

Mobility on the Move: Examining Urban  
Daily Mobility Practices in Santiago de  
Chile

Paola Jirón

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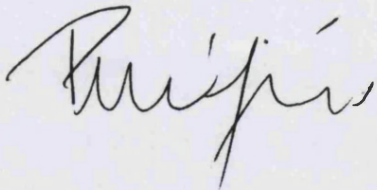
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### Declaration of Originality

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## Abstract

The 'mobility turn' in social sciences (Cresswell 2006; Hannam, Sheller et al. 2006; Sheller and Urry 2006) is based on the inevitable impacts all types of mobility currently have on contemporary living and "examines how social relations necessitate the intermittent and intersecting movement of people, objects, information and images across distance" (Urry 2007: 54 ). Mobility studies include research on migration, tourism, residential mobility and urban daily mobility – the latter is the central interest of this thesis. Urban daily mobility refers to all the ways people relate experientially to change of place on a daily basis, which means that it encompasses more than the sum of journeys made or the time it takes to make them. This understanding of mobility as a social practice requires methodological access to the social meaning invested in movement, whether that movement is physical, imaginative, virtual, or a combination of these.

How do practices of urban daily mobility shape the way urban living is experienced in contemporary cities? This thesis addresses mobility as a social practice and uses an ethnographic approach to explore the way mobility is experienced daily by selected individuals in Santiago de Chile. It argues that an urban daily mobility approach captures an ontological shift in the way the urban spaces are experienced. This shift has implications for the way urban relations and urban structures are observed; that is, from fixed physical entities to moving and dynamic relations.

Moreover, this shift has significant implications in various areas of urban analysis, each of which is examined by this thesis. First, it requires adopting methodologies that can reveal daily mobility experiences and find adequate ways of representing these experiences. Second, it incorporates mobility into the notion of place, by introducing the concepts of mobile places and transient places it discusses the possibility of mobile place making. Third, it questions the static way of analysing urban inequality and expands the notion of urban social exclusion to incorporate differentiated mobility as another one of its causes, consequences and manifestations. Fourth, it provides a way of looking at spatial relations in the city by understanding the implications of urban daily mobility in terms of place confinement and enlargement. Finally, it affects the way urban policy interventions are understood, analysed here in terms of the implementation of the Transantiago transport system. Mobility in these terms becomes not only a practice through which daily living can be observed, it may also be a locus for encounter, conflict, negotiation and transformation, thus requiring further research as a space of socialisation.

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### List of Acronyms

<b><i>AFT</i></b>	Administrador Financiero Transantiago, Transantiago Financial Administrator
<b><i>CBD</i></b>	Central Business District
<b><i>CASEN</i></b>	Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica, Socioeconomic Characterisation Survey
<b><i>CEPAL/ECLAC</i></b>	Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
<b><i>CGTS</i></b>	Coordinación General del Transporte de Santiago - Transantiago, Santiago General Transport Coordination - Transantiago
<b><i>CI</i></b>	Comité Interministerial, Interministerial Committee
<b><i>CONAMA</i></b>	Comisión Nacional de Medioambiente, National Environment Commission
<b><i>DIRPLAN</i></b>	Dirección de Planeamiento, Planning Direction at MOP
<b><i>EOD</i></b>	Encuesta Origen Destino, Origin and Destination Survey
<b><i>EFE</i></b>	Empresa de Ferrocarriles del Estado, State Railway Company
<b><i>GEF</i></b>	Global Environment Facility
<b><i>GPS</i></b>	Global Positioning System
<b><i>GIS</i></b>	Geographic Information System
<b><i>GORE</i></b>	Gobierno Regional, Regional Government
<b><i>BID/IDB</i></b>	Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, Inter-American Development Bank
<b><i>INE</i></b>	Instituto Nacional de Estadística, National Statistics Institute
<b><i>ISAPRE</i></b>	Instituciones de Salud Provisional, Provisional Health Institutions
<b><i>ITS</i></b>	Intelligent Transport System
<b><i>MIDEPLAN</i></b>	Ministerio de Planificación, Ministry of Planning
<b><i>MINSAL</i></b>	Ministerio de Salud, Ministry of Health
<b><i>MINVU</i></b>	Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, Ministry of Housing and Urbanism
<b><i>MOP</i></b>	Ministerio de Obras Públicas, Ministry of Public Works

<b><i>MOPTT</i></b>	Ministerio de Obras Públicas, Transporte y Telecomunicaciones, Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Telecommunications
<b><i>MTT</i></b>	Ministerio de Transporte y Telecomunicaciones, Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications
<b><i>MUSSA</i></b>	Modelo de Uso de Suelo de Santiago, Santiago Land Use Model
<b><i>OTAS</i></b>	Ordenamiento Territorial para el Gran Santiago, Greater Santiago Land Planning
<b><i>PPDA</i></b>	Plan de Prevención y Descontaminación Atmosférica para la Región Metropolitana, Atmospheric Prevention and Decontamination Plan for the Metropolitan Region
<b><i>PTUS</i></b>	Plan de Transporte Urbano para Santiago, Urban Transportation Plan for Santiago
<b><i>RAT</i></b>	Rational Action Theory
<b><i>RM</i></b>	Región Metropolitana, Metropolitan Region of Santiago
<b><i>SECTRA</i></b>	Secretaría de Transporte, Transport Secretary
<b><i>SEREMI</i></b>	Secretaría Regional Ministerial, Regional Ministerial Secretary
<b><i>SERPLAC</i></b>	Secretaría de Planificación Comunal, Municipal Planning Office
<b><i>SERVIU</i></b>	Servicio Regional de Vivienda y Urbanismo, Housing and Urbanism Service
<b><i>SESMA</i></b>	Servicio Metropolitano de Salud y Medio Ambiente, Metropolitan Health and Environment Service
<b><i>SUBDERE</i></b>	Secretaría de Desarrollo Regional, Regional Development Secretary
<b><i>SIAUT</i></b>	Servicio de Atención a Usuarios de Transantiago, Transantiago Consumer Attention Service
<b><i>PNUD/UNDP</i></b>	Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, United Nations Development Programme
<b><i>UOCT</i></b>	Unidad Operativa de Control de Tránsito, Transit Control Operative Unit



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## 1 Contemporary urban living through an urban daily mobility lens

Cecilia and Ana live in Santiago de Chile, about a ten minute walk from each other, but in very different income neighbourhoods; their daily journeys are also very different:

*I move a lot, I sometimes go to my parents' for lunch, go to Sodimac<sup>1</sup>, I go here and there, and on the way back I sometimes stop by Roberto's parents place. Because I don't have a fixed time to go in and out of work, some times I come home later, when there is not so much traffic, so I take the fast lanes. It's better for me to leave later in the morning and afternoon, because if I leave home at 8:00, I get to work at 9:10, if I leave at 8:20, I get there at 9:10, 9:20 and if I leave at 8:50 I get there at 9:20, so I prefer to leave later, get some stuff done at the house and wait until the school children have entered after 8:30 and I'm fine. There was a time when I used to drive him [her husband] to the Metro, to the 14<sup>th</sup><sup>2</sup>, and I would drop him off around 8:00, but at the end I would get to the office at 9:15, even if I took Vespucio<sup>3</sup>, while on the highway it was great but then I would get to the Grecia roundabout and traffic there is horrible, and you cannot escape, there are no alternatives, you just have to keep going, at 2 km per hour. After 8:30, when children enter school, there's still a lot of flow, after 9:00 there is no one. I mean if I leave here at 9:00 I get to my office in 25 minutes. Sometime I avoid this little chunk of El Hualle, you can be stuck there for 30 to 40 minutes, so I take the dirt road instead. It takes 15 minutes, the car gets dirty, I spend more petrol, there are rocks skipping, but at least I don't get to work all stressed out, or else I arrive complaining about the buses, the kids... (Cecilia).*

*If there was one bus going all the way there it would be great. But, on top of taking so long, and being full, in the afternoon it takes me half an hour of just waiting. On Thursdays when I*

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<sup>1</sup> A Do It Yourself (DIY) chain store

<sup>2</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> refers to the 14<sup>th</sup> stop on Vicuña Mackenna Avenue, one of the main avenues in Santiago running north to south; it starts at the centre of the city and is numbered by 35 stops until its end at the southern end of Santiago. It is also the place where a major shopping mall (Mall Plaza Vespucio) was built around 1990, it has major supermarkets, cinema, shops, and is serviced by a Metro stop and major bus and *colectivo* lines.

<sup>3</sup> Americo Vespucio is a toll paying urban highway

*stay later at work, I come home exhausted, and the bus is heavier then, even if it is just a little bit later, and in winter it's worse, with construction men. On the way there it's mainly women, but on the way back, later, it's mainly men. Because construction workers leave at 6:15, but if I leave at 6:00 it's very light, so I always try to leave 10 to 6:00 and be at the bus stop before construction workers get there (Ana).*

Cecilia and Ana experience their daily journeys in radically different manners; their experiences shape the decisions they make to move about the city and are also shaped by the multiple barriers and opportunities present in the city. Little is known about the daily experiences of travelling in the city of Santiago, the consequences they have on people's lives and on overall mobility practices in the city: this thesis moves forward in this exploration.

### **1.1 The beginning of the journey: opening possibilities**

This thesis is concerned with the way people live in contemporary cities and experience urban living, specifically through their mobility practices. Originally, it aimed to do this by developing a set of indicators to measure urban quality of life. However, after reviewing the extensive literature on quality of life (including happiness, wellbeing, welfare rights, habitability, livelihoods, health and wellbeing, quality of place, liveability, quality of community life, competitive cities and city branding, amongst others), it became clear that a better understanding of contemporary living required more than a new set of indicators and called for a substantial revision of the way urban living is understood and planned. This is because contemporary living is currently going through major changes influenced by processes of globalisation, global warming, the impact of technological advances, amongst other, as well as specific national and local processes. One of the major issues influencing urban living today has to do with the inevitable and unprecedented impact mobility, in its multiple forms, has on people's lives. An analysis of the way urban interventions are implemented, particularly in cities in developing countries like Santiago de Chile, evidences major neglects in recognising the way contemporary living takes place and how it is changing under these processes. In this context, traditional ways of analysing urban living are no longer adequate to tackle urban issues, thus new questions need to be asked in order to achieve a better

comprehension of urban issues, which can lead to better interventions for urban residents.

This thesis examines diverse daily mobility practices of selected residents in Santiago de Chile, the different ways in which these practices are experienced, provide meanings to their daily lives, and the consequences these have in their access to the city. It aims to provide a better understanding of what living in cities like Santiago is like today. It proposes that mobility, and particularly urban daily mobility, is not only a new and understudied field of research, but it also unveils a paradigmatic shift in urban studies, related to the “mobility turn” in social sciences. This shift delves into two areas: the changes in urban reality and the ways this urban reality is understood. To understand this impact, focussing on the everyday life and social practice theory, this thesis develops a theoretical approach based on urban daily mobility practices. This approach provides a way of looking at the way reality is changing for many urban dwellers, discusses the methods used to comprehend this, and sheds light on traditional concepts in urban analysis like place making, urban inequality and social exclusion. The analysis is based on original empirical ethnographic research conducted in Santiago between December 2005 and December 2006, prior to the implementation of a major urban transport system in the city: Transantiago. The research involved conducting mobile ethnographies of selected residents from different income neighbourhoods living relatively close to each other in a specific area of the city. The ethnographies involved the use of interviews, photography, mapping and shadowing of daily practices. The research was also informed by bibliographic analysis and expert interviews, which are primarily used to introduce the way mobility is understood by urban professionals in Santiago and how this conception informs transport and urban decision making today.

The research presented in this thesis contributes to various debates in urban studies and human geographical enquiry. Specifically, it makes advances in three academic areas: urban studies (including urban and transport planning, urban inequality, place making, spatial practices), everyday life, and urban research methodologies. These research areas cut across and overlap with the vast research area of Latin American studies and the increasingly relevant area of mobility. An example of this is the debate on urban inequality, social exclusion and just cities (Hamnett 1998; Marcuse

2005; Marcuse 2007; Wacquant 2007) which is also discussed in developing countries (Moser 1996; Beall 2002; Robinson 2006; Chant 2007) and also specifically in Latin American cities (Schteingart 2001; Cáceres and Sabatini 2004; García Canclini 2004; Rodríguez and Arriagada 2004). Methodologically it expands the discussion on mobile methods (Marcus 1998; Rose 2001; Latham 2004; Urry 2007) by using an ethnographic approach to understand mobility and uses visual methods and time space mapping to better apprehend and evoke the fluidity of everyday life.

This thesis starts with a review which introduces the mobility turn in social sciences, discusses social practices, everyday life, place making and urban inequality, and develops a framework to analyse urban daily mobility practices. It then discusses the use of a 'mobile ethnography', complemented by the use of photography and time space mapping as a methodological approach to apprehend mobility practices. The thesis then introduces the logic of urban and transport thinking which inspired the implementation of Transantiago and the main foreseeable problems this initiative presented. Following these chapters, the analysis of the data generated during fieldwork is presented across four substantive empirical chapters. The first establishes the context for urban analysis in Chile and the gaps present in the study of urban inequality in the country. The following chapters examine a range of themes including the possibility of mobile place-making, differentiated mobility practices and uneven access to activities, relations and places. These differentiated practices reveal the various strategies people use to deal with mobility and the consequences these have on their everyday life in the city.

The present chapter aims to introduce the major arguments developed in this thesis. Prior to doing this, the next section provides a brief introduction to what is referred to as the 'mobility turn' in social sciences and identifies the major gaps in the literature. It then explains the relevance of the Chilean case to analyse urban daily mobility. Finally, it presents the research objectives, the structure of the thesis and its specific arguments.

## **1.2 Taming wanderlust: recognising, discovering and preparing the way**

The 'mobility turn' in the social sciences (Hannam, Sheller et al. 2006; Cresswell 2006a; Sheller and Urry 2006a; Sheller and Urry 2006b; Urry 2007) is based on the inevitable impacts all types of mobility have on the organisation of contemporary everyday life. The diverse types of mobility, including migration, tourism, residential mobility and daily mobility, constitute today a significant turn in the analysis of urban process. This research, in the attempt to understand how urban living is experienced, concentrates on urban daily mobility. Mobility can be seen as an emblem of current times and although historically our societies have been characterised by an increase in mobility in every sphere (Bourdieu 2003), its multiple forms, speed and variety are unprecedented.

Mobility is absolutely central to determining what contemporary life is like, with how it is changing and how it may develop over the next few decades (Urry 2003a). Bourdieu (2003) and Levy (2003) suggest that the frenetic life of the modern individual is characterised by two-way contradictory movements. On one side, society appears increasingly fragmented and managing the everyday involves a constant zapping between different places, tasks, roles and interests, complemented by mobile phones and computers to compress time, intensify travel, multiply opportunities and coordinate tasks, making it more efficient. Yet in another, contemporary individuals seek for unity and permanence that seems more and more unlikely under their occupational zapping (Bourdieu 2003; Levy 2003).

In this context, mobility refers to all the ways people relate socially to change of place (Bourdieu 2003), which involves the sum of journeys made and distances travelled, but also the expectations, experiences, consequences and impact these journeys have on people's lives and how they affect mobility practices and daily living. For most people, social life is formed and reformed through intermittent meetings engendered through physical travel (Urry 2003a). Meaning that although life is networked, it also involves specific present encounters within certain times and places. The act of meeting and the different forms and modes of travel are central to much of social life, a life which involves particular combinations of increasing distance and intermittent co-presence (Ibid).

John Urry (2003b) explains that travel has not been sufficiently researched except for the work of transport engineers and economists, who tend to examine simple categories of travel, such as commuting for leisure or business. However, understanding such connections should not begin with the types and forms of transport, as mobility is mostly a means to carry out certain socially patterned activities and not the point of such activities. Also, while transport research neglects social processes involved in travel and how these affect people's lives, much of social science research has been a-mobile, ignoring or trivialising the movement of people for work and family, leisure and pleasure, thus failing to examine how social life presupposes both the actual and the imagined movement of peoples from place to place, person to person, event to event (Urry 2003a).

Mobility may be physical, virtual or imaginative (Sheller and Urry 2006; Szerszynski and Urry 2006), as technological advances like television, Internet or mobile phones allow for the possibility of being present in more than one place at the same time. However, despite the ever-evolving technologies that allow for virtual or imaginative mobility, for most people, being physically present is still imperative in daily life. The communication and travel required for this co-presence is "rich and multifaceted and they seem to transform the very nature and need of co presence" (Urry 2004b: 32). Urry (2003a) notes that mobilities are organised into complex patterns that transform the very social relations that the social sciences seek to explain. Thus being mobile has become a way of life for many and, regardless of the technological advances in communications, physical travel continues to increase.

Mobility practices are hybrid, meaning that they involve multiple objects, forms, destinations, times, and consequently different experiences. These differentiated experiences are often based on uneven access to the city and often generate new forms of urban inequality. Accessibility is unevenly distributed between individuals, therefore, whether or not they are attracted by mobility, not everyone has equal access to the workplace, leisure or consumption (Allemand 2003). Accessibility is often referred to as connectivity in terms of transport, however, it involves more than reaching a certain point in the city; it also involves the ability to participate adequately in the social and physical spaces encountered. Multiple mobilities

generate massive inequalities and these inequalities are not only related to access and time, but also to the actual experience of mobility.

This fragmentation and social exclusion, which in Graham and Marvin's (2001) terms produces the 'splintered city', involves reconsidering the need for expanding and connecting ever larger networks (which always bring further social exclusions and bypasses). It requires reconfiguring the couplings and decouplings through which persons, places and publics emerge. According to Mimi Sheller (2004), public spaces are no longer usefully envisioned as the open spaces or free spaces in which diverse participants could gather – the democratic spaces of the street, the square, the town hall; nor are 'virtual spaces' a kind of democratic cybretopia. Instead, Sheller (Ibid) explains that the mechanisms for publics occurring in the context of the new infrastructures of mobility need to be imagined in entirely new ways. Mobile publics can perhaps be envisioned as forms moving in and out of different social gels, including the capacity to take on an identity that is able to speak and participate in specific contexts. There are new possibilities for mobile publics within the unbundled infrastructures of urbanism, the powerful forces of privatisation, social exclusion, and enduring inequality that are taking place (Ibid). This mobile social gel limits some but it also generates new possibilities for others, and requires further exploration.

As Sheller and Urry (2003) note, most theorists agree in seeing inclusion/exclusion as spatially and materially fixed, but do not recognise how cars and information technology undo all divisions between public and private life (Ibid). Urban theorists also generally dismiss the way fragmentation occurs in everyday life. Therefore, there is a call for a more profound understanding of the situations of mobility and the experiences it gives rise to for those involved, the impacts and consequences which go beyond observing the finality of mobility. A comprehensive approach to the practices of mobility requires grasping the reality of contemporary movement as well as analysing the genealogy of these practices (Lussault 2003) that is, the socio-cultural dimensions that condition these practices.

Within urban research, much analysis has been conducted on social exclusion, residential segregation, location of infrastructure, services and housing, place making and belonging. However, there has been little connection between this type of

research and the way people's daily mobility affects them, or on the way the city is accessed from residential areas, or the creation of sense of belonging within this mobile dynamic urban space<sup>4</sup>. Thus, looking at urban daily mobility from residential areas, including its social, economic, cultural, physical implications is increasingly relevant in urban research, as understanding the origin can help to explain how mobility is experienced by different people in the city and the consequences this experience has on everyday lives and on mobility practices.

Consequently, in this research, the practices of urban daily mobility are used to understand contemporary urban living in two ways. Firstly, in practical terms, as an everyday practice, mobility is not a parenthesis in individuals' lives, as it generally encompasses at least two or three hours per day; life does not stop while people are being mobile. As a result, an important part of people's experience of the city, and thus of urban life, occurs while travelling through the city. Therefore urban dwellers adapt on a daily basis in practical terms to piece together elements of housing, employment, family and leisure (Jarvis 2005a). These practices, habits and routine arrangements are both reflexive and recursive within and between spheres of activity and networks of social interaction and knowledge, that is, they are situated practices (Jarvis, Pratt et al. 2001). As such, they require being observed under the understanding that this knowledge is socially constructed. Secondly, regardless of the specificity of cities in the world, people's mobility or immobility about the city is increasingly relevant as it is perhaps the most current way of relating to the city. As a practice, it is constantly changing, due to globalisation processes, global warming, technological advances, policy modifications and cultural turns, amongst many others, but it is also the way contemporary urban dwellers behave, move, shift, discover, stay, meet, encounter: all this occurs during mobility practices, yet little is known about the implications this has on urban analysis and city building.

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<sup>4</sup> Among the exceptions is the work of Savage, Bagnall et al. (2005)



### 1.3 The point of departure: Santiago de Chile on the move

Much contemporary urban literature describes cities today as essential loci of opportunities and progress, while at the same time being increasingly fragmented and segregated, reproducing or maintaining different systems of inequality. This is especially so when referring to cities in developing countries, and in particular to Latin-American cities, including Santiago de Chile, which, after accelerated processes of urbanisation, are having to cope and adapt to current development processes by delivering social and physical interventions to an ever-increasing population. Within this context, and accompanied by their insertion in globalisation trends, urban interventions in these cities generate diverse impacts on urban residents.

Over the past thirty years, the Chilean urban development process has generated social and environmental conditions which have had serious impacts on its population. On one hand, housing policies, particularly since the 1980s, have made considerable efforts to reduce the housing deficit<sup>5</sup>. These housing interventions, by insisting on their physical bias –that is the construction of housing units– largely undermine the impact their production has on the lives of urban dwellers. Significant initiatives have been carried out to create integrated communities through physical and social interventions; nonetheless social segregation and exclusion persists. Santiago de Chile is well-known for this, as it is characterised as one of the most fragmented and segregated capitals in the Latin American region (Sabatini and Arenas 2000; Ducci 2002; Romero 2004). On the other hand, urban development has not been able to cope with the massiveness, speed and impact of construction or with the dramatic changes occurring in Santiago, where, while certain sections of city are being prepared to compete in the global scenario, others are left behind, hidden from the emerging opportunities, hoping to receive some of the benefits being generated.

The analysis of this situation (Rojas 2001; MINVU 2004; Navarro 2005; Rodríguez and Sugranyes 2005) often neglects the everyday experience that this uneven urban development involves; additionally it disregards other forms of inequality and

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<sup>5</sup> Number of housing units needed to satisfy the demand of housing per households.

fragmentation experienced at an individual or household level in multiple forms including the daily experience of moving or not moving in the city. Little is known about the way urban residents cope, struggle, face or enjoy living in the city of Santiago on a daily basis. This limited knowledge of these experiences is reflected on the way urban professionals conceive urban space or the elements used for city planning. Overcoming this neglect goes beyond incorporating participatory means to the urban or transport planning process, as what emerges as problematic is that the assumptions used when intervening urban space are insufficient and not always adequate to capture the way urban residents live in cities today. This is reflected in the types and forms of issues being tackled and thus on the interventions, which seldom respond to the problems and concerns faced daily by urban residents.

Although transport research in Latin America is rich, particularly from the disciplines of transport engineering and economics, as in most countries, its approach has mostly been demand and supply based, in order to provide transport solutions. For the most part, transport studies have been sectorial, meaning that the link between urban transformation and transport has been limited (Montezuma 2003a). Montezuma (2003b). suggests that this type of research does not consider the way local transport systems operate, which can be considered non conventional from a developed country point of view, and lead to making transport systems more efficient. This has implied limited analysis on the way transport systems actually work, including its effects and causes, in terms of organisations and management of systems, lacking a transversal view of the city.

The work of Dureau (2002), Figueroa (2005) and Montezuma (2003a; 2003b) is relevant in emphasising the need for a mobility approach to transport in Latin America, which considers the potential demand, income difference, accessibility, socioeconomic as well as historical, political and socioeconomic dimensions of mobility. For these authors, mobility is understood as movement, or the way people move from point A to point B, and improving it requires better understanding of how the system operates, in terms of administration and organisation, adding a socioeconomic dimension to characterise the travellers. Although this approach is useful, it still lacks understanding the experience of mobility by those who use transport systems. There are still very few studies in Latin America that look at urban

daily mobility from an experiential perspective, analysing the experience of everyday life and the consequences this has on mobility<sup>6</sup> and the impact mobility has for the experience of everyday life. This thesis aims at bridging these gaps in empirical and theoretical terms.

#### **1.4 Preparing the journey: main research aims**

In light of these concerns about the urban situation in Chile and current ways in which mobility affects the experiences of people living in cities, the main research questions that guide this research refer to clarifying how the practices of urban daily mobility shape the way urban living is experienced in contemporary cities. Specifically, it seeks to uncover the meaning these practices have for urban dwellers in Santiago on the lived spaces of contemporary urban life; the strategies people employ in their daily urban mobility practices; and the consequences of daily mobility practices in contemporary urban dwellers' life in Santiago. These questions inform the research and are applied critically in the context of a Latin American city, specifically as a case study of residents of three different income neighbourhoods in the borough of La Florida, in the city of Santiago, interrogating how, in this context differentiated urban daily mobility practices take place.

These questions lead to the following specific research aims: to examine the way urban interventions relate to the practices of urban daily mobility; to explore the ways in which urban daily mobility practices affect and give significance to everyday life to urban residents in Santiago de Chile; to uncover the impact of differentiated experiences of mobility by analysing urban daily mobility practices of individuals from different income neighbourhoods in Santiago de Chile; and to analyse how differentiated access to practices, relations and places generates processes of urban inequality in Santiago de Chile. The ways in which these research questions and objectives are dealt with in the thesis are explained in the next sections.

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<sup>6</sup> Initial work has been carried out by Avellaneda (2007) and Vega (2004, 2005) in Peru, Ureta (2006) in Chile, Capron and González (2006) in Mexico.

## **1.5 The main destination: Thesis argument**

This thesis argues that an urban daily mobility approach captures a shift in the way that urban spaces are experienced. Capturing this shift relates to understanding that urban living in cities like Santiago, which have undergone important social, economic, political, cultural and technological changes over the past few decades, has also gone through significant modifications. However, current urban analyses are only capturing a limited part of urban reality and this is clearly reflected both in research as in urban interventions. Neglecting a broader understanding of urban reality has important implications in the outcomes of interventions that do not meet the urban needs of the population. Capturing this shift has significant implications in various areas of urban analysis: it requires adopting methodologies capable of revealing mobility experiences; it incorporates mobility into the notion of place, thus generating the possibility of mobile place making; it expands the notion of urban inequality and social exclusion to incorporate mobility as a cause, a consequence or a manifestation of inequality; and it provides a new way of looking at spatial relations in the city by understanding the implications of place confinement and enlargement. This shift reveals a new reality of urban living that if recognised, will provoke inevitable impact in urban interventions. This main argument is broken down into six specific arguments discussed throughout the thesis.

## **1.6 Breaking down the route: Chapter structure and specific arguments**

After introducing the mobility turn, Chapter 2 explains the difference between transport and mobility and how transport studies, and urban studies as a whole, have neglected to incorporate mobility into their view of the city and have specifically ignored how the experience of moving affects urban living or the way urban interventions impact everyday life. It then suggests looking at the way everyday life contributes to the endeavour of understanding contemporary mobilities, as it helps to unveil the invisibility, difference and complexity of social relations today. Furthermore, social practice theory, through the analysis of the practices people carry out in daily life, emerges as the most convincing way of understanding urban daily mobility. An urban daily mobility framework is presented in this chapter by integrating urban daily mobility practices, place making and urban access. This

framework supports the analysis of the empirical data gathered from mobility experiences in Santiago de Chile.

A large part of urban research assumes space and people's use of space as fixed and contained in specific areas yet, space can be seen as a constituent part of urban practices. Therefore, when looking at urban daily mobility practices, the object of study becomes these embodied and spatially embedded mobility practices. Chapter 3 argues that, methodologically, everyday experiences require an updated understanding of how these take place as well as ways of representing them in dynamic yet clear manners. This involves adopting innovative methodologies of enquiry, representation and negotiation. Qualitative methodologies are generally used to explain urban activities through narrative description; however, traditional qualitative methods are not sufficiently dynamic to analyse and explain urban daily mobility practices. Thus, based on the urban daily mobility framework presented in Chapter 2, this chapter argues that the most adequate way to understand the experience of urban daily mobility is by adopting a social constructivist approach: through a detailed, thick and multifaceted description of the practice, the mobility experience and its impact on everyday life is rendered more accurately. This chapter proposes complementing an ethnographic research approach with time-space mapping and photography as a more comprehensive way of understanding the experiences urban daily mobility practices.

Capturing this shift in urban experience is not only relevant for theoretical and methodological reasons, it is also important because neglecting the current urban realities has immediate and profound consequences, particularly in the context of urban interventions aiming to transform urban space. By reviewing the preparation of Transantiago, the latest urban transport intervention in Santiago, Chapter 4 introduces the current logic of practice in urban and specifically transport planning in Chile, which, by ignoring everyday life experiences and privileging top down implementations, risks the possibility of not improving urban living in Santiago. The chapter first provides a succinct introduction of urban and transport planning in Chile, and specifically in Santiago. It then presents the major transport issues which led to the implementation of Transantiago using bibliographic material and

interviews with key experts carried out prior to its implementation. Finally, it analyses the proposed route network, planned infrastructure, financial system and information system, illustrating the problems current transport approaches have to mobility in urban areas. This chapter sets the scene for introducing the problems of transport planning and the following chapters expose part of what is missing in this analysis.

Chapter 5 introduces the city of Santiago as the specific location for this research, providing a brief description of the main urban processes occurring in the city today. It explains the capital's social segregation and how this is clearly reflected on its spatial conformation, particularly in terms of residential location of different income groups. Although studies of urban segregation are essential, and, for the most part, accurate, this chapter argues that current understanding of urban social relations and their spatial inequality implications require broadening traditional analysis of urban segregation by taking into account everyday practices and their various spheres and spaces of exchange and interaction which go beyond fixed residential areas and involve mobile gradients of urban experience.

Within this mobile urban experience, the way space renders meaning is particularly relevant. Chapter 6 presents the idea of mobile place making and the elements that make it possible. Massey (1994, 1995) has argued that if social organisation of space is changing and disrupting the existing ideas about place, then the concept of place should be rethought altogether, understanding it instead as the location of particular sets of intersecting social relations and intersecting activity spaces (Massey 1995) in time. This chapter attempts to move further in this re-conceptualisation by introducing the idea of mobile place making within the practice of urban daily mobility through the concepts of mobile and transient places. It argues that place making is also generated on the spaces travelled on, by, within, through, in those spaces encountered in mobility: buses, metros, cars, bicycles, or foot which become *mobile places*; and in those spaces people signify while moving about, along or through which become *transient places*. The first involves places people appropriate for reflection, contemplation, socialisation, friendship, independence, distraction or evasion, amongst others. The second are fixed spaces with intense mobility going

though them, however, they are not places of permanence but places of transition and people signify them for convenience, leisure, distraction, socialisation or recreation.

A closer analysis of the city as mobile gradients leads to examining differentiated experiences of urban daily mobility and questions the way urban exclusion is often understood. Chapter 7 argues that urban daily mobility practices are differentiated according to social conditions of gender, income, age, position in life cycle, amongst others, and this differentiation affects people's accessibility to various aspects of daily living. These differences are enhanced when physical, financial, organisational and temporal, technological and the skills dimensions of mobility restrict access to practices, relations and places, becoming mobility barriers and generating experiences of inequality. This chapter concentrates on the first type of access: access to practices, and specifically on the practices of going to work, while the following chapter expands the notion of access to relations and places, which, when analysed in conjunction with access to practices, may lead to the possibility of mobile place confinement or enlargement. This chapter moves the discussion on urban inequality from a mobility point of view. It then provides a detailed description of individual daily trajectories in Santiago in terms of access to the specific practices of going to work, analysing how the specific mobility barriers unveil inequality issues of gender, household responsibilities, income, technology, time, and flexibility.

Chapter 8 continues the analysis of differentiated access to relations and places using the concepts of mobile place making. It specifically argues that uneven spatial relations become further unveiled during mobility practices when restricted access to relations and places occurs, generating the possibility of mobile place confinement or mobile place enlargement, depending on the types of encounters, interactions or negotiations that take place during these practices. The chapter first discusses the significance of mobile place enlargement and confinement. It then exemplifies how accessibility to relations and places is also differentiated and influenced by mobility barriers. Thus the same mobility barriers that restrict access to practices of going to work also influence accessibility to relations and places. Finally, it discusses how

this accessibility influences place confinement or enlargement during mobility practices.

Chapter 9 recaps the themes developed in the empirical chapters and brings together the main discussions that run across the chapters. In theoretical terms these relate to the way urban daily mobility can capture changes in urban living that are normally neglected by urban analysis in cities like Santiago de Chile and, as such, have important consequences; the understanding of urban daily mobility as embodied, embedded and emplaced; the complexity of invisibility of everyday life in urban analysis, the way mobility becomes a new manifestation, cause and consequence of urban inequality, expanding the notion of urban inequality; and, as an 'in between' timespace, mobility can be seen as a opportunity, a place of socialisation, encounter, and transformation of social relations. In methodological terms, it discusses the implications of capturing urban knowledge through mobile ethnographies and the implications this has on current discussions on representation. In policy terms this chapter discusses the implications this type of research has for urban and transport planning. The chapter concludes with recommendations for directions that other research into urban daily mobility could potentially follow.

By analysing urban daily mobility practices in Santiago de Chile, this thesis questions partial, fixed and sectoral urban analysis and interventions and presents a mobile way of analysing the experience of urban living. Through an urban daily mobility approach, it examines daily mobility experiences as rich timespaces of mobile place making as well as increasingly uneven forms of access to the city. This opens an often hidden dimension of urban inequality. The future implications of this type of analysis begin to emerge as essential, not only in presenting new forms of analysing urban inequality, but also revealing the possibility of creation of spaces of socialisation, negotiation and transformation of social relations in the future.



## **2 Mobility in Everyday Urban Practices**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the ‘mobility turn’ in social sciences, its implications in understanding the experience of living in contemporary cities and the relations it generates, in order to propose an urban daily mobility framework to understand urban practices. It argues that an urban daily mobility approach can capture an ontological shift in urban living. This refers to understanding that the experience of living in cities today has changed considerably over the past few decades, particularly in cities like Santiago de Chile, as a result of technological innovation, processes of globalisation, democratisation, changes in family relations, new forms of employment, differentiated increase in living standards, amongst others. These broader processes have provoked significant changes in the way everyday life takes place in urban space. An urban daily mobility approach can capture these changes more accurately than traditional approaches to transport or urban planning, particularly because of the way it understands mobility and the way urban experience occurs in cities today.

