted the presence of a number of different types of attendees at the events and locations of GP festivities: racing fans, partygoers and families:

“[...] There are really two opposites. There are people partying, spending freely, and there are families who are there to see the cars and are really inconvenienced by all the other people.” (Interview-06, Hostess and Waitress)

“[...] This year’s F1 [was] very, very diverse. There were F1 fans, who are just normal dudes, just going to see the race; there were people who are really just there for the prestige, just to say I’m going to the F1, to show off their big bling and their Ferrari T-shirts. Then there are little families, little groups of friends... It was a very, very, very varied crowd. That’s what me and the guys I was working with at the F1 this year were saying: it’s very rare to see crowds that are so diverse. Even for hockey or other events, you can pretty much identify one group that makes up most of the customers. But in this case, you really couldn’t. There were really all kinds of people.” (Interview-22, Bartender, Dining Hall Worker and Busboy)

Many other participants, however, find that the profile of F1 fans is completely different from that of other attendees of major events in Montréal:

“Yeah, at the Francos, you’ll get groups of drunk guys, but it’s not in the same proportion. There are fewer there. I think there are more families from all social classes at the music festivals.” (Interview-18, Survey Taker)

“The other Montréal festivals are way more family friendly and cultural... [At the GP], it’s a bit more macho: cars, beer and girls. There are still... I don’t want to say normal people... but people who are just into the sport. But there’s still a bit more of a macho clientele than at the Jazz Festival, that’s for sure.” (Interview-33, Hostess)

“[...] the GP appeals to Europeans. The F1 is very popular in Europe, so there are people from Italy, France and Germany. They come to Montréal for the Grand Prix more than for any other event.” (Interview-34, Manager and Doorman)

These F1 fans stand out and are described as mainly male and older:

“It’s just that, during the GP, customers are clearly more likely to be men, and mostly in a certain specific age group, because there are a lot of people who are 60, 70 years old. They have money, they travel.” (Interview-03, Waitress and Bartender)

“The guys are douchebags. It’s like a different style [...] Polos and shirts, yeah, that’s when you know they’re here for the F1. But generally, like I was saying, the look overall is younger, more showy.” (Interview-11, Waitress)

“It’s pretty specific to the GP, this kind of event where there’s a lot of wealth, a lot of white men in a certain age group. You know, usually festivals bring in younger people, like Osheaga. And there aren’t a ton of big sports events in Montréal. [...] it’s really specific to this event.”
(Interview-05, Waitress)

According to some people, GP customers are different in that they are a bit snobbish and have a specific attitude:

“They expect to be kings of the world. But when everyone is like that, it’s a lot. Which means the energy is more... it’s less of a good vibe. You know, it’s stressful. People aren’t there to relax and have a good time. It’s more like ‘OK, I want to eat, I want to go show off, and then I have plans, so hurry up.’” (Interview-06, Hostess and Waitress)

“There’s like a drive to look right. You see the designer brands come out. Some people come in their cars, and they have these cars that are worth—I don’t even know how much. And watches... Everyone kind of wants to show that they have money. It depends where you are. But you get that feeling. It’s a big party.” (Interview-16, Waitress and Bottle Girl)

And the big party comes with a lot of drinking:

“It starts at 8:00 a.m. As soon as we’re allowed to serve alcohol. [...] at 8:00 or 8:30 in the morning, they’re asking for a bottle of champagne, even though it’s 8:30... But we serve them, because it’s legal after 8:00 a.m.” (Interview-03, Waitress and Bartender)

Generally, over this short period, “there are more drunk people, I think, at the Grand Prix, than at other events.” (Interview-32, Promotional Model)

The GP is therefore often associated with attendees from a wealthier social class:

“These are people who have more money to spend.” (Interview-34, Manager and Doorman)

“A lot of times, that’s it, they’re tourists who are mostly well off, and they come here to see the nice cars and all that. There’s also a lifestyle that comes with the F1 races. So [it’s] more those kinds of customers than your average family coming in for the Wednesday special, you know.” (Interview-06, Hostess and Waitress)

“Prices go up, and customers spend a lot more, because they’re a different kind of customer. The customers have a lot more money than our regular customers.” (Interview-17, Waitress and Promotional Model)

These customers spend freely and leave memorable tips:

“People who come here aren’t counting how much they spend. They throw cash around. That’s the Americans. They look at the wad of Canadian money they have left over and they think ‘we can’t take this back home, it’s not worth anything.’ So they put it on the table and leave.” (Interview-24, Bartender)

“When I worked on Crescent, it made sense. Yes, there were definitely more tips, because there were so many customers and so many Americans... A lot of Americans come to... actually I think it’s the number one sport in the United States. The US has a lot of automobile racing fans. And also, Americans are used to giving bigger tips, like 19 to 20%. They come here and they tip like they’re used to.” (Interview-10, Waitress)

During the week of the GP, menus change and feature prices that are “boosted, tripled, quadrupled,” (Interview-13, Bartender) and that may seem exorbitant:

“There was a guy who rented out the upstairs patio of the restaurant. There was an open bar, all-you-can-eat dinner for everyone, and he was paying for everybody. I was working downstairs, and I saw the usual F1 scene: a dozen Dom Pérignon bottles overturned on one table, excessive amounts of alcohol, \$100,000 for one night: that’s the kind of thing you see at the F1.” (Interview-21, Waiter and Busboy)

“[...] The price of bottles, food, everything is more expensive, so your sales go up. And I was saying there are a lot of American customers, and American customers tend to give average tips of 20% or more, whereas here the average tip we’re used to is more like 15% or more. So that also definitely has an impact. Also, some people pay with American money, and we don’t convert it, so they end up paying 1.3 times the amount of the bill.” (Interview-16, Waitress and Bottle Girl)

Much like other Montréal festivals, the GP is characterized by a variety of attendees such as families, young people and older people. The GP differs, however, in the intensity of the event, which brings with it a significant increase in the patronage of hotels, bars and clubs. These four days bring with them a frenzy that study participants describe as including excessive alcohol consumption and spending.

These partygoers are of all ages. They include families, groups of friends, groups of women and groups of men. This last category is the one participants mentioned the most. Groups of men and older men take up a lot of space in participant accounts; they are the ones who spend freely and consume alcohol steadily. They are also the attendees who, according to most study participants, are responsible for changes that occur in their workplaces.

3. Working during the GP

3.1. Good pay

Participants who work during the GP describe it as an intense but very profitable week. They work more hours a day and make bigger tips.

“It’s the ultimate good weekend.” (Interview-12, Dancer)

“The GP is like Christmas for bars. It’s very easy money, a lot of it, very fast.” (Interview-07, Bartender and Bottle Girl)

“It’s clearly more profitable during the Grand Prix. You make more money because it generates more money. Yes, you do more hours, but your tips are better.” (Interview-22, Bartender, Dining Hall Worker and Busboy)

“It was two weeks’ pay over one weekend. I have one coworker who had been working there for eight years, and one time, she was lucky and made as much money as she would make in a month. It’s... you hear stories, some places... The official patios, it’s crazy. It’s a lot of money, it’s easy money, but it’s exhausting; it was a lot of hours.” (Interview-16, Waitress and Bottle Girl)

Although for many workers the GP certainly represents a “cash grab,” for others there’s another side to it:

“It’s going to be exhausting, we won’t sleep much, and we’re going to run around like crazy.” (Interview-11, Waitress)

“Seriously, the GP is fun, but it burns you out.” (Interview-24, Bartender)

It is important to distinguish between workers who work year-round in bars, restaurants, hotels and clubs, and those who work once a year during the GP. Those in the first group often recognize that the money they earn during the GP is more than they make any other week of the year, but they also tend to be less enthusiastic about the idea of working during the GP. Also, none of these workers can “count on the F1 to pay the rent,” (Interview-11, Waitress) whereas for the second group, mostly made up of students, the GP is a strategic time to work:

“It’s long hours, and it’s a whole week, too, because sometimes it will be two days before the GP and two days after. So, you make \$2000 quickly; for students, that’s good. That’s the motivation, but every time, I ask myself ‘what am I doing?’” (Interview-04, Promotional Model)

So, even students who need to earn money over a short period of time highlight the difficulty and intensity of their work during the GP. Montréal in GP mode means GP matinees, brunches and special evening events, one after the other, in quick succession. Temporary booths are also set up on closed-off city streets. This increase in activities requires more employees, and according to the International Labour Organization, “[the tourism sector has] a generic tendency to operate on the basis of a core staff and to employ the labour needed for day-to-day operations under atypical contractual arrangements.”⁸

Women panhandling on the street also think the GP is a strategic time to make money:

“There are lots of people; for panhandling [...] the more people there are, the more money I make, that’s for sure. [...] I often go out when I’m most in need of money; and if there’s a big event, I definitely go.” (Interview-37, Panhandler)

“I’m panhandling for a reason. If I wanted to do something else, I’d be somewhere else.” (Interview-08, Panhandler)

3.2. Difficult work

During the GP, the population density at event sites (downtown, Old Montréal, Jean-Drapeau Park) rises considerably. In order to meet demand, restaurants and bars expand their staff and increase the number of hours employees work. Generally speaking, women working during the GP reported having difficult working conditions during the event, which actually lasts a week, not four days. They felt this was due to the high number of customers, the pressure this volume brings with it, the long working hours and the hours spent on their feet under the summer sun:

“We had a lot more customers than usual [...] we would serve a huge number of people; we’re talking about a couple thousand a day. It was really busy.” (Interview-20, Hostess and Waitress)

“They’re long shifts, and there are a lot of people. It’s even hard physically. I said to myself, no, this year, maybe I’ll make a bit less money, because it’s always a bit about money. So, it’s much more profitable to work in the evenings. That’s why a lot of people decide to work evenings. But I decided I’d rather avoid all that stress and maybe make less money and work mornings and at lunchtime.” (Interview-11, Waitress)

Working conditions are also difficult for women who work outdoors during the GP (hostesses, promotional models) and for those whose workplaces are located on the street (downtown) or at Jean-Drapeau Park:

“When you’re standing still like that, in the full sun, and you don’t eat a lot, [...] after 10 hours of work, you’re just done. That’s why I’ll just never go there again, because mentally, it’s kind of a hardship. You know, I was suffering. So that side of it wasn’t easy.” (Interview-01, Hostess)

“You’re always on your feet. It’s usually like that when you do promo. They rarely let you sit because you would look less welcoming. But they were still... I’ve worked for stricter companies. If we were tired, we could go sit for awhile behind the kiosk and then come back.” (Interview-32, Promotional Model)

Because of increased demand and longer opening hours, the pace of work is faster. Workers say this means working under a lot of pressure:

“[...] Some days you work 16 hours or more, standing in high heels, outside, without food, water or a break.” (Interview-36, Hostess and Party Girl)

“Well, it’s busier; it’s like the machine is working at almost full speed. We’re always stressed because... It’s understandable: everyone wants to come in, there’s a lineup, it’s hot, it’s summer, people are impatient; it gets harder, there are people everywhere, everything is harder. We’re really working at full speed. And we’re asking everyone to give their all.” (Interview-34, Manager and Doorman)

“[...] Everyone wants fast service, they want the most for their money and they all want everything at the same time.” (Interview-13, Bartender)

These workers clearly differentiate between the GP period and “normal” workweeks, when there’s less pressure from both employers and customers:

“Usually, they let us go to the bathroom for five minutes or take a short break if we’re working during the day and the evening, but not now. Now, you keep going. You’re lucky if you even have time to go to the bathroom.” (Interview-20, Hostess and Waitress)

“We’ve all lost it at some point; we were even talking about it yesterday. We all just sat down and cried because we were all just, like, exhausted. We couldn’t take it anymore, and... For me that’s really what defined the week, because a lot of things happen that wouldn’t normally.” (Interview-12, Dancer)

3.3. F1 jobs

Our interview participants were hostesses, survey takers, waitresses, bartenders, bottle girls, busboys, party girls, bathroom attendants, dancers, managers and promotional models (see Appendix 3 for participant profiles). Specialized event planning and job placement agencies recruit temporary workers by posting ads on Kijiji and Facebook. There is also word of mouth between acquaintances or over social media through groups dedicated to jobs for restaurant and bar staff.

Women working in the service, reception and sales industries are literally on the front lines during the GP week. They are in a crowd, often alone or in pairs, and sometimes behind a counter. Their duties, tasks and roles are quite varied. They sell programmes, sunscreen and tickets, welcome customers and help them find their seats. They escort men for the evening, party with groups, sell bottles of champagne or serve at tables in bars and restaurants.

Bottle girls and party girls

The sale of bottles of luxury alcohol, mostly champagne, to customers in bars and clubs, is a task reserved for bottle girls. The week of the GP is in fact a time for owners and managers to stock up on very expensive bottles, “bottles that cost \$4000, \$6000, \$8000 [...] so bottle girls can make tips as high as \$1000 if they manage to sell them. [...] If you sell the \$8000 bottle, you get \$1000. Cash. So it’s easy to sell those bottles. I’ve done it.” (Interview-36, Hostess and Party Girl)

Convincing customers to buy bottles is an important task because it’s so lucrative. In order to make these sales more attractive, the bottles are cleverly marketed:

“If you bought a mega-bottle, you’d get girls dressed up as cats... Amazing women who were really just... who really did nothing, provided no service, besides bringing over the bottles. They could hang around there for half an hour between bottles. If there were no bottles, nothing happened.” (Interview-22, Bartender, Dining Hall Worker and Busboy)

Party girls are also hired by establishments to party with the customers, drink with them and create ambiance: “a physically attractive young woman hired to attend parties and entertain men.”⁹ In fact, these women are also sometimes models: “I would get requests from restaurant owners who wanted to have models onsite, for free, to balance out the number of men and women. They would only ask for models who were women in a certain age range.” (Interview-17, Waitress and Promotional Model)

Hostesses

Hostesses welcome visitors and promote products. They are often students. There is no specific training required to work as a hostess.

Being a hostess is essentially putting your body on display and following a dress code: “It’s really high heels, makeup and hair, all exactly the same. They’re at the entrance of every spectator section. That’s it. Just smile.” (Interview-05, Waitress)

While on paper these women are only hired to sell products and smile, in reality they have to do a lot of other things, like take photos with attendees. Montrealers and tourists commonly request this of hostesses and greeters during the GP.