Capturing this shift involves thinking of new ways to grasp urban living, related to comprehending everyday living, including the process of place making and socialisation in urban areas, and the consequences of urban daily mobility practices, including the weakening, creation, enhancement or evidencing of unequal social relations. This shift refers to changes in the way the world is viewed, and capturing it becomes increasingly relevant in urban studies, particularly in urban and transport planning, as a better understanding of urban living can have considerable impact on the ways urban interventions are conceived, developed and implemented.

In this research, a mobility approach aims at understanding mobility practices and incorporates into its analysis aggregate travel behaviour patterns as well as experiential aspects of the practice, including the conditions that mould the experience, the actual travel experience and the consequences of such experience to everyday urban dwellers. This means that a mobility approach could make the connections from point A to point B effective and efficient, but also, by detecting

other mobility issues involved in these connections, it might achieve more equitable, just and comfortable experiences prior, during and after the journeys are made. This makes mobility an issue to be observed not only by transport planners, but also by urban planners, as well as by other professionals within the social sciences involved in urban analysis including economists, geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, amongst other, and by those involved in mobility practices. From a mobility approach, transport does not solve all mobility issues; however, by recognising broader mobility issues, transport can significantly improve them. Adopting such an approach may also require an intentional dialogue with other social and spatial interventions that also have a say in mobility issues.

The chapter begins by introducing the difference between transport and mobility and how transport studies, and urban studies as a whole, have neglected mobility in their view of the city –specifically by undermining the relevance of the experience of moving or the way urban and transport interventions impact everyday life. The chapter suggests capturing urban living from the experiences of everyday life in order to understand contemporary mobilities by unveiling the invisibility, difference and complexity of social daily relations. In this context, social practice theory, through the analysis of the practices that people carry out in daily life, emerges as the most adequate way of exploring urban daily mobility.

Adopting this theoretical approach becomes useful to develop the three main aspects which this research looks at through the mobility lens. The first involves recognising the relevance of mobility in the experience of time and space and the way people appropriate, signify and spatialise travel time in various ways, thus creating places while on the move. This makes ‘place’ an important concept to examine in terms of practices, as mobility generates the possibility of creating what this research proposes as ‘mobile places’ and ‘transient places’. The second issue relates to seeing that, although place making effectively occurs during mobility, this experience is not homogeneous and mobility practices are differentiated. This differentiation can generate uneven access to practices, relations and places, and questions traditional ways of looking at urban inequality and social exclusion. Differentiated mobility experiences and uneven accessibility can lead to the third aspect discussed in this thesis: ‘mobile place confinement’ or ‘mobile place enlargement’, both of which are

expressions of a type of urban inequality that is seldom looked at. An urban daily mobility framework is then presented to guide the analysis of the empirical data gathered from mobility experiences in Santiago de Chile.

## 2.2 The ‘Mobility Turn’ in Urban Studies

Globalisation as well as advances in technology have led to what Manuel Castells (Castells 2000a) calls the technological revolution of information and communication which characterises the current Information Age<sup>7</sup>. In David Harvey’s terms, this implies a compression of time-space, where “the time horizons of both private and public decision-making have shrunk, while satellite communication and declining transport costs have made it increasingly possible to spread those decisions immediately over an ever wider and variegated space” (Harvey 1989: 147). For Harvey (2000), this implies that innovation in transport and communications, through the reduction in cost and time of movement over space, and the construction of fixed physical infrastructure to facilitate this movement, “are part of the capitalist process to annihilate space through time” (Harvey 2000: 59). This has signified an increase in physical and virtual travel, either through long or short journeys, by foot, bus, plane or phone, on a daily, weekly or yearly basis, either migrating or touring, making mobility today an unavoidable manifestation of what living in the 21st Century is about. However, space annihilation need not refer to its elimination, but more to its transformation. This is particularly so in the way space and time are experienced, since, as discussed by May and Thrift (2001), space and time are inevitably linked and one does not suppress the other.

For Sheller and Urry (2006), this new mobility paradigm<sup>8</sup> has also implied a shift in the way urban studies are approached. These have usually been static in their analyses of urban phenomena, attempting to understand the way cities enter into globalised society, how people’s lives occur in fixed localities, or how they adapt or

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<sup>7</sup> “A historical period in which human societies perform their activities in a technological paradigm constituted around microelectronic-based information/communication technologies, and genetic engineering” Castells (2000b: 5)

<sup>8</sup> Urry (2007) claims that, apart from looking at the neglects and omissions of various movements of people or ideas, this new paradigm is also “transformative of social science, authorising an alternative theoretical and methodological landscape” (Urry 2007: 18)

are adapted to, resist or are restricted to, challenge or are challenged by, ignore or are ignored by global trends.

In the 1970s time space geography pioneered the study of sociospatial analysis, through the work of Torsten Hägerstrand (1970) who explained the indissoluble link between time and space. A few decades later, the notion of timespace developed by May and Thrift (2001) is helpful in apprehending the mobility turn as it relates to the interconnectedness of time and space and the multiplicity of timespaces. It attempts to overcome the dualism in understanding time and space as separate notions and sees them instead as inseparable in their analysis, without prioritising one over the other. Timespace and its experience, as a multidimensional, uneven and always partial process, becomes relevant in the context of a mobile contemporary urban life, since changes in the nature and experience of either space or time impact upon changes in the nature and experience of the other (May and Thrift 2001).

Additionally, the experience of social time is multiple and heterogeneous and it varies both within cultures and between societies and individuals and is related to their social position (May and Thrift 2001). For this, the authors identify four main interrelated domains where time and space have particular implications for social practices. In the first, the experience of timespace varies according to timetables and rhythms, that is according to day cycles, seasons or body rhythms. In terms of mobility, this may have differentiated impacts on social practices, as for instance, people may use different modes of transport according to seasons or the places they go to may be highly dependent on the times of day. For the second, timespace is also shaped by systems of social discipline, including work time, home time, religious time, leisure time, amongst other, which have different meanings in different spaces. These timespaces have implications on how, why and where people move more or less or at certain times, for instance, time for going to work and its experience is different from the time for going to church. A third domain relates to the relationship with instruments and devices which affect the way time and space relate with social practice<sup>9</sup>. Mobile phones (Ureta 2006) or computers have made physical mobility

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<sup>9</sup> The mobilities turn is closely associated to the 'post-human' discussion in social sciences. This relates, according to Urry (2007) to the way in which "the analysis of mobilities and especially

less necessary at times, and cars, or the use of faster means of transportation, have major implications in the way timespace is experienced. Lastly, time and space relates to various texts or the way in which timespace is translated into different forms of representations, which in the case of mobility, require new methods to capture the practices taking place in timespace.

From these domains, the picture that emerges is not so much that of a singular or uniform social time stretching over uniform space, but rather that of various (and uneven) networks of time stretching in different and divergent directions across an uneven social space. Domains can connect or fail to connect with (partial or uneven) networks, thus constituting other networks. The result can be radical unevenness in the nature and quality of social time itself, making space a constitutive part rather than an added dimension of the multiplicity and heterogeneity of social time or time space. In social practice, people are *timespaced*, meaning that much of everyday life strategies are based on actual and imagined ways of timespacing or on juggling with issues of times and space.

The mobilities paradigm also implies moving beyond the dual conception of urban space in terms of networks and nodes as proposed by Castells (1996; 2000b; 2005). For Castells, networks are versatile and hierarchical structures which connect at nodes and hubs (in a world system of cities, or within cities in urban areas). Networks become processes instead of places and are characterised by the structural domination of the spaces of flows (See Chapter 6 in Castells 1996). *Spaces of flows* involve the material organisation of time sharing social practices that work through flows (of information, technology, organisation interaction, images, sounds and symbols) (Castells 1996), allowing for simultaneity without territorial contiguity and are made up of technological infrastructure of information systems, telecommunications and transportation lines (Castells 1999). On the other hand,

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multiple and intersecting mobility systems [...] is an adaptive and evolving relationship with each other" (Urry 2007: 44). Although not adopted fully in this research, this debate is relevant as it questions those analyses that look at humans as independent of their material world. It also tries to see the relationship between human beings and their material worlds and the variety and complexity of these relations. Objects greatly enhance, diminish, ease, obstruct, or complement mobility experiences and a mobilities approach attempts to change the way these relationships are traditionally looked at.

*spaces of places* are, according to Castells, locales “whose form, function and meaning are self contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity” (Castells 1996: 423). Moreover, Castells explains that “the urban world seems to be dominated by the double movement of inclusion into transterritorial networks and exclusion by the spatial separation of places. The higher the value of people and places, the more they are connected into interactive networks; the lower their value, the lower their connection” (Castells 2005: 48).

Understanding urban space as networks and hubs, or spaces of flows and spaces of places, is problematic in three ways. First because, although spaces of flows can be empirically demonstrated, are significantly relevant and increasing today, and their impacts on social relations have been considerable at a local, city, regional and international level, the dualism between spaces of flows and spaces of places is not very clear, or present in everyday living, nor is it very useful in urban analysis. It appears that there are not two different forms of space – flows and place, but space needs to be understood as a more complex continuum where flow can also be comprehended as a place, not just in the electronic system, but also in physical space, as it is presented later in this chapter through mobile places and explained empirically with the case of Santiago in Chapter 6.

Secondly, using connections as a way to determining the value of people seems problematic, as connection and disconnections are not the only forms of fragmentation and segregation that occur, since people in many cities in the world are highly connected. Therefore, the issue is not so much the volume of connection but the quality of this connection, which is approached here as accessibility, as discussed in Chapter 7 and 8. This means mobility as flow undermines those issues that are not so much about *how much* mobility but about its quality and particularly the control people have over mobility practices.

Thirdly, as presented by Ed Soja (Soja 2000), the binary power play presented by Castells between flows and places, where “power rules exclusively and triumphantly in the space of flows and that the new cultural politics has little chance of making a significant difference in cities, regions, nations-states and the works at large” (Soja 2000: 215), leave no space for non-flows or for the way in which people mobilise for

their rights to move or not move. Likewise, under a mobility lens, the analysis of suppressed journeys or those trips that are not made due to multiple reasons, is highly relevant.

Mimi Sheller (2004) claims that network analysis is unable to depict processes of uncertainty and dynamic social change provoked by the mobilisation of people, objects and information and proposes that the complexity of mobile social interactions in urban space can be better understood as “messy gels of sociality occurring at different scales and scopes” (Sheller 2004: 47). By this, the author implies that the increase in mobile communication may enable new ways of organising the spatial scale and temporal rhythms of interaction, instead of “isolating people into cocooned worlds of solitariness” (Ibid: 42). The analysis of the interactions that take place during mobility are particularly relevant in this research as these timespaces present themselves as opportunities for new spaces of socialisation. Moreover, Sheller (2004) notes that the convergence and blurring of timespaces of business, leisure, travel and inhabitancy for certain groups may be producing new pressures to manage fragmented time budgets and dispersed social contacts in more complex ways. These pressures are particularly relevant when the implications of different household arrangements are looked at under a mobility lens. Although it is evident that there has been an increase in hyper-mobility by some – people are moving more frequently and over longer distances– there are still people who live intensely local lives based on repeated movement between familiar stations and intersections (Jarvis 2005). Consequently, a major aspect of what makes mobility significant is the way it impacts people’s daily life and the way mobility contributes, or further enhances fragmentation is particularly relevant.

In line with this, using Bourdieu’s notion of capital, Urry (2007), has developed the concept of network capital, which he defines as “the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit (although this will often entail various objects and technologies or the means of networking)” (Urry 2007: 197). This concept is similar to Kaufman’s notion of motility, which refers to the ability to move spontaneously and independently and is therefore a possibility and a capacity (Kaufmann, Bergman et al. 2004; Flamm and Kaufmann 2006). Kaufmann refers to

it as individual ownership, whereas Urry sees it as a “product of the relationality of individuals with others and with the affordances of the ‘environment’” (Urry 2007: 198). Both of these concepts are similar to Amartya Sen’s capabilities approach in the context of human development, whose aim is to enhance people's capabilities to function, where a *capability* is a freedom to achieve valuable 'beings' and 'doings' (together defined as 'functionings'<sup>10</sup>). Capabilities are the various combinations of functionings a person can achieve. The emphasis is on capability as the objective rather than functionings themselves because of the importance Sen attaches to people's freedom to choose among functionings. Being educated or being well nourished are examples of 'beings'; the corresponding capabilities would then be the capability to be educated or well nourished (Sen 1993). Being mobile would correspond to the capability of mobility or motility. Understanding the capability of mobility is crucial in this research as it highlights mobility practices as possibilities which can be enhanced or diminished.

Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 1, mobility may be physical, but it may also be virtual or imaginative. Travel becomes a possibility today to multiply living spaces and free ourselves from places that subjugate us (Urry 2003a). Regardless of this, being physically present is still imperative in daily life. The possibility of meeting, the different forms and modes of travel, distances and intermittent co-presence are central to much of social life today (Ibid). However, virtual or physical travel is not always possible or convenient for everyone and the social implications of mobility require careful analysis. This is because, as argued by Freudendal-Pedersen (2007), it is not certain whether increased mobility, motility or network capital effectively increase freedom, as increased mobility and motility might also overburden individuals in contemporary living. In Chapter 8, the way mobility might be restrictive or liberating or ease contemporary living is discussed further through the notions of place confinement and enlargement.

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<sup>10</sup> Functionings “represent parts of the state of a person – in particular the various things that he or she manages to do or be in leading a life” (Sen 1993: 31). Capability of a person “reflects the alternative combinations of functioning the person can achieve and from which he or she can choose one collection” (Ibid: 31)



Perhaps it is the multiplicity of simultaneous travels that makes this ‘mobility turn’ have so many implications and makes us question the way space is experienced and analysed. This turn is having considerable theoretical, methodological and practical implications in social sciences, which are only now starting to be unveiled (Urry 2007) and urban studies currently only address a minor part of it.

Consequently, every time people change their presence, be it physical, imaginatively or virtually, they are being mobile. However, mobility need not be reduced to movement, and although movement is an important expression of mobility, it does not equate with it. Mobility refers to the actual social practice of moving through space-time, rather than the mere act of movement of something or somebody around, which refers to transport. Although transport is not the main focus of this research, the interaction between actors and transport is, thus making the implications of transport interventions relevant to study. As a result, in this research, transport is pertinent in terms of how it affects the mobility practices of urban population. The next section clarifies this difference.

### **2.3 From Transport to Mobility Studies**

Mobility in cities has been largely unstudied in the areas of urban geography, urban sociology or urban studies in general (Hall 2003). Only recently has the necessity to look at the impact of mobility (Urry 2003b), and particularly urban daily mobility – that is, the experience of moving about the city on an everyday basis– emerged. Urry (Ibid) explains that travel has not been sufficiently researched except for the work of transport engineers, geographers and economists, who tend to examine simple categories of travel, such as commuting for leisure or business. Historically, at least since the invention of the railway and automobile, urban development, and urban form specifically, have been mainly informed by the aim to increase and facilitate circulation through the creation of roads, avenues and highways (Vega 2005), meaning that ease of movement has been at the centre of city making.

However, these disciplines, adopting deductive approaches, explicitly or implicitly derive hypotheses from behavioural models, assuming some form of rational decision-making, which are then tested against empirical data to ultimately arrive at

generalisation (Schwamen 2007). Rational Action Theory (RAT) argues that, at least for methodological purposes, “social analysis must decompose the social world into actions of its individual members [...] and should regard the actions of those members as rational [...] [aiming] to maximise the rewards of their action and minimise personal costs [...], this is said to render actions predictable and amendable to causal analysis from the outsider perspective of a scientific observer” (Crossley 2005: 238)

This supposition of rational human beings implies rational transport decisions, which translate to efficiency and effectiveness in circulation and connectivity as the main aim of transport solutions, seeking to optimise transport choices according to economic interest. With these assumptions in mind, transport can be associated with various disciplines including, engineering, economics, geography, planning, business and regional sciences (Johnston 1981; Small 2001). Through quantitative methodologies, transport experts elaborate data intensive models to determine the most efficient ways to undertake daily trips at different times of the day and attempt to put order or discipline in daily movement.

Although modelling in transport has become increasingly sophisticated and useful to understand aggregate travel patterns and predict future travel behaviour, its understanding of urban living is incomplete and often misses what urban living is about as will be seen in the case of Transantiago in Chapter 4. The disciplines that work with transport and mobility issues require broadening their scope of analysis and the questions posed. Assuming rational decision making is helpful to develop models, however, in interventions dealing with mobility issues, other decisions that are not always rational need to be incorporated in order to capture the reality people live on a daily basis. This reality appears to be shifting in ways that are only now beginning to be understood.

While transport research neglects the social processes involved in travel and the way these affect people’s lives, much research in social science has been a-mobile, ignoring or trivialising the movement of people for work and family, leisure and pleasure, thus often failing to examine how social life presupposes both the actual and the imagined movement of peoples from place to place, person to person, event

to event (Urry 2003a). Research has shown that mobility practices are hybrid (Cresswell 2006a), meaning that most of the time they have more than one objective and also change with experience. Many of the practices include greatly varying periods of rest, stases, which may or may not be exploited, sought or imposed. Therefore, it becomes necessary to understand the situations of mobility and the experiences of those involved, and not just the finality of mobility in different contexts.

A comprehensive approach to the practices of mobility requires grasping contemporary movement but also an analysis of the origin of these mobility practices (Lussault 2003). This approach would also require understanding the ‘in-betweens’, including processes that take place between scales, or diverse groups, or in between mobile and static experiences, in order to comprehend how these provide meaning and affect social relations. Connectivity and efficiency in connection (virtual, physical or mental) are very important; however, so are the implications of such connections, the experience of journeys, the relations these have to broader social processes. These are also complex, have rich stories to tell and require further research. The next sections provide one way of looking at these experiences and their relations through social practice theory and everyday life and then explain how these can be used in analysing place and urban inequality in mobility. The following section explains the use of social practice theory in mobility. It first explains what is understood by social practice and then it details the way one of its theorists, Pierre Bourdieu, has used it.

## **2.4 Social Practices Theory in Everyday Life and Mobility**

Social practice theory can be used to understand how specific spatialised practices influence contemporary daily living. Although there are discrepancies about whether an actual ‘practice theory’ exists, the work developed by various authors –mainly Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens, but also Harold Garfinkel, Judith Butler or Bruno Latour– can be understood as members of the “praxeological family of theories” (Reckwitz 2002: 244) or its key exponents (Warde 2005). Despite theoretical differences among these authors, a ‘practice approach’ can be “demarcated as all analyses that (1) develop an account of practices, either the field

of practice or some subdomain thereof, or (2) treat the field of practices as the place to study the nature and transformation of their subject matter” (Schatzki 2001: 2). What these theorists have in common is their interest in the ‘everyday’ and the ‘life world’, and all authors present an influence by the cultural turn in social theory (Reckwitz 2002). Although there is little theoretically systematic analysis of such theory, Theodore Schatzki (1996; 2001), Andreas Reckwitz (2002) and Alan Warde (2004; 2005) have made attempts at putting together the different elements. In this context, practices are conceived as “embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organised around shared practical understanding” (Schatzki 2001: 2). This conception contrasts with accounts that privilege individuals, (inter)actions, language, signifying systems, the life world, institutions/roles, structures, or systems in defining the social” (Ibid: 3).

Reckwitz (2002) summarises that practice theory confronts two theoretical alternatives of understanding reality: that of *homo economicus* (which ranges from utilitarianism to RAT) and *homo sociologicus* (norm-oriented theory of action). The problem with both approaches to reality is that they dismiss the implicit, tacit or unconscious layer of knowledge, which enables a symbolic organisation of reality (Reckwitz 2002). Reckwitz sees social practice theories as part of ‘cultural theories<sup>11</sup>’ which are “founded upon a different form of explaining and understanding action, namely by having recourse to symbolic structures of meaning” (Ibid: 244), and apart from social practices theories, cultural theories include: culturalist mentalism, textualism and intersubjectivism. For cultural theories, “social order does not appear as a product of compliance of mutual normative expectations but are embedded in collective cognitive and symbolic structures, as ‘shared knowledge’ which enables a social shared way of ascribing meaning to the world” (Ibid: 246).

For Reckwitz (Ibid), social practice theory, different from other forms of cultural theories, localises the social in practices –that is, the smallest unit of social analysis is the practice (unlike mental qualities in cultural mentalism, or discourse in

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<sup>11</sup> Cultural theories are rooted in structuralism and semiotics, phenomenology and hermeneutics and in Wittgensteinian language game philosophy (Reckwitz 2002).

textualism or interaction, like language, in intersubjectivism). In this context, a practice is a “routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Ibid: 249).

An infinite number of practices can be identified, performed, for instance, in ways of building, writing, making things (pottery, cakes), shopping, dancing or moving. Each practice is carried out in diverse forms of actions and elements, which are often unique. “The single individual – as a bodily and mental agent – acts as a carrier of a practice and of many different practices which may not be related to one another. Therefore, the person not only carries patterns of bodily behaviour, but also a certain routinised way of understanding, knowing and desiring” (Ibid: 250). Furthermore practices consist of “both doings and sayings, suggesting that the analysis must be concerned with both practical activity and its representation” (Warde 2005: 134). A practice is also a performance, which means “performing doings and sayings which actualises and sustain practices in the sense of nexuses” (Ibid: 134). Furthermore, practices are developed over time by groups of practitioners who engage in that practice (Warde 2004: 18) like constructs. Practices can be nurtured and protected, taught and trained “becoming collective properties based on shared understanding, know-how and standards” (Ibid: 18).

The work of Pierre Bourdieu around the concepts of social *practices* and *habitus*, is particularly relevant in the analysis of urban daily mobility practices. Bourdieu defines a ‘social praxeology’ which weaves together a structuralist and a constructivist approach (Bourdieu 2004). In this context, Bourdieu sees himself as a *structuralist constructivist* or a *constructivist structuralist*:

By structuralism or structuralist I mean that there exist, that within the social world itself and not only within the symbolic systems, objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining the practices or their representations. By constructivism, I mean that there is a twofold social genesis, on one hand of the schemes of perception, thought, and action which are constitutive of what

I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures and particularly of fields and of groups, notably those we ordinarily call social classes (Bourdieu 1989: 14).

For Bourdieu, social practices are located in a specific space and time and are the product of a dialectical relationship between a situation and a *habitus*. A habitus, integrating all past experiences, is a system of durable and transposable dispositions and includes manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of long lasting (rather than permanent) structures of perception, conception and action (Bourdieu 2002). Long lasting and durable dispositions tend to perpetuate and reproduce themselves, but they are not permanent or eternal and are thus modifiable in time within the limits of the structures whereby they are located. Although any dimension of habitus is very difficult to change, a reflexive habitus may do so by historical action, oriented by intention or conscious and pedagogic efforts (Bourdieu 2002). Therefore, habitus has a generative characteristic to it, meaning that it simultaneously generates structures and is generated by structures existing in the social space, therefore implying the possibility of modifying the structure.

Although all practices are carried out somewhere, this somewhere is particularly relevant for those practices where their emplacement plays a crucial role in their performance, as is the case of spatial practices. For Lefebvre, “spatial practices embrace production and reproduction and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation” (Lefebvre 1991b: 33). The specific spatial practice observed here is that of urban daily mobility – the practice of moving (or not) about the different parts and scales of cities on a daily basis, depending on the various daily activities people are involved in. Although mobility is usually observed as a means to get somewhere, it is nonetheless a practice in itself, and it consists of several elements that affect the experience: modes of transport, motivations, people, objects, meanings, responsibilities, places and activities.

Hence, as suggested by Casey (2001), Bourdieu's concept of habitus can be seen as the middle term between self and place and in particular between lived place and the geographical self. In this context, the experience of place making is significant because “a given habitus is always enacted in a particular place and incorporates the regularities inherent in previous such places” (Casey 2001: 40 in Easthope 2004:

133). Although Bourdieu's work is not always specifically dedicated to place, increasingly urban scholars including geographers, sociologists, urban planners, anthropologists, have used his concepts<sup>12</sup> in sociospatial analysis.

For Bourdieu, "physical space is defined by the mutual exteriority of its parts, so social space is defined by the mutual exclusion (or distinction) of the positions which constitute it, that is, as a juxtapositional structure of social positions" (Bourdieu 1999: 124; Bourdieu 2000: 134), themselves defined, as positions in the structure of distribution of the various kinds of capitals. In other words, social space is a "two dimensional conceptual arrangement of people, objects, tastes, and dispositions" (Cresswell 2002b: 380). Sometimes social space is translated to physical space as the divisions and distinctions of social space can be expressed in physical space and appropriated as reified social space (Bourdieu 2000). However, this may not always be expressed directly so, and "the translation is always more or less blurred: the power over space that comes from possessing various kinds of capitals takes the form in appropriated physical space of a certain relation between the spatial structure of the distribution of agents and the spatial structure of the distribution of goods and services, private or public (Bourdieu 1999: 124). Therefore, social space, the differences between agents, and geographic space, the built environment in which certain practices and relations take place, coexist but are not identical (Burkitt 2004). However, these spaces are often related, and in the case of mobility practices, their relation is not often easily visible.

Spatial positions can be temporary (a seating arrangement, a route) or permanent (an address, a highway), and part of the inertia of social structures results from their physicality, their modification is difficult unless forced by means of transplantation "a moving of things and uprooting or deporting of people" (Bourdieu 1999: 124). Because they are so difficult to change, urban interventions that disregard existing positions manifested in physical space, may perpetuate or enhance them.

Social practices are carried out or performed through the habitus and their performance depends on the habitus. When, through a particular practice,

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<sup>12</sup> See for example Hillier and Rooksby (2002); Bridge (2004) and Cresswell (2002)

dispositions encounter conditions different from those in which they were constructed and assembled, there is a dialectic confrontation between habitus, as structured structure, and objective structures; this can be seen as a feeling of being 'out of place' or dislocated. In this confrontation, the habitus operates as a structuring structure able to selectively perceive and transform the objective structure according to its own structure while, at the same time, being re-structured, transformed in its make up by the pressure of the objective structure. This means that in rapidly changing situations, habitus changes constantly, continuously, but within the limits inherent in its original structure, that is within certain bound of continuity (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Under the mobility lens and in the context of current rapid and unpredictable changes occurring in cities today, the changing habitus becomes relevant. First because the way it will react to new situations is unknown, or whether it is equipped to do so, or whether those with the fewest dispositions to adapt will increasingly be left marginalised, or will develop ingenious strategies to 'play the game'. The habitus could refrain and remain in the spaces where it feels comfortable and this is particularly relevant if taken to spatial practices like those of urban daily mobility, where urban transport systems are more comfortable to some habitus than others, thus fragmenting the selection of spaces accessed in mobility.

The habitus disposes actors to do certain things; providing a basis for the generation of practices. Practices are produced in and by the encounter between the habitus and its dispositions, and by the constraints, demands and opportunities of the social field to which the habitus is appropriate or within which the actor moves. This is achieved by a less than conscious process of adjustment of the habitus and practices of individuals to the objective and external constraints of the social world through the body. In spatial terms, the body becomes important as explained by Michel de Certeau: "space is never ontologically given, it is discursively mapped and corporeally practical" (in Clifford 1997: 54). This means that in its position in space, the body performs the act of place making, making bodily movement "one of the key ways in which power is constituted" (Cresswell 2002b: 380) since it emerges from the actions and reactions of people as they act in the world.

As mentioned by Bourdieu, "the imperceptible incorporation of structures of the social order undoubtedly happens in large part through a prolonged and indefinitely



repeated experience of the spatial distance that affirms social distance. More concretely, this incorporation takes place through the *displacements and body movements* organised by these social structures turned into spatial structures and thereby *naturalized*" (Bourdieu 1999: 126). The body then is the locus of the social world embodied; integral to what is embodied is power, thus habitus represents the internalisation of the social order, which in turn, reproduces the social order. Power then is reproduced through practices of people who act in accordance to internalised (embodied) schemes of perception (Cresswell 2002b: 380).

This means that the practices of urban daily mobility are embedded, embodied and emplaced. That is, they are embedded in social structures that frame these practices. At the same time, they are emplaced in physical space and although the correspondence between social and physical practices is not always direct or visible, they impact on each other. These practices are also embodied and enacted through the habitus and the way the body performs the practice helps to understand the relations between social and physical space. The habitus is embodied, perceives and is perceived; it is emplaced and embedded in social relations through social practices. Within urban analysis, mobility practices can be seen as ideal to observe the relation between social and spatial practices in contemporary cities. In their emplacement and embodiment, they can evidence how urban living and urban relations occur today and whether this produces social inequalities.

It is suggested here that mobility on an everyday basis can best be captured through understanding social practices. The theoretical reasons for selecting social practice theory for this research relate to the fact that social practices deal not with individual decision making, as with rational action theory, nor on the basis of functioning systems, where the operation of society or its institutions accounts for the behaviour of its members. Instead, analysis begins from shared understandings, know-how and standards of the practice, the internal differentiation of roles and positions within it and with the consequences for people of being positioned relative to others when participating (Reckwitz, 2002). This has methodological implications as will be seen in the next chapter, thus, for this research, the practices of urban daily mobility is the unit of analysis where the differentiated experiences of mobility practices are compared.

## 2.5 The Spatialisation of the Everyday in Contemporary Urban Living

Although migrations, tourism, residential mobility have specific and extremely relevant spatial implications, it is in the daily routines that urban living is most palpable. Disentangling the way urban actors perform this practice on a daily basis becomes particularly relevant. The study of social interactions in everyday life can help to visualise urban dwellers' lives, including the way power relations are expressed in urban space, or the experiences, meanings and practices of everyday urban living. To talk about everyday life is to talk about the basic sociability of individuals, families or groups of people, expressed in their immediate conducts and activities undertaken on a daily basis and immersed in the social structures constituted in the long term (Salazar 1999). The quotidian refers to what people live on a daily basis and is connected to the places where women and men live, work, consume, relax, relate to others, forge identities, cope with or challenge routine, habit and establish codes of conduct. This research suggests that it is within the daily experiences, on the bus, walking, moving, staying put, meeting people, sharing moments, that an essential part of being urban in contemporary societies can be detected.

It is clear that most people carry out their daily activities within and outside their neighbourhood, and for many, a large part of their everyday life occurs elsewhere: in their jobs, but also in the multiple activities they carry out daily, making the everyday a level at which people not only endure but also act. As a concept, the everyday life emphasises the interactions between individual practices and social structures, between different kinds of actions and different levels of consciousness. Everyday practices in urban space can serve to mediate between individuals and groups on one hand and broader structures and institutions of society on another (Vaiou and Lykogianni 2006). A theoretical approach to the everyday can help to examine the invisible and problematic aspects of routine life that are ignored by mainstream policy makers. The discussion will now turn to the construction of two key aspects of everyday life: *invisibility* and *conflict and power relations*.

### **2.5.1 Unveiling the Invisibility the Everyday Urban Experience**

The 'everyday' can be understood as those events which are otherwise imperceptible, irrevocably lost and which are perhaps the most truly personal (Dewsbury 2003). These hidden aspects refer to those 'secret' parts of people's lives that are often ignored or misjudged by urban research and practice (Jarvis, Pratt et al. 2001), as urban studies often see everyday life as unproblematic or simply invisible in their analysis. Uncovering those aspects, which can remain hidden by abstract quantitative analysis or by qualitative perspectives that enquire on broader understandings of reality, is what an everyday approach is based on.

The everyday may be seen as ambivalent: on one hand, it points to the most repeated actions that make up the day to day, the mundane, but on the other, it gives value and quality to everydayness, both of which are part of contemporary living. As questioned by Ben Highmore, "if the everyday is that which is most familiar and most recognisable, what happens when the world around changes and becomes unfamiliar?" (Highmore 2002b: 2). This enquiry suggests to making visible unfamiliar aspects that are currently invisible or unquestioned due to their familiarity. In contemporary urban living the everyday becomes the setting for a dynamic process: making the unfamiliar familiar; getting accustomed to the disruption of custom; struggling to incorporate the new, and adjusting to different ways of living (Highmore 2002b). For Highmore (2002a), the non-everyday –the exceptional– is there to be found in the heart of the everyday. Similarly for Gardiner (2000), the ordinary can become extraordinary not by eclipsing the everyday, but by fully appropriating and activating the possibilities that lie hidden within it.

The development of an intellectual interest in the everyday emerged out of the dissatisfaction by many social scientists with the approach contained in classical and contemporary macro theory. Positivism and critical sociology were seen as "overly deterministic in their portrayal of individuals in society" (Adler, Adler et al. 1987: 218). For the past century, writers, anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, geographers have attempted to grasp the constitution of daily life. One of the major writers on everyday life is French philosopher/sociologist Henri Lefebvre, for whom the production of daily reality does not occur somewhere beyond our reach and is

then imposed on us, but rather, the reality of everyday life, the sum total of all our relations is built on the ground, in daily activities and transactions (Burkitt 2004). For Lefebvre, the problem with the everyday is that its contours might be so vague as to encompass almost everything, as he points out:

Everyday life, in a sense residual, defined by 'what is left over' after all distinct, superior, specialised, structured activities have been singled out by analysis, must be defined as a totality. [...] Everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their common ground. And it is in everyday life that the sum total of relations which make the human – and every human being – a whole takes its shape and its form. In it are expressed and fulfilled those relations which bring into play the totality of the real, albeit in a certain manner which is always partial and incomplete: friendship, comradeship, love, the need to communicate, play, etc. (Lefebvre 1991a: 97).

Lefebvre's critique of everyday life (Lefebvre 1991a) relates to the way current capitalist processes annihilate its possibility, alienates human beings, draining the essence of human beings and impeding humaneness, but it is there where human beings can be total or complete. For Lefebvre, as the habitualised and recurrent nature of daily life, the everyday is hard to conceptualise or describe in theoretical terms, mainly because it is profoundly lived and experienced as ceaseless recurrence (Ibid). He explains that the quotidian has to be analysed in the location where it takes place, meaning that, although the everyday is resistant to a categorisation, it still requires narrowing down. Lefebvre did this by concentrating on the urban. A complementary way to pin it down can be to concentrate on specific practices, such as daily mobility, which, though linked to everything else that people do, evidences the specificities and difficulties of quotidian movement.

In a reflexive manner, everyday life is constantly changing the lives of urban dwellers in the same way that they change everyday life. The experience of daily living –the quotidian, the daily routines which may appear as insignificant– are in fact at the core of what we do, who we are, how we express ourselves. Thus, as space around us changes, so does our everyday experience of it. Some changes occur slowly and we seldom notice them until we make them part of our daily practices: they become an accumulation of small changes that, when we suddenly become

aware of it and attempt to look back or return, the change becomes insurmountable. Others are quick and have instant impact and force us to adapt our daily living accordingly or resist them. This everyday living will never be grasped fully, since as soon as it is apprehended, it will be modified. As mentioned by Vaiou and Lykigianni (2006) it is in the everyday that changes are recognised and perceived and the potential for change can be found, thus the need to recognise the importance of grasping its changing logic.

Lefebvre argues that to “reach reality we must tear away the veil, that veil which is forever being born and reborn of everyday life, and which masks everyday life along with its deepest or loftiest implication” (Lefebvre 1991a: 57). He insists on the need to see the activities that might seem insignificant, for instance. It is in the multifaceted, multitasking moments when everyday life becomes the most vivid or tangible, when most people find themselves living more than one life (Ross 1992 in Highmore 2002b). Meaning that it is precisely when a person is trying to be, for instance, simultaneously a mother, a wife and a worker, that the experience of everyday life provides an important view to the complications or ease people experience throughout their days.

Therefore, the routines that may appear as unchanging and mundane often hide rich ways of apprehending current urban living. These apparent dull routines present the challenge to fashion new forms or tools for apprehending routine urban experiences. This research works towards overcoming the conception of everyday life practices as separate sectors and dichotomies and seeing individuals’ experiences within the number of spheres and across spatial scales. Hence, adapting tools to capture these experiences becomes a challenge, as this is done under the full knowledge that the everyday is “always going to exceed the ability to register it” (Highmore 2002b: 3). The everyday is then both a perspective and a question of methodology of how to study urban living.

### **2.5.2 Everyday life as a critical concept**

The second issue of everyday life relevant for this research refers to comprehending the everyday as a place where conflict can be found, since everyday life can both

hide and make vivid images of social differences (Highmore 2002b) in positive or conflictive ways. This requires questioning the transparency of everyday life and exposing it as a problematic and contested terrain, where readymade meanings are not easily traced and social power relations take place in terms of struggles, negotiations, transformations, resistances and differentiated experiences.

Difference is crucial in everyday urban analysis: seeing how one's experience could be so different from another, regardless of being carried out under seemingly similar contexts. When seen from a single perspective, urban analysis often hides unknown aspects of everyday life which could be recognised as being an essential part of the way cities are produced, reproduced and especially lived.

For instance, the experience of everyday life has often been interpreted in gendered ways, where the feminine has been linked to the daily rituals of private life carried out within the domestic sphere traditionally presided over by women; and in the masculine, the everyday exists in the public spaces and spheres and is dominated especially, but not exclusively in modern western societies, by men (Ibid). This gendered division is not very useful, as both men and women use both private and public spaces, including public transport in differentiated manners (Massey 1994; McDowell 1999). A richer analysis would involve looking at how men and women experience the everyday life differently in such areas, and how gender relations, as well as other social relations, affect everyday experience and generate differentiated experiences. Although everyday life is marked by difference, diversity in the experience of everyday life (most obviously noted by class, gender, age, race, sexuality, etc.) can be seen as positive for city making; however, this experience can also be negative and be the cause of separation, division and conflict. As presented in the analysis of uneven access in Chapters 7 and 8, urban analysis need not stop at the recognition of difference; it also needs to explain it and analyse its consequences and implications.

In line with this, de Certeau (1986) criticises the forms of power exerted by rational reasoning, including urban and transport planning, which seek to construct a totally controlled space, a site where everything can be rationally calculated and ordered. In practice, the exercise of technocratic reason excludes everyday practices and

discourses that fail to conform to this model of abstract rationality, “thereby expunging difference and otherness” (Gardiner 2000: 167). The technocratic procedures and techniques which characterise institutionalised power<sup>13</sup>, are called *strategies* by de Certeau. Whereas unofficial marginal everyday practices, which represent “clandestine forms taken by the dispersed, tactical and makeshift creativity of groups or individuals already caught in the nets of discipline” (de Certeau 1986: xiv) are called *tactics*. Tactics are dispersed, hidden and ephemeral, an improvised response to the concrete demands of the situation at hand (de Certeau 1986). They are also “temporal in nature, and reliant on the art of collective memory, on the tradition of popular resistance and subversion passed on from generation to generation” (Gardiner 2000: 172). It is in the everyday activities that these conceived strategies are tested, resisted, and modified through tactics.

By studying tactics, de Certeau seeks to understand the silent and unacknowledged forms of resistance within the established order and accepted disciplines (de Certeau 1986). As discussed previously, this can be done by analysing social practices like the practices of urban daily mobility.

In the context of daily mobility practices, tactics are similar to what Bourdieu calls strategies, or a practical sense of a particular social game. Embodied strategies endow agents to play the game, however, mastering strategies require improvisation and innovation which go beyond the rules of the game, where the responses are closely related to the habitus. These become relevant, as, while on the move, the tactics or strategies people perform generate the possibility of breaking away from fixed or rigid spaces towards generating spaces of negotiation and transformation. However, understanding how this encounter, negotiation or transformation takes place is part of what unveiling everyday practices is about; this research proposes doing this from a daily mobility practices perspective.

From the previous discussion, understanding the daily activities in timespace is useful for three reasons. Firstly, the way people experience the city is not often

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<sup>13</sup> “the calculus of force is a relationship which becomes possible when a subject of will and power can be isolated from an ‘environment’ [...] political, economic, and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model” (de Certeau 1986: xix)

incorporated in urban interventions as current urban and transport planning practices are mainly informed by abstract information on the city, and provide little recognition to how the everyday feeds back into policy, as is observed in the case of Transantiago in Chapter 4. Secondly, the everyday could be seen as the closest way to unveil contemporary living and the differentiated, multifaceted and hybrid experiences of mobility, how lives are affected by events, instead of abstract numbers and theories that are often detached from what people do. Finally, there are methodological implications involving the use of mobile qualitative methods, which are discussed in Chapter 3. The next sections present two ways in which mobility can be useful to question concepts which are often involved in urban analysis: place and urban inequality. The following section examines how through the processes of place making, this research proposes to observe and uncover the way strategies and tactics used in urban daily mobility practices can generate the possibility of encounter, negotiation and transformation of social relations.

## 2.6 Mobile place making

Current globalisation processes, including technological, communicational and financial advances, as well as current planning, city marketing and branding trends, global cities and international architecture tend to generate urban spaces that appear as clones: shopping malls, airports, motorways, hotels, office complexes, rehabilitated neighbourhoods, conference centres or gated communities are less and less distinguishable and often 'placeless' sites in Relph's (1976) terms. In this context, some believe that as spaces lose their distinctiveness, *place* loses its reality and significance; others insist that place persists as a constituent element of social life and historical change (Gieryn 2000; Cresswell 2002; Sheller and Urry 2006).

Cresswell (2002a; 2004; 2006a; 2006b) provides a clear and insightful summary of the discussion that has been held over the past decades around the concept of place from a sedentarist (rootedness) to a nomadic framing. Both of these are contrasted with a practice-based approach to place. Following Cresswell's synthesis and the current discussion of *place*, in this research place is understood simultaneously as *location*, *locale* and *sense of place*: where *location* implies a where, which could have fixed objective coordinates, but, as is seen later, these need not necessarily be



fixed; *locale* refers to the material setting for social relations; and *sense of place* involves the subjective and emotional attachment people have to *place* (Agnew in Cresswell, 2004). In other words, place refers to the appropriation and meaning people give to specific spaces<sup>14</sup>.

Gieryn (2000) suggests that the three defining features of place (location, material form and meaningfulness) should remain bundled. Their importance cannot be ranked in greater or lesser significance for social life, nor can one be reduced to an expression of another. Place has a plenitude, a completeness and the phenomenon is analytically and substantively destroyed if the three become unravelled or one of them forgotten.

Place and space are not interchangeable as they are understood to be different orders of being (Casey 2001; Easthope 2004). Gieryn (2000) notes that “place is not just a setting, backdrop, stage, or context for something else that becomes the focus of sociological attention, nor is it a proxy for demographic, structural, economic, or behaviour variables” (264) as it becomes an *agent* in itself with effects on social life. Thus, in the midst of the excitement about ‘loss of place’ and the ‘end of geography’, Thrift (2001) explains that cities are richer place making experiences today and our experience of place has not become thinner but thickened, with an increased appreciation of places. They are also enhanced by people’s increasing engagement in quantitative but also qualitative experiences of spaces. According to Savage, Bagnall et al (2005) place making is still relevant today, particularly through elective belonging<sup>15</sup>, as opposed to historical attachment.

Place fixity or the notions of place as bound, settled and coherent communities have been questioned due to the increasing pace of globalisation and time space

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<sup>14</sup> This relates closely to Lefebvre’s notion of lived space (and Soja’s thirdspace), which refers simultaneously to real and imagined, actual and virtual, in contrast to perceived space or representations of space (Soja’s firstspace), which refers to the material elements in space; and conceived space (Soja’s secondspace), which refers to thought about or imagined space (Lefebvre 1991b) or space conceived by those professionals who intervene space, including urban planners, architects and transport professionals, amongst others. The importance of Soja’s thirdspace is that it is lived space in practice (Soja 1996; Soja 2000) or space produced by people, practices, objects and representations.

<sup>15</sup> Elective belonging refers to selecting the place you belong to, and a person’s habitus is extremely important in that selection.

compression. Massey (1995) has argued that if social organisation of space is changing and disrupting the existing ideas about place, then the concept of place should be rethought altogether. In light of this, she proposes places to be seen as “the location of particular sets of intersecting social relations [and] intersecting activity spaces” (Massey 1995: 61) or as particular open nodal points within a complex web of social interactions which stretch around the world (in Easthope 2004). The importance of these intersecting nodes is not the node in itself but what happens in that node, the relations around it and the webs that stretch beyond them. This way of thinking about place leads to the possibility of places being mobile, dynamic, transitive; as moving around and not necessarily staying in one location (Urry 2004a).

Under this understanding, the process of place making is not fixed, permanent or eternal; nor it is sudden and ephemeral. The multiplicity of changes in space and time in speed, forms and encounters, creates what Massey (2007) refers to as places as *events*, a constellation of processes, multiple and not necessarily coherent. The event of place requires negotiation and it poses a challenge as to how our encounters with others (or things) “will take place, how we are going to get in this conjunctuality” (Massey 2007: 140). Places as events cannot be predetermined or anticipated, these occur as they happen and are relations occurring in time and space.

Places as events can be constructed during mobility experiences, and the results can vary, as can their implications. Therefore, under a mobility lens, this research proposes that places can be mobile or transient as discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Where mobile places are proposed as those places that people signify while travelling on them: cars, buses, metros, trains, or bicycles. Transient places, the second form of place generated through mobility, involve those fixed spaces, which people signify while moving through them – markets, bus stops, petrol stations -, they are not places of permanence but places of transit and transition elsewhere, and regardless of the amount of time spent through them, they are nonetheless appropriated and signified.

Mobile place making becomes relevant in understanding the changing nature of contemporary urban daily living and in thinking of the relations with places, rather

than only spaces, becomes significant. This also means that when looking at urban practices, the way they are experienced is important, but just as crucial is the relation they generate to the places encountered in the practices. This requires expanding the analysis of place to those areas beyond the home, including the way in which the daily experience of mobility impacts urban living and place making processes. As large parts of our days are spent going from one place to the next, the practice of being mobile (or immobile) becomes essential in the consideration of how places can be constructed in mobility.

Moreover, place making always involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space. This is a progressive sense of place, where place is open and permeable and always in construction. Massey (1995) has argued that 'places' are a social construct and are actively being made and our ideas of place are product of the society we live in. Places are doubly constructed: most are built or in some way physically carved out, but they are also interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood and imagined (Gieryn 2000). The physical environment is an essential part of place, but it is always an interpreted element (Massey 1995). The construction of the sense of place is increasingly differentiated and has a clear gendered dimension which also intersects with other social dimensions like class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, amongst other.

A gendered analysis of socio-spatial relations need not necessarily concentrate on women, but it will inevitably look at the “relations between men and women and the way they are intersected with other social relations, its aim is to make visible and challenge the relationships between gender divisions and spatial divisions, to uncover their mutual constitution and problematise their apparent naturalness” (Ibid: 12). Although the distinction between sex and gender is quite useful to explain how the social is often determinant of women’s unequal position, Longhurst (2001) suggests that examining the sexed body in space is also relevant as embodied experiences of place are unique.

As lived and embodied, bodies have an impact on the way places are experienced. Embodiment refers to the “process whereby the individual body is connected into

larger networks of meaning at a variety of scales” (Cresswell 1999: 196). Consequently, the embodiment of mobility makes our bodies experience places in different manners. The senses used in the process of place making as well as the way social characteristics are reflected on the body, like the colour of skin, disability, being young, old, pregnant or blind, affect mobility practices.

For this research, gender analysis implies making an explicit distinction of how mobility practices are experienced differently by men and women and how they are often produced by uneven gender relations. It also involves disaggregating gender differences according to income, age and life cycle. Space and place are not neutral, and there are gender implications, as well as other uneven processes taking place in living space, in its appropriation and in the sense of belonging to it. Recognising the conflicts taking place, in socio-spatial relations requires a more profound analysis of the implications of difference and inequality in the context of mobility practices.

## 2.7 The consequences of differentiated mobility

Central to the analysis of urban daily mobility practices are the significant implications these have on urban inequality today. In *The Weight of the World*, through a series of interviews, Bourdieu et al (1999) explore the social suffering in contemporary society “marked by neo-liberalism, the dissolution of class identity and the retreat of the State” (Castro and Lindbladh 2004: 261). According to Bourdieu et al (1999), those with economic, cultural and social capital have power over space and tend to self-segregate, while those with scarce resources are *confined* to places they do not choose. People struggle to appropriate space and their success depends on the capitals<sup>16</sup> possessed.

Capital makes it possible to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance at the same time that it brings closer desirable persons and things, thereby minimizing the necessary expense in appropriating them. Proximity in physical space allows for proximity in social space to deliver all its effects by facilitating or fostering the accumulation of social capital and, more precisely, by allowing uninterrupted benefits from the meetings

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<sup>16</sup> For Bourdieu capitals may be social, economic, cultural or symbolic.

at once fortuitous and foreseeable that come from frequenting well-frequented sites. [...]. Conversely, those who are deprived of capital are either physically or symbolically held at a distance from goods that are the rarest socially, they are forced to stick with the most undesirable and the least rare persons and goods. The lack of capital intensifies the experience of finitude: it chains one to a place (Bourdieu 1999: 127).

In these places, people find nothing in common but the lack of economic, social and cultural capital. Under the mobility lens, this appears as a double exclusion: on one side, spatial fixation with agglomerated vulnerability, and on the other, limited urban access possibilities, creating segregated as well as parallel cities, where people may overlap but never meet. Thus, the daily constructed mobile places could have different consequences depending on who generates them. This research proposes that some mobility practices may create *mobile place confinement* while others can generate *mobile place enlargement*. These concepts are introduced as relevant to incorporate in a study of urban daily mobility, particularly if place is recognised as mobile, uprooted and dynamic. Mobile place confinement can be understood as the restriction or limitation of individuals to place making in a city due to physical, social, economic, cultural or other boundaries that impede his/her capacity to move or motility. Whereas, mobile place enlargement, refers to the freedom people have due to the various capitals they dispose of to access and signify urban spaces.

From a daily mobility point of view, there is a need to clarify whether despite the high levels of mobility in urban areas, the point of departure (possession of physical, social, economic, symbolic, cultural capitals) contributes to the perpetuation of the existing inequality, thus confining places along the daily journeys or, whether regardless of social conditions, places are expanded in the experience of being mobile in the city. This could help to verify whether urban daily mobility contributes to place confinement/enlargement, and thus improving or worsening the experience of urban daily mobility can make a difference in urban inequality. A large part of the possibility of changing these experiences relates to overcoming accessibility barriers present in society that not only prevent place enlargement or confinement, but enhance urban inequalities.

Sheller and Urry (2003) note that most theorists agree in seeing inclusion/exclusion as spatially and materially fixed, but that neither analysis recognises how cars and information technology undo all divisions between public and private life. These analyses also fail to reveal how fragmentation occurs on an everyday basis. Multiple mobilities can generate profound inequalities, especially stemming from the power of the “‘cash rich-time poor’ users (...) who experience smooth flow through bounded exclusive space, whilst the disconnected ‘cash poor-time rich’ are left outside these bounded spaces” (Wood and Graham 2004: 4) or from the blocked mobilities generated by gated communities and the restrictions placed on the kinetic underclass (Urry 2003b). These divisions and fragmentations have to do with the connections and accessibility people have to the city.

Argentinean anthropologist Nestor García Canclini claims that current globalisation trends require new ways of analysing social relations as the tools from the past make grasping their complexity today difficult (García Canclini 2004). This entails occupying complementary tools and the author suggests that linking inequality to difference and disconnection could contribute towards that end. In the analysis of difference, García Canclini uses Appadurai’s idea of culture, for whom difference is a useful heuristic tool to highlight points of similarity and contrast between all sorts of categories: classes, genders, roles, groups and nations (Appadurai 1996).

Once again, the work of feminist theorists around the concept of difference is particularly useful, as although this categorisation has been criticised as being oppressive, it has also been emphasized for its “importance in the construction of identity and subjecthood” (Gibson 1998: 304). Difference is a dynamic concept as, because of our “multiple and sometimes contradictory subject positions” (Pratt 1998: 26), we tend to associate with different groups at different times. Moreover, perceived differences between groups of people change over time (Reeves 2005) as we regularly move between identifications in different situations and places (Jacobs and Fincher 1998). At one time, we may be fixed into or strategically mobilise different aspects of the array of differences through which our embodied selves are known. This means that in understanding difference, the “in between” spaces are crucial once again, as this is where the possibility to negotiate the categorisations by

which they have come to be known can be found, and is also where the implications of difference can best be analysed.

Mobile places, as have been defined here, can also be seen as what is in between fixed places, and can also transmit a sense of belonging or difference. This suggests looking at the intersections, the dynamic (and often mobile) places where people negotiate activities, places and relations on a daily basis, as opposed to (or as well as) looking at the fixed places, where people may live but not necessarily spend most of their days, or only at the places of deficiency, where there is a lack or absence of materiality. Hence, the spatialisation of inequality need not only be seen in terms of fixed enclaves, but also as mobile gradients, as a phenomenon that may reach various groups of urban residents in fluctuant and differentiated manners, particularly because people's permanence in the city varies and fluctuates hourly, daily, weekly, seasonally, yearly.

The challenge becomes understanding how people willingly or forcefully become disconnected or connected in these intersections in García Canclini's terms, in order to identify how their differences are ran over or condemned to inequality or how these are defied or overcome, as a way of generating new types of social relations. Cresswell mentions that "otherness and difference are not, in and themselves, destabilising or resistant but can, in certain circumstances, be used to reconfigure the symbolic systems (systems of space and place for instance) that produce them" (Cresswell 2002b: 23), meaning that within transgression, conflict and recognition there is potential for transformation.

Connections or disconnections in themselves may express uneven appropriation of the city or an intentional construction of something different, a specific identity. Being willingly connected or disconnected does not necessarily mean being isolated, as it may imply choice and possibility. Similar to Savage, Bengall et al's (2005) concept of elective belonging, connection in timespace could be a way of generating elective connection or disconnection or un-elective connection and disconnection. This is relevant because in today's cities, it is possible to have different types of connections as there is not a single way of connecting: personally, virtually, for long or short terms, at different times or places. As expressed by García Canclini, "in

classic exploitation relations, power was obtained through the uneven distribution of fixed goods, territorially fixed: ownership of land or means of production in a factory. Now the capital that produces difference and inequality is the capacity or the opportunity to move, and maintain multi-connected networks” (García Canclini 2004: 76)<sup>17</sup>. This means understanding connection and disconnection when they are by choice, but also when they are made compulsory due to social conditions and people are forced to be disconnected to many of the benefits of the city and this is particularly mobility sensitive.

However, close attention must be given to the analysis of connection and disconnection, as the issues at stake are not so much, or only, about being connected or disconnected but also about the types of connections, their quality, or being connected at the wrong time or at the wrong place. Using connections as a way to determine the value of people is problematic as connection and disconnection are not the only forms of fragmentation. In this research, the quality of connectivity will be understood as accessibility, as it appears more useful to understand how inequality takes place in mobility.

Accessibility is unevenly distributed between individuals: whether or not they are attracted by mobility, not everyone has equal access to workplace, leisure or consumption sites (Allemand 2003) or to activities and people. Spatial inequalities are related to access and time, but also to how inequality is experienced in mobility as issues of mobility affect many aspects of daily living, in terms of how to move and how to settle, what is up for grabs and what is locked it, who is able to move and who is trapped (Hannam, Sheller et al. 2006), who chooses and who is obliged to move or stay. Based on a Cass et al (2004), this research defines accessibility as the way in which individuals and groups negotiate space and time to accomplish practices, maintaining relations and access to places, that are seen as necessary for normal social participation.

Therefore, urban inequality can be seen through a mobility lens, not only in terms of how mobility impacts on inequality, but also on how, through mobility, the way

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<sup>17</sup> Author's translation



people access various timespaces on an everyday basis. Mobility per se may not be the solution to inequality, but it could be a useful way of understanding how it occurs today and its implications; it can also be a way of analysing how existing inequalities impact the way the city and its benefits are accessed.

In order to analyse contemporary urban relations in timespace this research proposes an urban daily mobility approach. This approach analyses in conjunction the way urban daily mobility practices are experienced and access to practices, relations and places occur together. This provides the basis for a mobility framework to understand urban daily mobility practices where urban inequality, seen through difference and accessibility, and mobile place making, seen as transient and mobile places, can help to understand the experiences and consequences of these experiences in urban living today.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

Within the different types of mobilities, this research focuses on urban daily mobility. Although it is evident that there has been an increase in hyper-mobility by some – people are moving more frequently and over longer distances; local life, based on repeated movement between familiar stations and intersections, is still relevant. Multiple and hybrid travels have serious implications in contemporary living and questions the way urban space and its experience is analysed. Mobility analysis questions ideas of fixity, permanence and the duality present in urban analysis, and understands mobile experiences are fluid, scalar and process-like, which need to be seen in their complexity. A mobility approach also questions traditional ways of undertaking urban analysis. The mobility turn is starting to present considerable theoretical, methodological and practical implications in social sciences, and urban studies currently only address a minor part of it.

The chapter presented an urban daily mobility approach to understand contemporary urban living. It first focussed on social practice theory and the notion of everyday life. This was then spatialised by complementing this analysis with that of place which, under the mobility lens, is questioned and presented as the possibility of

mobile place making. An urban daily mobility approach to contemporary urban living can capture an ontological shift in urban living and requires incorporating the multifaceted and hybrid way in which people experience the city in mobility or immobility and the relations this experience creates today.

Depending on the different configurations of power (gender, class, race, sexuality, age, physical ability) access to mobile places requires various acts of negotiation, which restrict, condition or allow for them to take place. In mobility, these acts of negotiation vary and have serious implications on urban inequality, particularly seen through accessibility and difference. Therefore, spatial inequality can be seen through a mobility lens, not only in terms of how mobility impacts inequality, but also on how difference impacts the way people access the city daily and in timespace. Therefore, mobility per se may not be the solution to inequality, but it could be a useful way of understanding how it occurs today and its implications.

This shift in urban living also has epistemological implications. An urban daily mobility approach suggests that there are varying forms of knowledges that require multiple forms of interpretation, and although not all of them can ever be completely unveiled, at least the possibility to express experiences and their implications is relevant in urban analysis. The next chapter will examine how these epistemological concerns can be translated into a methodology that can capture the experiences of living in the city as well as the implications and relations they generate between urban dwellers, space and place.

### **3 On becoming ‘la sombra/the shadow’. Mobile methods to apprehend urban daily mobility practices**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapter I discussed the relevance of approaching research on contemporary urban life from a theory of social practice, specifically through the practices of urban daily mobility. In this chapter I explore how, if, as this thesis argues, an urban daily mobility approach can capture an ontological shift in the way the city is experienced, then this shift also involves an epistemological move on the way urban living is studied. This means that, as important as knowing how many, at what time, or in what mode people move, research on mobility needs to uncover the experience of mobility practices, that is, the way people give meaning to the practice in the way they approach, embody, construct and prepare for it on a daily basis.

As embodied and spatial practices, mobility practices require a methodological approach that recognises reality as always partial and in construction, as socially constructed both by the researcher and the researched. In light of this, I adopted a social constructivist approach to capture mobility experiences as it is the most adequate way to apprehend experiences in lived space.

To explain the methodology adopted in the research, this chapter is divided into four sections, starting with a description of the various ways in which mobility has been researched. I then explain how I adopted an ethnographic approach and then I shall provide details of the way the fieldwork was prepared and undertaken. I finally conclude with a reflection on the research process.

## 3.2 Towards Mobile Methods

A social constructivist approach to research involves recognising the important role of the observer and society in constructing the patterns that we study as social scientists (Moses and Knutsen 2007) as it understands the world as socially constructed. Rather than attempting to give a ‘true’ or total vision of mobility practices in the city, through this approach, I attempt to capture and understand the meaning of mobility practices for those selected individuals performing; that is, capturing mobile constructs. From this vision, knowledge is inter-subjective, meaning that it is constructed and the researcher plays a major role in the way knowledge is interpreted and represented and requires clarity on the position of the researcher as well as reflexivity in the way new knowledge is created.

From this approach, the choice of method to construct the meanings greatly depends on the purpose of the research. Thus, in the search to uncover people’s meanings and experiences of mobility, certain methods are more applicable than others. As noted in Chapter 2, mobility has mostly been studied from a transport point of view, mainly from the disciplines of transport engineering, economics, geography, planning, business and regional sciences (Johnston 1981; Small 2001). Moreover, the ‘mobility turn’ in social sciences has revealed that most research in urban studies assumes spaces and people’s use of space as fixed and contained within specific areas. The next section provides an overview of methods to apprehend mobility from time geography to the way various urban researches have looked at mobility over the years.

### 3.2.1 Time-space mapping<sup>18</sup>

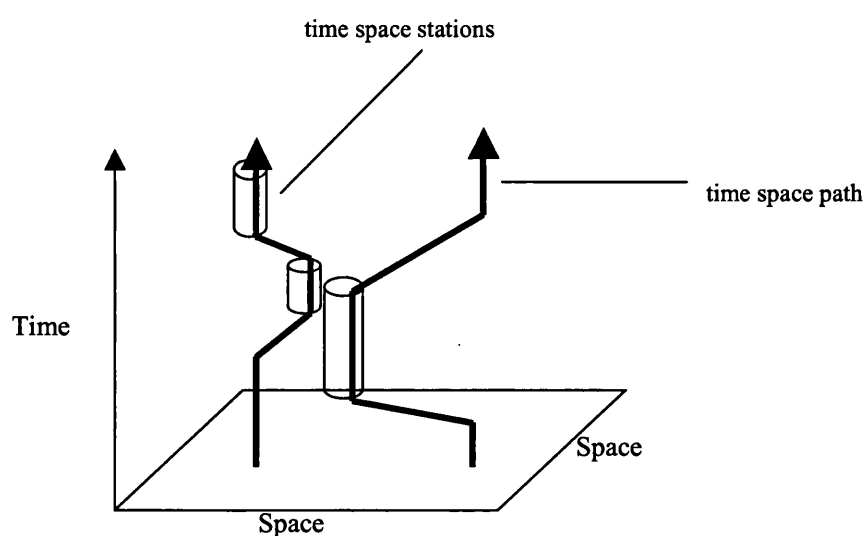
One area within the discipline of human geography that has dealt directly with the discussion of mobility is time geography, which sees “time and space as universally and inseparably wed to one another” (Pred 1996: 646). In its integral view of the world, time geography attempts to bring together the different elements of life

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<sup>18</sup> Parts of this section were presented at the Sensible Spaces, Art and the Environment Conference, University of Iceland, Reykjavik, June 1–2, 2006 and published in Jiron (2007).

experienced through a unifying lens. Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand originally formulated the approach during the 1970s, and it was initially used mainly in terms of transport planning. During the 1980s and 1990s it was also applied in a diversity of fields from city planning to social equity. Hägerstrand's visionary work attempted to bring together knowledge from distinct scientific areas and from everyday practice and to reveal relations taking place in this milieu (Hägerstrand 1970; 1982). Through his work, Hägerstrand implies that the study of aggregate populations mask the true nature of human patterns of movement. He explains that an understanding of disaggregate spatial behaviours is paramount (Hägerstrand 1970), arguing that time, while objectively the same everywhere, is not experienced, valued, used, or available in the same way to all, as time is also spaced (Jarvis, Pratt et al. 2001). Hägerstrand was concerned with time geography's focus on people, particularly on the sequences which constitute the days and lives of each individual person and their quality of life and freedom implications (Pred 1996).

Within this approach, Hägerstrand developed time-space mapping to illustrate how a person simultaneously navigates his or her way through the spatial temporal environment (Hägerstrand 1970) (See Figure 1. Time Space mapping). He used this notation to demonstrate how human spatial activity is often governed by limitations and not by independent decisions of spatially or temporally autonomous individuals. He identified three categories of limitations or constraints: capability constraints (due to physical or biological factors); coupling constraints (referring to the need to be in one particular place for a given length of time, often in interaction with other people); and authority constraints (an area that is controlled by certain people or institutions that set limits on the access to particular individual or groups) (Hägerstrand 1970; 1975).



**Figure 1. Time Space mapping**

Time space mapping (See Figure 1. Time Space Mapping) is useful for mobility analysis as it highlights people's allocation of time in geographic space. It highlights the importance of the quotidian routines of people and it also presents the constraints present in society that inhibit urban dwellers to access the city in an even manner. Its fundamental unit of analysis is the individual's trajectory in space and time and these trajectories bundle or cluster in space and time for shared activity participation like work, leisure, shopping, education, etc. A time space map is composed of *paths* and *stations*: *time space paths* trace movement of individuals in space with respect to time, and *time space stations* refer to the locations and times where people conduct certain activities, such as home, work, school. The relation between paths and stations involves trading space for time for some. In this negotiation, time budgets are crucial as they refer to the finite amount of time available to a person to allocate among activities over any time horizon, although, in current times, this negotiation is going through rapid changes with the use of technology. These activities can be fixed, referring to events that are relatively difficult to relocate or reschedule (school), or flexible, related to those which are easy to re-accommodate (coffee with friends, shopping), yet may still have restrictions such as opening hours (Hägerstrand 1970; Pred 1984; Pred 1986; Corbett 2005; Pred 2005; Miller 2006).

Kwan (2002) mentions that time space mapping can help to highlight social differences in constraints, activities and experiences among individuals which are

crucial to mobility analysis as they affect access to key space-time anchor points<sup>19</sup>. This is also suggested by Pred (1996), as it is useful to analyse phenomena of uneven access to space.

There has been some criticism to the approach as it has been seen as “too physical, mechanistic and an exponent of social engineering” (Lenntorp 1999: 156), as it places too much emphasis on individuals as objects. During the 80s, though recognising all its possible attributes, Giddens considers the approach as theoretically naïve in treating individuals as coming into being independently of the social settings they confront in their day-to-day lives. Also, he argues that it perpetuated the dualism of actions and structures, giving little attention to the essential transformation character of all human actions. He criticises the emphasis on constraints and limitations in terms of individuals’ movement through time and space, without considering the possibilities which may arise in movement (Giddens 1985). Finally, Giddens criticises the weakly developed discussion on power in time-space mapping, as it seems to invoke a zero sum conception of power as a source of limitation upon action, where little possibility for generative power exists (Giddens 1985).

Similarly for Harvey (1990), time geography and time space mapping specifically, is a useful descriptor of how the daily life of individuals unfolds in space and time, yet it reveals nothing about

how ‘stations’ and ‘domains’ are produced, or why the ‘friction of distance’ varies in the way it palpably does. It also leaves aside the question of how and why certain social projects and their characteristic ‘coupling constraints’ become hegemonic, and makes no attempt to understand why certain social relations dominate others, or how meaning gets assigned to places, spaces, history and time (Harvey 1990: 212).

Feminist critique of time geography is effective to push the usefulness of time space mapping further. As discussed by Rose (1993) “time geography insists on a singular space; the space through which it traces people’s paths claims to be universal. In

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<sup>19</sup> Locations and timings of key fixed activities

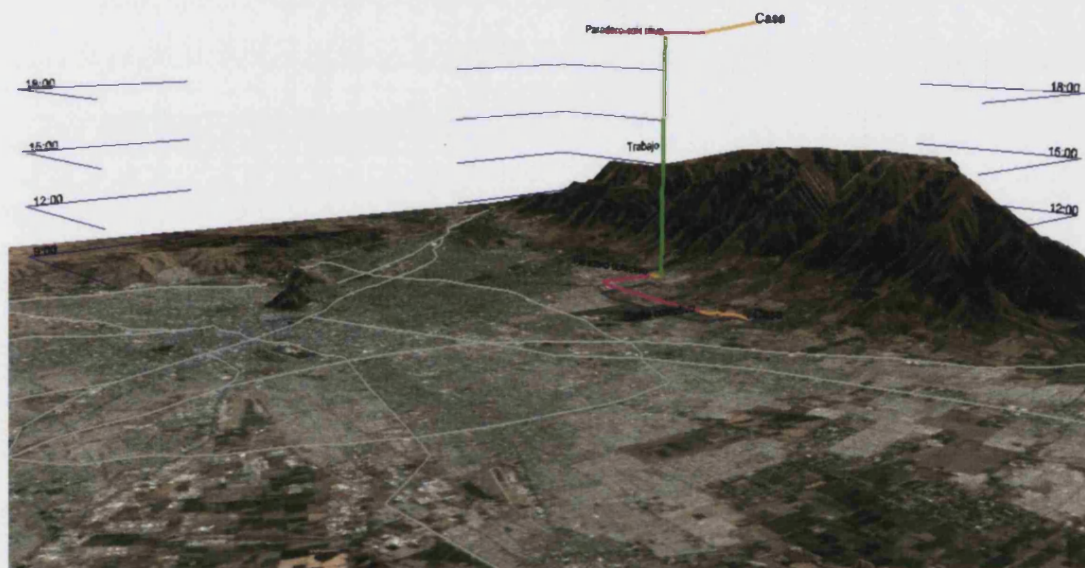
other words time geography assumes that its space is exhaustive” (19). In this sense, Rose criticises that time geography omits that which is particularly feminine: the relational, the emotional and also the bodily” (Ibid: 28). For Rose (1993), the denial of the body presents time geography as a masculinist, bourgeois and racist repression of the body. These criticisms illustrate how this mapping device requires questioning the transparency of space and it could be greatly enhanced if combined with other approaches which uncover those power relations, the meanings, embodiment and consequences of the experience.