“It really annoyed me, at the GP, when strangers would constantly ask to take my photo. [...] Why do you want a photo with me? It doesn’t make sense [...]. It’s not in my contract. My contract is to do promotion.” (Interview-32, Promotional Model)

Sugar babies and escorts

Some participants told us that, in some situations, the work they were asked to do led them to doing escort work and sometimes accepting offers to have sex for money. The contexts they described to us were varied, and their responses to these offers were also varied.

When they did accept this type of request, most of these women saw it as a good way to make money quickly. Some of their accounts show how these experiences were not that clearly distinguishable from the work they were asked to do as hostesses, bottle girls or even waitresses:

“I’m also a part-time sugar baby. Mostly during the GP, since it’s more popular. There are definitely young men who also come because in the States, [the drinking age is 21, whereas] here the drinking age is 18. So, there’s definitely that type of young guy. These guys will say, ‘Come party with us tonight! Its the same as your work, we’re gonna dance, party, but nothing sexual and we’ll pay you!’ There’s a lot more of that at the GP.” (Interview-29, Dancer and Sugar Baby)

“[...] We got there and then they seated us at a table: it was a bit uncomfortable because then we understood it was like a double date, with two men we didn’t know. But I think even the woman who hired us to do promo didn’t know [...] or she just didn’t really mention it. We stayed, they ordered everything, and we started drinking bubbly, so we stayed all night, but it was... like... at the end, they were hitting on us. Then they gave us lots of money, and they even offered us drugs and coke, it was crazy. At the end of the night, it was kind of uncomfortable because they wanted to leave with us, but we weren’t interested.” (Interview-28, Escort)

Service, reception and sales jobs are considered “women’s work,” as sociologist Gabrielle Schütz puts it: “[...] reception is part of a gendered division of work that reserves tasks to do with assistance and representation for women, and it is rarely full-time work, in keeping with the enduring association between the feminine gender and part-time work. [...] It is also an activity that requires embodying so-called femininity [...] it is certainly a gender performance.”¹⁰

Many work during the GP each year. Some only did it when they were students, then stopped. On average, these women were between 18 and 50 years old. As one of them remarked, “people who worked there were usually young women. Like, I was the oldest, and I was 27 [...] going on 28. And I think I was the oldest, and the others were, like, girls around 17 or 18 years old.” (Interview-01, Hostess)

3.4. Enacting standards of femininity

In order to do their work, hostesses, waitresses and bottle girls use presumed or expected femininity “as a resource at work: dressing ‘like a woman,’ moving ‘like a woman,’ and activating certain behaviours thought to be feminine, such as attention to others, concern and seduction.”¹¹ In the hospitality industry, “customers’ fantasies are often based on ideas of desire, if not actual sex, which may place workers, especially women, in a position that makes them vulnerable to sexually suggestive remarks and behaviour and other forms of harassment.”¹²

Hiring criteria for women who work in reception, service and sales may vary, but appearance plays a big part. Some participants told us that they are sometimes hired based on their height and weight, a reminder of the following:

“In embodied, sexualized performances the attributes of a desirable and desiring body play a part. Attributes such as weight, complexion, hair, accent, clothes and gestures all become part of the interactions between providers and consumers. An employee in interactive occupations is usually trying to persuade the purchaser to buy something [...] Some organizations make the requirement of an idealized, typically white, clean, slim and young, and often sexualized, body an explicit part of the recruitment process.”¹³

Work in the service and reception sectors is done according to a pre-established, sexist scenario. Even if the interactions between men and women seem spontaneous, they are the result of power dynamics in which women must play the required role, dressing in a certain way and being open to sexual advances from men. Casual or occasional flirting is also a well-known part of this scenario of interactions between men and women.¹⁴ This is certainly the case at the GP:

“They want employees to flirt, especially during GP events. I mean, it’s encouraged. When you’re on Peel or Crescent streets, if the waitress, the bartender or the girl showing a car is unfriendly, no one will take pictures with her. No one will go see the car. If the girl is unfriendly, no one will buy her vodka or whatever. So, we’re encouraged to be nice, more than nice, you know, open to flirting.” (Interview-04, Promotional Model)

“There are always men who hit on you when you’re a waitress [...]. Part of the job is being very friendly, and sometimes, being friendly can be misinterpreted as flirting. So, the customer, a man, thinks you’re flirting back. You know, he’ll feel free to tell you things or ask what you’re doing after...” (Interview-10, Waitress)

Many participants are critical of certain aspects of their jobs and of the requests made of them, specifically the generic traits expected of them, such as patience, smiling and physical proximity:

“[...] I was filling out a survey with a group of guys who were a bit drunk. And I was trying to maintain their vibe. That’s the thing: we were hired by the GP and we’re not supposed to mess with the attendees’ vibe. You’re not just expected to be in a good mood, you have to convey the GP vibe. For me, that’s not really how I am. So, I was trying to be cool with these guys to keep them there to fill out my survey, but then... They started flirting and one of them wanted to shake my hand.” (Interview-18, Survey Taker)

“But you know, we’re definitely encouraged to... It’s a form of prostitution, who are we kidding? You know, it’s an exchange of services for money, and this includes your body. You know, sure, you don’t have full sexual relations with the customer, you don’t give them a blow job, you don’t give them a hand job. You’re not in a massage parlour or whatever. But still, you are expected to play the part.” (Interview-13, Bartender)

According to participants, women who work in bars, clubs and the restaurant industry are often seen by customers as objects, and this is the case year-round:

“But it’s generally hard in this line of work for a woman. It’s hard. You’re kind of treated like an object, you know [...]. They’re polite because you have clothes on... you’re basically almost naked. So, obviously, when you’re a girl... Well, it’s always in flirtation mode. Everybody’s drunk.” (Interview-13, Bartender)

For hostesses, “being pretty and attractive is part of their duties, just like their bodies are qualifications in and of themselves, even though they are not compensated as such— even though it requires investment, whether material or temporary, such as makeup, clothing when a uniform is not provided, physical fitness and so on.”¹⁵ Reception jobs, which use women as esthetic objects and play on masculine heterosexual desires, expose these women to sexual pursuit and to normalized sexual harassment.

4. Sexual harassment at work

4.1. Part of the job

Sexual and sexist harassment on the job is frequently experienced by the women we met with. It's "part of the job." This sexual harassment comes in the form of jokes, comments and even sometimes insults:

"Sometimes it was direct insults, like 'fucking idiot,' or 'you're a bitch' or whatever, because they were unhappy, because they couldn't get in. Or with people inside, the insults were more like 'you have no breasts,' 'your butt is huge' or whatever." (Interview-36, Hostess and Party Girl)

For these women, unwanted contact is frequent and often trivialized. This trivialization is common among customers, but also among the women themselves, who end up finding this "normal:"

"[...] people are drunker because, you know, it's an event, so sometimes they pay less attention to the rules and get bolder, try to take things further, so you always have to... It's a bit annoying, you always have to push away their hands, push away their hands. But it's nothing mean or overly aggressive. But you're half naked in front of a man who's completely drunk, so it's to be expected... Often when you move their hands away, customers say, "Oh oops, sorry, sorry!" But, five seconds later, they still do it again... But nothing mean." (Interview-29, Dancer and Sugar Baby)

"It's not part of my job to have people touch my butt. It's not supposed to happen to me, necessarily. But, well, at the same time, I like to say, we work in the industry, and it's a place where that's likely to happen. So, is that what's going to make me want to quit my job? Not necessarily, but it does make me want to go home early, instead of working the four hours left of my shift [laughs]." (Interview-35, Cashier)

Sometimes the harassment is psychological, sexist or both, rather than sexual:

"You know, sometimes, a customer will be too insistent... I don't know, we don't really do table service, but sometimes, there will be, say, a group that will spot you and constantly make you come over to the table to serve them alcohol. Sometimes, yeah, there are customers who are a bit too insistent, and it makes you uncomfortable. You know? I didn't feel like I was in danger, but I was just uneasy." (Interview-05, Waitress)

"One of my coworkers went to take an order. The man had the menu in front of him, so she tried to take it from him, but he leaned back, so she leaned forward to try to take the menu, and he leaned back more. So then, she couldn't really figure out what he was up to, until he said: 'you're going to end up falling on top of me eventually.'" (Interview-11, Waitress)

In most cases, workers report that they put up with sexual harassment while setting boundaries and developing strategies:

“I have boundaries. If someone touches my thighs or my butt, I don’t take that anymore. Before, I used to tell myself, “Oh well, I’ll make money.” But now, I politely ask them to stop, and if that doesn’t work, I don’t insist, because it can get dangerous. I go get someone instead. And wherever I’ve worked, there’s always been someone I could tell or who would always protect me.” (Interview-16, Waitress and Bottle Girl)

“For me personally, I can handle it because I don’t mind saying no to people. There are girls who feel less comfortable saying no and they’re not sure if they’re allowed to, because they don’t want to be unpleasant with customers or for people to have a negative association with the brand. But for me, if I don’t feel comfortable, I’m not afraid to say so. Personally, I can deal with it, it doesn’t bother me.” (Interview-32, Promotional Model)

A number of study participants feel particularly vulnerable because of what they’re wearing and where they’re working, for instance, alone in crowds without a team, in workspaces that are not protected from the public and with nowhere to hide:

“You know, at the restaurant, sometimes I would have to come out from behind the bar to open bottles. That’s when I would have, like, panic attacks, because, behind the bar, I felt protected, but in the room, I really didn’t feel good. When I would walk through to present bottles... everyone touches you. That, I found difficult.” (Interview-13, Bartender)

“Sometimes I would look at waitresses and think ‘I wish I was doing your job instead of mine,’ because in the end, you do your job, you do your tasks and your contact with customers can be quick. And you’re protected, too. For me, if a man is bothering me or whatever at any point, I don’t have people around to protect me. It didn’t happen to me this year, but I think in the end, when someone is bothering me, I don’t feel good, and there’s really nobody around...” (Interview-17, Waitress and Promotional Model)

These women spend many working hours and become hypervigilant. Many of them adopt strategies to protect themselves and avoid more serious forms of assault.

Beyond these individual responses to instances of harassment, however, it is important to remember that it is the issues of working conditions and work organization that must be questioned. They are the key to understanding how and why women are exposed to harassment and sexual violence during the GP and in the entertainment and tourism industries in general.¹⁶

4.2. Working conditions and work organization

Seasonal employees often do not have work contracts and lack a basic understanding of their recourses. The bar, club and restaurant industries are not unionized. Some workers may be official employees, but those working temporarily for an event like the GP work contractually. As discussed above, many of these workers are hired through agencies, and they work on the street, far from employers they have often never met in person.

These jobs may last just a few days and the workdays may be as long as 16 hours. Work in the tourist sector is known to be difficult and underpaid. In this context, tips are an important source of revenue. Tips are a form of piecework remuneration,¹⁷ meaning they vary based on the number of customers served.

It is common to receive tips in service jobs, which are mostly occupied by women. Many studies show that the relationship is unclear between quality of service received, or service with a smile, and the amount that is tipped.¹⁸ Tips are not just a reward for services rendered but are also influenced by other factors, only some of which can be controlled by the worker.

Studies also show that tips increase when waitresses meet certain beauty standards, such as being young and having blonde hair, big breasts and a slim body.¹⁹ Tips also increase when waitresses adopt certain behaviours associated with seduction and concern, such as leaning down to be at eye level with the customer or touching the customer.²⁰ These norms and expectations are inherent to tipping and are also illustrated by the fact that women are placed at entrances “to smile and take photos with men.” (Interview-05, Waitress)

Several participants note that tipping is also racist. Arianne Persaud, a waitress and documentary filmmaker on these issues, believes that “tipping exacerbates racism and resentment toward Black people, both among customers and waiters.”²¹ What’s more, tipping, which is additional to the salary, only applies to those service jobs in which racialized workers are less present. Arianne Persaud also notes that “wait-staff jobs are generally occupied by white employees, who receive many more tips than the workers behind the scenes.”²²

Another aspect of our participants’ work is the dress code. Many establishments require their employees to adopt a certain dress code during the GP, and it generally consists of dresses that are “short, skin-tight and just below the ass [...]. We hostesses almost all wore the same one. I actually think it was a dress from a sex shop...” (Interview-20, Hostess and Waitress). Many establishments have a unisex black-and-white dress code consisting of a T-shirt with a choice of skirt, shorts or pants. Still other establishments allow employees to wear what they want.

4.3. The response from employers

Employers, whether they are owners or managers, are responsible for their staff's work organization, particularly when it comes to task descriptions and compliance with tasks indicated in work contracts. Employers also play an important part in preventing and handling harassment from customers, because it is their legal obligation. Among other things, employers must prevent psychological, sexual and discriminatory harassment in the workplace; protect their employees from this type of harassment; and ensure a healthy workplace.²³ They must also refrain from harassing their employees. In fact, as of January 1, 2019, every employer must provide a workplace policy for the prevention of psychological and sexual harassment in their establishment, including a complaints process, according to the Act Respecting Labour Standards (Commission des normes, de l'équité, de la santé et de la sécurité au travail [CNESST]).

Formula 1, the owner of the GP, has established a code of conduct, which has also been adopted by all its partners, including Octane Racing Group, the entity in charge of organizing the GP at Jean-Drapeau Park and certain promotional events downtown and in Old Montréal. This code of conduct applies to every "officer and employee (including temporary members of staff...)." The policy therefore states that the company commits to ensuring that work environments are respectful and open, as well as prohibiting any form of harassment or intimidation. It also requires that "those who perform services for or on behalf of Formula 1 (such as consultants, agents, introducers, contractors, suppliers and freight service providers) [...] apply or adopt internal policies that are consistent with this Code."²⁴

Yet the majority of study participants who worked during the GP usually felt alone when they did experience sexual harassment in their places of work:

"—Did you talk to your employer, when you felt uncomfortable about the two men you told me about?