Over the past few years, a sort of revival of time-space mapping has emerged as it provides a sense of concreteness; represents space and time not as simple social containers but actual constraints on human action; provides a geographical ethics in terms of the wise use of time and space; offers a language to explain time and space; and most importantly, in terms of its visual representation in maps and diagrams (Thrift 2005). It is now used in transport planning by mapping origin and destination surveys (Newsome, Walcott et al. 1998) or in spatial mapping using GIS or eventual virtual interaction (Miller 2005). Also, as a way to reflect the way human activities affect the natural environment (Peuquet 1994), time space mapping is being incorporated as a notation devise. It has also been used in gender studies (Kwan 2002) and migration analysis (Southall and White 2005), all of which adopt a quantitative approach to human behaviour. By aggregating mobility patterns, these studies still dismiss the richness of experience and provide limited discussion on the power relations taking place in the process of mobility practices. Approaching urban daily mobility using only time space mapping is insufficient to capture the experience of urban living and a more qualitative approach would be able to highlight these issues.

As can be seen in Map 1. Time Space Map for Santiago de Chile, in this research, time space maps are used in two ways: as a notation device to explain the journeys individuals take, and as a way to capture the mobility experience along with photographs and narratives. The paths and stations, differentiated using colour according to mode of transport, are superimposed over a three dimensional map of the city of Santiago, which helps to visualise the location of the mountain in relation



to the city and the spatialisation of distance and time of each journey. The maps are used in a compressed format to represent mobility in a way that is readable and understandable. Although the journeys are expressed individually, because the journeys are geo-referenced and the maps are illustrated at the same scales, it is possible to compare each map, and understand the various dimensions of the time space prisms and mobility constrains in each notation.



**Map 1. Time Space Map for Santiago de Chile**

Source: Author's elaboration of time-space map superimposed on NASA (SECTRA 2001) satellite image of Santiago de Chile.

However, on their own, time space maps do not grasp the complexity, unevenness, emplacement and embodiment of urban daily mobility practice. Thus other methods are needed to capture these types of experiences.

### 3.2.2 Mobile Methods in Urban Studies

In the attempt to capture the experience of living in the city and mobility, qualitative methods have been explored in numerous ways by researchers. An early example of this is the work of George Simmel who aimed at understanding the sociology of the city in the 19th century by observing people, particularly in public areas in Berlin,

including public transport (Simmel 1969; Frisby and Featherstone 1997). Moreover, by understanding the city as text, Walter Benjamin aimed to analyse the way modernity presented itself in the city from the character of the *flaneur* who strolls in a seemingly aloof manner the arcades of Paris, yet observes the crowds from afar. Benjamin analyses this through 19<sup>th</sup> century literature, particularly that of Charles Baudelaire (Benjamin 1973; Benjamin 2002).

More recently, French artist Sophie Calle controversially exposed urban experiences by following strangers and photographing them in Paris and Venice (Calle 1998). In the Latin American context, Anthropologist Nestor Gracia Canclini explored urban imaginaries by using historic and current photography and film of people travelling in Mexico City and presenting these for discussion to intense contemporary urban travellers (García Canclini, Castellanos et al. 1996; García Canclini 1997).

Closer to the type of work this thesis focuses on, is that of Michel de Certeau, who proposed walking the city as an elementary form of experiencing it, as for him, it is on the streets that ordinary practitioners live (de Certeau 1986). Although de Certeau's pedestrian speech acts are irrevocably urban acts (de Certeau 1986), other forms of daily mobility are also significant to understand urban living experiences. Along these lines, Marc Augé's ethnology of the Parisian Metro provides detailed discussion of what travelling is like: the remembrances it evokes, the traces experienced and encounters it leaves behind, the cultural meaning that stations, connections, trains provide people (Auge 2002). Maspero does something slightly different by travelling on the Roissy Express in Paris and getting off at each station to observe and participate in the spaces around it (Maspero 1994).

In more participative manner, Latham (2003; 2004) suggests the diary-photograph/diary interview method, where people are solicited to write diaries and photograph their daily experiences, the interesting and/or significant places and events of their week. Latham uses a simplified version of time space maps to explain the trajectories carried out along with photographic material (Latham 2004). Through this participatory approach, Latham minimises the researcher's input into what and how things are recorded (Bijoux and Myers 2006), providing rich data gathered by

the participants who are in full control of what is captured. Though innovative in its participative approach and the way knowledge is then constructed, there are difficulties with this type of research in terms of the reliability of participants' dedication. Their commitment becomes crucial in the success of this technique, running the risk of being overly demanding on interviewees' disposition and willingness to participate. It requires engaging participants fully in the process which can become a problem, particularly when daily mobility experiences are filled with time limitations and multitasking to make ends meet, thus risking the possibility of obtaining accurate, detailed or any information at all. This type of technique has proven to be quite useful with youth participants who appear eager to try such techniques as was the case with Dodman (2003). For this research, the diary photograph/diary interview technique was discarded because of the difficulty in having participants accept this extra work, as will be explained later. However, Latham's work becomes one of the closest methods to capture the experiences of mobility, suggesting a move towards an ethnographic approach to mobility.

### **3.2.3 Ethnographic approaches**

In line with a constructivist approach, ethnography involves a researcher "participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives, for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is being said, asking questions, in fact, collecting whatever data is available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 21). It is the most basic form of social research and it closely resembles the routine ways in which people make sense of their everyday life. As a qualitative research method, it goes beyond the inclusion of interviewees' quotes on reports to make them ostensibly more real. An ethnographic approach involves ways of doing, seeing and writing, which have major implications on the research process as a whole: it also involves establishing close relationships with research participants. This clearly influences the way information is collected and ultimately reflects on what and how it is written and expressed.

Ethnographic research is characterised by a proliferation of styles and texts, and has reached diverse disciplinary areas including medicine, education and urban studies (Atkinson, Coffey et al. 1999). In the latter, it has provided more effective methodological means to apprehend urban practices and experiences than traditional research methods. Moreover, “the flexibility of the ethnographic research approach, combined with the availability of new technologies for the storage, retrieval, and presentation of data, allows for the emergence of new direction to better understand how social behaviour is shaped and organised” (Shaffir 1999: 685).

With the aim of looking at mobility, specifically from an ethnographic approach, multi-sited ethnography has been developed as a way to follow “the thread of cultural processes” (Marcus 1995: 97). Among the many types of multi-sited ethnography, when used to understand spatial relations these have looked at migration, social movements, cyberspace or the global cultural economy. Multi-sited ethnography can be classified according to the different ways in which the object of study is followed: following the people, the thing, the metaphor, the plot, the story or allegory, the life or biography, the conflict, or it can also be strategically situated (Marcus 1995). The latter is a common way of analysing mobility practices from a fixed place, as can be seen in the work of Cresswell (2007) on markets.

The use of ethnography in studies of mobility which involve inquiring about the relation and meaning of space, is becoming increasingly common, as is the use of devices like photographic cameras, mobile phones, GPS or video recorders, as is the case of Spinney (2007), who follows his cases on bicycles while filming them. Hence, the work of Latham (2003; 2004) presented before, as suggested by others using his technique (Zimmerman and Wieder 1977; Dodman 2003; Meth 2003; Bijoux and Myers 2006), could be complemented with interviews, focus groups, mental maps, amongst others. Moreover, adapting Latham’s work by having the researcher present during the mobility practice leads to the shadowing technique. Shadowing involves accompanying the participants individually on their daily routines, where the researcher observes the way the participant undertakes the practice, the researcher may discuss issues during the shadowing period or remain quiet, while the participant is aware of being shadowed. The journey may be

photographed during the shadowing process. This technique provides an adequate way of capturing the experiences of urban daily mobility in Santiago.

### 3.3 The uses of Ethnography

Considering the methods described above, I chose an ethnographic approach for this research<sup>20</sup> as it provides the most appropriate way to describe the everyday mobile practices of individuals, given its flexibility and possibility of penetrating, through thick description, into the daily routines of mobile urban dwellers. Moreover, the approach adopted specifically involves an adaptation of what is traditionally seen as classic ethnographies of remote cultures, as I did not learn a new language or dive into a completely unknown area for an extended period of time. It was not an ethno-methodology, as the intention was not to become a member of the setting (Adler, Adler et al. 1986), but to become an observant participant of daily mobility experiences by means of shadowing practices, always with the full understanding that the totality of the experience would never be fully grasped.

Carrying out a mobile ethnography provided with a unique possibility of, using Clifford Geertz's classic notion, a 'thick' description of practices studied, which involves offering a 'deep' and 'multi-faceted' description. Depth is key to understanding and explaining this experience, as is its multifaceted quality and I was particularly interested in the way different groups experience this practice. This approach allowed me to understand the *hows*, *whys* and *whats* (Shaffir 1999) of a specific urban practice, by allowing me to immerse myself in the way different people perform this practice and, in conjunction, produce knowledge of what the experience was like for them.

Moreover, because my object of study was the daily mobility practices in the city, this practice was not completely unknown to me, as it is one that I carry out on a regular basis in the city of Santiago, on public transport as well as a driver, cyclist

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<sup>20</sup> Parts of this section were presented at the Postgraduate Anthropology-Sociology Workshop 'Ethnography Beyond Anthropology: Interdisciplinary perspectives on a method gone public', Goldsmiths College, University of London, November 8, 2007, see Jiron (2007g).

and pedestrian. However, the precise situations of mobility of different income groups, ages and gender, were unknown to me; the way different people experience mobility and immobility, the strategies they use, the things they observe or do not observe, the difficulties and pleasure of moving, were all unfamiliar to me.

Also, I selected Santiago de Chile, my hometown, as the city to undertake this research, and although I have spent many years away from it, it is still the city I know best and the place where I have undertaken substantial research in the past. I also chose Santiago as a case study due to its relevance in the Latin American context, since, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, its characteristics of spatial segregation, continuous social housing intervention and the implications of the implementation of the Transantiago system, provided useful ingredients for analysing urban and transport interventions in mobility practices. Using this approach involved having clarity that the information captured would be very specific to the Chilean reality and more specifically to Santiago and particularly to the individuals who participated in the research. The results are by no means generalisable of the tendencies of mobility in Santiago; however, they do provide an analytical perspective on the practices that occur in Santiago today and their impact on the way people live space, and as such, reflect the situation of living in a city like Santiago.

Moreover, ethnographic fieldwork is “carried out by immersing oneself in a collective way of life for the purpose of gathering first hand knowledge about a major face of it” (Shaffir and Stebbins 1991: 5). Although I was interested in observing travellers, I was not interested in observing strangers like Augé. In a very similar way to Latham’s work, I wanted to know the meaning travellers’ gave to this experience, what had taken them to the journey and what happened to them during and afterwards.

Different to Latham’s work, I was interested in accompanying the participants in their journey, and this involved combining Latham’s (2003, 2004) work with mobile shadowing. Although considered as a useful way of conducting research, soliciting diary-photography would have implied either compensation for the work or longer

research time to make sure participants responded, neither of which was available. Compensation may have proved unfruitful as for most participants money would not have been enough of an incentive as time is their scarce resource. Also, although the data could have been richer, it was also important for me, as a researcher, to experience at least part of what they were going through, as one of my participants mentioned about the implementation of Transantiago: “if planners ever got on a bus like we do, they would understand why their proposals will never work” (Bernardo). Therefore, I wanted to accompany them, or shadow them, in order to understand what they did and how they did it. I also wanted to discuss with them while they were doing it, see what they saw, why they looked at it for so long or why they ignored it, and what they made of it afterwards. Also, understanding social-spatial experiences as embodied, multi-sensory and emotional (Bijoux and Myers 2006), I wanted to know what they saw, touched, heard, smelled or tasted in the experience, thus, I wanted to talk about the way the experiences were embodied.

Moreover, I decided to use photography as a way of recording the practices but also as a device to elicit discussions about it afterwards. This involved taking photographs during the journey that would both help to identify the itinerary as well as elicit discussion after the journey about specific spaces and situations encountered.

### **3.4 On Positioning oneself and reflexivity**

Adopting a constructivist approach involves seeing knowledge as constructed both by the researcher and the researched or, better yet, within the relationship built by both. This requires adopting reflexivity, or making knowledge situated, as a research approach. The aim of situating academic knowledge is to produce “non-over generalised knowledges that learn from other kinds of knowledges” (Rose 1997: 315). This means that situated knowledge is not a given, has to be developed through the research process, and requires acknowledging one’s own positionality and how these knowledges are limited, specific and partial.

Rose (1997) makes a distinction between transparent reflexivity and a more feminist approach to reflexivity. In the first, the researcher opens his or her position as either

one of difference, articulated through an objectifying distance, or as one of sameness, understood as the researcher and researched being in the same position, and suggests the latter being impossible and the former unacceptable. She criticises this approach as one that gives no understanding across difference, and suggests looking at the 'betweenness' to problematise difference as a way of articulating the situatedness of researched knowledge. Through this problematisation, the task becomes less one of mapping difference and more one of asking how difference is constituted, of tracing its destabilising emerges during the research process itself (Rose 1997). The author emphasises that this involves a negotiation process that resists authority of the academic knowledge and recognises the knowledges of both researcher and researched. In it, "differences, tensions, conflicts are explored, not as problems, but as spaces of conceptual and political opportunities and negotiation" (Ibid: 315).

Although I understood that the experiences might be very familiar from my own personal experience as an urban traveller, the specificity and complexity of the practice required presenting and discussing my own experience and condition to try to understand what the practices were like, what they meant for my participants and what they could mean in a broader sense to city living as well.

Adopting a constructivist approach involved embracing ethical concerns intrinsic to research. This is because relationships between the researcher and researched involve a transactional and inter-subjective process, thus the need to recognise power relations between researcher and participant. During the course of the research I disclosed as much information about myself as requested, necessary and possible. This contributed to making power relations explicit. However, in some cases we shared very similar educational and socioeconomic background, but differences were still present in terms of life cycle, gender, age or religion. These differences were crucial to understanding the complexity of the practice as well as the unevenness of urban accessibility.

Moreover, the duration and type of research conducted involved a certain degree of intimacy which made the research more complex in terms of power relations. This required adopting a reflexive approach and making explicit the power relations that



would affect the research and the participants. Although power relations are impossible to overcome, they at least require to be acknowledged, or better yet discussed and negotiated as part of the research. In light of this, it must be mentioned that researchers are not always the ones in the more powerful position, as often participants also have the power to withhold information or withdraw at any moment from the research, this is also part of their right and part of what was agreed upon in the informed consent.

### **3.5 Facing fieldwork**

I had prepared myself for the sense of anxiety fieldwork generated (Shaffir 1999) and had anticipated certain discomfort and difficulty in access and during fieldwork. I prepared myself physically and emotionally for the experience and thoroughly discussed the process with other researchers prior and during fieldwork. I knew there could be moments of unease in travelling on buses and cars so much and I made sure people from my University were informed of my research and roughly of whom I would be spending each day with. I also made sure that either my family or friends always knew where I was and were able to contact me at all times.

Moreover, although I needed to protect myself, I also knew they could have apprehensions about me as a stranger. I offered them the possibility of finding out more about me and encouraged them to contact the University of Chile for further information. This was particularly useful for 80 year old Isabel, whose daughter called my University Department to find out who I was, in order to be reassured that her mother would be safe when accompanied by me. This raises questions on the need to consider the elderly among vulnerable groups when including them in research, as they may not always have optimal physical or mental capacity to be part of certain social researches.

In my own introduction I made sure I presented my two identities: working identity and personal identity (Stebbins 1991). This also meant that I had to strike a balance between 'involvement and detachment' and avoid immersing myself too deeply in the setting so as to not over rapport (Adler, Adler et al. 1986) or being overly aloof. I

explained to each participant that I was a researcher from the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of Chile, who was doing a PhD at the London School of Economics. The University of Chile was very familiar to them, as they had either studied or taught there, or saw it as highly respectable institution. Some wanted to know more about my work at the University, while others were more interested in the LSE, and younger participants were specially interested in my life in London; I provided all the information requested.

I also provided them with much information about my personal identity which many of them seemed very interested to know at various points during the fieldwork. I was very open about being a middle class Chilean single woman, about where I lived, my age, the schools I had gone to, or where my parents were from.

This raised ethical issues to deal with, because I had to spend considerable amount of time alone with each one of them, being a single woman could be an issue for some, especially the wives of my male participants. Thus I made it very clear that I was very serious about the research. Also, some husbands did not want their wives to discuss private and intimate details about their lives and go around the city with a stranger. This was a very clear indication that gender relations were going to be an important part of the context I was researching.

My capacity to adapt my accents after growing up in different countries proved useful as it is something I do automatically to be better understood, they nonetheless could tell I was not a stereotypical Chilean and had to explain where I had lived and why. In the case of Chile, living abroad during the 70s and 80s usually implies having been exiled for political reasons, which was not my case. This is a very natural way of classifying political inclination. In some cases, some had gone to my same school, others' parents were from my parents' mining town in the North of Chile. In unequal societies like the Chilean, this type of information is used to classify people and it helped them to understand who I was and classify me.

Developing trust during fieldwork was not a one off situation; it required constant reflection and awareness of what was happening. At the end, many mentioned how

this openness about myself was quite helpful in them accepting me, as many mentioned how honest and true I appeared to them, thus trustworthy.

As a reflexive process, I was always aware that this would also have personal implications. Fieldwork was very personal for me as it forced me to dig into my own Chilean identity, which was something I was somewhat unclear about, after having travelled so much since childhood. However, this Chilean identity made relating to each participant not difficult at all, and it also made me open to learn from them and discovered aspects that I had suppressed about myself. This situation also made me realise that I have many national identities, including my Chilean one, that make me the person I am today, and I also learned to appreciate them. This also contributed to generating more awareness of my cultural assumptions and how I needed to have these present during fieldwork as well as in the analysis, thus forcing me to be more reflexive.

The length and intensity of the fieldwork generated quite close ties with each family. I saw my selected families often because the process involved becoming intimately involved with them and their daily lives; we talked extensively, mostly without the recorder, mostly about their daily lives and some times mine. Because we often spent all day together, sharing meals became a common activity. At first, I felt uncomfortable to be taking their food, but soon I realised that I could not go through the day without eating and that they were polite and happy enough to share their food with me. *Onces*, teatime, in the evening is an institution in Chile, and bread and tea were the minimum we would eat. After having shopped with different participants at some point at the supermarket, street market or corner store, I was able to understand that many of them had financial difficulties, I therefore tried buying and bringing food for them as much as possible without making it awkward, and these became very special moments to share.

A similar situation occurred when talking, as often conversations drifted into very intimate accounts of immense sadness or joy, of their hopes and aspirations, of lies and deceit, of shame, embarrassment and confusion, of their secret ambitions as well as the frustrations in their lives. I often was left speechless and completely moved

from their volunteered information and I realised it was their way of opening up or venting to a stranger who would not judge. They were not seeking advice, just someone to listen, and I did just that. I became preoccupied as to which details were to be withdrawn from the research, and decided that most of the very intimate details did not need to be mentioned as they were not really relevant to the research, as suggested by Howell (2004), except for my own understanding of the vulnerability and difficulty of their lives. Details of crimes, torture, rape, infidelity, sexual violence, or theft, often left me drained, upset and very frustrated with the Chilean reality, but this also provided me with a closer understanding that mobility practices are not free from all the fears and frustrations people go through on a daily basis.

Reaching the neighbourhoods became an issue as using a car involved the danger and discomfort of parking, and I would have to borrow relatives' or friends' cars. Luckily there were bus routes that went directly from my house to the corner of Santa Teresa, one of the neighbourhoods. However, the other neighbourhoods, although located quite close to Santa Teresa, were more difficult to access by public transportation as will be seen in Chapter 5, especially at night or early in the morning and I usually tried to get there by car.

Some areas I went through were not always safe, traveling alone very early in the morning on public buses in order to reach the neighbourhoods on time or driving around alone very late at night, needed some safety measures on my part. Most times my informants protected me, walked me to the bus stop and made sure I left their places safely. Friends and family were always informed of where I was and the times I was leaving. My university had details of each family I was with each day. I did not wear any jewellery, dressed very simply and carried no valuables in my bag, except for my camera and very little money. Moreover, I had conducted research in low income neighbourhoods for 10 years prior to this research, and know how to be as safe as possible in very rough neighbourhoods.

However, despite all the safety measures adopted, on one of my final visits I was mugged, had my shoulder dislocated and a small cut in my stomach. It happened in a middle-income neighbourhood while I was waiting for one of my informants outside

the house where she worked at, when three teenagers attacked me, but in the end did not take anything. I was in much shock and did not feel much pain and decided to continue the journey as planned when my informant came out of the house. My cousin picked me up that night and I decided to finish shadowing then. My decision to end the shadowing also coincided with the fact that I had “gained an understanding of the setting or a slice of social life” (Taylor 1991: 241) that I wanted to study, although I knew that there would always be levels of understanding that I would never grasp. I did return to talk to them and told them all about the experience, they were all very concerned and many explained their own experience with fear of being out at night. My personal experience allowed me to understand better the fear people go through everyday, and the strategies they use to protect each other, to know where they are and how some only feel safe in their own homes.

In hindsight, I feel I prepared as much as I could to face this situation prior to fieldwork. The research was conducted in a city I knew well, and in neighbourhoods similar or less dangerous to ones I was used to working in. Also, I dressed and carried myself with as much simplicity as possible in order not to call too much attention. These types of situations are part of what living in urban areas is about and I feel it could have happened anywhere. However, future researchers doing this type of fieldwork, should be extra careful at planning their journeys, making sure they trust the people they are going to be travelling with, informing third parties of where they will be and avoiding unsafe spots as much as possible. A certain knowledge of the street is fundamental in these types of setting and that can only be achieved through practice.

### **3.6 Data Collection**

Recognising that ethnography cannot be fully programmed, that its practice is replete with the unexpected; it is a practice activity requiring the exercise of judgement. Nonetheless, this does not eliminate the need for pre-fieldwork preparation, under the understanding that, following Hammersley and Atkinson and other qualitative researchers, “research should be a reflexive process at every stage of a project” (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 23) and open to the possibility of modification.

Hence, I identified two sets of information I would gather: that of my case studies and that of the context I was analysing.

### **3.6.1 Cases and Contexts**

A constructivist approach posits that individual and social characteristics affect the way the world is experienced. In order to understand associations of mobility practices, the main areas of difference I was interested in looking at were income, gender and age. The latter two differences were going to be incorporated once the neighbourhoods were selected. Different income groups were relevant to research since, as mentioned in Chapter 2, most studies which touch on urban inequality generally tend to focus on the poor, the excluded, and not on the relation they have with other social groups. As a way of making these associations, I developed a relational approach, in which I would compare traveling experiences of individuals living in different income neighbourhoods but located relatively close to each other. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, proximity was important because I was interested on examining different mobility practices and how these do not only occur in the place of residence but also move about in a non-structured way, according to the various activities, people and places frequented. Once the neighbourhoods were selected, I made sure gender and age differences would be incorporated in the selection of participants. This called for the adoption of a case study approach (Yin 1994). There is no clear definition of what actually constitutes a case study, but in general, “they are socially constructed by researchers to carry out investigations” (Burton 2000: 216). In this research, the cases are arbitrarily defined as urban travellers living in three different income neighbourhood in a specific area of the borough of La Florida in Santiago.

### **3.6.2 Tools for the cases**

For the cases, the main methods used were interviewing and observation. The first sets of interviews with the participants were formal, recorded and involved the following sets of interview plan: in depth interviews regarding the person’s history, background, choice of current place of residence and a detailed description of a

regular day, including daily trajectories, routines, using maps and 24-hour time budgets. These interviews were assisted with material developed as a 'toolkit'.

Prior to accessing the field I prepared a 'toolkit' with the material I would use, which I tested on a pilot in London as well as on family and friends. The toolkit consisted of an identification survey, monetary budget, time budget, maps of Santiago to be traced and an interview scheme (Appendix 3. Tools and Instruments). I also carried pens, pencils, markers, highlighters, coloured paper, drawing books, a camera, a digital recorder and my field notes. I knew I wanted to gather all this information, but I did not know how or when exactly the most appropriate time and place to complete everything would be. This toolbox was essential to the adaptability and flexibility required. At times recording conversations was not feasible, so I would write notes; other times my maps were not adequate because they could not see the names of the streets, I therefore had to produce various versions of them. Sometimes they provided some information in a random manner and this meant I did not have to take out the survey sheets, whereas other times they were quite happy responding them. These interviews were complemented on a second stage after the shadowing process with further discussions using photographs taken and maps on issues not covered during the previous stages and which emerged during the shadowing process.

To observe the actual journeys, I decided to accompany (or shadow) each participant on a regular weekday, from the time they left the house until their days were over. This involved understanding how they prepared to leave the house in the morning, how they managed riding on an overcrowded bus at rush hour or driving around the city all day; the boredom of shopping or the fear of coming home late at night, among many other activities. Although I had an idea of their journeys from the interviews, the actual journeys were very different to what I could have expected, particularly in terms of the precisions of time and coordination in executing them. This required me to always be on time, as I could not delay their routines. Although I was more or less aware of what they would do each day, I still had to be flexible. In the cases where they went to a job in an office, house or hospital, I would wait for them outside of their work until they finished. This did not happen in the case of Laura with whom I spent the whole shift inside the Emergency Room, or Felipe or

Carlos, whose mobile jobs required me to go with them inside all the places they went to. During those waiting hours, I would catch up with my field notes and often found an Internet café close by to transcribe them. Once their routines were over, I would accompany them home and leave after they confirmed that they would not go out again. This often involved staying with them until after dinner time.

Details of the journeys were recorded as well as photographed by the participants or myself. As a visual method, photography was used as a way of reporting the journey and to carry out photographic interviews (Rose 2001) or photo-elicitation. As a visual reporting tool, the journeys were photographed to accompany the narratives and the maps, to 'follow' the journey and see specific aspects of the trajectory. Photographs provide a closer approximation to the journey than the maps on their own would depict. In this sense, the maps and photographs attempt to create a 'moving picture' of what is being described in the narrative. This 'moving picture' provides a better idea of the spatial approximation of the traveller through the city, while at the same time, it allows for the immediate spatial perception of the spaces travelled by/on. This does not attempt to provide an exhaustive or comprehensive picture of the journey, but to expose other dimensions of travelling.

As a photo-elicitation, photography was used to evoke discussion on specific topics in the context of interviews or groups discussions. Here the photograph loses its claim of objectivity and presents the subjectivity of those who see the image differently from the researcher (Harper 2004). The participants often provided description of situations that would be very difficult to become aware of by simply observing the situation. After shadowing them and returning to talk about the journey, I would present the photos that would lead them to talk about certain ideas. This was particularly useful to identify processes of place making. Both types of visual methods are recognised as not being neutral, as suggested by Rose (2003), and produce difference as through their choice certain people or elements remain invisible or hidden. Although I played a major role in their interpretation of the images, I tried to be participative in letting my interviewees take photographs and through their discussion, meaning of the practice and spaces was revealed, and they were able to be part of their own interpretation.



The timespace dimension of the practice was incorporated through time space maps, for which time and location were recorded to be later geo-referenced in the maps. The maps were used in a qualitative manner to provide a clear expression of the spatial use of the city. These were complemented with narratives, to describe the experience people had of their daily journey, particularly in terms of the strategies used for mobility and the consequences these have on their daily lives, as well as photography, as described above. Together, the maps, photography and narrative help to provide a 'moving picture' of the travelling experience, each element on their own would not provide as rich a recount of the journey as the picture provided when observed together.

During fieldwork, I decided it was also necessary to understand the specific use of the neighbourhood space in mobility. I did not want to shadow them in the neighbourhoods, as these moves were sporadic and quite short. I wanted to know how they perceived and used this space, and opted for a technique that would provide an analysis of the image they had of their neighbourhood. In spatial analysis, primarily from an architectural, urban design or urban planning point of view, the work of Kevin Lynch (1960) offers significant contribution to analyse the image of the city, in conceptual terms as for the method conceived for it: mental maps. Mental maps are graphic notations produced by people's perception of the world and in Lynch's case, of urban spaces, and participants are asked to draw a sketch map of an area or describe it. Lynch's work has inspired urban analysts including Aldo Rossi (1997 [1982]) or Robert Beck (1976) and thinkers like Fredric Jameson (1988). More current adaptations of Lynch can also be found in Stevens (2006) and Isaacs (2000). For the present research, mental maps were used to identify spatial itineraries within the neighbourhood participants lived in, with the aim of comparing the perception of their neighbourhoods.

As can be observed, the amount of data collected was considerable and extra care was taken in making optimal use of the information gathered. This was done by systematising the information as quickly as possible: most interviews were transcribed or notes about them were written as soon as the interview was over;

photographs were downloaded and organised right after the interview; maps were elaborated within a few weeks of having carried out the journeys. Once all information was stored in electronic format, and in response to the research question to understand mobility practices, a process of putting together each story was attempted with all the information available. This was done in two ways, the first was to put together each journey in a form of story to have a total recount of each participant's journey. The second involved codifying and organising the information according to the themes that emerged<sup>21</sup>. Inevitably, due to the detail and volume of information, some information is not presented in this thesis, some of it does not refer to the research questions and choices had to be made about presenting the most revealing findings.

### **3.6.3 Analysing the context: Expert interviews and bibliographic material**

Part of understanding how urban interventions impact mobility practices and their implications involved researching the planning process for both urban and transport interventions in Chile. For this, I gathered bibliographic material on studies, reports and papers as well as newspaper clipping from 2002 until the implementation of Transantiago and afterwards. Bibliographic material on urban and transport planning in Chile was collected throughout the PhD process and I attended various seminars and workshops on the subject while in Santiago. Furthermore, in order to understand the field, I interviewed 9 experts prior to the implementation of Transantiago including experts from the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, Ministry of Public Works and Transport, Transantiago, Secretary of Transport, University experts, community organisations and academics (See Appendix 2. Interviewees) on issues relating the planning process, relations between urban and transport planning and transport, research and planning, everyday life and planning and the future of Transantiago. This information is discussed in Chapter 4 to illustrate the preparation of Transantiago and explain the way transport planners have a partial vision of the way the city is experienced.

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<sup>21</sup> Photographs were organised and codified using Atlas.ti first and then NVIVO softwares, maps were elaborated using ArcGIS and AutoCad, interviews and field notes were transcribed and codified using NVIVO.

### **3.6.4 On interpretation, triangulation and translation**

Writing is a critical part of the practices of data construction and interpretation, “it is only in the process of writing that our own ways of seeing and interpreting the world are conveyed to others” (Cloke, Cooke et al. 2004: 336). Hence, representation or the production of knowledge involves the ways of seeing/conceiving the world through writing or other representational methods. Caution about representation has been presented particularly in the work of Nigel Thrift (2007). Moreover, Seale (1999) explains that there is a representational crisis in social research, where text can no longer be assumed as capable of capturing lived experience in the way once thought possible (Seale 1999).

My decision to carry out an ethnographic study meant that my fieldwork was based on multiple modes of data collection. Qualitative methodologies are generally used to explain urban activities through textual description; however, traditional qualitative methods are not sufficiently dynamic to analyse urban daily mobility practices. Mobility practices can be narrated, mapped, drawn, photographed or filmed; yet, although we can depict them, these quotidian practices are never fully captured (Massey 2005), as discussed by non-representational theorists (Thrift 2007), since they obtain meaning only when experienced and fully lived (Soja 1999). Therefore incorporating visual and spatial forms of enquiry and representation greatly enhance our apprehension of lived practices, although they can never be fully represented. Being exhaustive or comprehensive is not the objective here, but showing a different side of the experience of multifaceted hybrid mobility practices. This aspect is often dismissed by transport methodologies and traditional qualitative methods are limited in recounting the experience. This means that there is great room for exploration in this area, in terms of devising creative mobile methods to capture the way mobility is experienced. Thus, the use of visual forms of representation, including maps and photography, along with the textual narratives, are ways of pushing an ethnographic research approach to show another dimension of the experience of urban daily mobility practices, which is seldom seen or captured.

Rather than simple reporting of gathered data through the process of writing, data is constructed and interpreted. Thus the importance of understanding “the process of writing ‘through’ as opposed to simply writing up” (Cloke, Cooke et al. 2004: 338). According to Cloke, Cooke et al. (2004), the two main reasons why this process is difficult is because of the need to organise and rationalise vast amount of data and ideas and because in the process, one’s own ideas are presented and thus open to scrutiny. In this research, as suggested in the field work preparation seminars at the LSE Anthropology Department, field notes were kept prior, during and after the fieldwork period. Most of these were transcribed, but also kept as such, organised and consulted regularly during the writing period. The transcriptions were analysed using NVIVO qualitative data analysis software, on the basis of my own classifications of themes that arose from research. Photographs were used as a way of eliciting discussion but also as a way of analysing and recounting the journeys taken.

Presenting preliminary work at various instances including seminars, workshops and conferences, both nationally and internationally was useful first to set myself deadlines for writing, and also for opening my findings to discussion at various fields ranging from geography, sociology, anthropology, planning, Latin American studies or methodological sessions.

The information gathered in the form of interviews, shadowing, photography, daily activities charts, mental maps, and group discussions provided a very detailed description of mobility experiences and generated the possibility of triangulating the information to get a richer account of the meaning of experiences. As will be seen in the following chapters, using time-space mapping as a way of representing these experiences, along with photography and narratives, greatly contributes to understanding the complexity of urban daily mobile routines in the city of Santiago, and their social, economic, cultural and physical implications. The intention of combining time space mapping with an ethnographic approach was not to “substitute the practice by portraying the trace being left behind” (de Certeau 1986: 97) but to evidence the practice while analysing the trace.

Translation has always been a problem in ethnographic research; particularly because classic ethnographies originated in studying distant cultures where the researcher had to carry out field work in a foreign language. The challenge of translation involves misunderstanding and also misinterpreting the information in the attempt of communicating the findings. This has led ethnographers to start working in their own countries and language. However, there is still the difficulty of translating across class, gender, ethnicity or generations. Being a Chilean woman doing fieldwork in my own country and language also presented challenges, as did writing for an Anglo speaking audience, particularly due to different language and cultural settings.

In the writing process, this involved a constant need to provide contextual information, which I was unsure whether it would be understood or not. The possibility to access many conferences and seminars, as well as discussions with my supervisors allowed for many opportunities to provide further clarity on issues that required additional explanation. A similar situation occurred in translating from Spanish to English. In many cases, I felt it impossible to translate certain words or phrases that carried with them cultural specificities, without changing the meaning of the expression. Effort was made to provide as close as possible translation or to leave the words in Spanish and explain them further in the Glossary of Terms (See Appendix 1. Glossary of Terms).

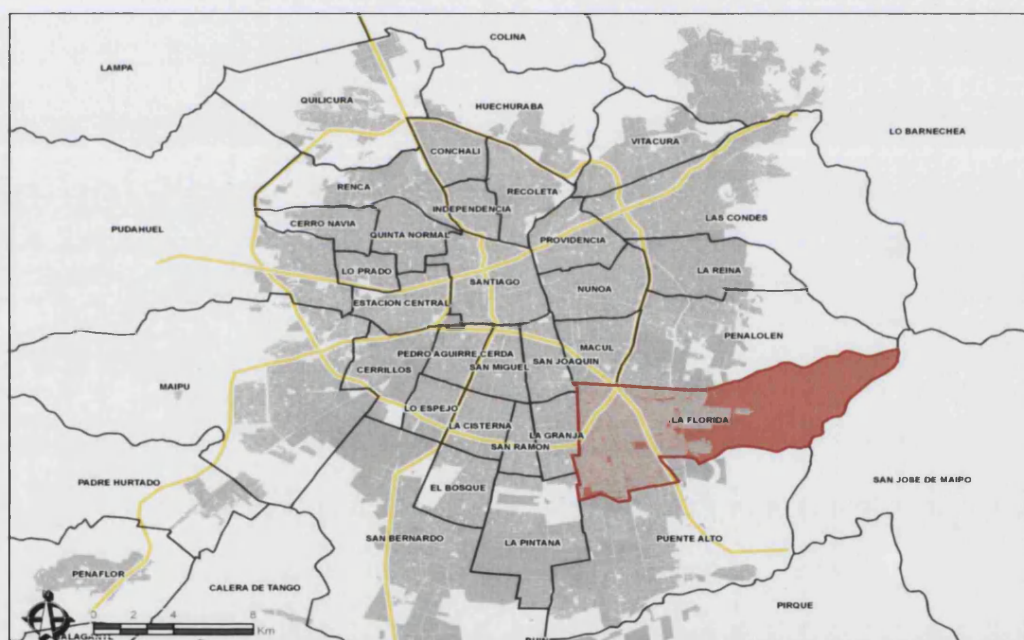
### **3.6.5 Case selection**

With the aim of describing the experience of urban daily mobility practices in Santiago de Chile of different income groups living in an area relatively close to each other and analysing these in terms of uneven spatial practices, I aimed to find a delimited, mixed income sector in the capital. Selecting the cases to be studied involved a three-scale selection process. The first scale implicated selecting the borough<sup>22</sup>, the second referred to choosing the neighbourhoods and the third involved accessing the members of specific households. The criteria for selecting the

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<sup>22</sup> In Chile, the geopolitical division of territory is done according to *municipios* which, for this research, will be called boroughs. Greater Santiago, which involves the urban area of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (AMS), is composed of 34 boroughs

boroughs within the city of Santiago, involved choosing those boroughs which presented greater heterogeneity in terms of income, according to the 2003 Household Survey (CASEN) (MIDEPLAN 2003) and the 2002 National Census (INE 2002). These helped to identify the number of households in each borough according to income in quintiles, and those with most heterogeneity included: La Florida, Peñalolen, San Miguel and Huechuraba. Through the examination of social indicators and field visits to each borough, the selected borough was La Florida, a mixed income sector on the south-eastern borough on Santiago (See *Map 1. La Florida, Santiago*) as it met all the conditions of heterogeneity in a delimited area within the borough.

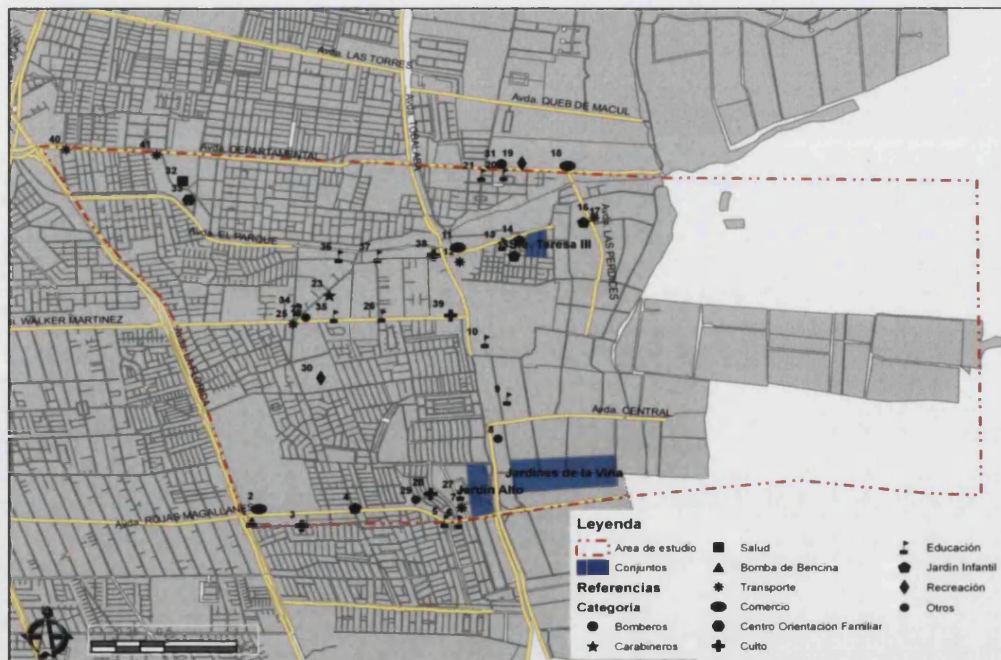


Source: Author's elaboration based on INE (2002)

### Map 2. Selected Borough: La Florida, Santiago

Once the borough was identified, the second selection prior to selecting the members of each households to study, was choosing specific neighbourhoods or condominiums according to housing typology and price, which in the Chilean case, closely corresponds to income level (MINVU 2004; Sugranyes 2005). Furthermore, the average age of the condominiums had to be at least two years old, in order for dwellers to present a certain amount of place attachment and have developed daily mobility routines within the neighbourhood and the city. The selection originally

included a total of 13 families<sup>23</sup> from four different neighbourhoods in a delimited area of La Florida: Santa Teresa, Jardines de la Viña, Jardín Alto and Las Parcelas - Lo Cañas<sup>24</sup>, all of which were chosen for their proximity to one another and their location in a transitional area of the city: a borough undergoing rapid physical, economic and social change (See Map 3. *Selected Neighbourhoods, La Florida, Santiago*)<sup>25</sup>. The last neighbourhood was eliminated from the cases because the interviewees did not want to participate in the shadowing process, therefore 11 families from three neighbourhoods were selected. However, as will be seen in Chapter 5, regardless of the physical proximity among the different income groups, there are physical, social, economic and cultural boundaries that prevent them from experiencing the city in a similar manner.



Source: Author's elaboration based on INE (2002)

**Map 3. Selected Neighbourhoods, La Florida, Santiago**

### 3.6.6 Accessing the field: A constant negotiation process

Once I had selected the possible neighbourhoods, I began selecting the individual households whose members would be willing to participate in the research after

<sup>23</sup> The names of the interviewees have been modified to maintain anonymity

<sup>24</sup> Interviewees from Las Parcelas-Lo Cañas were eliminated from the research as discussed in the next section.

<sup>25</sup> Detail of each case is presented in Chapter 5

being fully aware of its implications and providing informed consent. In hindsight, this was the most difficult part of the fieldwork and a process that made me question my own previous research practices. As an academic from Universidad de Chile, I had considerable experience undertaking research in low-income neighbourhoods throughout the country and in international settings. This experience included gathering statistical, spatial, social, economic, socio-cultural, architectural, and photographic data; applying surveys, doing interviews and focus groups in different settings.

This experience had been somewhat distant from more intimate and constant interaction with neighbourhood members that an ethnographic approach required. My previous work had been undertaken to some extent from a '*superior*' researcher stance attempting to '*help*' the families involved, emphasising how the research would help them in the future. It also attempted to confirm hypotheses or ideas about situations and was rather closed to the possibility of surprise, bewilderment or unknowing. Although my previous experiences had been quite successful and illuminating for local and national policy, undertaking an ethnographic approach proved to be a more complex and demanding task, yet more satisfying in personal terms. Part of the reflexivity involved discussing my intentions and preconceptions openly with the participants and express clarity about my need for their information for the research, the uses, purpose and interpretations of this information also needed to be openly discussed and clarified.

I felt intimidated by accessing the field and I postponed it by collecting secondary data first and then by talking to many outsiders. My hesitation to approaching the field in a more determined manner arose from the fact that I was alone, having to undertake the process on my own, without research colleagues or assistants coming to field visits with me. As a way of getting acquainted with each neighbourhood, I began to walk around each neighbourhood during the day. This also involved certain limitations, as I knew I had to be careful to walk around alone for issues of security, hence I only did this during daytime. I started talking to people and slowly began getting an idea of what each neighbourhood was like. I would shop for bread, chewing gum, use the photocopier or just sit at a park bench, as suggested by Shaffir



(1999), I had to start to hang around, visit the places, observe and record the observations.

I received considerable help from friends, friends of friends, colleagues and students, who suggested various ways of accessing each neighbourhood. Different access strategies were used simultaneously; hence neighbourhood selection was not automatic, particularly because it depended on finding people who would consent to being part in the research. The lower income neighbourhood of Santa Teresa was a very clear choice because it was the only one with such conditions in the chosen study area. For the higher-middle income neighbourhood, there was a choice of four neighbourhoods; some of which were gated and some were not. This meant that the strategies used for access varied depending on the neighbourhoods, and the people I had access to.

For Santa Teresa, an Architecture student from my Faculty had done his final graduation project on informal housing extensions in this neighbourhood. As a way of getting in touch with a group of residents, I went with him on the day he had agreed to meet with some members of the community to show them his final project. I took the opportunity at the end of the meeting to tell them about what I was doing and discussed mobility issues. After a while I asked them if they would be interested in participating and the host family, Bernardo and Alicia, offered to be part of it.

I then went to another block of flats and asked Francisco, the Community Treasurer and gatekeeper, to introduce me to the President of the community. After waiting around for several hours on two different occasions, while talking to Francisco, the President did not show up. Francisco understood the project and told me to come back the following Sunday at 6:00 pm, as he had to make some announcements to the members of his block and he would introduce me afterwards. That Sunday, I waited until the meeting was over, for Francisco to introduce me and I then explained what I was doing.

I gave details about my concerns regarding mobility in Santiago and they all commented on the difficulties they had in moving about the city. They wanted to

know why I had selected their specific neighbourhood and I described the choice of location, as well as the other different neighbourhoods I was going to select. I also explained what the research would entail in terms of interviews and shadowing them on their journeys. They were curious to know why I wanted to ride the bus with them, so I clarified that I wanted to know what it was like for them and observe what the issues they went through on a daily basis. I provided explanations as to how I would use the information to compare their experiences to those of others from other neighbourhoods. I also explained how I would need to meet individually and explain things further in order to get an informed consent from them.

Out of 9 people present that Sunday, 7 were interested and willing to participate. They provided their telephone numbers and addresses and with some we agreed to meet during the following week. When I rang them up to confirm, one lady did not want to get involved in the research anymore, and the rest were unreachable. As a result, I decided to visit each one personally and explain further the details of the research. In the case of married couples, it soon became apparent that both partners were to provide an informed consent to participate in the research. This is because one of the interviewees had agreed on being part of the research and we set up a meeting to go on her journey together, but later her husband told me he did not consent to the shadowing. A similar situation happened with another woman, thus the journeys were not undertaken with them. This situation was indicative of the gendered power relations inside households and how these issues would be relevant during the research. Moreover, this situation does not only apply to lower income groups and became a major issue to discuss with all the interviewees later on.

The informed consent was discussed individually, and we agreed that the information discussed during our meetings would be used only for the research in question. We also discussed the need to change names, although they did not have any problems with keeping their names, I decided to change all the names to keep their anonymity. As to the use of photographs, they also agreed on being photographed during the journeys, I provided all of them with a CD with of all the photographs and printed some that they had selected. I did not offer any remuneration for their time and at the

end gave each participant a present as a token of appreciation. Obtaining an informed consent was similar to all selected participants.

In the lower-middle and higher-middle neighbourhoods, walking around the streets for extended periods of time was neither safe for me nor inviting to them. Thus, for the higher middle income gated communities, I contacted the administrators of two of the three gated communities in the area, as the third did not have an overall administrator but specific representatives of each sector of the community. Going through the administrators meant writing a letter to the community informing of the research and requesting the possibility to meet with some members to discuss the project. This strategy proved to be unhelpful in both cases as I did not receive any reply from the administrators and each time I contacted them, they expressed the need to hold a meeting with all the members to discuss the matter. The date of this meeting was unknown but was not likely to occur within the next three months due to the summer holidays. This revealed great difficulty in accessing such neighbourhoods as has been shown by the work of Low (2003). Also, similar to Santa Teresa, attempting to acquire access through formal channels proved to be difficult, thus the need to use simultaneous access techniques. This led me to opt for a snowballing technique and, after asking everyone I knew if they had any acquaintances or knew anyone in the area, things started rolling.

That was how for the lower-middle income neighbourhood, a friend knew a friend of a friend Laura, who lived in Jardín Alto. After meeting and discussing the project with Laura and her daughter Catalina, they accepted. Another friend of mine knew people in the church close by who also knew some of the members. That is how I contacted Claudia and Isabel, and after meeting with them and explaining the research, they accepted. As mentioned before, although Isabel did not present any problem in participating in the research, her daughter, whom I had not met, was more apprehensive. Once she found out about the research, rang my University to make sure I was trustworthy. This situation raises concern about elderly people as a vulnerable group and the need for better protection and ethical concern regarding their involvement in research.

For the higher-middle income neighbourhood, one of the persons at the church knew someone from Jardines de la Viña. I began frequenting the specific church and soon I met Felipe and Carmen who agreed to meet at their house during the following week. When I got there, they were waiting for me with *pisco sour*<sup>26</sup> and nibbles. After a few hours of talking about them, me and what I was doing, they accepted to be part of the research and suggested introducing me to some neighbours. We went around visiting their neighbours and they did the talking for me; they seemed to explain the research better than I did and talked about me with trust and appreciation. Initially, accessing this group appeared difficult, but once Felipe and Carmen understood and accepted being part of it, introduction to the rest of the participants and engaging them in the research became relatively easy. That is how in one evening I selected the three families from Jardines de la Viña. I met with each during the following week and discussed the details of the research and they provided informed consent.

I also contacted two other participants recommended by friends of friends, who possessed high economic and cultural capital in terms of income, education and housing typology. Both participants were very accessible to be interviewed and offered consent very easily, however they did not want to be shadowed or photographed. Hence their comments come basically from the interviews. This situation sheds light on the difficulty of accessing the highest income groups and on how their self-exclusion generated a certain bias in the findings. Moreover, in terms of reflexivity, this also involved that power relations in research do exist but power is not always concentrated on the researcher, but those being researched also have power of providing, withdrawing or withholding information as estimated necessary. In the case of my participants, although this was never openly discussed, they knew that I needed them in order to be able to undertake my research adequately, and in this context, the 20 persons who finally participated were all extremely helpful in allowing me that.

Prior to fieldwork, my initial idea was selecting 30 households, from different income neighbourhoods. Soon, however, I realised that this would be impossible on

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<sup>26</sup> Chilean national alcoholic drink, very popular as a cocktail.

my own, because I was more interested in a deeper understanding of the travel experience of the members of each household than on having a bigger sample of households. The type of research I was undertaking was extremely time consuming, and having more families would limit the amount of time I would be able to spend with each. At the end of the selection period, I selected 13 families from four different neighbourhoods. All of the self mobile adults of each household went through the first set of interviews, but not all of them wanted to be shadowed, hence, by the time I ended the fieldwork, I had a total of 11 households from three different neighbourhoods, and 20 persons in total that went through the whole process. Some of the drop out was disappointing as will be explained later, but it also reinforced the idea that access in ethnographic work is not just about strategies for getting into a research location or access as a one-off activity, but “access is a negotiated and renegotiated research process” as suggested by Burgess (1991: 43).

### **3.6.7 Being in the field**

The research was designed in four stages: initial discussion, shadowing, follow up discussion and contextual data gathering. Once I explained in further detail what the research entailed and the informants agreed to participate, I arranged to meet with each one separately for interviews. The initial interviews involved discussing who they were, where they came from, how they came to live in their current neighbourhood. I also asked them about their daily routines and their journeys for which we used maps of the city<sup>27</sup> and time budgets to trace these and talk about them (See Appendix 3. Tools and Instruments).

The second stage involved shadowing them on a regular weekday. Each participant was shadowed once for one whole weekday, the shadowing process took place over a period of two months. This required arriving at their house, according to our prior arrangement, often before they left in the morning, going through the day with them and then coming back home at night (or leave at night and come back in the morning in the case of security guards). These journeys were photographed by them or me,

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<sup>27</sup> Photocopies of maps were extracted from the Telephone Book and enlarged at various scales.

while travellers' discussions were made as to why and what they saw. Although they all agreed to be photographed, many did not want to take the photographs themselves, I was thus in charge of taking most of the photographs. One problem with using photography was related to other passengers who appeared unhappy about the camera. This discomfort from other passengers revealed the sense of invasion they felt in a space they might consider private or intimate. Many asked what I was doing and why I was taking photos, others looked away. I was concerned about them being upset about my intrusion but at the end I realised that as long as I was polite and careful, mostly photographing my participants, which was my main interest, it would not be overly intrusive. Finally, although travelling with someone at all times would be difficult for some, all my experiences were quite positive regardless of them being tired and stressed. Soon they started calling me '*la sombra*' ('the shadow') and that is what I became.

I recorded time and location during the journeys to be used to geo-reference the trajectories. I constantly took notes throughout the trips, some issues were discussed as they occurred, while others were saved for later discussion, depending on the convenience of the situation, people around us or the type of discussion. I was very adaptable to their situation, and although I sometimes knew what the day ahead would be like, they often improvised. Sometimes they would cancel at the last minute, other times I would stay with them until very late and even help them tuck the children to bed, as was the case with Marta. They also asked me to help them and I never refused; consequently, I ended up packing shirts for delivery, picking tomatoes, corn and beans in the street market, carrying elder women's shopping, choosing gifts for clients or filling out forms in the hospital, amongst other things.

The third stage of the research involved going back to talk to each participant about the journeys, asking specific questions about the experience and discussing with them the photographs and maps. This stage provided deeper discussions on issues that had either been said or observed. It was also a way of being reflexive, after taking some distance, of returning to comment with them about the things that struck me. Often there were many issues that they brought up and wanted to discuss with me, reflections of their own lives that had come out of the research process. An

example of this was the case of Sandra, who became aware of their need to stop and analyse why they were moving so much or Marta who started thinking of changing jobs, or Roberto and Claudia who kept track of situations in the Metro that they found interesting to discuss with me.

At this stage I found it necessary to understand the spatial relation participants had with their place of residence and its surroundings as well as with the lived spaces encountered on their journeys. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, it became apparent that the spaces where the participants encountered, interacted, circulated and perhaps integrated, went beyond the neighbourhood space and in many cases, were not necessarily bound to the residential setting. These mobile spaces are fuzzy in terms of the boundaries generated making them unbounded, dynamic and flexible, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Thus, as a way to understand the way local neighbourhood space is used and perceived on a daily basis, mental maps were elaborated.

Once I had gathered all the necessary material and began putting order to it prior to returning to London, I went back to say goodbye, and they each organised some sort of goodbye party or dinner. I took this opportunity to thank them and I gave them all a set of selected printed photographs and a CD with all the pictures as well as small thank you presents which involved flowers, picture frames, teddy bears, chocolate, candy, and a cooked dinner for one family. Some of them even had presents for me that I could not return; for instance, one family had my name engraved on a pen and a little girl gave me her own teddy bear to bring back to London with me. Once back in London I sent each family a postcard thanking them for their disposition and have kept in touch with some of them through email. On a second visit, I brought them all small souvenirs from London and, as I had already processed some of the information, there were certain issues I found necessary to go over with some participants. At which point, they again invited me to dinners, teatimes, barbecues, lunches, graduations, parties, which I went to as many as I could. I still send *'Hello, I'm still working'* postcards, and I am hoping to show them the final work and publications once I finish and I go back to Chile.

The fourth stage, referred to as contextual data gathering, took place six months later (December, 2006), when I went back for a second visit, mainly to gather bibliographic material and carry out expert interviews (See Appendix 2 – Interviewees). This is because although the total experience is impossible to reach, it is worth trying to understand the overall picture or context, not just the reality of actors being researched but the context where their relations lie. As mentioned by Auge and Colleyn “ethnography is not only about understanding what people are living but also the field they are in”<sup>28</sup> (2005: 24). In total 9 interviews with experts were conducted prior to the implementation of Transantiago to discuss the Plan. Most of them were arranged prior to travelling making them quite easy to carry out.

### 3.7 Conclusions

One of the main lessons learned from the fieldwork preparatory sessions at the Anthropology Department at the LSE, was understanding that there is no one way of doing ethnography, and that an ethnographic approach requires the researcher to be as flexible, open and vigilant as possible to adapt to the fieldwork experience. For this, my full time availability, flexibility and disposition as well as using the various methods along with my toolbox of items were vital, although some items were more useful than others. Moreover, undertaking this type of fieldwork with the disposition to modify ideas, methods and timing as required, greatly enhanced the possibility of access and successful accomplishment. Although in hindsight, I could have used other and varied tools such as video or GPS, the information gathered was rich and diverse enough for the purposes of describing urban daily mobility practices. It must also be mentioned that urban spatial analysis could be done in many ways and my approach is one of many to analyse urban daily life. However, given the theoretical framework chosen and my research aims, the methodology adopted fitted adequately with what I wanted to achieve: to explore the experiences of urban daily mobility..

It should be said that, because of the methodological approach taken, the whole picture is never wholly revealed, nor is it the intention. However, the various

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<sup>28</sup> Author’s translation



methods reinforced the need to work towards creating better methodologies which can capture the different knowledges regarding mobility experiences, in terms of its production, interpretation and representation. This requires a variety of methods including observation, interviewing, shadowing travellers in their daily journeys, but it also involves combining these with aggregate travel patterns, and simultaneously move towards creating methodologies to generate greater participation from those involved in the research process. Such endeavours may require longer time for fieldwork, particularly in terms of building trust relationships. Moreover, although this research process intended to be as reflexive as possible, I still had a major role in the way the data was finally interpreted and portrayed.

One of the criticisms received when discussing my methodology in presentations, has been whether this type of methodology can effectively inform policy. As will be seen in Chapter 4, it is precisely information regarding these everyday experiences reflecting part of what is happening in daily living which is currently urgently required to be fed back into the urban and transport planning process. This does not eliminate the need for other methodological approaches including those used in planning or transport, but an ethnographic approach would certainly enrich them by providing different views. These views are not necessarily better or worse, but just as relevant and often dismissed. Thus capturing another way in which urban life is experienced requires broadening the epistemological scope of research and requires finding ways in which these can capture experiences and their meanings.

Time-space mapping, complemented with photography and ethnographic narratives, can be useful as a way of tracking mobility in order to understand the way people move about the city, comparing movement, while using the same base information. It can also help to visualise movement as a way of dimensioning the extent of mobility (or immobility) along the city. It can help to compare different trajectories, and the time and space used. But more importantly, it can be a complementary way of providing more depth to a description of a situation, especially if combined with ethnographic narratives of urban daily mobility. This methodological approach enhances contemporary urban research as it provides a whole range of possibilities for representing information that would otherwise be lost in the research process.

Therefore more work is needed to express mobility on paper using multiple data as well as adapting other forms of expression (sound, visual) that are currently only starting to be developed in the social sciences.

As a personal journey, openness, reflexivity and authenticity during fieldwork can be described as specifically relevant for this research. It implied questioning my assumptions, my previous research practices, as well as my own Chilean identity. In a positive way, it also allowed me to dig out personal capabilities that were crucial to making the fieldwork entertaining as well as interesting and research relevant. As I go over my notes and results, I realise how intense those months were and a learning experience that will definitely feed back into my future practice as a researcher.

This chapter has explained the main methodological steps taken in the research in terms of adapting the theoretical discussion of social practices, place making, urban daily mobility through an ethnographic approach. An ethnographic approach to mobility practices provides an adequate methodology to capture multiple and hybrid urban experiences in the changing reality of urban living as is argued in this thesis. Due to its flexibility and reflexivity, an ethnographic approach not only provides thick description of social phenomena, it also adapts to the way people perform their daily routines. The way mobility practices were approached here provide only an initial way of enquiring about these practices and suggests that there is still great room for innovation and creativity in developing methods to capture mobility practices. This is particularly relevant in relation to urban research and urban interventions as will be seen in the next chapter when the Transantiago implementation experience is presented.

## 4 The logic of a practice. The experience of Transantiago<sup>29</sup>

### 4.1 Introduction

On February 10, 2007 (F10), Transantiago became the new urban transport system in the city of Santiago. The system aimed at making the existing ‘chaotic’ yet generally functional network of *micros amarillos*<sup>30</sup> more efficient. Prior to its implementation, there was general consensus on the need to improve the existing bus system and many authors and experts were hopeful and positive about the future of Transantiago (Martinez 2002; Gschwender 2005; Diaz, Gomez-Lobo et al. 2006)(Expert 1, 2, 3). International agencies like the World Bank (World Bank 2005; World Bank 2006), UNDP, GEF<sup>31</sup>, and the Inter-American Development Bank as well as international companies (including banks and transport consortiums) invested resources on Transantiago as it appeared to be an efficient and creative way of tackling citywide public urban transport without using subsidies. However, one year later, the system was still far from being a success story and its critical social, economic, financial and political results have become major topics of discussion in the country at least during its first year of implementation, to the point of generating an inquiry from Chile’s National Congress (Comisión Investigadora del Plan Transantiago, Transantiago Plan Investigating Commission) to “determine the causes that motivated the failed implementation of a public policy destined in its original idea to substantially improve the transport system, but that in fact ended up producing the exact contrary effects”<sup>32</sup> (Comisión Investigadora del Plan Transantiago 2007: 3)

The precise impact and consequences of Transantiago are yet to be adequately assessed, as the causes of its ‘failed implementation’ are multiple and complex, and serious evaluations about the events that took place after F10 require fine

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<sup>29</sup> Parts of this Chapter are discussed in Jiron 2007, “Thinking urban transport from an urban daily mobility point of view: the experience of Santiago de Chile” presented at the *Transport, Mobility and Regional Development* Winter Conference of the Regional Studies Association, 23 November 2007, London, UK

<sup>30</sup> Yellow buses, main characteristic of the bus system in Santiago until F10.

<sup>31</sup> The Global Environmental Facility funds the “Air quality and Sustainable Transport Planning” project to reduce gas emission from urban transport, green effect gases and improve air quality in Santiago (Transantiago, 2007)

<sup>32</sup> Author’s translation

disentangling of technical as well as political decisions made through detailed information which is not yet available. Likewise, more time is needed for Transantiago to have all its elements in full operation. In this context, the aim of this chapter is not to evaluate Transantiago, but to use its implementation to present the underlying logic existing today in transport interventions, and the way mobility problems and solutions are understood and conceived. By analysing the aims, plans, design and decisions made prior to its implementation, this chapter detects key elements generally missed from this conception. By exploring the foreseeable problems with Transantiago –decreased coverage, increased waiting time, transfers and inaccessibility, promotion of car use, amongst other– this chapter argues that the majority of problems encountered can, for the most part, be attributed to a conceptual deficiency which provides a partial or incomplete approach to mobility. The implementation of Transantiago raises broader issues regarding the way mobility is conceptualised by the disciplines involved in transport and urban issues. It suggests that the issues addressed are not always optimal, due to the type of questions asked, which are not always adequate in the search of improving mobility in urban areas. This is particularly so from an urban transport point of view, which conceived Transantiago as a highly technical intervention, unrelated to a broader mobility approach, and devised it under a vague understanding of current urban daily mobility practices in the city of Santiago. This led to a top down implementation using detailed quantitative aggregate data and models, which evidences a major gap between the issues addressed by urban experts and the quotidian experiences of urban mobility.

This chapter intends to provide a current ‘state of the art’ in transport interventions in Chile. This helps to introduce the implications that ignoring mobility issues can have as it reflects dismissal of the way people experience urban living as argued by this thesis. With this in mind, the chapter first provides a succinct introduction to urban and transport planning in Chile, and specifically in Santiago<sup>33</sup>. It then presents the major transport issues which led to the implementation of Transantiago using bibliographic material and interviews with key experts carried out *prior* to its implementation. Finally, the proposed route network, planned infrastructure,

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<sup>33</sup> For a detailed account of urban and transport planning including the structures, institutions and policies, see Appendix 4, Urban and Transport Planning in Santiago de Chile.

financial system and information system are presented, highlighting the major problems prior to implementation.

## **4.2 Transport Planning and main transport issues in Santiago**

As in many other countries in Latin America, transport planning in Chile is regarded as a highly technical practice and conducted mainly by transport engineers using a 'predict and provide'<sup>34</sup> or supply and demand approach (Montezuma 2003a). In this approach, demand for travel by various modes is extrapolated and then attempts are made to match the supply of infrastructure to that demand (Vigar 2002). Its application can be divided into three major areas, each requiring specialised information for decision making: infrastructure investment, congestion and traffic analysis, and travel behaviour. According to the transport engineers interviewed, the main purpose of transport planning in Chile is to provide efficiency in travel (Experts 1, 3 and 6). Mobility as a concept is understood as "a platform of information to characterise the demand for transport... in transport terms, it is understood as generation, attraction and distribution and modal split, that is our language, where generation refers to how many people travel, the trips generated by an activity ... distribution refers to how many trips from one zone to other zones, the routes, and finally modal split refers to the modes travelled by" (Expert 1).

Transport interventions in infrastructure are carried out by various national, regional and local public institutions depending on the scale and type of intervention in conjunction with private investment groups who undertake major infrastructure development by way of concessions<sup>35</sup>. Studies to decide on such investments are carried out by private and academic consultants (Expert 1) whose models provide a high level of precision and complexity. Congestion and transit is analysed using the latest technology and systems. Finally, travel behaviour is analysed through "one of the most advanced ongoing surveys in the world used along its well known strategic

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<sup>34</sup> A predict and provide approach refers to predicting future traffic, based on past trends and travel habits and providing road capacity where and when it will be required.

<sup>35</sup> See Appendix 4, Urban and Transport Planning in Chile, for a detail of institutions and their role in urban and transport planning.

equilibrium transport modelling system ESTRAUS<sup>36</sup> (de Cea, Fernandez et al. 2005), which also attempts to optimise utility by modelling and forecasting. There have also been attempts to integrate travel behaviour with land use planning through MUSSA<sup>37</sup> (Martinez 1996; Miller 2005).

Due to its highly technical approach, requiring data rich models and technical expertise, transport planning discussions are seldom open to public debate and detailed information is managed by a few experts. Thus transport planning outcomes are more visible than their actual preparation. Although this high specialisation is justified due to the high investment involved, this thesis insists that it requires broadening its outlook to encompass broader aims, sources of information and forms of analysis, including a more comprehensive understanding of mobility, as discussed in the previous chapter. Internationally, travel behaviour research has greatly advanced in this area by incorporating a broader view of daily life and mobility through quantitative data and modelling (Axhausen, Zimmerman et al. 2002; Miller 2005; Miller 2006; Ohnmacht 2006), however, these analyses would be significantly enhanced if complemented with more qualitative work on people's experience of daily mobility.

Using a predict and provide approach, Chile's Ministry of Transport (MTT or MOPTT<sup>38</sup>) is responsible for transportation policy and operations supervision, including law and standard enforcement. It has specific dependencies that oversee transit standard setting, traffic control, bus route concessions, vehicle emission control, operation of technical revision plants, public transport passenger security, street sign standards, vehicle circulation restrictions and other relevant transport-related issues. In terms of infrastructure planning, the Ministry of Public Works (MOP) is responsible for national connectivity by planning, building and maintaining road infrastructure, as well as improving road standards, road maintenance, bridge and crossing reposition and repair, construction of overpasses and river defences, amongst others (MOP 2007a). In the case of Santiago, MOP's responsibilities

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<sup>36</sup> Etraus: a computational model that simulates the behaviour of an urban transport system

<sup>37</sup> MUSSA is a software and a mathematical model that represents the Urban Real Estate Market and allows planners to forecast and simulate its economic equilibrium under different demographic, macroeconomic and regulatory scenarios (Sectra 2007)

<sup>38</sup> Over the past two decades transport has at times been part of the Ministry of Public Works (MOPTT) and also operated as an independent Ministry of Transport (MTT).

include maintaining several highways, their extension and improvement, as well as the construction of specific projects for the city, major city access roads and infrastructure through the Concessions Programme (Zegras and Gakenheimer 2000; MOP 2007c).

The precarious state of public infrastructure in Chile in the 1990s led the government to create an innovative Concessions Programme (Coordinación General de Concesiones) of public-private partnerships that would initially help to develop infrastructure whereby the private sector would invest, maintain and exploit large-scale public works. Although it originally concentrated on national highways and airports, it is currently involved in developing large-scale public buildings and specific road works for Transantiago. Additionally, with the aim of expanding the areas of concession investment and improving urban transport in the capital (MOP 2007b), over the past few years, MOP initiated significant investment on high standard concessioned urban highways. As shown in Map 4. Urban Highways in Santiago, these included Autopista Central<sup>39</sup>, Américo Vespucio Tramo Nor-Poniente<sup>40</sup> and Américo Vespucio Tramo Sur<sup>41</sup> and Costanera Norte<sup>42</sup>. These new highways use a modern free flow toll payment system which is meant to increase the capacity of existing roads and reduce travel time, congestion, accidents and contamination (MOP 2007b).