— No. I think that if I had talked to him, my manager—that's the manager who told me that I should wear makeup in the morning, and that it wasn't OK to look tired in the restaurant, so I should wear makeup [...] That was the employer... I'm sure if someone had grabbed my ass he would have said, 'Oh yeah, that comes with the job, you know.'" (Interview-03, Waitress and Bartender)

With the exception of employees who had worked full-time in the same establishment for several years, all the women we spoke to have a negative view of the way their employers and managers react to situations reported by staff. In their view, their employers show no interest in offering them decent working conditions. Several participants shared stories of employers' total denial even after being informed of a situation or witnessing sexual harassment:

"I got my hair done, I went to work, it wasn't going very well, I was tired, you know? And someone asked me, 'Where is [she]?', And that's when I said, 'Yesterday she and I were drugged.' And the person was like, 'Oh my God! And you're here?' I said, 'Well, yeah.' And that was it. And the person I told was our manager. So, she should have been concerned about the fact that we were drugged. But she just said, like, 'OK, but now, you're OK?' And I said 'Yeah, yeah,' and then she left." (Interview-36, Hostess and Party Girl)

“I think everyone says they’re not OK with it, but everyone pretends not to see it, too. I don’t find that we’re very protected as women in this line of work. I think it’s just bullshit to say that we’re protected. I think it’s the worst kind of bullshit when they say, ‘Oh I take care of my staff.’ Bullshit! Seriously. I really don’t know anywhere where they take care of their staff.” (Interview-13, Bartender)

Some participants believe sexual harassment is such a big part of the job that reporting an incident could lead to them losing their job:

“Someone grabbed my breast one night. When I gave him his bill, he said, ‘Oh you have a stain there,’ and he grabbed my breast. You know, what am I supposed to do? [...] If I go get a bouncer and get the guy kicked out, I’ll lose my job. No one will say that to you, but it’s clear that that’s what would happen.” (Interview-13, Bartender)

“I didn’t feel like there was anything I could do. Even talking to someone wouldn’t do much. I also think that management endorses that kind of behaviour. At least the men do; they’re the kind of people who wouldn’t discourage that kind of behaviour, so it wouldn’t do any good, in my opinion, to go and talk to someone. I maybe mentioned it to one of my coworkers in passing, but at that point, it was already over. I didn’t know what I could do.” (Interview-20, Hostess and Waitress)

Clearly, sexual harassment is considered part of the job. It is trivialized and minimized, which discourages workers from talking about it and reporting it. When it comes to the men paying them for their services and their smiles, these young women make a sort of compromise for that one week of the GP. What’s more, sexual harassment also sometimes comes directly from the employers:

“I had a breast operation. And sometimes, [my boss] would bring back a client I’d never met. He would introduce us and everything, and then he would start drinking—my bosses drink a lot—so he would start drinking and he would say, ‘Hey check it out, she got her tits done.’ And I would see the customer staring at me for like five minutes. I was like... Wow! I just lost all credibility in that moment, thanks to my boss saying that to me. How does that make me look? [...] These days, since I got my operation, I get comments like, ‘Oh yeah, we should give her more shifts,’ and stuff like that.” (Interview-07, Bartender and Bottle Girl)

“They always tell us to ‘tell someone,’ but most of the time, if it isn’t actual physical violence, they don’t do anything. Because they figure that the customers are here and they’re paying, and their attitude is the same as it would be anywhere else, and we can’t do anything about it.” (Interview-36, Hostess and Party Girl)

In some of the more professional environments, where workers are official employees, work organization during the GP is planned in advance and the issue of “inappropriate behaviour” is addressed:

“Yes, they tell us, you know, that the type of customer is going to change during the GP, ‘you’ll see. If you feel uncomfortable or need anything, you can come see us at any time.’ They’ve made people leave before because they were being inappropriate.” (Interview-06, Hostess and Waitress)

5. Defining and creating a safe city

5.1. Sexual violence and lack of safety

In our 2017 publication “*Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal*,” the CM conducted an online survey of 976 cis and trans women in order to record their experiences of safety, lack of safety and sexual violence at festivals they attended in Montréal.

According to the results of this research, more than one in two respondents had been the victim of sexual harassment or assault (56.4%). Almost all the women (96.6%) who had experienced sexual assault or harassment at a Montréal outdoor event were unfamiliar with the person or group of people who committed the acts of sexual violence. The majority of incidents took place in the evening (56.2%). Only 22.6% took place in the morning or during the day.

There were also significant differences between the proportion of 2SLGBTQQIA²⁵ respondents (70.8%) and heterosexual respondents (54.3%) who had experienced sexual harassment or assault during outdoor events in Montréal. A similar disparity was also found between women who belong to a visible minority (10.2%) and those who did not belong to a visible minority (3%)²⁶ among women who had experienced sexual assault during an outdoor event.

Besides attending festivals, the act of occupying public space, particularly for those at the intersection of different oppressions (such as women who are also members of visible minorities or are 2SLGBTQQIA) is something women generally do fearfully and while managing these fears. In the last Statistics Canada inquiry into perceptions of personal safety, differentiated data shows that “women were more likely than men to report that, for their personal safety, they routinely take a taxi, their car or public transportation instead of walking (38% versus 18%) or stay home at night (10% versus 2%).”²⁷

Women’s testimonials about their experiences during the GP illustrate the same reality:

“I was drugged during the closing festivities of the F1.” (Interview-13, Bartender)

“Every year, my friends and I say we’re not going out, but then every year, we say OK, we’ll give it one last chance. [...] We were at a bar, we had waited in line to get in, and we were dressed normally: I was wearing high heels and a dress. And I remember I was so annoyed because there was a guy who grabbed my ass, really, with his hand like this. I turned around, I started yelling and I told him really loudly, ‘What the fuck are you doing?’ [...] and I yelled to the bouncer but he didn’t react. It must happen once an hour there.” (Interview-04, Promotional Model)

These experiences are not, however, limited to the GP, since study respondents also gave many accounts of the sexual harassment and assaults they have experienced when going out in Montréal:

“I was at a bar with some coworkers. Since it was a Monday night, I left my beer unattended because there weren’t a lot of people at the bar and I was with coworkers. The last thing I remember, I was dancing, and then I woke up in the hospital. Luckily I was with people the whole time... A coworker saw that I wasn’t feeling well. She tried to take me to my house, and it was the taxi driver who called the ambulance [...]” (Interview-05, Waitress)

“[There was] a guy who was a bit too touchy—a total stranger—when I was at a bar with friends. It was someone’s birthday, and then, I don’t know, he was watching me. My friend left to go have a smoke, and he sat down beside me and started talking to me, then he started caressing my head and back, like we’d known each other a long time. And I was so mad at myself that day because it completely paralyzed me. I wasn’t able to... And I’m someone who really doesn’t like being touched. I need my space, I don’t like that. He got in my space and was imposing himself. I didn’t do anything, but I wish I had.” (Interview-15, Greeter)

Being a woman means constantly “being aware that, when it’s dark out, you have to be more careful [...] I think it’s a habit, since we’re little. So, it’s always in your head, it never goes away. And it’s too bad, but your first instinct when you hear a sound is that someone’s going to assault you.” (Interview-04, Promotional Model)

“It’s happened to me before, a couple of times, when there are fewer people out, and there’s a guy walking behind me, it definitely stresses me out the whole time. But that’s something all girls will experience in their lives. There’s a sketchy guy walking behind you, so you’re scared. Not scared, but a bit stressed out... on alert.” (Interview-32, Promotional Model)

“Women are hidden. It’s because women, we’re more subtle. Why? Because of the danger. We get raped. Not just by our so-called brothers, protectors, or friends on the street when they get too high, but also by the police. Like, by everybody. As I told you earlier, I almost got taken on a street corner at 3:00 a.m. By guy just passing by! So, we’re more subtle.” (Interview-37, Panhandler)

5.2. Accounts of strategies and prevention

Study participants use all sorts of strategies to feel safer on Montréal streets. The main conclusions in our 2017 publication *Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal* already showed that women who attended festivals, while not always identifying with feeling afraid or unsafe, used different strategies that made them feel safer. Among the women we interviewed for the above-mentioned research, 99.4% reported using at least one strategy to feel safer.

The same is true of the GP. There are multiple “feminine strategies,” as one participant (Interview-04, Promotional Model) calls them, and they have been fully integrated into the way the women negotiate their presence in public spaces.

“I’ve sometimes pretended to talk on the phone when [I’m] alone and there’s no one to go with me to the parking lot and I notice a group of five guys nearby... Or sometimes I’ll change streets. But if I feel like I can pass by them without feeling worried, I feel safe.” (Interview-33, Hostess)

Walking on the street is something women only do cautiously. Generally speaking, getting to and from places—be it on foot, by metro or by taxi—is the biggest threat to women feeling safe:

“For sure, on the metro at night, the more clothes I have on, the safer I feel. You know I also try not to provoke people. Yeah, like, I’m all for ‘do what you want, dress however you want,’ 100%. But I’m not trying to provoke anyone either. And, you know, I dress for the occasion. Say, in the metro for example, I’m not going to walk around dressed the way I do at a bar. That doesn’t really make sense either.” (Interview-07, Bartender and Bottle Girl)

“With Uber, you have the person’s details. They send a lot of emails and notifications to make sure you get in with your driver, because there were people who weren’t drivers who would pick up girls in their cars. But if you’re careful, it’s OK. And with taxis, it’s the same. You have his taxi permit. I even know girls who take a photo [of the permit] and send it to someone. [...] I at least always look at the photo, though. That way, if something happens, I can describe him.” (Interview-16, Waitress and Bottle Girl)

And so, even when using transportation such as taxis, which might be seen as safer than public transport, these Montréalers do not feel safe.

5.3. Feeling unsafe in public spaces

Feeling unsafe boils down to the fear of being the victim of a crime. Two major aspects define feeling unsafe: a perceived lack of safety in public spaces, and a fear of being alone in these spaces.²⁸

“Research on violence against women shows that [women’s] sense of safety is tied to their subjective risk assessments of public spaces. Their sense of safety arises out of actual experiences of violence, but also on whether spaces are considered dangerous or safe. The fear of being raped on the street and in alleys, for example, is an important element that contributes to women feeling unsafe in urban settings. Therefore it is relevant to study these feelings of lack of safety, because this reveals gendered constructions of the use and perception of public spaces.”²⁹

Feeling unsafe structures and constrains the way women occupy public spaces. Practices vary greatly among women, including women who work in public spaces, such as on the street, in parks or in commercial areas; women who sleep in public spaces; and those who frequent public spaces for entertainment and socialization, depending on the neighborhood or city they are in.

Lack of safety and feeling unsafe are recurrent themes in public forums, but these issues are still discussed without considering gender, ethnic origin, sexual orientation or gender identity.

In the CM's *Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal* (2017), we highlighted the fact that, in Montréal, in 2011, women were almost twice as worried as men about walking alone at night in their neighborhoods (W: 47%, M: 22%) and about walking alone at night in parks (W: 63%, M: 34%). The respondents interviewed for our current research also report feeling like they are "on the alert," without necessarily expressing feeling afraid. Women surveyed in studies on safety in urban settings³⁰ also report taking precautions, describe themselves as "careful" and consider these strategies normal.

Women are never fully at ease in urban public spaces. While they do go out, they do so "with a knot of fear in their stomach", and a knife in hand. Their comments show that they are constantly running diagnostics, calculating and evaluating the potential risks of situations in order to be prepared:

"Every day, no matter what, not necessarily at work, also in other places, I always have a knife on me [...] every day when I go out, my knife is already in my pocket. I hold it in my hand, walk to the bus stop, get on my bus, relax and go home in peace." (Interview-35, Cashier)

"[...] I'm careful too, you know, if it's late at night, not to wear my headphones with music playing too loud, just in case. In that sense, I guess I don't feel safe. I guess not, since I take precautions. [...] I hold my keys between my fingers in case someone sneaks up on me, so at least I'll have something... [...] But these are definitely strategies lots of women use. And if my car is nearby, I usually keep my car keys out just in case, because that way I can set off the alarm [laughs]." (Interview-06, Hostess and Waitress)

The androcentric design of public spaces is the focus of a number of critiques by feminist researchers, historians, geographers and sociologists, who have been working since the 1980s to render women and their experiences visible.³¹ These critics question the social construction of gender identities in different spaces, particularly the division between public spaces, which are sites of power and competition reserved for men and the masculine, and private spaces, which are domestic spaces, safe havens for women, who are seen as the guardians of moral values. The exclusion of women from public spaces therefore functions according to this division, which locates the "acceptable woman" within the confines of private and domestic spaces.

The exclusion of women from public spaces is built around their supposed vulnerability when they are outside the home and unaccompanied by men.³² It is maintained by women's constant experiences of sexual violence, which, in a way, allow public spaces to be reserved for men.

Researchers have shown how in different regional and national histories of colonization, sexual violence has always been used as a tool of repression, possession, control and erasure against Indigenous women, slaves, women of colour and working-class women.³³

In order to make public spaces accessible to women, a number of feminist researchers are working to imagine non-sexist cities free of the “private-public” divide that structures spaces into two separate and exclusive gendered spheres.

Most feminist research on women in cities has been focussed on the limitations women face in the urban environment. Other research has shown that women have a long history of negotiating their place in the city: working class women in poorer neighborhoods, lesbians in bars and racialized women in ethnic neighborhoods have created subcultures and developed specific identities. These innovations not only exist but must also be included in our understanding of the city and its realities.

These women have contested sexist, racist and homophobic norms by reminding us that many groups have historically enjoyed certain freedoms in public spaces. Acknowledging this not only allows us to transform public spaces and the ways they are used but will also allow us to learn about and understand the obstacles women face.

In nightlife spaces mostly reserved for men, for example, gay men were able to use the intensely homosocial context of taverns and pubs in order to meet.³⁴ Lesbians have also “occupied” a number of public spaces.³⁵ These sites hold particular meaning in the formation of gay and lesbian communities and identities.

More recently, a body of research³⁶ on clubs has developed in order to take into account experiences of young adults in festive spaces. Some of this research specifically focuses on the emancipatory potential of raves and other events for women. Without question, young women are increasingly present in nightlife, and tend to have similar experiences to those of their masculine counterparts, although their participation is conditioned according to a certain moral context within public discourse, since they are subject to controls and regulations.

During the GP, some of our study participants worked, whereas others went out to party. We found it important, just as in our 2017 *Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal*, to give a voice to women who attend the GP for fun. The experiences that participants shared with us are not all linked to the GP. In fact, many of their accounts were of going out at night at different times of the year and in different parts of Montréal.