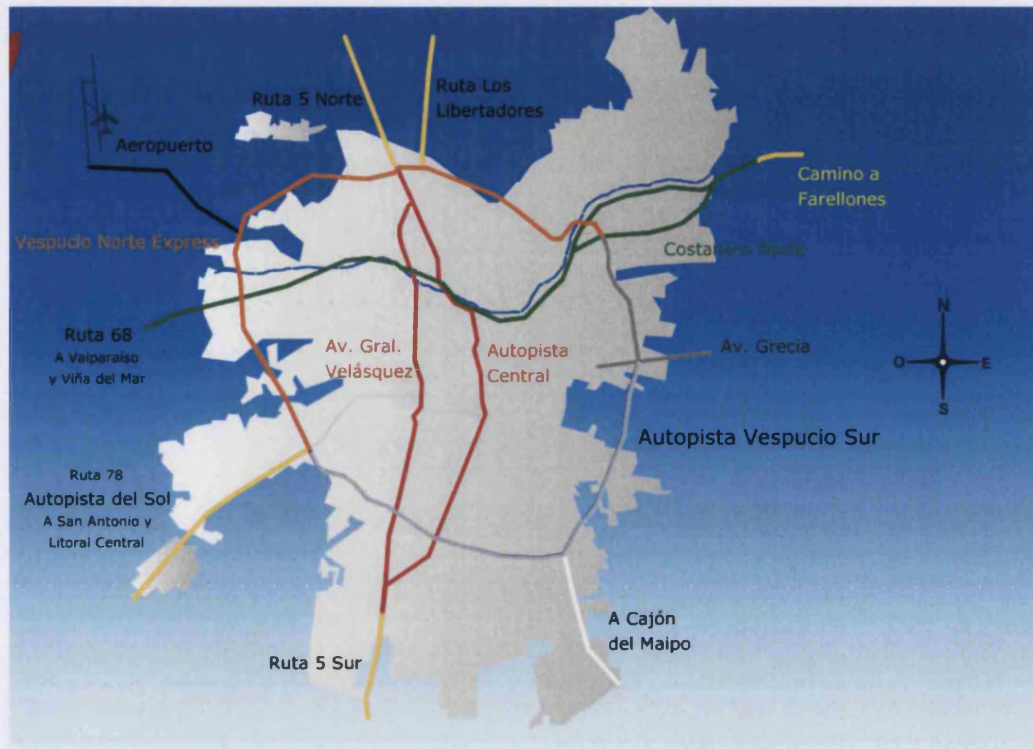
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<sup>39</sup> Which joins major national Ruta 5 with existing urban highways. US\$ 454.981.976 investment

<sup>40</sup> Which improved connectivity between the Northeast and Northwest of the capital through Ruta 78 Autopista del Sol - El Salto. US\$ 320 million investment

<sup>41</sup> Which connects East and West through the South of the city through Ruta 78 Autopista del Sol - Avenida Grecia. US\$ 270.826.836 investment.

<sup>42</sup> Which runs from East to West through the centre of the capital; and for several kilometres runs under the Mapocho River through a tunnel (US\$) 384.482.791 investment (total investment US\$ 2.000 million in the highway network, total 200 km



Source: (Autopista Vespucio Sur 2008)

**Map 4. Urban Highways in Santiago**

Furthermore, as a technical support to national transport decision-making, SECTRA (Secretaría Interministerial de Transporte, Interministerial Transport Planning Secretary), develops methodologies and tools to evaluate urban and interurban transport projects and plans. It also incorporates environmental and urban analysis to transport plans and projects, strengthens the use of information technology with the use of data bases and GIS; it proposes interurban transport plans; and studies traffic management in large cities (SECTRA 2007). Administratively, it is subordinate to MIDEPLAN (Ministry of Planning) but depends technically on MIDEPLAN, MINVU (Ministry of Housing and Urbanism), MOP and MTT. Technical assistance from SECTRA was crucial to the preparation of Transantiago, as its studies contributed to the redesign of the urban transport system, including the analysis of bus routes integration, service operations, transport industry management redesign, fare models developing and incorporation of technology to transport (SECTRA 2007).

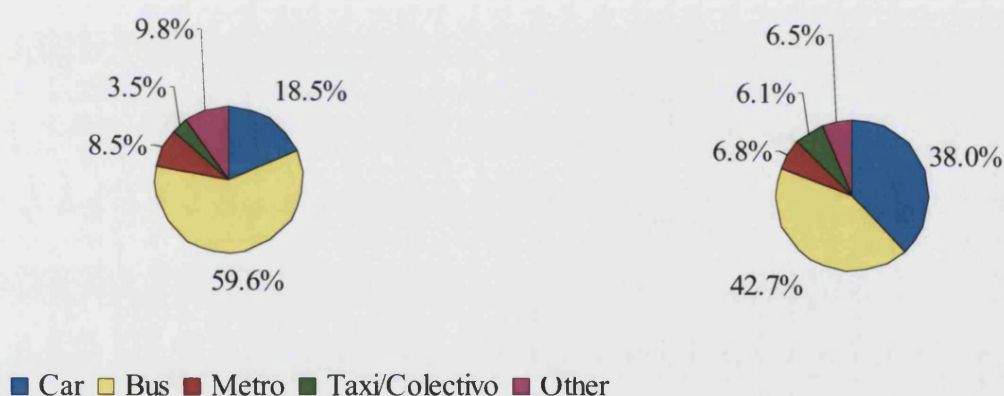
According to SECTRA's Origin and Destination Survey (Encuesta de Origen y Destino, EOD) applied in 1991 and 2001 (SECTRA 2001), there are 16 million



journeys made daily in Santiago, 10 million of which are motorised<sup>43</sup>. Prior to Transantiago, the main modes of transport in Santiago included walking, public buses, bicycles, private automobiles, taxis, *colectivos*<sup>44</sup>, Metro, suburban rail and freight trucks (SECTRA 2001). As can be seen in Figure 2. Modal split in Santiago de Chile: 1991 – 2001, although overall number of trips increased between 1991 and 2001, there was a drastic increase in the proportion of trips carried out by car<sup>45</sup>, bus rides decreased, while Metro had a slight increase<sup>46</sup> (SECTRA 2001). The increase in vehicle fleet is closely related to the decline of bus usage, which generates a vicious circle of increase in car ownership, decline in bus patronage, along with a decline in service level, leading to a decline in demand. This increase in car-use also led to greater congestion and pollution.

**EOD 1991: 5,996,188 daily trips**

**EOD 2001: 10,147,247 daily trips**



Source: (SECTRA 2001)

**Figure 2. Modal Split in Santiago de Chile: 1991, 2001**

Although the quality of Metro Santiago is perceived as high (Procalidad 2002) and its usage increased slightly, it accounted for less than 7% of daily journeys, its role

<sup>43</sup> 42% by car; 38.4 % by bus; 7.1 % by Metro, 6.0 % by taxi; 6.4 % on other modes (SECTRA, 2001).

<sup>44</sup> Shared fixed route taxis

<sup>45</sup> There are 970,000 cars in Santiago and motorization rate is 0.56 cars/household (SECTRA, 2001)

<sup>46</sup> Metro carries 820 million passengers annually Tomic (2006) or 700,000 passengers daily (SECTRA, 2001).

was restricted by its higher cost and the relatively limited coverage of its network<sup>47</sup>. In 2003 it had three lines covering 40 Km and operated by a publicly owned company, with works underway for extension as can be seen in Map 5. Metro Santiago Lines 2007. Furthermore, it was mostly used by educated, higher income groups as can be seen in Figure 3 Modal Split according to Education Level and Figure 4 Modal Split according to Income Groups.

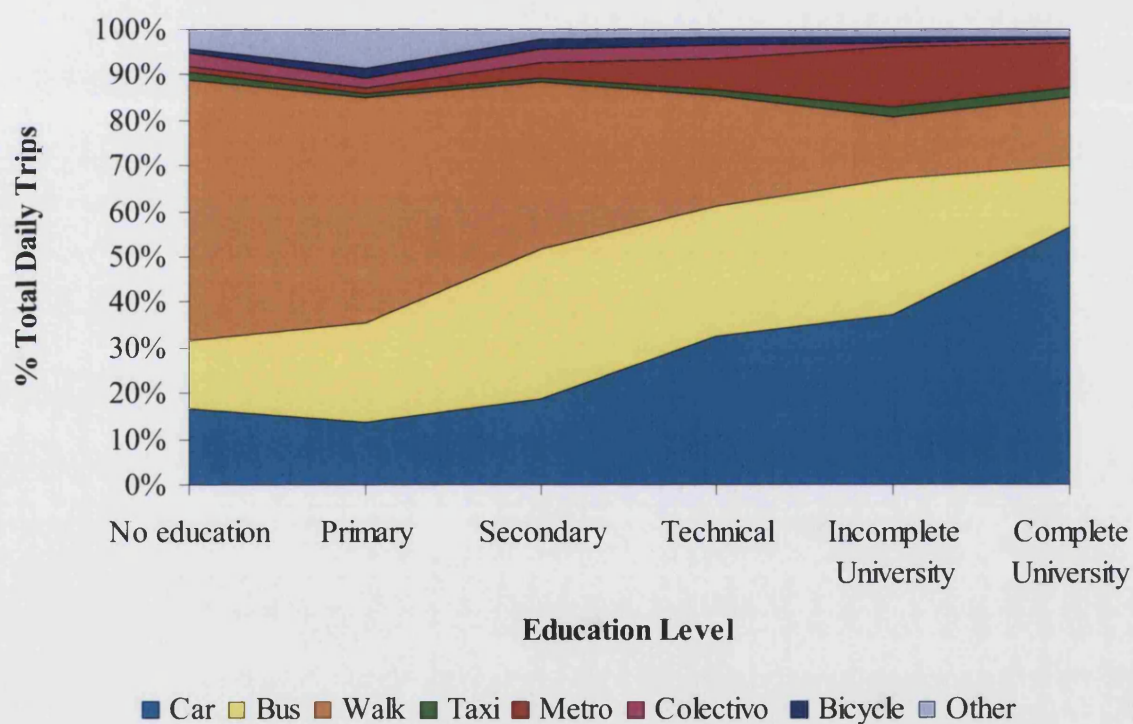


Source: (Transantiago 2007)

Map 5. Metro Santiago Lines 2007

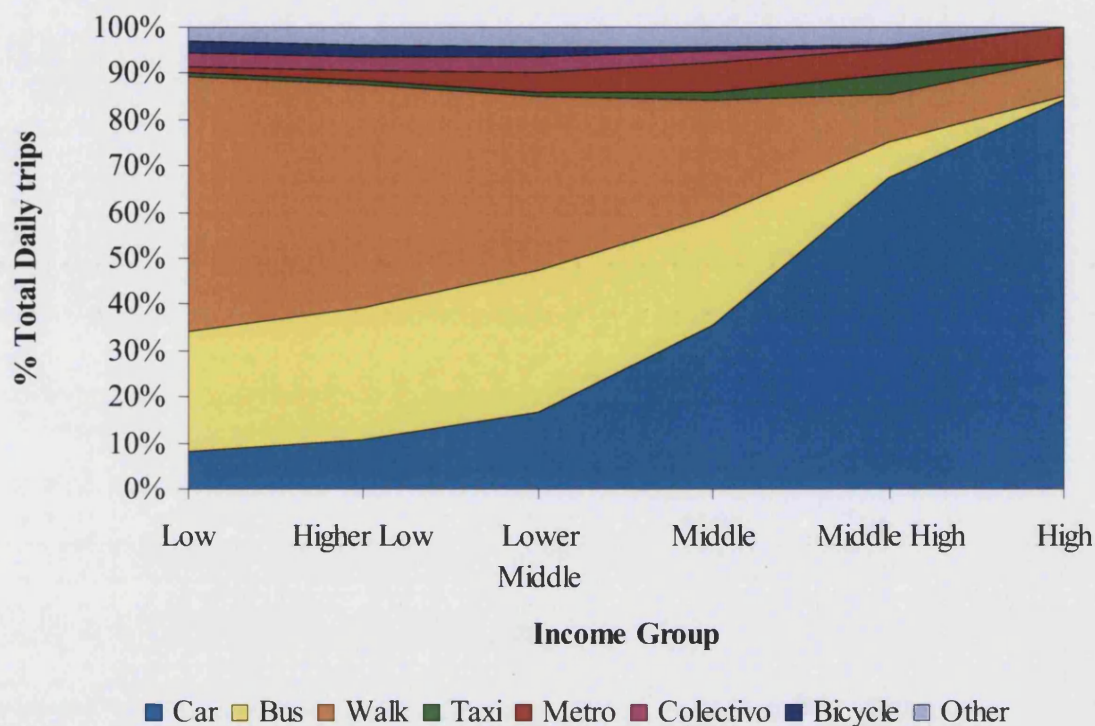
<sup>47</sup> Metro covers the largest boroughs in Santiago including Las Condes, Providencia, Santiago, La Cisterna, San Miguel, La Florida and Puente Alto. In 2005-6 new extensions were made with a new Line 4 and Line 4A which joined Puente Alto, the most populated borough in Santiago, with the east, south west and centre of the city. Line 1 has 24 stations and crosses the city from east to west. Line 2 has 22 stations and crosses the city from centre to south west. Line 5 has 18 stations and runs north southeast. Line 4 runs from northeast to southeast with 22 stations and Line 4a runs from centre south to south east with 6 stations. See Map 5 Metro Santiago Lines, 2007. There were 40 Km of projected extensions constructed prior to the launch of Transantiago, with a total investment of US\$2,000 million

According to Zegras et al (2000), just as income is positively correlated to car use, it is negatively correlated with bus use, that is, buses exhibit the characteristics of an “inferior good” –its consumption declines with rising income (Zegras and Gakenheimer 2000). The car has a higher social status connotation than the bus which is “stigmatised as uncomfortable, inconvenient and unsafe in terms of traffic safety and personal security” (Ibid: 33). Figures 3. and 4. Modal Split according to Education Level and Income Groups in Santiago de Chile: 1991, 2001, show the usage of transport mode according to education and income and present a clear difference, where lower income groups use public buses considerably more than higher income groups, and the latter have greater use of the car.



Source: SECTRA 2001

**Figure 3. Modal Split according to Education Level in Santiago de Chile**



Source: SECTRA 2001

**Figure 4. Modal Split according to Income Groups in Santiago de Chile**

Moreover, in 2002 the Chilean Census asked respondents for the first time about daily mobility destinations for work or study. The results were particularly indicative of uneven mobility patterns where those with lowest education level and living in greater poverty moved considerably less than those with higher income. Thus, as income increases daily mobility increases as well, leaving lower income groups with lesser mobility and greater confinement (Delaunay 2007). The possibilities for lower income groups involve walking, cycling or using yellow buses. Although car ownership has increased steadily over the past decades, it is unevenly distributed and not all households in Santiago own a car. The 970,000 cars in Santiago in 2001 were owned by 35% of households (SECTRA, 2001), where low-income households own .2 cars per household, middle income own .55 cars per household and high-income groups own 1.48 car per household (SECTRA 2001; Transantiago 2004). Trumper (2005) analyses how, although only 4.8% of those households earning over \$1.6 Million<sup>48</sup> monthly do not own a car, 82% of those households earning under

<sup>48</sup> Approximately £1,600 monthly, above the 9<sup>th</sup> highest income decile (CASEN 2003).

\$280,000<sup>49</sup> monthly *do not* own a car. Most of car owners belong to the highest income groups; when lower income groups own cars they are usually old (on average over 11 years old) and lack catalytic converter meaning that they have greater restrictions to travel<sup>50</sup>. Trumper (2005) notes that Santiago, on top of presenting health, education, work, power deficit for the poor, has added mobility deficit. This information provides enough evidence of the uneven daily mobility patterns in Santiago and enough justification to incorporate such a dimension as part of the aims of Transantiago: this did not happen.

The decline in bus use observed by the EOD is closely related to the history of public transport in Santiago, which can be classified in three periods. In the first period, the state acted as the producer and regulator of fares, routes and operation permits for private operators (Transantiago 2004). This ended in 1979 due to its inefficiency and insufficient supply (Díaz, Gómez-Lobo et al. 2006). From 1979 until the 1990s, the system was completely deregulated and entry route determination, frequencies and rates were liberalised, in the hope that service and quality would be more efficient and fares competitive. Although the liberalisation of the system led to an increase in bus supply, it also augmented fares, congestion and air pollution (Fernández 2002; Díaz, Gómez-Lobo et al. 2006). By the end of the 1980s, high fares, old buses and bus inefficiency reflected in low occupancy, provoked an end to the liberalising experience and regulation for road-based public transportation was gradually introduced, with the concession of bus routes at three different moments in 1991, 1994 and 1998. The aim of the bids in the 1990s was to “rationalise, improve and normalize the transport system, so as to set the basis of what was to come afterwards” (Expert 4). This induced incremental improvements to the public bus system by reducing the overall number of buses (from approximately 13,000 in 1991, to approximately 8,000 in 2000), stabilising fares and improving quality of the services and routes through a public tendering system (Zegras and Gakenheimer 2000; Fernández 2002; Díaz, Gómez-Lobo et al. 2006; Orellana 2006).

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<sup>49</sup> Approximately £280 monthly, below the 4<sup>th</sup> lowest income decile (CASEN 2003).

<sup>50</sup> Because of high levels of air contamination, Santiago has vehicle restriction from March to December. Restriction is based on the numbers on car plates for those without catalytic converter. On pre-emergency and emergency days all cars have restrictions.

Despite improvement through regulation and the possibility for passengers to reach most areas of the city with a single fare, the system was far from ideal. By the year 2000, public bus service providers included 120 consortiums, a number that concealed an atomisation of ownership as, on average, each entrepreneur owned 2.11 buses and 69% of the owners of buses in circulation in 2001 owned less than 5 buses (Transantiago 2004; Díaz, Gómez-Lobo et al. 2006). There were 3,000 bus owners running the bus system, with almost 8,000 registered buses, and the system comprised of 355 different bus lines<sup>51</sup> (Zegras and Gakenheimer 2000: 32). In many cases, the concessions were made up of an association of bus owners who grouped in order to participate in the tenders, but lacked central administration to run the business (de la Barra 2002; Díaz, Gómez-Lobo et al. 2006).

By 1999 the bus system carried 4.7 million passengers daily (SECTRA 2001) and EGM Consultants claimed that the average length of journeys per bus was 28 Km north-south and 35 Km East-West (Díaz, Gómez-Lobo et al. 2006), where the longest trip travelled 107 Km and the shortest 31 Km (Transantiago 2004), meaning that each route crossed the city of Santiago almost completely in one direction or the other, as can be seen in Map 6. Public Bus routes prior to Transantiago. This meant that the capital's main streets presented an over-presence of buses with low occupancy during off peak hours (10:00 to 17:00) and operated with less than 50% of seats effectively being used during this time (MOPTT 2004), furthermore, over 600 buses crossed Alameda Avenue<sup>52</sup> per hour (SECTRA 2001). Most buses went to downtown Santiago and connected there to other points of the city. Travellers were able to plan their journey by reaching downtown, but in most cases, passengers often only needed one bus to reach their destination. This generated a double role for downtown Santiago as a CBD (Central Business District) and public transport exchange point, generating excessive agglomeration (Krug 2003).

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<sup>51</sup> 333 of which were in concession

<sup>52</sup> Main Avenue crossing the city of Santiago from East to West



Source: (Transantiago 2007)

### **Map 6. Public bus route prior to Transantiago**

The multiplicity of buses going over the same routes led bus drivers to compete for passengers on the roads. This was exacerbated by the fact that bus drivers' salaries depended on the number of tickets issued, which led to a race for passengers that generated numerous accidents. Also, the precariousness of service providers operating produced poorly maintained buses that also generated high levels of pollution<sup>53</sup>, uncomfortable journeys and overcrowded buses. Finally, there were also issues of security involved using public buses; drivers carrying the daily earnings on the bus motivated regular and violent mugging both for passengers and drivers (Transantiago 2004).

Although fares were affordable to low-income groups, affordability translated into poor service quality, which made those able to afford it to prefer the use of cars. As in other cities in Latin America (See Gschwender 2005; Avellaneda 2007), this type of system worked for many people and may be considered 'socially efficient' as it was affordable, provided broad coverage during the week, presented high frequency and short waiting times. However, this 'social efficiency' was also a limited option,

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<sup>53</sup> Santiago has serious air pollution problems, mainly due to industrial activity, but increasingly from car and public transport pollution. In 2005 the new clean air prevention plan was updated (Plan de Prevención y Descontaminación Atmosférica para la Región Metropolitana, PPDA), which aims at reducing the harmful substances in the air and complying with national quality norms on atmospheric quality in Chile. Renovating part of public transport fleet and eliminating 2,700 non-ecological buses in 2004, were part of this aim (MOP, 2007), as was Transantiago.

as well as exclusionary, since many travellers in the city had better travel options. Travellers in Santiago were at drivers' mercy, buses were dangerous, service was poor and unevenly distributed, many experienced difficulty in accessing destination other than work or study or multiple destinations. Journeys were hard, especially for women, those travelling with children, the elderly and students. Overall, satisfaction with service was among the poorest evaluated services in Chile (Procalidad 2002). By year 2000 most residents, experts, policy makers and politicians unanimously considered the public transport system in need of urgent improvement in terms of service quality. It was clear that unless this situation reversed, the bus would only be an option for those with no other mobility alternative and the commercial viability of bus enterprises would disappear.

### **4.3 The Transantiago Plan**

In light of the public transport situation in Santiago, at the beginning of Ricardo Lagos' presidential term<sup>54</sup> in 2000, preliminary ideas for what in 2002 became the Urban Transportation Plan for Santiago (Plan de Transporte Urbano para Santiago, PTUS) started taking place (Comité Asesor Transporte Urbano 2000; Correa 2002) (Expert 4). In broad terms, the original PTUS aimed first, to contribute to a better quality of life for all residents of the city and neighbourhoods and second, to help correct income inequalities and unequal opportunities to access basic social services in the city. To reach the first aim, it proposed reducing the number and extension of compulsory trips, with a fair fare structure, comfortable journeys and low levels of contamination. For the second aim, PTUS proposed recognising income differences among users and considering the differentiated resources, capacities and service provision at a local government level, through an equitable benefit and expenses distribution. These aims were translated into an urban transport policy for Santiago with specific targets (MOPTT 2004), which were translated into eleven programmes to be carried out by year 2010, in time to celebrate the bicentenary of the independence of the nation (MOP 2002).

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<sup>54</sup> Ricardo Lagos was Chile's President from 2000 to 2006



PTUS embraced a vision of the city as a whole and saw the city and transport as tied and considered urban issues such as urban expansion, public space or pollution as intrinsically linked to transport (Expert 4). It also treated the transport system as a whole, including all modes of transport: buses, Metro, cars, bicycles, trucks and walking (Expert 4). Specific policies and lines of action were defined, principally linked to a coherent infrastructure development, but also to new formal institutional arrangements, citizen participation and a communication scheme (Correa 2002; Quijada 2002). One of the eleven programmes contained in PTUS, and the one that attracted most attention, was the public transport system, later known as Transantiago. The originator of the PTUS, sociologist and politician Germán Correa, ex-Minister of Transport, was called to take over its coordination. Correa understood the magnitude and complexity of the endeavour and contemplated it as a ‘big bang’, introducing the new system from one day to the next (Expert 4). PTUS was well received by experts and few activist groups (Expert 9) who, despite specific differences, saw in it a positive transport future for the city of Santiago. Not without problems, changes started taking place, including a major mobilisation (El Mercurio 2002) from transport operators as well as internal conflicts regarding the Plan’s direction.

By 2003, a complete restructuring of public surface transportation was announced, based on a competitive transport bid for the urban streets of Santiago. However, after two years of work, those involved in the original PTUS were replaced, the plan was simplified and, within a few months, the original PTUS was transformed into Transantiago. The new aim became to significantly improve the quality of the public transport system by reducing travel time and polluting agents, making it attractive and efficient (MOPTT 2004). Aiming to modernise public transport, the project was seen as a public-private partnership<sup>55</sup>, and was presented as an important business opportunity for national and international companies in bus operation and infrastructure management (MOPTT 2004). In the new version of PTUS, the vision of the city disappeared, as did seeing transport as an integral part of urban planning and its inequality reduction aim. Community participation was eliminated as informed by one of the interviewees: “when PTUS was proposed we asked for a seat

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<sup>55</sup> Public-private partnerships are the main form of infrastructure development in Chile in areas including roads, ports, airports, sanitary and telecommunications.

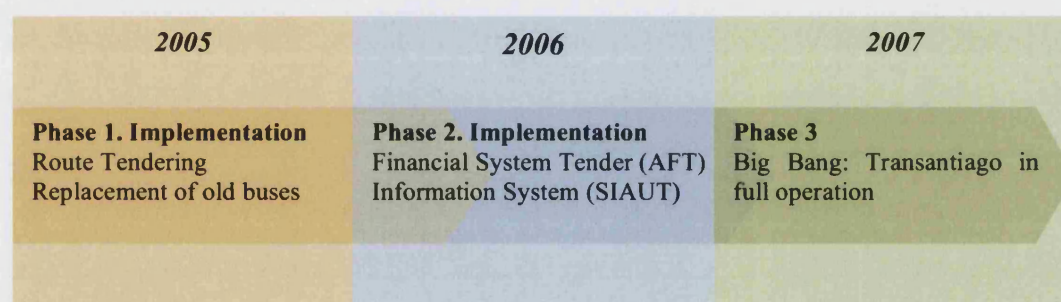
for the community in order to be informed and bring opinion to the implementation of the new transport plan, to know what decisions were being made, but then Correa was kicked out, the PTUS was transformed into a small programme and major investment was put on the highways. Although we pressured for further information to the community about what was happening, they closed the doors even further” (Expert 9). The major changes in the Plan, according to Correa, were due to lack of presidential commitment (Vallejos 2006; Wittig 2006), “PTUS ended up being reduced to Transantiago, there was lack of political will and Lagos wanted to rush the system during his term” (Expert 4).

Parallel to this, by the year 2001, the Chilean government announced the extension of Metro Santiago (Lagos 2001), by doubling its network to 90 Km with an investment of US\$ 2,000 million. When the new public transport system started taking shape, Metro Santiago was incorporated as its backbone, and significant investments as well as new specialised infrastructure were planned. Simultaneously, as explained earlier, works for three large urban highway projects were started in Santiago under the Concessions Programme, with the aim of building a network of more than 210 Km toll paying urban highways involving a further US\$2,000 Million investment (MOPTT 2004).

Private investors were to contribute to roadway infrastructure for Transantiago and transportation companies had to renew their fleets. Thus, Transantiago’s main aim became to modernise the public transport in the city (Malbran 2005) by improving travel efficiency, comfort and safety of Santiago’s transport through an integrated transport system. This involved a complete restructuring of the existing public transport network, as well as joining operations with the existing Metro system, through an integrated travel fare; installing an automatic payment system and a centralised payment collection; modernising service provision companies’ structures; introducing new forms of management; specialised infrastructure construction; and promoting professionalisation and training of bus drivers (MOPTT 2004). It had as a main target to maintain or increase public transport participation in urban movement through safer, timely, informed and fast mobility (MOPTT 2004). The system was based on two main concepts: *complementation* and *integration*. Complementation referred to complementing the use of the bus with the Metro system, and integration,

involved using a single travel fare for buses and Metro. A new intelligent travel card (Tarjeta Bip!)<sup>56</sup> would ease payment and make travelling safer (MTT 2006). Thanks to fare integration and optimal coordination among operators, travel expenditures for households living in the periphery would decrease or remain the same, and accessibility conditions for all inhabitants would improve (MOPTT 2004).

Implementation of Transantiago was programmed in three phases: Phase 1, from October 2005 to May 2006 when the public route tendering took place and old buses began to be replaced by the new ones; Phase 2, from May 2006 to August 2006 when the financial and information system were put into tendering; and Phase 3, from F10 was when the ‘big bang’ started operating (See Figure 5. Transantiago Implementation Phases). By this date, the new system started without all the technical, financial, informational and infrastructural requirements in place.



Source: Author's elaboration

### Figure 5. Transantiago Implementation Phases

Experts were aware of the magnitude and complexity of the project at hand (Experts 1, 3, 4, 5, 6). When interviewed, most of them expressed concern about how difficult implementation would be and how it very much depended on the acceptance of the community (Expert 1, 2, 3, 4). Some thought Chileans were quite open to changes and would adapt easily (Expert 1 and 4). Still time was too short, “Transantiago will only be ready at the end of 2008, implementation should have waited until all infrastructure, at least the main one, was ready” (Expert 4). This is because, “due to its systemic virtue it also makes it extremely difficult to implement, because it is a puzzle that you have to put together; for it to work, all pieces have to be smooth and

<sup>56</sup> The card started being used in the Metro in 2003

well adjusted at the end, smooth means that they have to be well made, each one of them, so that the image can be seen once the pieces are put in place” (Expert 4).

Transantiago’s success was seen as imminent and “people would eventually get used to it, even though it is a complicated system but it is mature enough to be implemented, quality information is being developed that did not exist before, the companies are already in place and working and they know the rules of the game, fare integration is a key element making it solid and a key to its success” (Expert 1). It was clear that the main objective was efficiency and to make the business profitable for investors, in the area of infrastructure as well as bus routes, information system and financial system. Using Transantiago to reduce inequality or social exclusion was not the aim, “no, that is not part of the objective, equity was not the carrot that carried the design, it was efficiency, the result is that the product is quite equitable, in terms of coverage and levels of services, I mean you see the same levels of services or the operations rules in zone C as in zone I, so you’re going to have a public transport that is absolutely egalitarian, that covers the whole city, evenly, with the same standard, what more equity than that?” (Expert 1).

Many agreed that the relation between transport and urban planning was very weak, that the project was more like a photograph of current reality and a response to such demand; designs were made to satisfy efficiency and very little consideration had been placed on the future of the city and how the city would be handled in the long term (Experts 3, 8). Transantiago did not put in place the mechanisms to mitigate and evaluate the costs of future expansion of the city (Expert 4). Along with this, the institutional situation was seen as problematic, in terms of coordination of all actors with some stake in the territory and the lack of vision of the city (Expert 4), but because this was not Transantiago’s problem per se, the main problems of land use and future connections would come after the initial phase, once everything was in place (Experts 1, 3 and 6). Transantiago was not going to solve all the problems of the city, “in an ideal world, it would be great if all our cities had an urban development plan and a transport system that was integral to it, consistent with master plans, municipal development plans and regional development strategies, but that does not happen” (Expert 1). There was also recognition that the decisions made were often political and the technical side was to provide technical responses,

particularly in terms of timing (Experts 3 and 4). In this process, many opportunities were lost, including making a significant contribution to public space (Expert 3).

#### 4.4 The Implementation of Transantiago<sup>57</sup>

In this section, Transantiago is analysed according to its four main features, transport network, infrastructure, financial and information systems<sup>58</sup>. Each of these areas presented specific problems prior to F10 and although many technical problems arose upon implementation, the main features and structure evidence a conception to the mobility situation in Santiago that dismisses the major issues of what moving about the city involves.

##### 4.4.1 Transport Network

Transantiago's transport network was prepared using primarily data from the Origin and Destination Survey (EOD)<sup>59</sup> applied in 2001<sup>60</sup>, along with technical studies elaborated by national expert consultants in the area of transport and internally by SECTRA (Malbran 2005). Moreover, along with a cost structure of public transport (based on Fernández, Cea et al. 2005) and road infrastructure configuration, the new system proposed the definition of routes, frequencies and capacities (Malbran 2005).

The network was devised in a trunk and feeder system, similar to Transmilenio in Bogotá and RIT in Curitiba. The *trunk* became the Metro and special buses that would extend Metro coverage<sup>61</sup> North, South, East and West, and *feeders* or local buses that would operate within each defined zone, feeding passengers to the trunk

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<sup>57</sup> Information regarding Transantiago implementation was extracted primarily from the Transantiago website [www.transantiago.cl](http://www.transantiago.cl) unless otherwise specified.

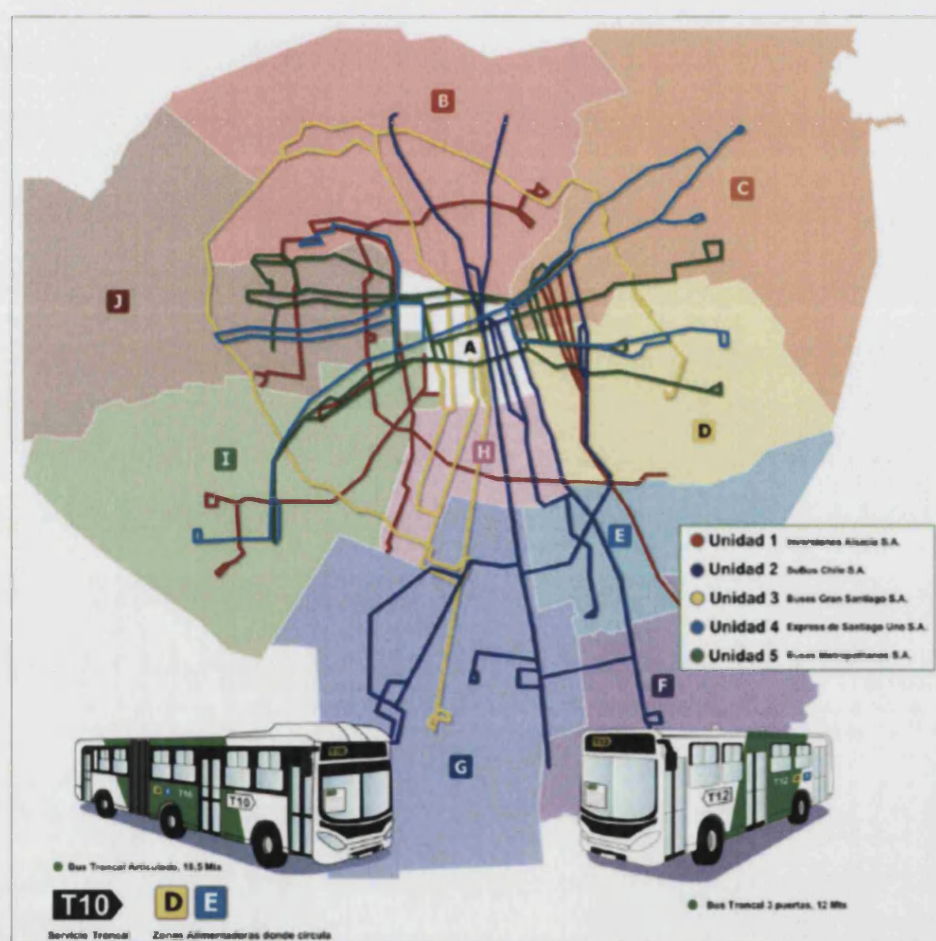
<sup>58</sup> The institutional framework also presented major problems in the implementation of Transantiago. This analysis is discussed in Appendix 4. Urban and Transport Planning in Chile

<sup>59</sup> Main information gathered by EOD refers to data from households, individuals and trips regarding: origin and destination, trip temporal distribution, modal partition, trip purpose, trip duration, freight origin and destination, flow on main streets, circulation speed and socioeconomic characteristics of travellers (SECTRA, 2004)

<sup>60</sup> According to the then MOPTT Minister, EOD is the main tool used in the process of planning the urban transport system. "EOD 2001 was a key piece in the design of the Transantiago plan. It allowed to know in a precise manner where people pass through and where they go, and it allowed the design of routes and location of inter-modal stations, with a better estimation of what the demand would be" (El Mostrador, 2004). (Author's translation).