As we have seen, many consider the GP a festive event. Women who did go out and were not working found that “people were in a good mood, it was really nice out. It’s still a pleasant event time, it’s great. People are there to have fun” (Interview-15, Greeter). They are reassured by Montréal’s festive side and by the population density at the event:

“It’s fun because everywhere’s full, there are people everywhere, there are people in the street... I don’t necessarily feel less safe going out during the GP weekend.” (Interview-16, Waitress and Bottle Girl)

“That’s just it, we left (with men we didn’t know) and we didn’t worry about it, and usually I would never do that. But seeing as it’s the GP, and you figure that there are so many events everywhere. That’s what makes it fun...” (Interview-28, Escort)

Women who go out at night in Montréal consider that they enjoy themselves. Feminist historians have extensively shown that cities and modernity have allowed women to experiment outside their homes and marriages.³⁷ Accounts from women living in cities are not exclusively centered around themes of fear and violence. It is important to note this in order to highlight the diversity of past and present urban experiences. The anonymity, density and commerce in cities have allowed women to transgress and redefine the norms of femininity.³⁸

5.4. Feeling safe in public spaces

Some respondents shared their definitions of safety and how gender influences their experiences of public spaces. Learning about fear and danger happens at a young age and is a constituting component in the formation of identity for oppressed groups. It structures and defines their experiences when it comes to how they negotiate space and relate to others.

We asked participants a number of questions relating to safety. For women, being safe mainly means being out of danger and feeling that they will not be assaulted, attacked or followed; it means not being on guard. Feeling safe, for women, is therefore associated with feelings of well-being, freedom and serenity. Feeling safe is not feeling afraid.

“To me, in the end, safety is, like, feeling good; that you can be where you want, when you want, at whatever time you want, without feeling bothered, harassed or, like, watched in a sort of explicit way. So, for me, that would be it.” (Interview-01, Hostess)

“For me, safety is just a state of mind; you feel good, you don’t feel anxious or stressed. You feel zen; you can be somewhere and be okay. You feel like life is good. That’s what safety is to me, a state of mind and nothing else.” (Interview-31, Dancer)

“It’s not being afraid, for me. If I’m not afraid of being attacked, being approached by sketchy people, that a stranger will come up to me, or that something will happen to me. So really, being safe is not being scared.” (Interview-03, Waitress and Bartender)

“I figure safety is actually not being afraid, being able to walk without always looking behind me, over my shoulder, to see if someone’s following me or something. Not being afraid of being physically assaulted when I’m walking down the street at 4 a.m., no matter how I’m dressed.” (Interview-14 Waitress)

6. Redefining urban safety

Frequent and constant sexual and sexist harassment, as well as transphobic, homophobic and racist harassment are forms of systemic discrimination because they serve to exclude, control and ultimately marginalize these groups in public spaces. Different forms of sexual harassment, including sexually explicit jokes, inappropriate sexual gestures, explicit sexual propositions and sexist insults, are recognized as infringing on people's rights and dignity.

Several years after the first #MeToo disclosures, it is still difficult to recognize the effects of these recurrent acts on women, and the consequences on their day-to-day lives, their well-being and their movements. One major consequence, however, is that it limits their equal access to public spaces. Women must take precautions, by limiting their activities in certain spaces and during certain times of day, in order to feel safe. This limits their opportunities and can even lead to a certain withdrawal from public life. Furthermore, as we point out in our *Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal* (2017), this violence can also affect women's well-being.

In light of the statements collected as part of our current research, we have realized however that women's safety during the GP has not been considered because it is not acknowledged or socially defined as real violence.

6.1. Ensuring public safety or controlling public order?

Ensuring the population's safety is a priority during events organized in Montréal. Terrorism, criminalized groups, violence between street gangs and human trafficking³⁹ are a few of the threats that serve to mobilize various police forces during the GP.

The literature on safety, and specifically public safety, shows that the prevalent feeling, that of the population in general, is that we live in times of growing uncertainty and danger, of increased delinquency and a growing threat of violence.

This perception has real effects on trust and guides public policy on the governance of crime and on local security. A number of authors note that these policies are increasingly less community-focussed and show a hardening of public actions toward disadvantaged and marginalized groups such as migrants, unsheltered people and racialized people.

This increasingly heightened control in public spaces in the name of safety therefore has negative consequences on various segments of the population. It has generally been established that increased police presence has negative consequences for populations that are discriminated against and considered delinquent because of their use of public spaces. As early as 1996, for example, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was reporting that the issue of the racism and stereotypes experienced by Indigenous women within the justice system begins with the police.⁴⁰ Police violence and racial and social profiling also affect 2SLGBTQQA people, and particularly trans people, who have a long history of police violence in their communities.⁴¹

This culture of public control⁴² leads to governing through crime and the fear of crime.⁴³ In other words, feelings of insecurity, whether real or constructed, are instrumentalized in order to establish control mechanisms for public order:

“Proposing a law enforcement solution to issues of safety, well-being and order is not only misleading, but, considering the capacity for delinquency and for police activity to cause fear and anxiety, may also not be the best way for open, tolerant and integration-oriented communities to organize. Seeking solutions to local problems through the police and security measures may, however, keep us from addressing the more fundamental social and structural issues that are often hidden behind and are the source of these problems.”⁴⁴

Many researchers feel that feeding into feelings of insecurity among the population has become an essential tool to back up government action and justify legislative measures that legitimize the exercise of power by the state while limiting individual liberties.⁴⁵ In Anna Berger’s study on the matter, she concludes that the resulting repression leads to a hardening of the rules by creating rigid boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable behaviours,⁴⁶ less tolerance toward deviance and disorder, and disproportionate reactions to infractions and incivility.

This tightening of security in public spaces, however, has not led to a taking into account of sexual violence against women or of other forms of harassment and profiling. These are still not recognized within the dominant discourse on public safety, despite all the testimony, accounts, scandals, and the sexual violence that has occupied the public political and media stage in Quebec over the past several years. Respondents also felt that the police did not care about their safety.

6.2. Women’s safety and the police

Most respondents believe that police can create safe environments, “a bit of a safer atmosphere” (Interview-15, Greeter). Some people, however, feel they are the victims of profiling because they are associated with targeted and stigmatized groups. They report that this leads to their being afraid of the police:

“I’ve always felt afraid in the street. I always get looks from the cops just because of how I dress, for example. Maybe [they think] I’m a girl on the street, that I’m a crackhead, or whatever they think I am.. it’s annoying. It’s annoying because I might be the one who... yeah, I’m a bit of a punk, I wear a leather jacket with big studs on it and stuff... but it’s always the guy across the street, with his nice shirt and gold watch who has a briefcase full of drugs or, like, really bad stuff.” (Interview-35, Cashier)

All participants agreed that they did not feel police were concerned with the sexual violence women experience and that this type of violence is often overlooked.

“Somebody slapped my ass in front of a police car. That’s like... everyday violence for me. The police will intervene if I get attacked by a stranger in an alley. I feel like when it comes to the sexual and physical violence people imagine, that’s when the police will intervene, but not when it comes to everyday violence, definitely not. I know for sure people wouldn’t hesitate to call me a whore in front of the cops, anytime.” (Interview-18, Survey Taker)

“When it comes to my work, I think it would be that [the police] are there in a respectful way and don’t abuse their power. [...] It should be a team effort and it’s not. They’re just there to make sure we’re not doing anything wrong, but not to make sure we’re safe. They come to make sure there’s no drugs being exchanged and that there’s nobody there they’re looking for, or whatever. But they don’t check if we’re OK. Not at all!” (Interview-23 Waitress)

Those surveyed for our 2017 *Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal* give a similar impression of their perception and trust of law enforcement when they have been victims of sexual violence.

When it comes down to it, respondents feel that police only recognize and respond to a certain type of violence, particularly fights and terrorism:

“One time, there was a fight, a bit later in the night. And honestly, security, or actually the police, intervened very quickly. We passed by and there were guys who were drunk and maybe also a bit high, because it smelled a lot like cannabis. [...] They intervened super quickly, and I thought that was good.” (Interview-19, Bar and Nightclub Customer)

“When you go to a festival, you have to pass through metal detectors. Security goes beyond just physical integrity—that someone might touch a part of your body you don’t want them to. As for me, I’m way more scared of stuff related to terrorism than harassment or assault... we have to think about that. And actually, it’s part of my job to think about it. We take measures against it. Everything is a reminder of it. There are concrete barriers everywhere, there are metal detectors...” (Interview-25, Project Manager)

Besides the police forces responsible for public safety, a number of private security companies are brought in to ensure public or site security.

6.3. Safety and security guards

Security for festivals, including the GP, is overseen by private security companies at the Jean-Drapeau Park site. No uniformed police officers are present onsite, although the Service de police de la Ville de Montréal (SPVM) and other police forces are involved in planning events’ overall security. In fact, there is a large number of security guards present onsite, at all the entrances and throughout the site.

On location, security guards are responsible for security, including the safety of workers. Respondents who worked onsite or attended races mainly identify these security guards as men. For these respondents, their own safety is not guaranteed by the “security” these guards look out for.

“At Parc Jean-Drapeau there are a lot of security guards, and I noticed that security is very, very tight. [...] So it takes almost 40 minutes sometimes to get around and get to the place where they check our passes. And sometimes they already know it’s us, but are kind of on a power trip [...] And they’ll be like, ‘No I have to check anyway.’ You know, sometimes they’re doing their jobs, but in an abusive manner, you know, sometimes it was a bit much... Yes, we were safe, but we were being hit on by them. You’re safe, but you’re being hit on. It’s like you’re being physically harassed by them, but, physically, no one will come near us because security is really there for us. You know, they would tell us that if anything happened, they would protect us and everything. You know, we really felt that, but on the flip side, we knew they were hitting on us, so it was kind of like... Protected, but just half-protected [laughs]. We weren’t all protected.” (Interview-01, Hostess)

Security guards are also often there, at some clubs, bars and events other than the GP. Most are men, and they are coworkers for the women employed by the GP. They were frequently identified as sources of both protection and harassment by respondents who worked as greeters or waitresses.

“At events there are so many people that they’ll hire more than one security company. They’re big brutes, really, really mean guys. To them, harassment and sexual assault don’t really exist. They’re rude to my greeters. One of them made a really misogynist comment to my greeter.” (Interview-02, Public Information Coordinator)

“The other security guards were super cold, they weren’t really aware of what was going on, they didn’t even know who worked there. When we’d tell them ‘I work here, can you help me, there’s a situation,’ it would take them a really long time to react and be like ‘OK, I can help you.’ But often, they would just wave you away, like, ‘Go away, I’m doing my job; I have to stay at my post.’” (Interview-36, Hostess and Party Girl)

Unlike police officers, the security guard teams are part of the staff, albeit temporarily. This proximity does not, however, guarantee women’s safety. In our 2017 *Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal*, the CM raised questions as to the training of these employees when it comes to the different kinds of violence toward women in public spaces.

The CM's earlier research showed that security guards at major events are almost always hired through private firms that do not offer their employees training on specific issues affecting women, such as harassment and sexual violence. The CM therefore specifically recommended that the awarding of contracts to these agencies be conditional on them providing security and prevention training on violence against women, and that this training be given by organizations specializing in these issues.

It would appear that the strong presence of security guards at all GP sites does not result in the safety of the women working at these sites. And worse, their presence can actually have the effect of dissuading persons from marginalized groups (such as racialized, Indigenous, unsheltered and 2SLGBTQQA people) from participating in the activities associated with the GP, particularly considering the history of profiling that these persons may have with the police and security guards.

6.4. Safety for dancers

Our field research at the various GP sites led our researchers to visit strip clubs. Security management in strip clubs has nothing in common with security at other GP sites or even in other nightlife industry venues.

We conducted interviews with nine people working in a strip club. This was not our goal, but word of mouth allowed us to record the experiences of a number of women and men working there in different positions, including as bartenders, dancers and managers.

We do not consider the work and experiences of dancers separately from the work and experiences of the other workers we met with. In fact, we found that service and hotel industry work sometimes has similarities to work in the sex industry. The testimony of strip club workers did, however, stand out from that of other respondents on at least one point: the constant police presence in their workplace and the surveillance they are subjected to.

All study respondents working in other types of establishments told us they had no interactions with police in the workplace. One respondent remarked that police would sometimes enter an establishment she worked in, such as a hotel, bar or restaurant, for fire safety reasons, but would not interact with employees:

“They were outside. They would never come inside. They maybe came in once or twice from what I remember, but just to inspect the place and make sure everything was OK, and that there weren't too many people in the establishment. They would check that, the people coming in, that's why they would even make people who had already paid wait outside. They were afraid the fire department would shut them down. But there were instances when, from what I understood, the police knew that there were a lot of things going on, but they just didn't want to get involved.” (Interview-36, Hostess and Party Girl)

Interactions between strip club workers and the police, on the other hand, were frequent and almost daily during the GP period. A number of these workers questioned this police presence, but all were used to police visits, which they say particularly target strip clubs during the GP:

“I haven’t really taken the time to think about it much, but I just know at a certain time of day, all the dancers would have to go and give their IDs. To check whether all the dancers were of age to do that kind of work, but also to keep track of them, so that they wouldn’t lose them later. Honestly, I would like to know more about what they’re doing, but I was so busy that... [...]”
(Interview-23 Waitress)

“If you take dancers, for example, at the start of the GP there’s a special police squad. I don’t really know what unit it is, but they come and they take the names of all the dancers working that day, just in case there are kidnappings or anything happens.” (Interview-35, Cashier)

“I don’t know what they [the police] could do. I don’t know, but just stop treating girls like shit. The girls would feel safer, and they would feel more like they could tell them things. Whereas now, when they treat you like shit, you don’t feel like telling them anything, you just want to get out of there.” (Interview-29, Dancer and Sugar Baby)

In *Opinion Paper: The Conseil des Montréalaises on the Trafficking of Women for the Purposes of Sexual Exploitation During the Formula 1 Canadian Grand Prix*, we addressed the issue of increased police presence during the GP and concluded that “the often exaggerated and alarmist estimates of the number of victims are for many a way to instrumentalize the trafficking phenomenon in order to justify a strengthening of migration controls and police actions directed toward the sex industry and marginalized populations in general.”⁴⁷

The increased surveillance of dancers shows that when police forces intervene with women working during the GP, they are more concerned with regulations and controls than in these women’s safety.

7. GP sexism

7.1. Peddling women

Throughout our interviews, whenever respondents were telling us about their workdays, customers or nights out, they also mentioned customers' attitudes toward them. They felt that women were what was really being sold or offered during the GP, as part of the GP's image and special events:

"Because that definitely appeals to people. It really doesn't help the cause of women; quite the opposite. You know, it's a guy's event. It's cars and guys who like cars, and everything is going to be designed so that guys will enjoy their weekend. Girls will be there, not as decorations, but just around. The event isn't focused on women, it's not focused on making sure women enjoy themselves or get anything out of it. Women will be around because they want to party, are invited to come party, and maybe have things paid for them. It's not women who are the focus in all this, it's really men, and the cars. And women, they're like objects, accessories, at this event." (Interview-11 Waitress)

The place and role of women at the GP is expertly marketed. Men's presence must essentially be erased from the picture. Wait staff explains that:

"We were hands off. You don't talk to the customers; you don't interact with customers. That was really the feeling: customers don't want to talk to guys, they just want to talk to pretty girls." (Interview-22, Bartender, Dining Hall Worker and Busboy)

"[...] At the restaurant there weren't really waitresses or women bartending, except for during the F1 when they would get one woman to come. She always wears a dress. But she can dress however she wants, really. Here, all the girls have to wear red dresses. Dress sexier than the men, in fact. The uniform the guys wear is really neutral: for women it was much more edgy, alluring, red, and referencing the event. Desirable." (Interview-21, Waiter and Busboy)

This staging of women during the GP may explain the harassment and sexual violence they experience:

"[...] I think that the difference during the GP is more about the overall attitude toward women. [...] I think it was even more present during the Grand Prix: the comments, the long stares and the fact that we're wearing less, so we really feel more vulnerable. I think it's generally a culture that leads to that type of behaviour and those types of responses." (Interview-20, Hostess and Waitress)

"The customers are here for the GP, so I think they already have a kind of mentality where they think 'we're here to party, drive cars, get drunk and see girls.' I think that's already their mentality. And the environment is stimulating, you know, and encourages men to think like that because there really are all of those *items* here, as far as the eye can see. It's tolerable, but it's really not pleasant." (Interview-04, Promotional Model)

While the night's heteronormative structure is generally being transformed and there is more space for women and 2SLGBTQQA people, this is not so much the case during the GP, where women are still the draw, the product to consume.

Historically, women have always been objectified in representations promoted by the nightlife industry and even the tourism industry. The night has been constructed and has developed as a masculine space associated with a form of sexuality that essentially excludes women. The night is presented as a space-time that is dangerous for women.⁴⁸ As a result, women's place as independent actors at night has always required negotiation and remains precarious. Women who go out at night are constantly limited and those who work at night are relegated to service jobs. The GP is organized according to these norms, which are intensified within the event's framework, and which also endure in the nightlife entertainment industry.

These norms are also racist. For example, in our field research, we observed that young, racialized men control entry at certain GP locales; this phenomenon has been widely documented. These bouncers rely on dress codes to exclude various population groups that are considered undesirable.⁴⁹

7.2. GP wages

In 2014, a French newspaper published a snapshot of GP staff salaries,⁵⁰ based on information previously published in various sports dailies. The median annual salary in the paddock, or, in other words, drivers' salaries, was 6.2 million euros that year (about \$9.5 million CAD). The annual salary of GP circuit staff varied between \$35,000 for secretaries and marketing assistants, and \$160,000 for racetrack engineers. Drivers, mechanics, technicians, telemetry analysts and design department heads earned between \$60,000 and \$110,000 per year.

Most of these jobs are held by men, though we do not know in what proportion exactly. Drivers are exclusively men. For the past several years, however, there has been an increasing number of initiatives to promote women's participation in motorsports. In 2009, for example, the Fédération internationale de l'automobile (FIA) created the Women in Motorsport Commission, whose goals include demonstrating and promoting the place of women in motorsports at all levels, including as drivers. One respondent also observed that there had been a change in this direction at the GP:

“The F1 is changing. [...] I see it in the racing teams [...]. There are a lot of women, really a lot of women, some engineers. There are a lot of women working with them, and I think that's great to see, it's a nice way to integrate women into what is... not 'unusual,' but in jobs that used to be masculine. [...] I'm really proud to work for this event. Not because it's the GP, not because it's international and glamorous, but because I really think that these are the kinds of things that will help women progress and be taken seriously, because there'll be more and more. You see it in sports. There are women who manage athletes, and who are team owners, or who become coaches. And that's how the cause will progress, by putting women in those job positions, just like in politics.” (Interview-25, Project Manager)

Formula 1, as a UK-based promoter, recently conducted a salary equity exercise in accordance with legislation requiring this of companies that employ 250 people or more. This exercise does not, however, apply to racing teams.

7.3. Economic benefits for whom?

There are many stakeholders in Montréal's festive events: the City of Montréal, which issues various permits, manages citywide public security and oversees street closures; the Octane Racing Group, the GP promoter that is in charge of the race at Jean-Drapeau Park; the three levels of government (municipal, provincial and federal), which finance the event; and the Montréal tourism industry, which promotes the GP.

The GP is seen as a major economic event for Montréal. Our respondents agreed that it is certainly a lucrative event for them. They are among a large number of women working during the event who are earning money. Because the GP is a source of revenue, respondents have mixed feelings about it:

"I don't know what to think, because for women who need money, since we're ultimately talking about women who work at the GP in general, it's a huge opportunity [...]. But at the same time, the other side of it is the harassment. I think that any woman can openly admit that. Men will deny it because men are a bit blind to it, and they profit indirectly from harassment. So, I don't know what to say." (Interview-04, Promotional Model)

"[...] You know, that's the thing, there really is a moment on the day of the GP when all the girls come and stand at the entrance to the spectator boxes. [...] That's the day of the GP, so there's champagne and everything, so men get a little more drunk and excitable. Then it starts, and there are Canadian fighter jets flying overhead. That's when I ask myself, 'What on earth am I doing here?' It's like the epitome of everything I think is just awful. But that's the thing, we live in a capitalist society, so I do it for the money." (Interview-06, Hostess and Waitress)

They are also aware of the fact that although they are making money, others are making much more:

"I don't want to complain because it's a super taboo subject, because the amount of money I make—I know that not everyone in entertainment jobs in Montréal can make that much in one weekend. That's what I mean. But compared to what *they* are walking away with, what we, most girls, get is not enough either. [...] You're being exploited not just by your customers, but, in a way, by your bosses, too." (Interview-13, Bartender)

These women are quite lucid and actively negotiate their decision to work at the GP. Some report being uniquely positioned to observe the Montréal industry, because there is “a lot of darkness behind it all that you don’t see. And it’s just the women, or people working in the industry, who are able to see it” (Interview-01, Hostess).

They also generally have a lot to say when it comes to the big debate around the GP’s presence in Montréal, since this major economic event exists, in many ways, at their expense:

“I’m of two minds about it because I do see it as an opportunity to make money and all that, but at the same time it really comes down to a deeper issue. But if we could fix social inequalities, maybe we wouldn’t have to go out and work during the GP. But, you know, that’s a much bigger fish to fry. I think I would tend to be more of the opinion that ‘no, we shouldn’t stop holding the GP’ [...] So, it should be regulated, better regulated. We need to find solutions. A really, really intense ad campaign, in the States too. Maybe do the campaign in the States and maybe ads on Facebook and on US networks. Maybe target the states people are coming from and show them that in Quebec harassment is really serious.” (Interview-04, Promotional Model)

A number of ideas, initiatives and suggestions on ways to transform the GP, its image and its culture came out of our interviews with respondents. Participants were just as vocal about more inclusive ways to organize nightlife and tourism industry activities in bars, clubs and, ultimately, festivals. These women want to be able to occupy these spaces at any time, safely and without violence.

7.4. Toward a nighttime policy

Most GP festivities happen at night or function according to nightlife codes. The week of the GP, some special themed events, which normally take place at night throughout the year, are held during the day. Despite the time at which the event is held, which is sometimes in the morning, all the codes usually associated with nightlife tend to be present, including music, dancing, alcohol, darkness and festive dress.

Over the past decade, more than 40 cities have implemented nighttime policies.⁵¹ Acknowledging the specific dynamics that exist in public spaces at night, new nighttime governance instruments have paradoxically rendered visible some of the exclusion experienced by many population groups, and particularly women:

“Creating inclusive spaces after dark: Night mayors are increasingly being acknowledged by city councils and community boards as key allies in garnering support from groups whose interests have long been overlooked. In recent years, they have become relevant champions of LGBTQ+ communities and supported efforts to promote women’s safety and night workers’ rights. As part of its Cultural Infrastructure Plan, London has committed to provide an annual audit of LGBTQ+ venues and has created a five-point pledge for operators, developers, property owners and others to support the city’s LGBTQ+ pubs, bars, clubs and other venues.” (Mayor of London, 2019).⁵²

That being said, studying the night and its activities by implementing initiatives that are the result of true intersectional feminist analysis is still a rarity.⁵³

Many initiatives attempt to create spaces that are inclusive, safe or compassionate. For instance, the Pride Montréal annual festival has created a compassionate space for sexually and gender diverse Indigenous and racialized people, an anti-oppressive space that hopes to offer a feeling of safety to Indigenous and racialized 2SLGBTQQIA people. Defining and designing inclusive and safe spaces cannot and must not be a question of creating temporary or utopian spaces. In reality, researchers feel that these inclusive spaces exist because women from 2SLGBTQQIA and racialized communities have, in small but significant ways, created safe spaces for themselves in cities. Theirs are the voices we must listen to when designing feminist cities that offer many spaces that are safe.

The organizations we met with for our research, that work with 2SLGBTQQIA people, report that these groups often feel excluded from downtown spaces. This is particularly true for young gay, lesbian and trans people, who do not feel safe downtown. The groups of men that are in the streets during major events make 2SLGBTQQIA, and particularly nonbinary and gender-nonconforming people, feel less safe.

These organizations also report that the area of Montréal known as the “gay village” is not necessarily a space for all 2SLGBTQQIA people, particularly trans women, who are often fetishized and can experience being surrounded, filmed or touched without their consent. This vulnerability generally increases in the summertime when they are more exposed to the gaze of others and therefore to potential assaults. For this reason, trans women and others avoid going downtown.

Similarly, the struggle to end discrimination must lead to continued and coherent actions to prevent sexual violence toward unsheltered women, women who go out to party, strippers, racialized women, lesbians, trans women, nonbinary people and other population groups, both day and night. These changes must allow everyone access to public spaces violence-free, through transportation and the creation of safe spaces. Respondents often commented on their safety when it comes to transportation, and had a number of suggestions for empowering women and creating spaces where they can go to find support:

“Accompaniment services are always really great. I’m all for that. I know there are buses, after a certain hour, that are just for women. But they’re not very common. I would like an all-night metro [...] because, to me, in the end, when my shift is over, I just want to go home. And there’s almost no way I can get home in less than an hour.” (Interview-17, Waitress and Promotional Model)

“You know, having more places for women to go, in case they don’t feel safe, so they can go there, you know, and talk to other women. So they feel like, OK, I can go to that place. I find there aren’t enough women’s centres, and not enough places for women to go... to decompress and everything.” (Interview-08, Panhandler)

Nighttime policies must be oriented toward establishing measures that combat discrimination in public spaces and also ensure that the rights of women workers are respected at all times. Precarious work makes women even more vulnerable to sexual, racist, homophobic and transphobic harassment and keeps them from knowing and using the recourses available to them. As one respondent remarks,

“When it comes to employees, both men and women, they really need support. There should really be more information about changes to working conditions during the GP, and also, maybe there should be inspections during the festivities. I know it might not exactly be good for business for these companies. But on the other hand, that’s where you see the most abuse when it comes to working conditions, and people working there need the work, so we don’t always feel like we’re in a position to say anything. I think it’s really the City’s responsibility to follow up on that in general.” (Interview-20, Hostess and Waitress)

More initiatives that enable women to deal with unsafe situations are also needed, along with more structured measures. In this sense, a number of bars have adopted the “Order an Angelot” initiative.⁵⁴

This initiative was launched in Montréal in 2017 and is meant to prevent and combat sexual violence in bars. Participating establishments post a clear and visible information panel in their washrooms, encouraging those fearing for their safety to “Order an Angelot” from a staff member, all of whom have been trained and are responsible for helping customers who “Order an Angelot.” Of the 36 participating establishments, 14 bars joined the initiative in partnership with the City of Montréal.

A number of cities have chosen to encourage establishments such as bars, restaurants and hotels to play a more active role in the prevention of violence against women, particularly through the development and promotion of inclusive policies and creating networks of businesses that are encouraged to share best practices.⁵⁵ The City of London, for example, has created both a Women’s Safety Charter and an LGBTQ+ Charter, which are distributed to nightlife establishments along with a toolkit. These initiatives encourage and share best practices when it comes to the safety, accessibility and inclusivity of nightlife spaces.⁵⁶ Similarly, some cities are encouraging—or, in the case of New York City, requiring⁵⁷—establishments to develop, promote and publicize anti-harassment policies, particularly through poster campaigns that target both customers and employees.

Some cities have also adopted policies that require businesses to create training programs to better equip people working in “night professions” such as in bars, restaurants and hotels.⁵⁸ Other municipal and provincial administrations have chosen to establish programs centred on women’s safety at night and make them available to a number of different types of businesses. In Vancouver, for example, the group Good Night Out, an organization with expertise on these issues, is funded by the provincial government. This means the organization can offer subsidized free training on themes such as consent, harm reduction and active bystander intervention, to prevent harassment and sexual assault.⁵⁹

Other cities have combined this approach with other direct intervention approaches, with an emphasis on street patrols to prevent sexual violence and increase feelings of safety. In Amsterdam, this is done through friendly patrol teams who are trained in first aid and deescalating tense situations.⁶⁰ In Vancouver, a group of volunteers trained by Good Night Out does nonviolent crisis intervention at night on one of the city's busiest streets. The presence and visibility of these volunteers allows women to feel safer.