<sup>61</sup> The cost of this was US\$2000 Million while the over ground infrastructure was US\$200 Million

services (See Figure 4. Transantiago Trunk and Feeder System). The city was divided into ten feeder zones, each with a designated letter and colour replicated on its bus fleet (See zones A to J in Map 7. Transantiago Trunk and Feeder System). SECTRA specialists and consultants defined the zones, trunks and feeder routes and bid specifications<sup>62</sup> (Malbran 2005). These calculations determined the expected bus services needed for Transantiago, as can be seen in Figure 6. Transantiago Design Scenario Year 2005, the number of services, kilometres and bus fleet were going to be considerably reduced.



Source: (Transantiago 2007)

**Map 7. Transantiago Trunk and Feeder System**

<sup>62</sup> The design model of public transport was composed of the physical design which defined the routes (solved using a topological heuristic problem) and the operational design of service frequency and capacity (solved using a continuous variable bi-level mathematical problem) and user behaviour model (using Estraus: strategic network model)

Type of service	Number of services	Km of Services	Fleet (buses equivalent to 80 pax)	
			Peak Morning	Off Peak
Trunk	83	1,853	4,297	1,021
Feeder	114	1,812	986	711
Total	197	3,665	5,283	1,732
Optimised base situation				
'Current' services	370	20,688	8,405	5,085

Source: (Malbran 2005)

**Figure 6. Transantiago Design Scenario - Year 2005**

The system was planned and regulated by central government, but privately operated through contracts obtained through public tenders for each trunk and feeder zone in 2005. This 'authority and multiple operators' organisational model is similar to that used in London and Copenhagen, and it meant Transantiago would have authority over the design of main routes (trunks) and adjustment of feeders would be proposed by operators (Gschwender 2005). The bidding system included buses<sup>63</sup> and 15 business units (5 trunks and 10 feeder zones). The feeder zones were specified as collectors of passengers to the trunks, with the economic criteria of the lowest payment per passenger (MOPTT 2004), without the need to optimise circulation within each zone or among zones. From the number of consortiums of national and international companies who presented their offers<sup>64</sup>, Transantiago became validated as a profitable business<sup>65</sup>.

The main problems with the defined network are threefold: firstly, by overemphasising modelling travel patterns, the network greatly dismissed local realities of where, how and why people actually move and experience their daily journeys; secondly, suddenly and completely redefining a citywide transport system was bound to greatly affect people's lives, particularly as it failed to recognise cities

<sup>63</sup> As of year 2005 all buses running in Santiago had to comply with the Euro III and EPA 98 norms

<sup>64</sup> 25 bidders with 55 offers

<sup>65</sup> Although, as discussed by Diaz, Gomez, et al (2005), prior to Transantiago, the transport system in Santiago was highly profitable and moved around US\$700 Million per year with over 1,800 million trips per year (MOP 2004)

and mobility practices as social constructs, built over time; and thirdly, redesigning the routes of a major public transport system without encompassing the urban transport system as a whole evidenced the significant contradictions present in transport and urban planning systems.

As to the first problem, contemporary transport planning, including its highly technical and, for the most part, accurate input endowed by transport modelling, is useful to understand travel patterns for transport systems in many cities in the world. This expertise is decidedly valuable and applicable to cities in Latin America, and Chile has a long tradition of modelling knowledge (Gschwender 2005). In the case of Santiago, the Transantiago network used a model that optimises travel frequencies considering the total number of users and operation cost<sup>66</sup>. However, transport modelling presents two main problems for implementing a citywide public transport intervention like Transantiago: first, it supposes utility maximisation and assumes rational choice making by travellers; second, within this assumption, it requires aggregate data of travel patterns for modelling, as the main source of information that is fed into the network to determine the optimal routes for the average traveller. However, a closer analysis of how people travel, as will be seen in the following chapters, reveals that people do not always seek to optimise travel patterns or to maximise the value of travel. People often appreciate the time spent on public transport and use it in multiple ways, as it provides use value for activities other than transport. The purpose of travelling is obviously to get somewhere, but what occurs during the journey as well as prior and after, is also important to people and their travel decisions. This means that preparing optimal routes and frequencies may be adequate for average users, but not necessarily for the majority of users who might end up experiencing increased uneven access.

One of the characteristics of *micros amarillas* was that people travelled for long periods to reach their destination, and during that time, because transfers were minimal, they managed to multitask along the way, including socialising, relaxing, reflecting, disconnecting, sleeping, studying, working and making various stopovers to drop children off, shop and pay bills, for instance. By dividing the city into 10

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<sup>66</sup> For detail of model see Malbran (2004) and Fernández et al (2004)



zones that feed into a trunk, the average modal exchange was likely to increase from one to at least two or three times. This is because people going from south to north, for instance, would need to take one bus from the feeder to the trunk, then from the trunk to another feeder. This would complicate travel time further, especially if waiting time from one bus to the next was also delayed. This would mean that total travel time would most likely increase or remain the same, but waiting time, accompanied by constant transfer would increase, making the overall experience more difficult and fragmented.

Multiple activities also required consideration in the routes planned. Transantiago defined the optimal solution as travelling from a local zone and transferring to a trunk, however tender specification for each zone did not specify the need to cover each area according to social needs or to optimise the links from one zone to an adjacent one, i.e. from C to D. Although designing specific routes to satisfy individual travel needs is unachievable, the opposite, or a universal approach, is also unfeasible. One attempt could have been to specify access to key local amenities (hospitals, school, shops, churches, police stations, etc.) along the routes defined, within each zone. However, bid specifications required each service provider to define its optimal route within the zone bidding for. Modelling the 'perfect route' was impossible, however, a gradual construction, developed with local travellers along transport and urban experts, would have provided a closer solution to people's needs at least in the medium term.

This leads to a second problem with the Transantiago network. Although the previous system was inefficient, chaotic and demanded long hours of uncomfortable and unsafe trips, coverage was granted. It reached most destinations people wished to go to as it had been developed over the course of many years in response to those needs. The way new routes were planned failed to recognise mobility practices as socially constructed over time and space and eliminated this construct overnight. The new network radically displaced the existing one and, through a complete and sudden modification of a citywide system, it inadvertently interrupted everyday life. Its preparation included minimal participation from local government, whose role was limited to providing traffic control information. As the government level closest to understand local needs, it would have had a clearer idea of the indispensable routes,

places, times and means which local community required reaching. Careful consideration of travellers' routines also required consideration. Although many think that travellers' participatory involvement from the conception of the process may have delayed implementation, although this is not necessarily so, minimal consultation would have been necessary for this intervention.

The so called 'big bang' implementation of Transantiago, was seen as an intervention similar to the national or international introduction of a new currency, from one day to another (Expert 4). It was justified because it needed people to adapt rapidly to this major change. However, given the complexity, multiple variables and lack of pilot preparation, a gradual implementation would have been necessary to prepare for such change. The pilot implemented basically involved introducing new buses on existing routes. However, a pilot which tested all the elements of the plan within certain areas or specific routes, would have been more appropriate than implementing all the new routes in a one off way. Experiences in other Latin American cities like TransMilenio in Bogota<sup>67</sup> or RIT in Curitiba provided positive examples of piecemeal implementation. A phased approach, either by starting with a few new routes or by updating specific areas, would have allowed for a gradual assimilation of the system.

A third problem that could have been foreseen and indicates a partial understanding of mobility issues, involved Transantiago's focus on mobility from a public transport point of view only, ignoring other transport modes including cars, bicycles, *colectivos*, taxis and walking. Transantiago attempted to reduce the existing bus fleet from 8,000 to 4,500 new buses, where trunk routes would travel 36 km and local ones 18 km (Malbran 2005). This would eliminate previous inefficiencies of a large percentage of buses travelling at less than optimal capacity over the same main streets. Metro coverage would increase and bus capacity would also increase.

However, no major calculation is needed to foresee that, by significantly reducing bus capacity, by at least 25%, frequency was likely to decrease. Urban transport

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<sup>67</sup> Transantiago was partially inspired by TransMilenio, the metropolitan transport system implemented in Bogota from year 2000. Implementation for TransMilenio was done in stages, having the new system operate parallel to the existing one. The first stage ended two years after the plan started. For the first two years, TransMilenio was a complete success. After 2004 problems started with passenger strikes due to long queues, safety in bus stops and overcrowding (Lopez, 2007).

inefficiencies are not only due to public transport; the private car use also plays a major role in it. Understanding urban mobility involves seeing all moves in the city: people and goods, over and underground, public and private, motorised and non-motorised, interurban and rural that run through the city. Transantiago failed to consider the varied experiences people have of using alternative modes of transport, particularly that of using the car, walking, bicycles and *colectivos* and seeing public transport as complementary to these. Assuming that people will switch their cars for a new transport system appears naïve and distant from reality. People use alternate and complementary travel modes for convenience, cost, due to family arrangements, or because travel time can be used to share with family and friends physically or virtually. Car-pooling takes place informally and it is an efficient way of moving in the capital, but as a practice it is not recognised, discussed or encouraged<sup>68</sup>. On the contrary, while car use has been enhanced through the construction of high-speed urban highways, its collective use was not promoted. Therefore, alternative modes of transportation will persist parallel to public transport until they are seen as a relational whole.

The initiative to implement Transantiago and simultaneously build an urban highway system appears conflictive as, while public transport is being encouraged as a viable alternative, another transport alternative is simultaneously being presented. For some experts, a city of the size and population of Santiago requires highways and these are indicative of the level of development of the country (Echenique 2006). If so, and implementation of both systems was inevitable, then effort had to be made to reconcile objectives and make Transantiago an effective choice for car users. This means making routes adequate for car drivers, understanding secondary issues of car use including parking, approximation, drop off points, but also restricting its use where public transport was a better alternative for the city as a whole. This would have also required further infrastructure which, as discussed in the next section, also presented serious difficulties.

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<sup>68</sup> Only one study (ASINTRA 1997) which looked at the technical issues of carpooling was found.

#### 4.4.2 Infrastructure<sup>69</sup>

Infrastructure for Transantiago included road maintenance and improvement<sup>70</sup>, Metro extension<sup>71</sup>, construction of segregated corridors for buses and cars<sup>72</sup>, road connections to decongest specific arteries, inter-modal exchange stations<sup>73</sup> as well as bus stops<sup>74</sup> and 35 transfer stations (See Map 8. General Infrastructure planned for Transantiago, 2006). The optimal infrastructure needed for Transantiago was carried out essentially by SERVIU<sup>75</sup> (Servicio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, Housing and Urbanism Service) and MOP through the Concessions Programme, and defined in 12 stages to be implemented within 20 years (Expert 3). The first stage started in 2004 and was finished relatively on time, except for Quinta Normal inter-modal station and Santa Rosa corridor that should be finished by 2008. The second stage was to start in year 2007 and included other main road corridors and maintenance of various routes. The next stages are to be developed between 2007 and 2010 and included over 41 kilometres of road improvement (López 2007).

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<sup>69</sup> US\$ 400 million was contemplated to restructure the whole transport system in the capital; 25% would be financed publicly while 75% by private investment paid by user fares.

<sup>70</sup> This involved 58 kilometres pavement extension in the whole capital; two of which were ready by F10, Alameda and Santa Rosa, while Gran Avenida, San Pablo, Recoleta and Independencia were not ready by F10.

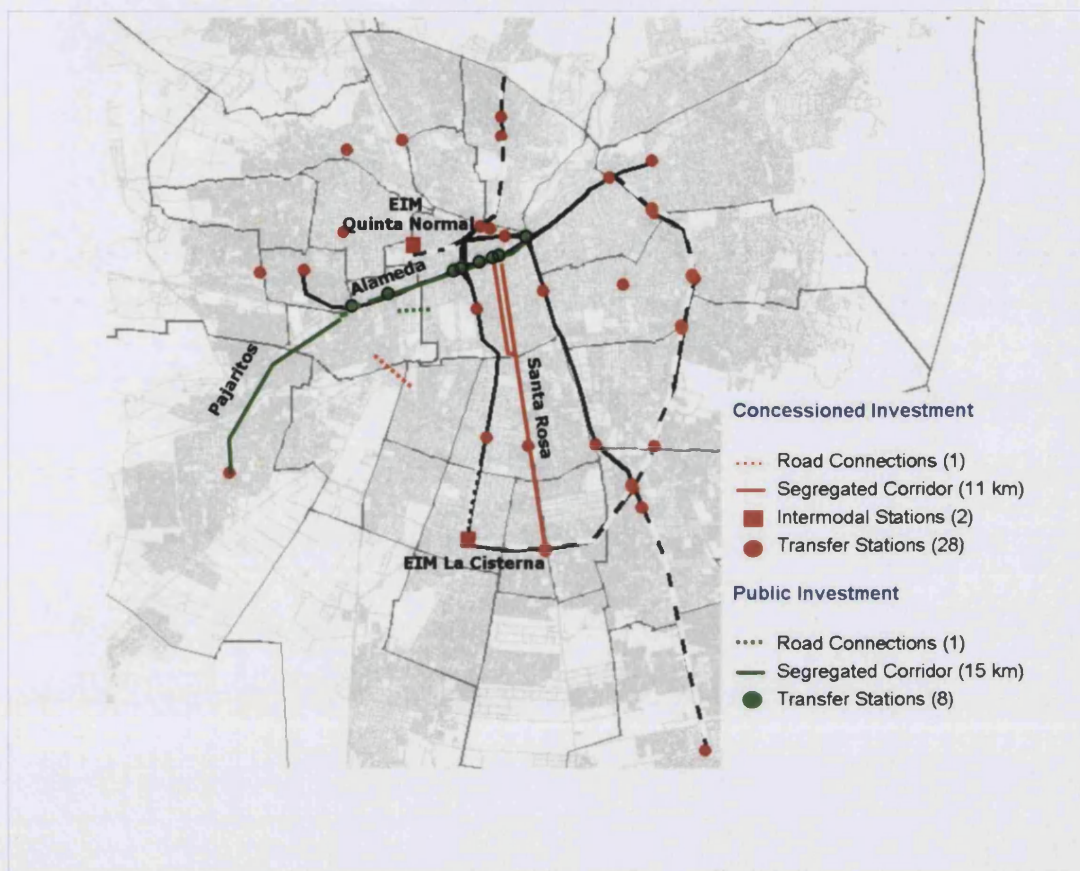
<sup>71</sup> By 40Km with a M\$2,000 investment

<sup>72</sup> Their role is to divide the streets of the city for public transport and cars. These included 14.4 kilometres of division in Av. Santa Rosa, Pajaritos and Las Rejas, on top of the existing segregated roads.

<sup>73</sup> Buildings to allow for transfer of passengers between different modes of transport: Metro, urban buses, rural buses, taxis, *colectivos*, and cars. They would provide complementary service including commerce, parking for users. Only one of these was ready (La Cisterna) prior to implementation.

<sup>74</sup> Approximately 5,000 new bus stops were to be created for the trunk and local buses, new signposting would be used in them to identify the services operating in each stop.

<sup>75</sup> SERVIU was to undertake major roads, road enlargement, transfer stations and bus stops (SERVIU 2007)



Source: Translated from (Díaz 2005)

### Map 8. General infrastructure planned for Transantiago, 2006<sup>76</sup>

It was very clear that the new plan required a great amount of transport infrastructure; therefore major investments needed to be operative for Transantiago to be implemented adequately. An example of this was the Metro, which was not being used at its full capacity because it did not reach most areas of the city and its price was higher than that of public buses. With Transantiago operating with a single fare, it was predicted that Metro use would have a 250% increase in passengers reaching its full capacity, with saturation during peak hours (Tomic 2006). However, few initiatives were taken to minimise this impact. The plan was launched knowing the difficulties Metro integration would generate (Ibid).

Other infrastructure problems were also related to their less than optimal design, including road width, bus stops and surrounding public areas. The new transport

<sup>76</sup> Author's translation

system was not conceived as an opportunity to improve Santiago's infrastructure, rather it was carried out more as a way of solving a bus movement problem (Expert 3). Transantiago could also have been seen as an opportunity to improve access to transport areas by building attractive walkways, green areas, lighting, road protection bars, as well as quality bus stops that would protect from rain, wind and sun; accessible boarding areas and improvement of circulation areas. This could also have included linkages to other transport related areas and to other modes, particularly drop off places for cars, *colectivo* stands, bicycle parks, bicycle routes, and alternative routes for *colectivos* where buses were not going to reach. This could have been incorporated into the Plan, even if it was in the long term. A vision of how both transport and urban areas complement each other would have had an important influence on the city as a whole; but the restricted funds to invest on Transantiago together with the short time available led urban aspects related to urban design to be ignored. Although transport engineers were aware of their relevance (Expert 3), the urgency and the fact that they were to be solved by SERVIU, eliminated them from Transantiago's direct involvement, and SERVIU simply executed the works. The priority to implement optimal urban design was not present, nor was there pressure to do it, as one of the interviewees from Transantiago mentioned "We were caught up by the machine and we simply just had to keep going"<sup>77</sup> (Expert 3).

Implementing such a radical change in daily living required all necessary infrastructure to be ready on time. Despite being unprepared, the Plan was launched, not gradually but with a sudden change in the whole public transport system of the capital. Slowness in infrastructure preparation was not only due to implementation difficulties, but basically due to a prioritisation of infrastructure investment. The Plan required certain standards and capacity, thus considerable over-ground investment had to be undertaken in order to improve existing roads and public spaces. However, investment on Metro was prioritised over urban infrastructure. The investment decision to extend Metro was not taken as part of PTUS (Vallejos 2006), and in comparison, Metro investment was significantly higher.

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<sup>77</sup> "nos comió la máquina, y había que tirar p'adelante"

Other Latin American experiences like Curitiba or Bogotá showed that similar solutions to public transport could be carried out without building a new Metro system, and at much lower cost through well designed integrated bus systems (Wittig 2006). The decision to build new Metro lines was logical if Metro is considered on its own, but not as part of a system. This is a key element to analyse further as the way urban projects are evaluated and approved according to the cost and benefit they can provide society needs to be questioned. When evaluated in isolation, investments like a Metro extension may be justified. However, because urban investments are complementary to each other and have multiple impacts, as soon as other public investments are included in the analysis, the benefits and costs may not be justified. Hence, as a tool, urban investment evaluation requires urgent revision in the future.

There have been major discussions in Chile in reference to the contradiction between urban highways and public transport (Cruz 2002; Martinez 2002; Delpiano 2006; Echenique 2006; Giesen 2006). The logic that prevails is that people use cars and will continue doing so, thus until public transport becomes a viable/feasible option, car circulation needs to be improved by urban highways. These investment decisions rarely include other costs associated with having more cars in circulation, including parking for instance, not to mention of environmental impact, in terms of carbon emissions and adaptation in the face of climate change, for instance. However, decisions, plans and investments in urban highways in Santiago were decided separately and without contemplating the impact one would have on the other.

Urban planner, Marcial Echenique<sup>78</sup> (2006) notes how illogical Santiago's urban highways projects were, not as an idea, but on the way they were executed, as they were not evaluated as a whole, but individually without considering their impact. The decisions to build urban highways were rushed and further disorganised the city (Echenique in Errazuriz 2006), and their cost was considerably high relative to the country's development level. Simultaneous investment in urban highways and public transport is contradictory because these do not emerge from a common urban transport plan. This is closely related to the absence of an *urban* transport policy and with how key investments with considerable urban impact are decided in its absence.

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<sup>78</sup> An internationally recognised Chilean architect-urban planner, Professor of Land Use and Transport Studies, Head of Architecture at the University of Cambridge.

Without an urban or a transport policy guiding decision-making, major conflicts can arise where different actors may identify individual and diverse urban mega-infrastructure to invest in, including urban highways, and act in terms of their individual interest. This undermines the fact that eventually, the public transport system would become a cross-subsidy to cars, as people using public transport would pay for the actual cost of increased congestion and pollution generated by cars. If common aims had guided the different initiatives, then investment on urban highways might not have been made or other initiatives could have been contemplated, including congestion and parking charges to complement decisions, for instance.

The decisions made in the implementation of Transantiago undermine the relation between the city and transport; this is particularly reflected in terms of land use planning. Emphasis to allow the city to grow under conditioned planning<sup>79</sup> makes transport one of the most relevant issues to mitigate. However land use was not contemplated in the design of Transantiago (Experts 1 and 6). As the city limits continue to expand, the transport network will continue to be modified and new infrastructure will be needed to reach the newly built areas. Payment for this will most likely come from an increase in fares. Given this situation, transport demand management and land use planning are required to work together. Although this relation is recognised by transport planners in Chile and models such as MUSSA exist to predict such needs, it is not a practice within urban planning or the new transport system. This involves incorporating housing location into urban management, but also the location of schools, shops, health centre, etc., as well as neighbourhood regeneration programmes. Therefore, major urban issues that constantly overlap with transport were not explicitly or implicitly included and were absent in the logic behind transport interventions.

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<sup>79</sup> Conditioned planning refers to a type of land use planning, where urban land use is extended beyond the city limits under certain conditions to cover specific costs by the developer. For further detail see Appendix 4. Urban and Transport Planning in Santiago de Chile.



### 4.4.3 Financial System

One of the most innovative solutions to improve efficiency and safety of transport in Santiago was the introduction of an integrated payment system for public buses and the Metro. Integrating both fare systems was necessary given the inevitable increase in modal transfer. Fare integration involved designing a payment collection system, fare control, financial administration and income distribution. For this, the Transantiago Financial Administrator (Administrador Financiero Transantiago, AFT) was created with the aim of administering the whole financial system, which would involve at least US\$700 million annually. It was internationally tendered and adjudicated in 2005 to a national consortium that included banks (de Chile, Estado, Santander-Santiago), credit companies (CMR Falabella) and technical companies (Sonda and NEC), none of whom had experience in this specific operation<sup>80</sup>.

The bidding system involved a complex definition of fare setting according to the shared polynomial of fares, buses and infrastructure that would enable fares not to be overly increased. Fares would be collected through an intelligent card, similar to the London Oyster Card, which would be touched upon boarding the bus or entering the Metro. The AFT would administer revenues and payment to transport companies depending on the number of buses on the road and frequency, through a combined system of Fare + Salaries + Transport Service + Support System Salary + Infrastructure payment. Transport profit for operators would be made according to the transport service provided in terms of the number of passengers transported<sup>81</sup>. AFT was to issue a sole access means, produce and habilitate the touch cards, disseminate and distribute the cards, provide a top up network, administer funds and credit provision (MOPTT 2004) and operate the bus control system. The main problems with this financial system are twofold: an operational one related to not recognising the need of travellers to adapt to a radical new system; and a more profound and perhaps ideological one relating to the conception of the system without any form of subsidies in the public transport system.

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<sup>80</sup> The business of the AFT was not only seen in terms of bus fare payment, but mainly over the card itself as it had the potential of becoming an 'electronic wallet' used to pay for small items and become the biggest form of payment in Chile (Catron 2004)

<sup>81</sup> Although originally proposed in terms of kilometres travelled, as in Bogota.

The first problem relates to the dismissal of local adaptation needs as was shown in the way routes were defined. This demonstrated how transport conception presents a lack of understanding of local cultural practices. As noted before, the majority of those using public transport are lower middle to low income groups, who often present difficulty in having immediate cash for everyday living and normally dispose of travelling money on a daily basis. The new card system required topping up, and travellers would have to organise themselves to charge their cards on a weekly or daily basis. This would have involved designing multiple ways of topping up, however, at the beginning, card charging was only available in Metro stations and some large shopping areas. This neglect was inevitably going to lead to implementation problems and required phased and informed introduction, with previous organisation and preparation over a considerable period of time, as opposed to the month set aside to prepare for a complete and sudden modification of the existing system.

Fare integration was one of the best solutions offered by Transantiago, as with a single fare, travellers would be able to use different bus routes as well as the Metro system. However, in its design, those travelling the longest distances with most transfers would end up paying more than those travelling shorter distances and transferring less, as a traveller within a single zone would pay less than one who made three transfers to cross the city, most likely to be lower income travellers living in the periphery. Little analysis of this was done, as mentioned by experts, mainly because efficiency and not equity was the main aim of the system. However, although the prices would eventually inevitably be increased as soon as one of the variables increased, the system was conceived without any subsidies, as all the funding to operate Transantiago would come from user fares. This disposition was not restricted to transport but it is a national economic one, based on the neoliberal logic of Chilean public policies, where subsidies are to be avoided in service provision where users can pay. Since the aims of the Plan were not to improve social exclusion or diminish urban inequality, subsidies became incompatible with the system.

As will be seen in the next chapters, some of the consequences of existing mobility practices include: uneven access to people, activities and places, unequal

opportunities in the city, parallel uses of the cities, creating tunnel like flows where people do not meet, leading time poor cash rich groups to opt for easier/alternative solutions which would distance them further from lower income groups, thus fragmenting city on the move. Transantiago presented Santiago's urban dwellers the potential to improve urban accessibility and making it more equitable. One way could have been by subsidising the demand for those experiencing most difficult conditions or exclusion. However, under the no subsidies policy, price increases will be inevitable in the medium term, having further exclusionary effects on different groups of the population.

#### **4.4.4 Information System**

The Transantiago Consumer Attention Service (Servicio de Atención a Usuarios de Transantiago, SIAUT) was designed to provide routes information to transport service operators and travellers. Aside from collecting, storing and distributing operational information, producing reports to supervise contract fulfilment, it also had to provide users with information. It was in charge of promoting, training and educating citizens on the new integrated transport system for the city of Santiago (Transantiago 2007). It was to have a customer service office and a telephone hotline, which would provide users with information on service arrival times at specific places and it also had to indicate bus location to service operators. This would be done through a coordinated effort with the Transit Control Operating Unit (Unidad Operativa de Control de Tránsito, OUCT), to inform about contingencies or problems in the arteries of Santiago through monitors located in high circulation places to comply with this mandate. In order to introduce the new system to private and public institutions about the new system a scheme was set. Moreover, for households, a Guide of Transantiago was provided one month prior to its implementation, including maps. SIAUT was not in full operation at the time of implementation, increasing operating difficulties from the start. However, the main issues with the system are deeper and harder to fix.

The difficulties started from the outset, as the information system was publicly

tendered approximately nine months prior to implementation, quite late given the task at hand. The nine months were mainly used to set up the system; the actual schemes only started operating approximately one month prior to F10. The communication strategy used was similar to a marketing one, aiming to sell the product Transantiago, as opposed to being an educational and effective communication one, which would have implied understanding the complexity of what was about to take place and the cultural impact a plan like this would generate on people's lives. This is not surprising given the emphasis on economic and technical criteria to evaluate the Plan and lack of consideration of the "social" and daily life implications in the way the Plan was conceived.

This emphasis undermined that significant and definite changes were going to occur: bus frequency was going to decrease; stops were going to be restricted, as bus drivers would only stop on designated stops; and payment format was going to change. Previous requests of "*¿me lleva por cien?*"<sup>82</sup> to the driver as a way of paying less to travel shorter distances, would be eliminated. The imminent cultural changes called for more time and preparation. These changes required informed discussions, with at least one year of anticipation<sup>83</sup>, using educational messages to prepare future users for it.

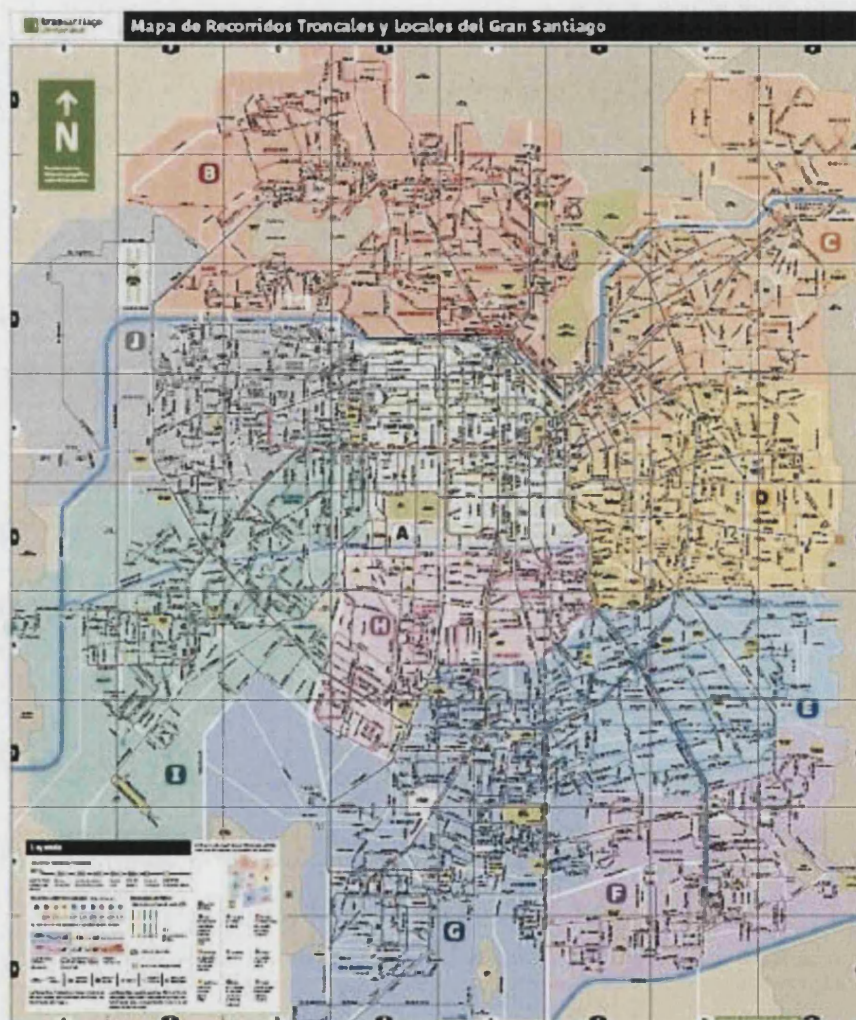
The cultural change required designing a communication strategy that would not only inform, but receive and emit information in different ways, times and means to encourage practice on the modifications as well as awareness raising. Also public opinion would also have greatly benefited the construction of the Plan. Public campaigns sensitising the population about what was coming were limited and delayed to one month prior to implementation and the information provided was not easily legible or manageable (See Map 9. Transantiago Route Map, 2007). There was insufficient information to warn and prepare passengers of what was coming, not only in terms of preparation for the radical change in routes, but also in terms of how the integrated fare system was going to operate, new routes, cost of each trip, as well as preparation for having patience with the slow and new implementation of a

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<sup>82</sup> "Will you take me for \$100 (.10p)?"

<sup>83</sup> TransMilenio, a more gradual initiative, started its communication strategy one year prior to implementation.

system. “Longer educational time would be good, but we only now [December 2006] have the information to disseminate, before this it was impossible to have discussions, training, without the information” (Expert 1).



Source: Transantiago 2007

### Map 9. Transantiago Routes Map 2007

Therefore, given that this was a radical cultural modification of daily practices, it required understanding the city as a social and cultural construct and incorporating this construct in the elaboration of the Plan. The preparation of Transantiago as a social construct would have also involved a participatory process to understand and incorporate the dynamism of everyday practices. This implied understanding the local idiosyncrasy and incorporating a dynamic participation and consultation from the outset of the Plan. Dynamic public discussions regarding the system were never held, although proposals were made to have community organisations represented in

the discussion (Expert 9). Professional and academic presentations were held but very few were open to public debates. This could have been translated into simple, clear and multiple forms of transport education, using, for instance, local characters that people would identify with, to demonstrate the use of the new system, the card, new ways of boarding or new routes. This would have helped to establish a dialogue with urban travellers about what was coming, in order to make it part of the local language and social construct. There are various techniques, methodologies and experiences where this has been incorporated, but it required the will to do it.

As it was, people were uninformed and the vague information provided generated fear and rejection and the system began losing legitimacy even months prior to being implemented. Formulating a design as complex as Transantiago, and with such a significant impact, required at least partial involvement of those who actually use the public transport system as opposed to experts designing it from computers, far away from the streets.

#### **4.5 Conclusions**

The initial year of operation of Transantiago has not only been an operationally 'chaotic' 'nightmare' (Long 2007; El Mercurio 2008; The Economist 2008) and "one of the worse disasters of public policies that could have happened to a government"<sup>84</sup> (Perez Yoma in Alamo 2008) but has also generated significant social, economic and political upheaval in Chilean society. The main manifestations of the problems include an insufficient number of buses on the streets, unfinished infrastructure, breach of contracts, as well as payment and control systems failure. These have led people to experience extreme difficulties in adapting to a new system. This situation has exacerbated travel and waiting time, number of transfers, overcrowding and complaints, amongst others, generating great difficulties for many to reach their destinations. All of which have had significant consequences in the daily activities people undertake on a regular basis. The turmoil with such a major change could

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<sup>84</sup> Author's translation, Edmundo Perez Yoma is currently the Minister of Interior

perhaps be understandable for the first few months, but a year on and the situation has not generally improved.

This chapter argued that the main problems presented in the implementation of Transantiago were foreseeable, mainly because these originate from a conceptual understanding of the “transport problem” and a limited understanding of mobility as presented in this thesis, treating it as movement from point A to point B and dismissing the social experience it generates.