CONCLUSION

Women who go out or work during festive events face many obstacles. They constantly feel unsafe and are often victims of sexual violence. What's more, their jobs tend to be precarious and stigmatized.

Service, reception and sales positions are often filled by women. During the GP, the participants we interviewed welcome, assist, serve—tasks that “[...] embody femininity.”⁶¹

The prevalence and normalization of sexual violence, particularly by customers, contributes to establishing a sort of dominant rape culture during the GP.

Despite women's experiences of violence, the type of violence the authorities tend to prepare for, at least in public spaces, is generally violence against individuals, such as thefts and fights; in other words, violence between men.

Although the themes of unsafe conditions and of people feeling unsafe come up in public debate again and again, these issues are still approached without considering gender, ethnic origin, sexual orientation or gender identity. This research shows, however, that when it comes to safety, it is essential to acknowledge and take into account the voices and experiences of all people. Integrating a gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) approach is a part of the process of analyzing sociohistorical inequalities that takes into account the realities and differentiated needs of all women, men and people of other gender identities. GBA+ has specifically allowed us to show the different effects the GP has on the working conditions of the workers in question, in order to reduce the systemic discrimination they may face. This consideration should be included by the City of Montréal when drafting policies and planning actions to allow all women to occupy public spaces safely and without fear.

To ensure that Montréal is truly a “safe city,” we need to guarantee that all women can participate, without discrimination, in decision making, power sharing and accountability⁶² when it comes to creating and organizing events.

The Conseil des Montréalaises (CM) is convinced that the safety of women in public spaces in Montréal is a daily concern, and that its importance must therefore not be limited to the GP event. Although the City of Montréal must take action on this issue when it comes to the GP, these actions must also apply to other events and festivals, regardless of scale or duration.

It is imperative that the reflections and actions taken by the City of Montréal extend beyond the GP.

This opinion paper concludes with 14 recommendations addressed to the City of Montréal and its partners. Our objective is to ensure that women have access to public spaces free of violence. The recommendations also seek to improve women's working conditions during the GP and other major outdoor events. Some of these recommendations were previously made in our 2017 publication *Opinion Paper on the Security of Cisgender and Trans Women and Girls at Outdoor Events in Montréal*, but have yet to be implemented.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The CM has drafted 14 recommendations to the City of Montréal, including five that are also intended for the Gouvernement du Québec and the Government of Canada, and one for the Octane Racing Group.

The mandate accepted by the members of the CM stipulates that although this opinion paper will be addressed to the municipal government, the CM may make recommendations that concern other levels of government, other organizations or the tourism industry.

Our mandate also states that the municipal government will be responsible for passing on the CM's recommendations.

The organization of outdoor festivals and other major events

R1 That the City of Montréal and its boroughs require that the organizing committees of major outdoor events, such as the Formula 1 Grand Prix, include a component on the prevention of all forms of sexual violence against women. This component should be created in collaboration with feminist and community organizations that combat sexual violence.

R2 That the City of Montréal and its boroughs advocate for the inclusion of marginalized communities (unsheltered women, Indigenous women, sex workers, trans women, etc.) in the makeup of organizing committees for major outdoor events. This inclusion could be accomplished by inviting representatives from expert organizations to join organizing committees during major events such as the Formula 1 Grand Prix and the soccer World Cup.

Taking women into account in Montréal, a festive tourist destination

R3 That the City of Montréal recognize the importance of women in the tourist industry and include them in its tourism industry recovery plan. Examples:

- a) Earmarking funds specifically for groups that work with marginalized women: unsheltered women, Indigenous women, sex workers, trans women and other women whose life experiences or identities are at the margin of social norms.
- b) Creating specific measures for women with a precarious immigration status who work in the tourism industry.
- c) Including terms related to gender equity and equality among women in tourism industry funding request criteria. These criteria might include, for example, the percentage of women on a company's board of directors, whether the business is meeting its obligations in terms of pay equity and its policy against psychological and sexual harassment in the workplace, and whether an establishment's dress code is conducive to ensuring the respect and integrity of its employees.

An information and prevention program on sexual and sexist violence

R4 That the City of Montréal implement an annual information and prevention campaign against sexual and sexist violence that will reach all persons circulating downtown, in Old Montréal and in key Montréal tourist and nightlife hotspots. That this campaign be designed with the help of feminist and community organizations that combat sexual and sexist violence.

- a) That information on accessing specialized support from community groups, as well as the locations of these resources, be clearly posted and communicated (in a universally accessible manner, in different languages) at all sites.
- b) That this information also be available virtually, on the websites of the City of Montréal, Tourisme Montréal and on the event's mobile app, as applicable.

Action plan: A safe city for all

R5 That the City of Montréal develop and implement an action plan to facilitate collective and community responsibility for the safety of all women, both year-round and during major tourist events, in public spaces and in Montréal nightlife sites. This action plan would allow organizers to include actors besides the SPVM, the Service de sécurité incendie de Montréal [Montréal fire safety service] and private security agencies in ensuring public safety during festive events.

- This action plan should specifically target preventing and combatting sexual violence.
- This action plan should be developed with the help of women and women's groups, and be based on women's experiences and their specific uses of public space. It should pay special attention to the experiences of young women, racialized women, sex workers, unsheltered women, women from 2SLGBTQQIA communities, Indigenous women and women with disabilities.
- This action plan should be drafted with the participation of the tourism industry, bar and club associations, business development corporations (SDCs) and community organizations.
- This action plan should be based on the principles outlined in the City of Montréal's *Guide d'aménagement pour un environnement urbain sécuritaire*⁶³ to ensure that all women feel safe.

- a) That the City of Montréal and its partners use this action plan to ensure that all personnel present at major outdoor events, including reception staff, volunteers, security guards and so on, receive training on issues related to women's safety, and particularly on sexual violence, from feminist and community organizations. More specifically:
- That all security guards receive mandatory training each year so that they may intervene appropriately in order to ensure the safety and inclusion of all women in festive spaces.
 - That the contracts given to private security agencies by the City's partners be conditional on its employees receiving regular training on women's safety.
 - That all staff and volunteers who serve or handle alcoholic beverages, as well as the owners and managers of establishments that sell alcoholic beverages, receive training on women's safety.
 - That the City of Montréal urge the Gouvernement du Québec to exercise stricter controls over the credentials of security guards at events.⁶⁴
- b) That this action plan on women's safety establish clear measures and objectives in terms of representation:
- That gender parity be ensured when it comes to recruiting staff and volunteers responsible for security at festive events.
 - That the equitable representation of the groups targeted by workplace equity measures be ensured when recruiting staff and volunteers responsible for security at festive events.

The Guide d'aménagement pour un environnement urbain sécuritaire

R6 That the City of Montréal update its *Guide d'aménagement pour un environnement urbain sécuritaire* and create popular education and summary tools so that all actors organizing major events in Montréal may better understand and apply its principles.

- a) That the City of Montréal implement a strategy to share these tools with its departments and external partners involved in organizing outdoor events.
- b) That these tools include examples of promising practices.

Intervention protocol for instances of sexual harassment or violence at outdoor events

R7 That the City of Montréal establish an intervention protocol for taking action in situations of sexual harassment or violence and that it require promoters of major outdoor events to implement this protocol with citizens and staff.

- a) That this protocol be drafted in collaboration with feminist and community groups specializing in addressing sexual violence.
- b) That this protocol be made known to all those working onsite at the event.
- c) That this protocol be posted in a visible manner in workplaces.

Support for community organizations that specialize in interventions at festive sites at nighttime

R8 That the City of Montréal fund initiatives that offer awareness-raising services and have expertise in intervening in situations of sexual harassment and violence in festive public spaces.

GBA+, funders and major events

Recommendations to the City of Montréal, the Gouvernement du Québec and the Government of Canada for implementation as of 2021

R9 That the City of Montréal, the Gouvernement du Québec and the Government of Canada, all of which fund the Canadian Formula 1 Grand Prix, carry out intersectional gender-based plus (GBA+) analyses on the funding they provide.

- a) That these three levels of government make public the results and recommendations of these analyses.
- b) That the three levels of government implement the recommendations resulting from these analyses in order to ensure nondiscriminatory public funding.

R10 That the City of Montréal, the Gouvernement du Québec and the Government of Canada, all of which fund the Canadian Formula 1 Grand Prix, require that the organization in charge of organizing the GP (currently Octane Racing Group) and its official partners produce an annual report showing the results of the implementation of their code of conduct in the context of the Montréal Formula 1 Grand Prix.

Recommendation to those in charge of organizing the GP (currently Octane Racing Group) for implementation as of 2021

R11 That the organization in charge of organizing the GP (currently Octane Racing Group) carry out a communications campaign, which will also be associated with its partners and sponsors, during the week of the GP, to promote an event free of discrimination, harassment and sexual violence.

Recommendations to the City of Montréal and the Gouvernement du Québec for implementation as of 2021

R12 That the City of Montréal and the Gouvernement du Québec, particularly the Commission des normes, de l'équité, de la santé et de la sécurité du travail (CNESST), organize a major awareness raising campaign on sexual harassment in bars, clubs and restaurants, as part of the framework of the Act respecting labour standards, which requires employers to provide a policy against psychological and sexual harassment in the workplace, that also informs victims of available resources.

R13 That the City of Montréal and the Gouvernement du Québec create a working group with the stakeholders to compile a picture of women's working conditions in the Montréal bar, club and restaurant industries by documenting the types of work they do, the status of their jobs, their salaries and their working conditions.

a) That this working group produce a report.

b) That this working group suggest measures to be implemented in the six months following the report's publication and that it be responsible for following-up on these measures.

R14 That the City of Montréal and the Gouvernement du Québec, particularly the Régie des alcools, des courses et des jeux, require that a policy against psychological and sexual harassment be provided when an establishment requests or renews an alcohol permit.

APPENDICES



APPENDIX 1

RECRUITING PAMPHLET



SEEKING PARTICIPANTS

**INTERVIEWS ON WOMEN'S SAFETY
AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT DURING
THE GRAND PRIX**

**Did you work during the Montreal
Formula 1 Grand Prix?**

- Waitresses
- Bartenders
- Dancers
- Retail staff
- Sex workers

**Did you go out at night during the
Montreal Formula 1 Grand Prix?**



**Contact us:
conseildesmontrealaises@ville.montreal.qc.ca
514-868-5544**

ANONYMITY GUARANTEED

Montréal

APPENDIX 2

SEEKING PARTICIPANTS

Interview number: _____

Date: _____

Name of interviewer: _____

IDENTIFICATION (form to be filled out by hand)

Name: _____

Job: _____

Number of years in this position: _____

Workplace: _____

INTRODUCTION

Presentation and relevance of the research

QUESTIONNAIRE

Work

1. Do you only work at during the GP or is this your regular job?
2. Would you have preferred not to work during the GP?
3. Have you ever been offered a different job during the GP?
4. Have you ever worked a different job during the GP?

Customers

5. What is the profile of your customers during the GP?
6. Do your tasks and responsibilities change because it's the GP?
7. What are the dynamics between customers? (Are they the same as usual?)
8. What are the dynamics between you and the customers?
9. Are these regular customers or new customers?
10. What is their profile?
11. In your opinion, are there a lot of tourists among your customers during the GP?
12. Do you think your customer base is the same as during other major events in Montreal such as the Jazz Festival?

Working conditions

13. What is your usual dress code?
14. Do you have a different dress code during the GP?
 - If so, could you describe it?
 - If so, could you describe the dress code for men?
 - If so, how do you feel about it?
15. Do your wages (and tips) change during the GP?
16. Does your schedule change during the GP?

17. Does your workplace hire people for the GP?

- Why?
- What is their profile?

18. Does the way your workplace is organized change during the GP?

Safety during the GP

19. Have you ever felt uncomfortable during your workday during the GP?

- If so, what was this usually due to?

20. Over the course of a workday during the GP, has there ever been an individual or group of individuals who:

Choice of answers:

	Never	Yes, once	Yes, a few times	Yes, many times
touched or caressed you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
insulted or whistled at you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
followed you insistently?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
revealed their genitals to you or undressed?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
stole your bag, your wallet, your jewellery, etc.?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
slapped, hit or used other physical brutality against you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
threatened or attacked you with a weapon or dangerous object?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
drugged you? (e.g.: date rape drugs)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
groped you sexually against your will?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
attempted to sexually assault you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. Has this also occurred outside of the GP?
22. Over the course of a workday during the GP, have you ever witnessed any of the situations described above? (see “Choices of answers” on previous page)
23. Did you speak to anyone about this? (whether as a victim or witness, during the GP or otherwise)
 - If so, with whom?
24. Have any of your coworkers experienced anything similar?
 - If so, is your employer (boss) aware and have they done anything?
25. Does this bother you?
26. What do you think of the GP?
27. Do you think things should change during the GP?
 - In general?
 - In your workplace?
28. Do you think the GP is connected to the sex industry?
 - In what way? (Encourage participants to elaborate)

RESPONDENT PROFILES

This section of the questionnaire seeks to create a profile of the respondents for statistical purposes.

1. Out of the following areas, where do you live?
 - In the City of Montreal.
 - In Quebec (outside of the City of Montreal).
 - In Canada (outside of Quebec).
 - In a country other than Canada.

2. If you live outside of Canada, what country do you live in? _____

3. If you live in the City of Montreal, since when have you resided in Montreal? (year) _____

4. What is your age?
 - 14 to 17
 - 18 to 24
 - 25 to 29
 - 30 to 34
 - 35 to 39
 - 40 to 44
 - 45 to 49
 - 50 to 54
 - 55 to 59
 - 60 to 64
 - 65 to 69
 - 70 to 74
 - 75 and over

5. Are you a member of the LGBTQ+ community?
 - Yes
 - No

6. Are you a member of a visible minority?
 - Yes
 - No

7. Are you a member of Canada's Indigenous population?
 - Yes
 - No

8. Are you a person living with a disability?
 - Yes
 - No

APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT PROFILES

	Position	Workplace	Tasks and responsibilities (question 6)	Dress code (question 13)
Interview 01	Hostess	Parc Jean-Drapeau	Open the door for customers, check passes, smile and greet people, be sexy and polite.	Simple, neutral and sexy, pants or a skirt, white, black or grey clothing, high heels required. No visible accessories allowed.
Interview 02	Public Information Coordinator	Festivals	Walk festival grounds, provide briefings, supervise greeters and security staff and answer their questions, coordinate and act as liaison between production staff and greeters.	T-shirt with the event's brand on it, non-denim pants or shorts that fall below the knee.
Interview 03	Waitress and bartender	Downtown hotel restaurant	Take customer orders, serve customers and clear tables, serve water and drinks, process payments.	Uniform: mid-thigh length form-fitting black dress and black tights with sneakers.
Interview 04	Promotional model	Booth downtown	Walk around near the promotional site, pass out discount cards to passers-by, talk and flirt with customers, sell the product.	Sexy outfit of short-shorts and a tank top, sometimes in high heels. White clothing. Jacket and baseball cap in colder weather.
Interview 05	Waitress	Parc Jean-Drapeau	Fill the buffet, serve food and drinks to customers, clear tables, take customer orders.	Choice of knee-length skirt or pants with a white blouse and bowtie.

APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT PROFILES

	Position	Workplace	Tasks and responsibilities (question 6)	Dress code (question 13)
Interview 06	Hostess and waitress	Restaurants downtown and in Vieux-Montréal	n.a.	All black, black dress.
Interview 07	Bartender and Bottle Girl	Bars downtown and in the Vieux-Port	Serve bottles of alcohol to tables and entertain customers.	Uniform: short skirt and crop top or short dress, cleavage encouraged, very high heels.
Interview 08	Panhandler	Downtown	Beg without asking for money directly.	n.a.
Interview 09	Hostess	Bar in Vieux-Montréal	Greet customers, check reservations and VIP tickets, assign tables.	Uniforms chosen by managers that vary according to the themes of events: short dresses with low necklines

Interview 10	Waitress	Restaurants downtown and in Little Italy	Take customer orders, serve dishes and clear tables, serve water and drinks, process payments.	Black T-shirts with images of luxury cars and sports cars.
Interview 11	Waitress	Downtown hotel restaurant	Take customer orders, serve dishes and clear tables, serve water and drinks, process payments.	Classic pants and long-sleeved blouse.
Interview 12	Dancer	Downtown nightclub	Sell dances, sell VIP tickets to customers, seek out customers, dance.	No dress code, not specified.
Interview 13	Bartender	Bar in Vieux-Montréal	Take customer orders, serve customers, clean.	Very short dress with plunging neckline, sometimes made from transparent fabrics, high heel shoes.
Interview 14	Waitress	Nightclubs and restaurants downtown	Take customer orders, serve customers, make conversation with customers.	Comfortable clothing.
Interview 15	Greeter	Parc Jean-Drapeau	Check customer tickets and direct them to their seats.	Red polo shirt, black shoes, black pants.
Interview 16	Waitress and Bottle Girl	Restaurants and bars downtown and in the Vieux-Port	Take customer orders, serve dishes and clear tables, serve water and drinks, process payments, serve bottles of alcohol to tables and entertain customers.	Uniform: high heel shoes required and short, tight dress.

APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT PROFILES

	Position	Workplace	Tasks and responsibilities (question 6)	Dress code (question 13)
Interview 17	Waitress and promotional model	Restaurants and booths downtown	n.a.	Uniform: high heel shoes required, flowered dress or white pants and shirt.
Interview 18	Survey Taker	Parc Jean-Drapeau	Approach and intercept people, convince them to stay and fill out the whole survey, ask them questions on their enjoyment of the event.	Professional attire, blazer, blouse and pants, closed-toed shoes, no jeans allowed.
Interview 19	Bar and nightclub customer	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Interview 20	Hostess and waitress	Restaurants downtown	Service. Unspecified.	Black clothing, closed-toed shoes, wearing very short dresses and makeup is encouraged.
Interview 21	Waiter and busboy	Restaurants downtown	Take customer orders, serve dishes and clear tables, serve water and drinks, process payments.	Black clothing, blazer, white shirt, bowtie, apron.
Interview 22	Bartender, dining hall worker and busboy	Restaurant downtown and booth at Parc Jean-Drapeau	Reset tables, clear tables as discreetly as possible, interact with customers, take customer orders, serve customers, make conversation with customers.	Black clothing, shirt and pants, short black dresses, high heel shoes, low necklines, white shirt, red apron.

Interview 23	Waitress	Downtown nightclub	Service. Unspecified.	Blouse, blazer and bowtie, black pants and shoes. For the GP, T-shirts with images of luxury cars and sports cars.
Interview 24	Bartender	Booth at Parc Jean-Drapeau	Install and set up the booth, prepare booth items, prepare drinks, serve customers.	White shirt and black pants, apron with the drink's brand on it.
Interview 25	Project Manager	Parc Jean-Drapeau	Oversee the logistical coordination of park infrastructure, including its safety and maintenance.	No dress code.
Interview 26	Hostess	Parc Jean-Drapeau	Check customer tickets and direct them to their seats.	Classic black pants and shoes, red top with the company's brand on it.
Interview 27	Hostess	Parc Jean-Drapeau	Check customers' entry tickets.	Classic black pants and shoes, red top with the company's brand on it.
Interview 28	Escort	Bar and restaurant in Vieux-Montréal	Be a pretty girl, host and entertain customers who are men.	Eveningwear and high heels.
Interview 29	Dancer and Sugar Baby	Downtown nightclub	Perform in skimpy clothing or nude, dance at tables, do lap-dances, keep men company.	Skimpy clothing (lingerie), referencing the GP, very high heels.
Interview 30	Promotional model	Parc Jean-Drapeau	Sell event programs onsite.	Red T-shirt with the event's brand on it, comfortable black clothing.

APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT PROFILES

	Position	Workplace	Tasks and responsibilities (question 6)	Dress code (question 13)
Interview 31	Dancer	Downtown nightclub	Perform in skimpy clothing or nude, dance at tables, do lap-dances, keep men company.	Skimpy clothing (lingerie), very high heels.
Interview 32	Promotional model	Booth downtown	Make contact with the public, hand out discount cards, encourage people to visit the company's website and use the company's facilities	Black clothing and a t-shirt with the company's brand on it.
Interview 33	Hostess	Downtown nightclub	Greet customers, sell entry tickets, make change.	No dress code, but no sweatpants.
Interview 34	Manager and doorman	Downtown nightclub	Open and close the club, tally sales and count the cash, supervise the employees, ensure the comfort of the customers.	No dress code.
Interview 35	Cashier	Downtown nightclub	Process VIP entry payments, be pretty.	T-shirt with Grand Prix branding, black clothing, makeup.
Interview 36	Hostess and party girl	Bar and restaurant in the Vieux-Port	Greet customers when they arrive, dance, interact with customers, entertain them and convince them to buy more alcohol.	Uniforms chosen by managers that vary according to the themes of events: short dresses with low necklines

Interview 37	Panhandler	Downtown	Beg without asking directly for money.	n.a.
Interview 38	Restroom attendant	Bar and restaurant in the Vieux-Port	Ensure restrooms and toilets are clean.	Black clothing, comfortable clothing. Waitresses wear short dresses .

APPENDIX 4

NIGHT COUNCILS AROUND THE WORLD

Thanks to their night councils, a number of cities have implemented initiatives for the safety of women and 2SLGBTQQIA people, as well as anti-harassment measures.

Country	Cities, names of bodies, dates established	Security initiatives	Security initiatives by women and 2SLGBTQQIA people	Harassment initiatives
France	<p>Paris</p> <p>“Conseil parisien de la nuit”^{85, 86}</p> <p>Established: December 2014</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Some initiatives (e.g. opening parks and gardens 24/7 in summer) have come with “security team reinforcements.” Forms to report incivility and lodge complaints available online and on Twitter. City of Paris global strategy: created the <i>Comité stratégique pour la gestion de l’espace public</i> [strategy committee on the management of public spaces] in 2018, bringing together all relevant public officials, such as those responsible for roads and transportation, greenspace, sanitation, safety and prevention, communication, and night policy. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Took part in the Paris Police Prefecture GHB/GBL prevention campaign. Co-wrote and disseminated a leaflet on the health risks associated with working at night for bar and discotheque staff, among others, which also covers the prevalence of alcohol and drug use among these workers and issues specific to female staff. Researched ways to develop late-night childcare. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> The “Fêtez clairs” [“party clearly”] campaign, a series of preventative actions in festive spaces carried out by a collective of associations to promote party culture that is conducive to the health and well-being of youth. City of Paris summer campaign to raise awareness in the nightlife scene about respectful festive practices (signs and posters, flyers, videos, tweets and interventions). Themed plenary assembly dedicated to discrimination and sexist and sexual harassment at night.

4. Developed fun, facilitated night-time activities
“Rencontrer des jeunes des quartiers délaissés la nuit”
[“meeting with youth from disadvantaged neighborhoods at night”] in order to reduce delinquency and allow referrals to other organizations.

5. Created an intersectoral training campaign on night-time occupations in order to strengthen the skills of professionals doing night-time work when it comes to:

- managing incivility and conflicts instigated by customers, raising awareness among customers about noise pollution and cleanliness, preventing harassment;
- managing at-risk behaviour: drug and alcohol consumption, hearing risks, traffic risks;
- selective entry, fighting discrimination and improving accessibility.

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France (contd.)	<p>Paris (contd.)</p> <p>“Conseil parisien de la nuit”^{85, 86}</p> <p>Established: December 2014</p>	<p>6. Ordered a study on training needs and available training tools, on whether to create a quality certification, and on the emergence of a new profession: “chuteurs” [“shushers”], (noise controllers).</p> <p>7. Local neighborhood consultation committees that define the conditions of good night-time practices. These generally seek to reduce nuisances related to nighttime activity: noise, cleanliness, incivilities, etc.</p>		

	<p>8. Investment plan for music venues to complete renovations that improve soundproofing, security and accessibility.</p> <p>9. Comité des noctambules ["night-owl committee"] (consumers): organizing consultations, training on drug use in festive areas and cross training on consent with harm reduction organizations, "les Pierrots de la nuit," event organizers, and business owners.</p>		
<p>Toulouse</p> <p>"Conseil de la nuit"⁸⁷</p> <p>Established: March-April 2019</p>	<p>1. "Fêtons plus, risquons moins" ["party more, risk less"] campaign.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prevention and harm reduction campaign in festive locales under the direction of the Toulouse mayor's office. - Informal space for exchanges and finding information and materials on sexuality, risks related to psychoactive substance use (alcohol, tobacco, cannabis and others) and risks to hearing. 	n.a.	n.a.

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France (contd.)	<p>Nantes</p> <p>“Conseil de la nuit”^{88, 89, 90}</p> <p>Established: 2016</p>	<p>1. Citizen input workshop to help reinvent the night bus service, including how to improve security and public peace.</p> <p>2. Reflection on “night stations,” end-of-night transitional spaces that draw groups toward safer spaces for all that are further from residential areas.</p> <p>3. Proposal to identify permanent “citizen cafés” at participating businesses to provide access to information on prevention, promote transportation options, help those feeling unsafe find solutions, and offer access to drinking water.</p>	<p>1. Participative citizen input project “La vulnérabilité la nuit : quelles réalités, quels besoins ?” (“night time vulnerability: what is the reality, what are the needs?”) with sex workers and people who are experiencing prostitution or homelessness, following which the city committed to the following three areas:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensuring people’s basic needs are met at night (drinking, eating, sleeping, and feeling safe...); - Facilitating and supporting public access to rights and services; - Encouraging nighttime cohabitation. 	n.a.

	<p>Bordeaux “Conseil de la nuit”^{91, 92, 93} Established: January 2018</p>	<p>1. Tendances alternatives festives (TAF)[alternative festive trends] Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights, intervention workers walk the streets and intervene to prevent alcohol-related risks.</p> <p>2. Soul Tram: Alcohol related risk prevention on the tram through music.</p> <p>3. Hangover Café: a minibus in public spaces where professionals can do prevention and harm reduction work related to drugs and alcohol.</p>	<p>2. Workshop-reflection and subsequent publication on gender and public spaces at night.</p>	
		<p>1. “Projet Mobilités Nocturnes” [“night-time mobility project”]: extra stops upon request and awareness-raising campaign to fight against the lack of safety on trams and buses.</p>	<p>1. “Projet Mobilités Nocturnes” [“night-time mobility project”]: extra stops upon request and awareness-raising campaign to fight against the lack of safety on trams and buses.</p>	<p>1. “Projet Mobilités Nocturnes” [“night-time mobility project”]: extra stops upon request and awareness-raising campaign to fight against the lack of safety on trams and buses.</p>

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United States	<p>New York</p> <p>“Office of Nightlife”^{94, 95}</p> <p>Established: September 2018</p> <p>“Nightlife Advisory Board”</p> <p>Established: 2017</p>	<p>1. Contributed to the “Lower East Side Quality of Life Improvement Plan:”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Night Owl Etiquette” campaign to promote the use of common sense when it comes to sound volume and cleanliness. - Distributed posters on theft prevention to bars and clubs in the Lower East Side. <p>2. In partnership with the New York Police Department:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Active Shooter Response” training. 	n.a.	<p>1. “Stop Sexual Harassment Act” campaign, organized by the NYC Commission on Human Rights.</p>

	<p>- Nightlife meetings in Manhattan, voluntary NYPD meetings held in all nightlife establishments in order to share the latest updates and statistics, offer presentations from experts to help ensure safer spaces, and meet with NYPD officers and other nightlife actors.</p>	
<p>Pittsburgh “Nighttime Economy Manager at City of Pittsburgh”⁹⁶ (job title) Established: 2015</p>	<p>1. Established the “Sociable City Plan,” featuring targeted intervention by teams of building and health inspectors, police, businesses and community organizations to help bar and restaurant owners minimize liability, damages and the need for law enforcement. – The Plan’s goal: seamlessly integrate restaurants, entertainment and events while targeting the negative effects of crowds, intoxication and public disorder.</p>	<p>n.a.</p>
		<p>n.a.</p>

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United States (contd.)	<p>Orlando, Florida</p> <p>“Projects Manager of Nighttime Economy”^{97,98} (job title)</p> <p>Established: 2017</p>	<p>1. “Rideshare Hubs Pilot Program:”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dedicated lanes for taxis and carpool drivers to help people leave downtown more efficiently late at night; - Public washrooms; - Better lighting; - Safety; - Cleaning; - Dedicated food truck areas. <p>2. “Downtown Ambassadors Program:”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ensuring world-class hospitality to the public by providing directions, recommendations, and other assistance as necessary - Offering safety escorts to and from any location in the downtown area 	n.a.	n.a.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Observing and reporting suspicious activity and aggressive panhandling - Contacting the Downtown Clean Team with any beautification needs in the public right of way and overall downtown improvement - Assisting businesses and residents with questions or concerns about the area - Providing special event safety and information. <p>3. Educational campaigns related to parking, social services and best practices.</p>		

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Netherlands	<p>Amsterdam</p> <p>“Stichting N8BM A'DAM – Office of Night Mayor”⁹⁹, ¹⁰⁰ (NGO partly funded by the city)</p> <p>Established: 2014</p>	<p>1. “Rembrandtplein Gastvrij” (A Welcoming Rembrandtplein Square), a three-year pilot project with City Hall.</p> <p>Goal: Reducing violence and nuisances in the area at night:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Patrol (“Rembrandtplein Hosts”), a friendly presence, unlike that of the police (tool kit for social workers with medical training and de-escalation skills); - Streets closed to cars on Fridays and Saturdays; - Training for bar and club staff on how to manage people under the influence of alcohol; - Adapted lighting and increased street cleaning; - Mobile web site for receiving complaints. 	n.a.	n.a.

<p>United Kingdom</p>		<p>London</p> <p>“Night Czar”^{101, 102} (position created by the mayor)</p> <p>Established: 2016</p>	<p>n.a.</p>	<p>1. “Women’s Night Safety Charter,” charter, toolkit and organizing the “Women’s Night Safety Summit:”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Naming a champion in the organization who actively promotes women’s night safety; - Demonstrate to staff and customers that the organisation takes women’s safety at night seriously, for example through a communications campaign; - Remind customers and staff that London is safe, but tell them what to do if they experience harassment when working, going out or travelling; - Encourage reporting by victims and bystanders as part of the communications campaign; - Train staff to ensure that all women who report are believed; - Train staff to ensure that all reports are recorded and responded to; - Design public spaces and workplaces to make them safer for women at night. 	<p>n.a.</p>
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United Kingdom (contd.)	<p>London (contd.)</p> <p>“Night Czar”^{101, 102} (position created by the mayor)</p> <p>Established: 2016</p>	n.a.	<p>2. “LGBTQ+ Venues Charter”</p> <p>Goal: Encourage the opening of new LGBTQ+ establishments in the city and incite establishments to show solidarity with the London LGBTQ+ community.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A visible rainbow flag should be displayed on the outside of the venue - The venue should be marketed as an LGBTQ+ venue - The venue will provide a welcoming, accessible and safe environment - Management and staff should be LGBTQ+ friendly - Programming should be LGBTQ+ focused 	n.a.

Germany	<p>Berlin – Schöneberg</p> <p>« Dialogue & Participation¹⁰³ » (new municipal department)</p> <p>Established: 2020</p>	<p>1. Night runners, teams of two (“Kezläufer”) who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintain a presence in parks and public spaces in order to increase feelings of safety among residents; - “Keep looking when others turn away,” - Are under the direction of the Sp³ UG firm, which specializes in security services and checks the deployment and training of security staff in public and private spaces, as well as providing “walking teams” in city parks and neighbourhoods. 	n.a.	n.a.	
		<p>Berlin</p> <p>“Clubcommission Berlin – AK Politik”¹⁰⁴</p> <p>Established: 2001</p>	<p>n.a.</p>	<p>1. Through their Awareness and Diversity working group, they have:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Established deeper exchanges and various dialogues with clubs, festivals, collectives, guests, initiatives, the Berlin State Office for Equal Treatment and Against Discrimination, refugee women, queer women, women in positions of power, etc. 	n.a.

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Germany (contd.)	<p>Berlin (contd.)</p> <p>“Clubcommission Berlin – AK Politik”¹⁰⁴</p> <p>Established: 2001</p>	n.a.	<p>2. Clubcommission launched Awareness Akademie in 2020, funded by Musicboard Berlin.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishing new norms, framework conditions and resources by bringing together different stakeholders, their skills and their needs and encouraging them to exchange and create learning opportunities around club culture, abuses of power, security infrastructure and sexual violence. - Combatting myths about who can and cannot be a perpetrator of violent acts, examining the legal framework, raising social awareness socially, among 	n.a.

Spain	Barcelona “Councillor’s Office for Feminism and LGBTI – Barcelona City Council” ¹⁰⁵ Established: n.d.	n.a.	<p>the police, and within the justice system so that cases of sexual violence are taken seriously.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Forming alliances and fostering close cooperation between clubs and festivals in order to confront the challenges related to women’s safety. 	
			<p>1. “Protocol to combat sexual assaults and harassment in private night-time leisure venues” –Optional: festivals and establishments can choose whether or not to comply.</p> <p>Note: this protocol only applies to cases in which the perpetrator is a man. It can be applied whether the victim is a man or a woman.</p>	<p>1. “Protocol to combat sexual assaults and harassment in private night-time leisure venues.”</p> <p>Three cornerstones:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Preventive actions: Designing the necessary tools to promote spaces where sexual freedom is respected, especially that of women and people with non-normative sexualities or genders.

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Spain (contd.)	<p>Barcelona (contd.)</p> <p>“Councillor’s Office for Feminism and LGBTI – Barcelona City Council”¹⁰⁵</p> <p>Established: n.d.</p>	n.a.	<p>Guiding principles:</p> <p>Priority assistance for victims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect the decisions made by the victim; - Non-centralisation in criminal proceedings (people should be informed that there are other channels available for dealing with the situation); - Avoid any show of complicity with the assailant, even if the aim is to reduce tension; - Respect the privacy of the victim and the accused assailant’s presumption of innocence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Instructions for detection: identifying situations, whether actual or potential, of sexual harassment, assault and abuse. - Instructions for assistance and referrals: acting and having the necessary tools, in the wake of assaults, abuse or harassment with each of the individuals involved. Knowing and conveying the optimum referral circuit for immediate or subsequent assistance following a situation of assault, abuse or harassment.

GLOSSARY

Dress code

A dress code refers to specific clothing that is required by the employer. The law allows employers to impose a dress code, but this dress code must have a significant and legitimate purpose, such as ensuring safety or maintaining the business's image. The employer's imposition of the dress code cannot be abusive or unacceptable and must respect the freedom and dignity of the employee. Nor can the dress code be discriminatory, that is to say that it must be applied equally to all employees.⁶⁵ Also, "employers requiring employees to wear specific clothing [...] must provide this clothing free of charge to those earning minimum wage."⁶⁶

Rape culture

The definition of rape culture emerged in the 1990s. It is defined as "a complex set of beliefs that encourage male sexual aggression and supports violence against women. It is a society where violence is seen as sexy and sexuality as violent. In a rape culture, women perceive a continuum of threatened violence that ranges from sexual remarks to sexual touching to rape itself. A rape culture condones physical and emotional terrorism against women as the norm."⁶⁷

According to UN Women, rape culture is "the social environment that allows sexual violence to be normalized and justified, fueled by the persistent gender inequalities and attitudes about gender and sexuality."⁶⁸

It is also important to note that "the concept of rape culture has been critiqued on the basis that it universalizes experiences of sexual violence and (re)centres patriarchal oppression as the root cause, thereby obscuring how structural differences and social and political contexts shape experiences of sexual violence."⁶⁹

Harassment

There are many different kinds of harassment, including psychological and sexual harassment in the workplace, discriminatory harassment, harassment related to sexual themes, commonly known as sexual harassment, as well as racist, homophobic and transphobic harassment. "Harassment is considered discriminatory if it is based on the personal characteristics of the person who is experiencing it (for example, age, origin, sex). There are 14 personal characteristics that are prohibited grounds for harassment... [namely race, colour, sex, gender identity or gender expression, pregnancy, sexual orientation, civil status, age, religion, political convictions, language, ethnic or national origin, social condition, and disability]."⁷⁰ The repetition of offensive words or gestures generally distinguishes insulting comments and behaviour from harassment. But there are situations in which a single serious act can constitute harassment. This is the case of actions that have ongoing harmful effects on the persons who experienced them. Discriminatory harassment is prohibited under the Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms in work contexts and in contexts relating to housing, education, recreation, and more.

Harassment affects victims physically (headaches, sleep issues), psychologically (acute distress, drug and alcohol abuse) and professionally (job loss, loss of income).⁷¹

Psychological and sexual harassment under the ALS

In Quebec, psychological and sexual harassment in the workplace is prohibited under the Act respecting labour standards (ALS). According to Article 81.18 of the ALS, in the workplace, “psychological harassment means any vexatious behaviour in the form of repeated and hostile or unwanted conduct, verbal comments, actions or gestures, that affects an employee’s dignity or psychological or physical integrity and that results in a harmful work environment for the employee.”⁷² Psychological harassment negatively affects the dignity, physical or psychological integrity of the person or jeopardizes a right or the work or study of a person or group of persons or creates an intimidating or hostile environment for work or study. A single serious conduct may constitute psychological harassment if it has the same consequences and produces a continuous harmful effect on the employee. Different forms of psychological harassment in the workplace include interfering with a person’s right to express themselves, publicly mocking a person, threatening a person or damaging their property.

Sexual harassment in the workplace is “any vexatious behaviour in the form of repeated and hostile or unwanted conduct, verbal comments, actions or gestures, that affects an employee’s dignity or psychological or physical integrity and that results in a harmful work environment for the employee. [...] A single serious incidence of such behaviour may constitute psychological harassment. The harmful effect of this serious incidence must be felt over time by the person in question.”⁷³ Sexual harassment is a form of psychological harassment. Sexual harassment can range from sexually explicit jokes or inappropriate gestures to explicit sexual demands to sexual assault.

Sexual harassment

Sexual harassment includes a number of sexual and sexist behaviours. It refers, in part, to

“behaviours toward people in public or semi-public spaces that seek to engage them, whether verbally or otherwise, sending them intimidating, insistent, disrespectful, humiliating and threatening messages because of their sex, gender or sexual orientation.”⁷⁴ These reprehensible behaviours infringe on the victim’s rights to equality and dignity.⁷⁵

Sexual and sexist harassment of women in the workplace has been recognized as a form of violence toward women in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women adopted by the United Nations, and the World Health Organization considers violence against women a global public health issue.

Sexual and sexist harassment of women in the workplace, whether through gestures or attitudes, has the effect of limiting the working conditions or employment prospects of some employees based on characteristics associated with their gender, and is therefore discriminatory.⁷⁶

It is therefore recognized that as a result of acts of sexual or sexist harassment, some victims decide to leave their jobs, find new careers, or take early retirements. Women may experience retaliation, but may also become ill or suffer under extreme stress.

Studies on professional segregation in the workplace show that the purpose of sexual harassment toward women in professions traditionally occupied by men is to exclude women (keep women out) and in professions that are traditionally occupied by women it is to keep them lower on the income scale (keep women down). Sexual harassment should not be understood as an instance of the harasser asking for sex, although it may sometimes take this form.

Heteronormativity

Heteronormativity “refers to a social structure associated with the idea that humans can only be divided into two distinct categories: men and women, who share mutual desire.”⁷⁷ Heteronormativity shapes thinking, discourse, actions and policies around a specific form of sexuality, i.e., sexuality between two persons of opposite genders. Heteronormativity can lead to heterosexist violence such as discrimination, prejudice and the absence of other sexualities, such as gay, lesbian and bisexual sexualities, in public spaces. “Heteronormativity assumes that heterosexuality is the norm”⁷⁸ or that it is the only form of sexuality that exists.

Racial profiling

Racial profiling is “any action taken by one or more people in authority with respect to a person or group of persons, for reasons of safety, security or public order, that is based on actual or presumed membership in a group defined by race, colour, ethnic or national origin or religion. Taken without factual grounds or reasonable suspicion, these actions can result in the person or group being exposed to differential treatment... Racial profiling also includes any action by a person in a situation of authority who applies a measure in a disproportionate way to certain segments of the population on the basis, in particular, of their racial, ethnic, national or religious background.”⁷⁹

Social profiling

Social profiling refers to “any action taken by one or more persons in positions of authority toward a person or group of persons for reasons of security, safety or public order, that are motivated by factors of discrimination other than racial discrimination, such as a person’s condition, which has the effect of exposing the person to differential scrutiny or treatment in the absence of real motives or reasonable suspicion.”⁸⁰

Feeling unsafe

Feeling unsafe comes from a fear of experiencing violence. Two major aspects define feeling unsafe, namely a perceived lack of safety in public spaces and a fear of being alone in these spaces.⁸¹

Studies on violence against women have shown that feeling unsafe is linked to subjective risk assessments made by women in public spaces. This feeling is based on real lived experiences of violence but also on whether certain spaces are designated as dangerous or safe. Fear of being raped in the street or in an alleyway, for example, is a major factor affecting women’s feelings of safety in cities. This shows the relevance of studying feelings of safety and lack of safety, as it may allow us to uncover gendered constructions of different uses and perceptions of public space.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are “a set of beliefs about the typical characteristics of the members of a social group (women, for example). This belief system is at the same time simplistic, reductive and very widespread in given contexts... stereotypes and prejudices generally have negative effects. They shape and oversimplify our perception of reality, predisposing us to negative behaviours toward members of certain social groups. In other words, stereotypes and prejudices can easily lead to discrimination.”⁸²

Women, for example, are expected to be sweet, patient, smiling, conformist and modest.⁸³ Ableist stereotypes of women with disabilities suggest that they are fragile, courageous, dependant and non-sexual. Stereotypes related to sexual orientation promote the idea that lesbian women are tomboys or women who hate or fear men. Indigenous women are assumed to have issues with drug or alcohol addiction. Black women are often portrayed as being aggressive, sexual, or benevolent maternal figures.

Sexual violence

“Any violence, physical or psychological, carried out through sexual means or by targeting sexuality. It includes sexual harassment, sexual assault, rape and other forms of sexual misconduct...This conduct may manifest itself in the form of sexually related acts, verbal comments, behaviour or attitudes.”⁸⁴

NOTES

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