As mentioned by Hine and Mitchel (2001) “the notion of the universal, disembodied subject which has shaped transport policy fails to present individuals as participants in a range of activities across different locations” (Hine and Mitchel 2001: 330). It has also created top down interventions that, apart from making life very difficult to urban residents, simply do not act the way they are modelled and people do not always behave the way these models predict.

The experience of Transantiago presented here illustrates the major conflict present today in approaching urban transport interventions based on conceptions of urban living from a point of view that life can be modelled and implemented without having a closer understanding of what happens on the streets on a daily basis. The problems detected in the Transantiago implementation exercise were threefold: (i) an inadequate understanding of how individuals experience moving in the city, (ii) a failure to acknowledge the complexity of social relations underlying mobility; and (iii) a top-down planning exercise without meaningful public consultation or participation. These problems are at the core of the conception of the transport system and the consequences of this conceived space are: fragmented urban management practices, inadequate planning tools, further uneven access to the city, serious social and environmental impacts as well as problematic impacts on daily life, to name a few.

Limitations in the way the plan was conceived highlights the need for research that shows the type of situations that occur in urban experiences, the way social constructs take place and the way the city is linked not only by transport but by the relations people have with space and the way space impact these relations.

This chapter has set up the prevailing logic informing transport planning in Santiago as well as the theoretical implications of such logic using the example of Transantiago, and the foreseeable problems it presented prior to implementation. The rest of the chapters in this thesis aim at explaining these issues, but using an urban daily mobility approach. This approach opens up new ways of looking at urban living and this has both methodological as well as theoretical implications. This is because new forms of doing research are required and also questioning and rethinking urban concepts like place, spatial practices, urban inequality and exclusion. The next chapter provides an introduction to the city of Santiago, the cases selected and the way fixed urban analysis could be expanded under a mobility lens.



## **5 The case of Santiago de Chile: From a fixed diagnosis to a mobile analysis of urban practices**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter introduces the city of Santiago as the case study for this research, providing a brief description of the main urban processes occurring in the city today. It explains the capital's social segregation and how this is clearly reflected by its spatial conformation, particularly in terms of residential location of different income groups. In the aim of improving social integration, current governmental initiatives are using residential segregation diagnoses at various scales to inform policy interventions<sup>85</sup>. Although these analyses are essential and for the most part accurate, this Chapter argues that current understanding of urban social relations and their urban inequality implications require questioning the conceptualisation of inequality and broadening traditional analysis of urban segregation by taking into account everyday practices and their various spheres and spaces of exchange and interaction which go beyond fixed residential areas. This contributes to understanding how urban living is changing and requires broadening its scope of analysis to improve urban research and interventions.

### **5.2 Urban Inequality in Chile**

Social differences characterising Latin American cities are often reflected on their spatial configuration, and these have sharpened over the past few decades (Prevot-Schapiro 2001; Sabatini, Caceres et al. 2001b; Kaztman 2003). In the 1960s, the concept of 'marginalisation' became a popular way of explaining the great unevenness in life conditions that were particularly visible in urban centres and were attributed mainly to the fast pace of urbanisation in Latin America (Quijano 1966a; Quijano 1966b; Quijano 1967a; Hardoy 1969; Quijano 1969; Germani 1976). In the 1970s and 1980s, by criticising this concept, authors like Larissa Lomnitz (1975)

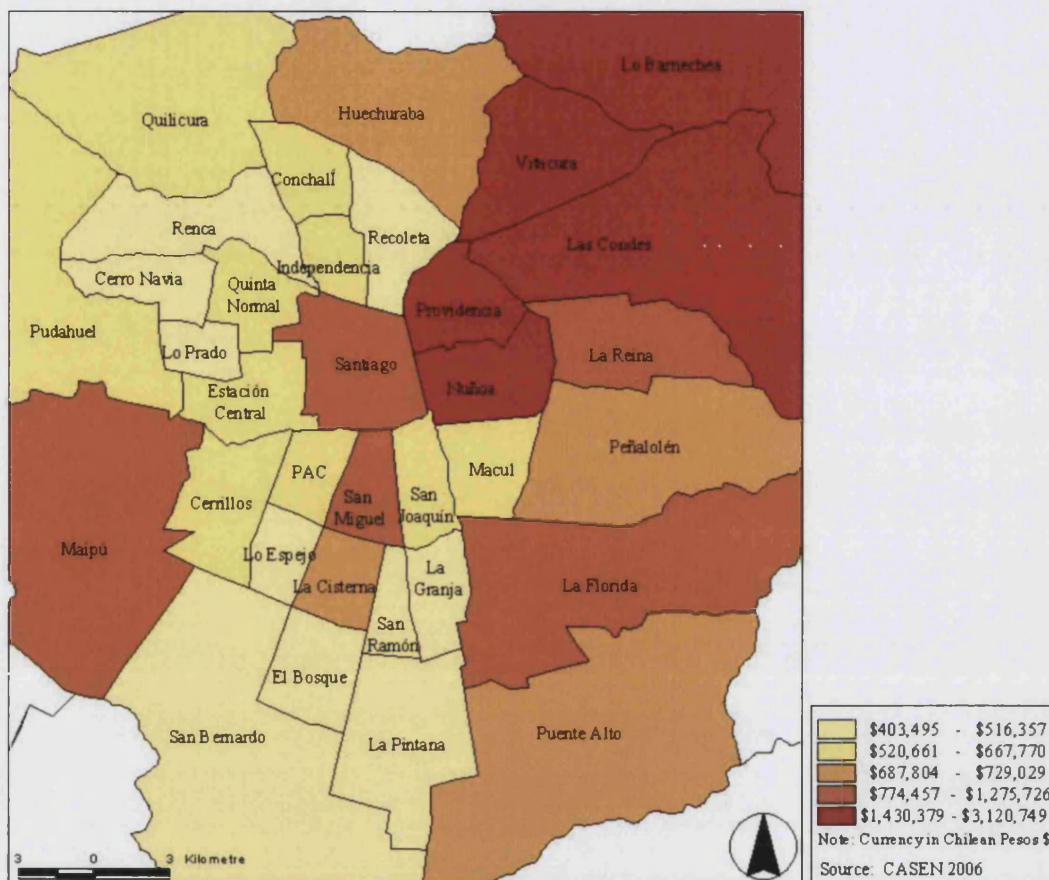
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<sup>85</sup> Example of this is MINVU's 'I love My Neighbourhood' Programme (Quiero mi barrio) that aims at intervening on existing low income neighbourhood; law modification proposal to include 5% low income housing in all real estate proposals; and subsidy for location of low income housing within urban limits.

explained the importance of social networks in urban areas for the survival of the 'marginalised' population, starting a trend of urban studies on poverty and opening a door in the study of urban poverty in a more grounded manner. In the late 1980s and 1990s, when the fight against poverty became an objective in the official discourse, more explicit urban poverty studies emerged. This left behind structuralist and societal views of marginalisation and the discussion moved towards an approach based on a more individual or collective consumption of goods emphasising the analysis of 'survival strategies' or 'family strategies' following Lomnitz and focussing on the consequences of structural adjustment policies on urban residents. It must be mentioned that the current discussion of the North American 'underclass' and European social exclusion is very similar to that of marginalisation thoroughly documented in the 1960s and 1970s in Latin America<sup>86</sup>. Currently, the concept most recently and broadly applied to understanding the spatialisation of inequality is social segregation, specifically residential segregation.

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<sup>86</sup> Gutierrez (1997) classifies four ways in which marginalisation has been analysed in Latin America: ecological, economic Marxist, Dependence, and cultural perspective.



Author's elaboration based on (MIDEPLAN 2006)

### Map 10. Income Distribution in Santiago

Most studies of Latin American cities usually conflate the notion of segregation with those of inequality, poverty, fragmentation, polarisation and exclusion. According to Sabatini, Caceres et al (2001b) the study of urban inequality in Latin America has been vague in reference to the concepts and definitions used. Moreover, Schteingart (2001) claims that there has been little theoretical or conceptual discussion regarding residential segregation, and few general or specific theories have been rigorously applied. For Rodríguez and Arriagada (2004) research is scarce, fragmented and incomparable between countries due to the difference in available data in each country. Socioeconomic segregation has mostly been looked at in terms of residential location of people from different income groups (Sabatini, Caceres et al. 2001a). Although this type of segregation is one of the most commonly studied in Latin America, residential segregation could also be analysed in terms of residential

location of religious, ethnic<sup>87</sup>, age<sup>88</sup> or gender groups. Furthermore, as a phenomenon, the analysis of residential segregation observes patterns of residence – seeing housing as a site of segregation. However, other types of segregation also exist, including public space, schooling or employment.

In Chile, over the past thirty years, its housing and urban development process generated social and environmental conditions, seriously impacting on urban quality of life (Jiron 2004). On one side, housing policies, particularly since the return to democracy in 1990, have made considerable efforts to reduce the housing deficit and to contribute to the yearly construction of over 100,000 units during the 1990s (MINVU 2004). This is an impressive figure in comparison to other Latin-American nations, and also considering the country's population of 16.5 million inhabitants (INE 2002). In spite of this, urban development has not coped adequately with the massiveness of construction and its impacts. Nor has it managed the dramatic changes occurring in the urban scenario<sup>89</sup> adequately, causing increasing social inequality regardless of its economic development<sup>90</sup>.

As in the rest of Latin America, the causes of residential segregation in Chilean cities have mainly been attributed to market liberalisation and neo-liberal reforms (Sabatini, Caceres et al. 2001b), particularly as regards land use and housing. Over the past decade, urban and housing interventions in Chile, have, for the most part, been well documented (Ducci 1997; Held 2000; Gilbert 2002; Jiron 2004; MINVU 2004; Sepulveda 2005; Sugranyes 2005; Hidalgo 2007). The analysis is often negative regarding housing policy privileging quantitative priorities over residential quality in terms of housing and neighbourhood standards. This has led to the agglomeration of vulnerable groups, poor housing location choice and indebtedness of groups under the poverty line, amongst others. Although the life of the 'Chilean housing model' is reaching its end (Jiron 2004), it continues to be emulated in many

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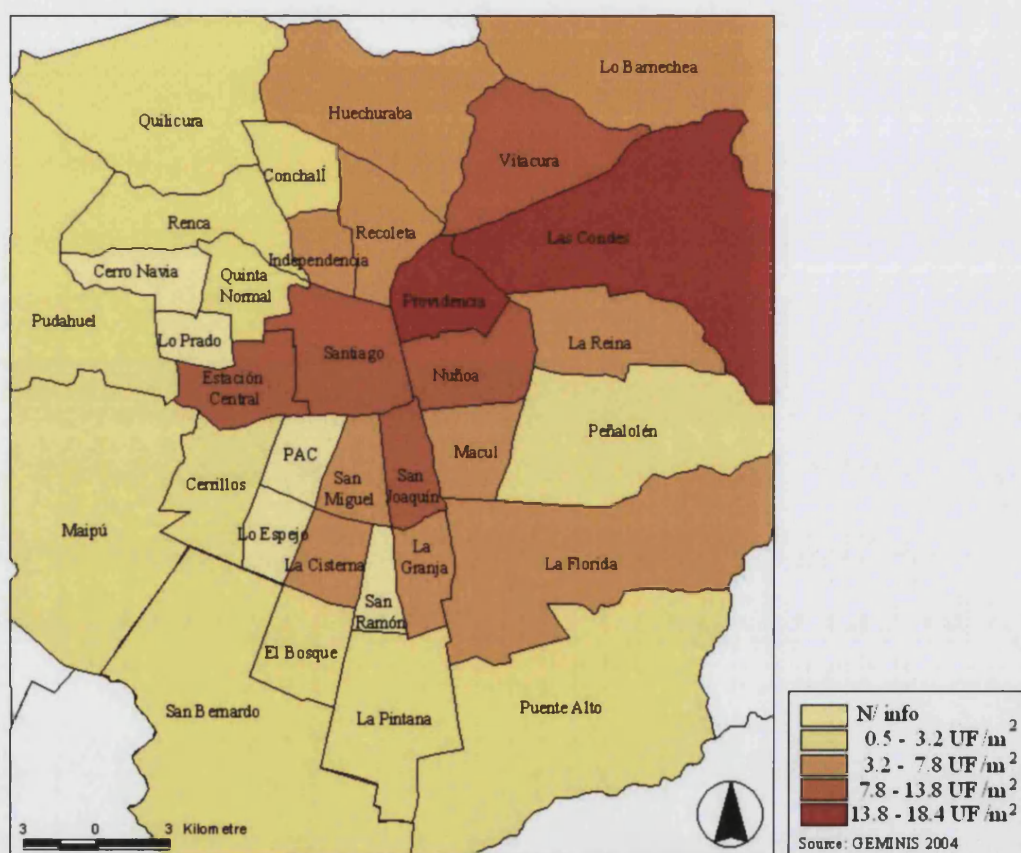
<sup>87</sup> For a detailed review of ethnic and racial segregation see Phillips (2007) and Lemanski (2006a, 2006b)

<sup>88</sup> For an analysis of urban segregation on the youth in Latin American cities see Saravi (2004)

<sup>89</sup> Appendix 4. Urban and Transport Planning in Santiago de Chile provides a detailed discussion of Chile's urban planning system

<sup>90</sup> The Chilean economy has been growing at an average rate of 5.5% annually since 1990 (Banco Central de Chile, 2007).

countries in the region. It must be recognised, that the criticism has somewhat been accepted by national and local authorities. However, solutions are slow to be implemented and inequalities persist. This makes inequality a *complex* and increasingly *invisible* phenomenon to understand. The complexity deals with urban inequalities as multidimensional and hard to identify, particularly in the context of complex urban systems and progressively mobile and dynamic urban realities. Invisibility refers to the fact that inequalities cannot be easily observed by traditional urban analysis and thus become harder to incorporate into urban policy and interventions<sup>91</sup>.



Author's elaboration based on (GEMINES 2004)

### Map 11. Land Values in Santiago

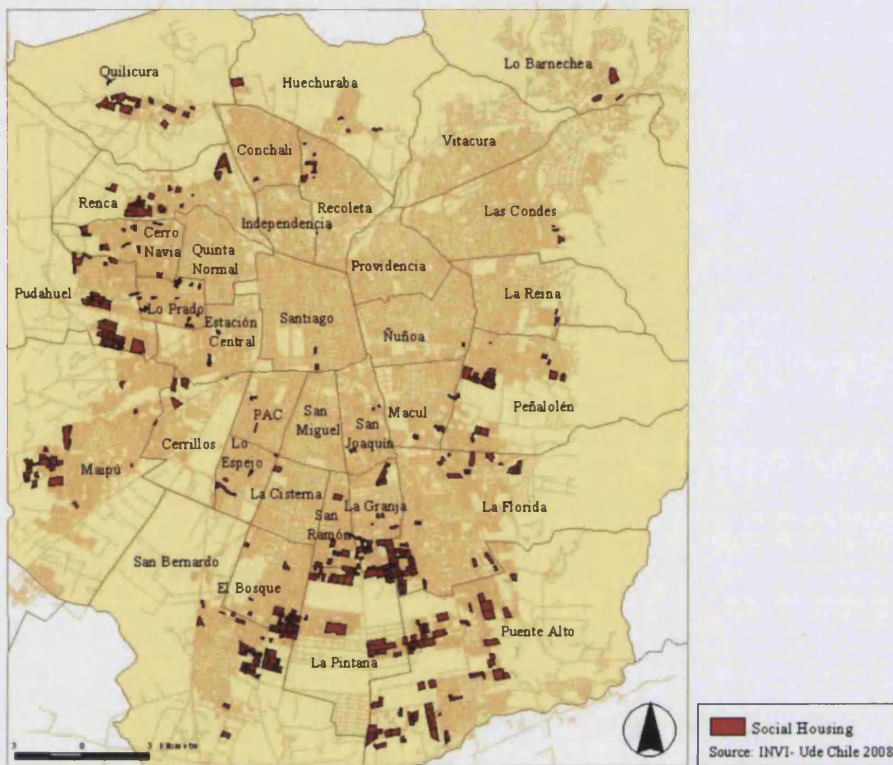
The impacts of these interventions have been felt in many cities in the country, particularly in the Metropolitan Areas of Valparaíso, Concepción and Santiago.

<sup>91</sup> Parts of the discussion in this section were presented in the paper "Unravelling the Invisible Inequalities in the City through Urban Daily Mobility. The case of Santiago de Chile" Justice and Injustice in the City Session, RGS-IBG Annual International Conference, 30th August - 1st September 2006, London. UK; and published in Jirón (2007).

However, the city of Santiago, embracing 6.2 million inhabitants, has been the most affected by urban and social problems. At a macro scale, the city of Santiago<sup>92</sup> shares a similar pattern of segregation to other Latin-American cities, as is shown in Map 10. Income Distribution in Santiago. Residential location of higher income groups is clearly concentrated in the North-eastern part of the city, namely in the boroughs of Providencia, Las Condes, Vitacura, Lo Barnechea, Nuñoa and La Reina. According to Sabatini and Arenas (2000), the spatial concentration of higher income groups with economic capital has allowed land costs to be relatively low in comparison to the rest of the city, as can be seen in Map 11. Land Values in Santiago. However, land prices have increased by 14.5% over the past 15 years (Brain and Sabatini 2007). Evidently, peripheral Southeastern boroughs include those with the lowest income groups and coincide with subsidised low income housing location built over the past 20 years, as can be seen in Map 12. Low Income Housing Location in Santiago. These boroughs are also the least serviced and equipped ones as can be seen, for instance, through the provision of hospitals (Map 13. Health Provision in Santiago) or green areas (Map 14. Green Areas in Santiago). Moreover, social indicators, such as teenage pregnancy (Map 15. Teenage Pregnancy) or years of education (Map 16. Average School Years in Santiago) are also exacerbated in the periphery. This confirms the pattern of large scale segregation that characterises Latin American cities, causing exclusionary consequences and lesser opportunities in society.

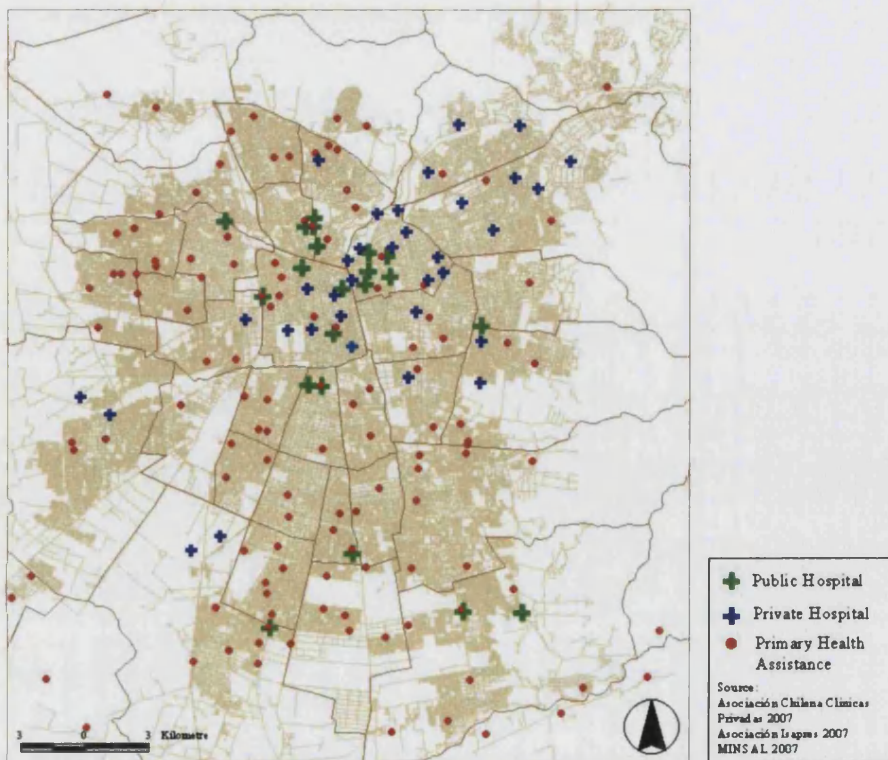
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<sup>92</sup> The Metropolitan Region of Santiago incorporates 48 boroughs (comunas); however, Greater Santiago, which is the area being analysed here, is made up of 34 boroughs located within the urban limit.



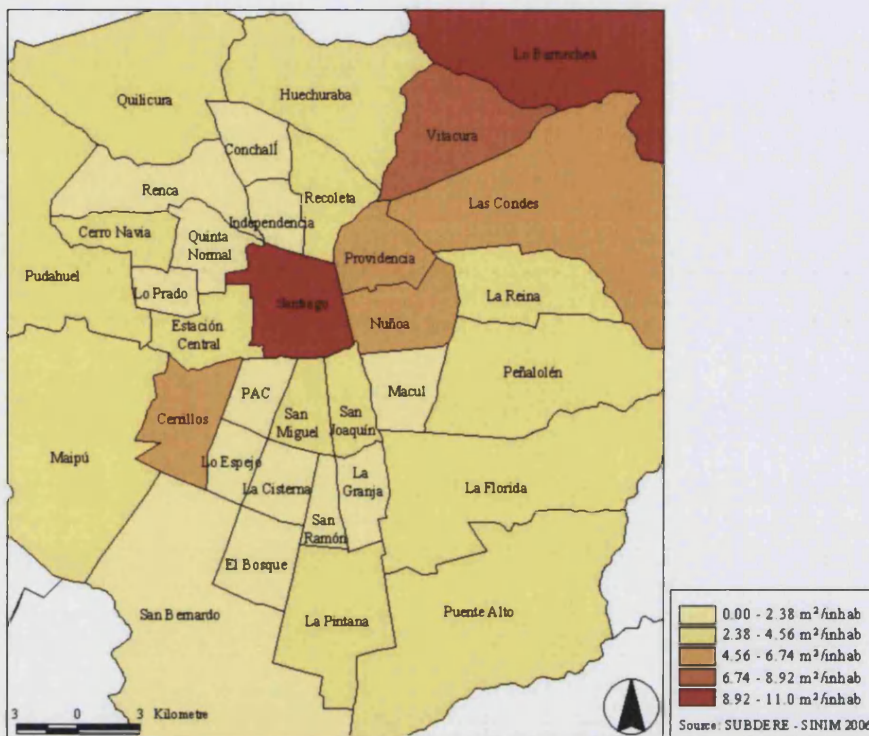
Author's elaboration based on (INVI 2008)

**Map 12. Social Housing Location in Santiago**



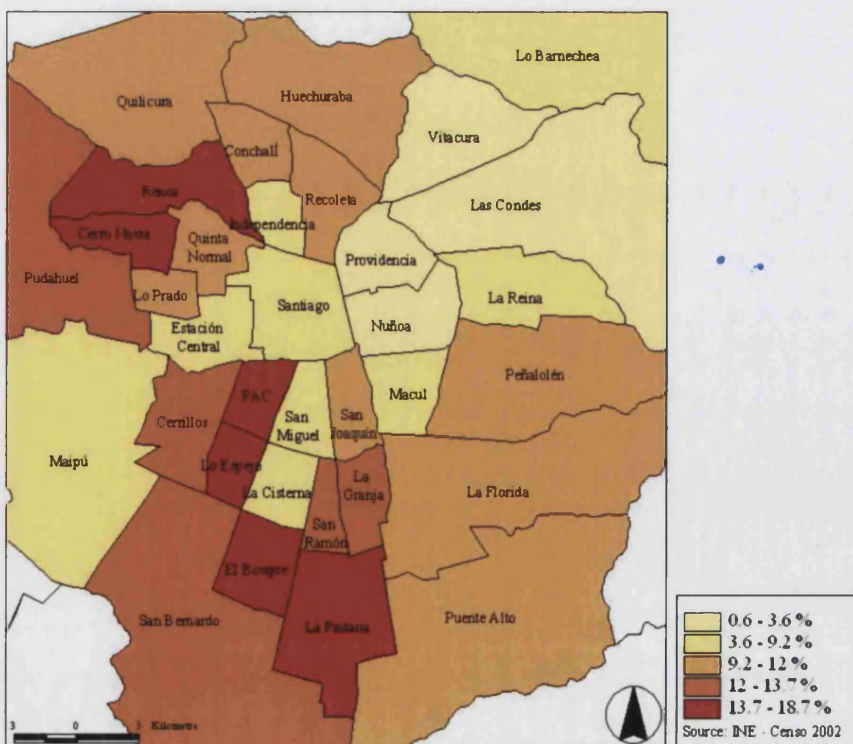
Author's elaboration based on (Asociación de Clínicas y Presatadores de Salud Privados A.G. 2007; Asociación de Isapres 2007; MINSAL 2007)

**Map 13. Health Provision in Santiago**



Author's elaboration based on (SUBDERE 2007)

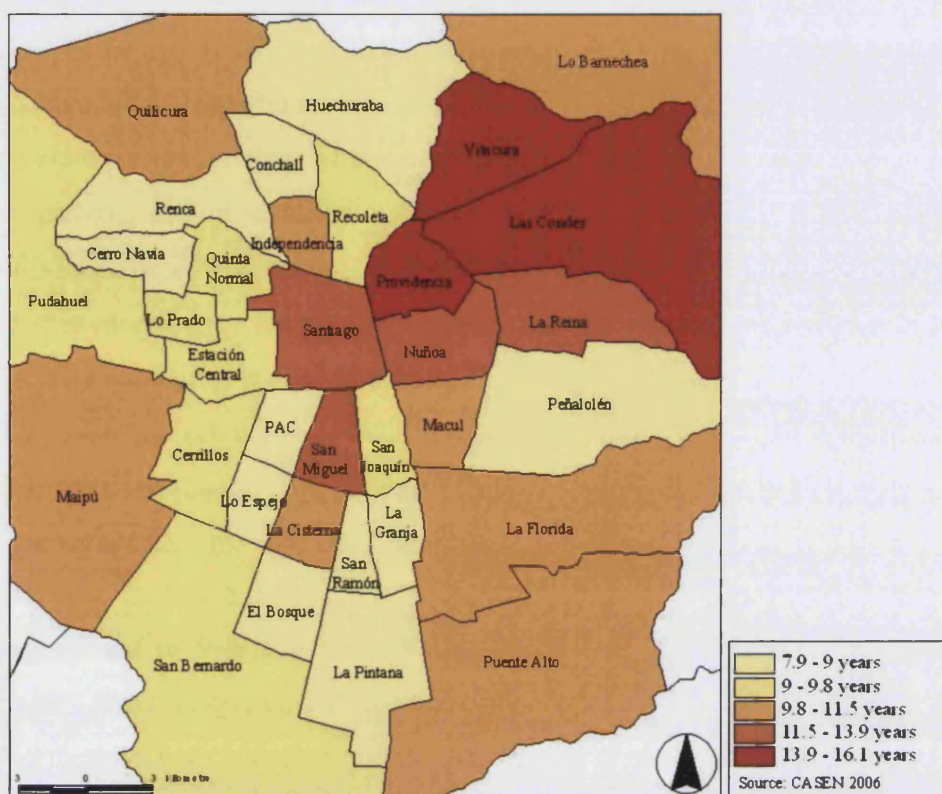
**Map 14. Green Areas in Santiago**



Author's elaboration based on (INE 2002)

**Map 15. Teenage Pregnancy in Santiago**





Author's elaboration based on (MIDEPLAN 2006)

### Map 16. Average Schooling Years in Santiago

According to Young (2002), residential segregation becomes a problem when

it violates a principle of equal opportunity and thus wrongly limits freedom of housing choice; when the process of segregation produces and reinforces serious structures of privilege and disadvantage; when it obscures the fact of their privilege from those who have it (by avoiding or ignoring the disadvantaged group); and when it seriously impedes political communication among segregated groups (Ibid: 205).

As a phenomenon, residential segregation could potentially reflect the level of inequality in a city, as it is a process of exclusion. However, it could also be a manifestation of something else, and it may not be a problem at all (Musterd 2003), as is the case of ethnic groups who cluster and prefer to live close to each other, like the Greek or Portuguese in cities, such as Toronto or the various Chinatowns or Little Italies in many cities around the world.

In the case of Santiago, these patterns of residential location, poor service and equipment provision have led to extremely low levels of quality of life that have substantially contributed to the social isolation and disintegration of poor neighbourhoods (Jirón and Fadda 2003). According to Hidalgo (2007), the outcomes or patterns minimise functional and social integration possibilities, a situation that will be difficult to overcome in the short and medium term. A more detailed analysis of this situation by Sabatini, Cáceres et al. (2001a) states that not all segregation is socially damaging for the poorer segments of society. For the authors, segregation is a mixture of integration and exclusion, and they see integration as part of this definition (Sabatini and Salcedo 2005). Moreover, they distinguish between a “*perverse segregation*” and a more “*benign*” one, depending on the scale of analysis: the larger the scale of segregation, the more perverse it is. In this argument, segregation in Santiago is extremely perverse because almost all upper-middle or upper class neighbourhoods are concentrated in one geographical zone, the Northeast. This concentration is the consequence of market forces, as well as of the semi-forceful movement of poor population outside the well-off boroughs during the military regime. But it is particularly aggravated by the implementation of housing programmes by the Chilean government (Jiron 2007b) as well as the inadequate response and lack of coordination of social policies.

Sabatini, Cáceres et al. (2001b) claim that a closer analysis of segregation can detect, at a micro scale, lesser degrees of segregation in certain areas, that is less homogeneity in terms of residential location of income groups. This can mainly be observed in boroughs with lower land values where, over the past few years, high to middle-high income gated communities were built. Over the past few years, following the international trends (Caldeira 2000; Low 2003), some areas in Santiago have experienced a modification in the traditional distribution of income in the city, where a portion of middle, middle high and high income groups, have chosen to live in closed urbanisations located in peripheral boroughs with a predominant low income population living in social and self built housing (Hidalgo 2004). For Sabatini, Cáceres et al. (2001b), this proximity led to a more *benevolent* or benign type of segregation, where although visibly separated by gates and walls, interaction between the different income groups –mainly in terms of employment- greatly benefits the poor. Therefore, according to the authors, in the context of perverse

segregation, any dispersion, even through the development of gated communities, is positive and encourages social integration as gated communities reduce the scale of segregation, acting as a semi-open border between different social groups (Sabatini et al 2001: 119). Moreover, Salcedo (2004) agrees with this interpretation showing that in Huechuraba, a borough in the North of Santiago, despite the existence of walls, there is considerable social contact between groups within and outside the gated community. Spatial proximity, according to the author, has encouraged relations mostly in the realm of functional exchange, making the location of gated communities in poor neighbourhoods a socially desirable experience, at least in the case of Santiago (Salcedo 2004). Furthermore, the same author emphasises that the benefits to the poor include new jobs in their neighbourhoods; “consumption in their convenience stores; and more importantly, the dignity of living in a borough that is not stigmatized as a centre of drug addiction, poverty, and crime” (Ibid: 117).

Thus, according to this group of authors, diminishing the scale of segregation brings economic, social, and psychological benefits, thereby calling authorities to support the spatial dispersion of upper or middle classes in the city as a way of combating social disintegration of the poor, even if that goal is reached through investments in the form of gated communities (Salcedo 2004). In this context, suggestions for reducing residential segregation include: increasing spatial dispersion of poverty through housing; increasing spatial dispersion of higher income groups through housing; reducing social homogeneity in cities (or urban areas) through mixed zoning and land speculation control (Sabatini, Caceres et al. 2001b). These proposals are aimed at reaching social integration. Several authors warn that the concentration of social housing in some boroughs and construction of gated communities and closed urbanisation in others, creates the potential for increased physical deterioration of the city, segregation and social exclusion (Ciccolella 1999; Caldeira 2000; Low 2003; Roitman 2004). Hidalgo (2004), explains that this situation could be eased if the new projects built in low income areas were combined with government initiatives targeted to the poor. For this author, if this occurs, there is a possibility for modifying the classic pattern of distribution of social groups in the city, which can contribute to the reduction of the physical distance between rich and poor. However, this may not necessarily translate to lesser degrees of social segregation or greater integration (Ibid).

Although the logic of the previous arguments is convincing, and perhaps encouraging the location of gated communities in low income areas may be more convenient than perpetuating perverse segregation: the benefits of these interventions as suggested by the authors require critical scrutiny. This is because de-segregating, diminishing the physical distance between different groups, might not necessarily decrease inequality. The types of interventions mentioned might guide diverse income groups to live in proximity. However, these might not necessarily lead to more egalitarian access to the benefits existing in the city. It would be useful here to clarify how these and other authors analyse the concept of social integration as an aim for urban policies and interventions, as it seems that such ideals, at least in the way presented by the authors, appear to over-estimate the benefits of employment generation by proximity, for instance, in the form of security guards and domestic cleaners.

Sabatini, Salcedo and others (Salcedo 2004; Salcedo and Torres 2004a; Sabatini and Salcedo 2005) describe various processes of social integration using functional integration, community integration, symbolic integration and physical or spatial integration, often interchangeably (Sabatini and Salcedo 2005). These types of integration seem to stem from the measurements defined by Landecker (1951) in the 1950s that provided a similar classification<sup>93</sup>.

According to Sabatini and Salcedo (2005) functional integration refers to “the degree of a person’s [...] inclusion and utilization of the functional means of exchange: power and money” (2005: 10). It could therefore be measured according to the integration of the poor to the market (the person as a consumer) in terms of jobs, businesses, etc; and to the democratic process (political rights) as a subject of both state investment and preoccupation (especially in infrastructure); and participation in political events like elections, civic forums, etc. In their research, this has been

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<sup>93</sup> Cultural integration varies along a continuum ranging from “extreme consistency to a high degree of inconsistency among standards within the same culture; normative integration the degree to which the standards of the group constitute effective norms for the behaviour of the members; communicative integration exchange of meanings; and functional integration, exchange of services, or division of labor” (Landecker 1951: 333).

evidenced mainly through involvement in employment of low income groups in higher income gated communities (Salcedo and Torres 2004b: 35).

Symbolic integration refers to “the degree of attachment and compromise [commitment] a person feels toward the place where he or she lives” (Sabatini and Salcedo 2005: 10). . It has been defined as a ‘sense of belonging’, and many times in the literature, it has been confused with community integration. The difference is that, while in modern or post modern societies,

where mechanic solidarity has already changed into organic solidarity, symbolic integration may exist under unequal relations; the formation of community requires certain degree of sameness and equality” (Ibid: 10).

Symbolic integration, according to Sabatini and Salcedo (citing Low 2003, 2005), refers to the perceptions of feeling part or an outsider of a community.

By community integration, the authors refer to “the formation of social ties that goes beyond simple functional exchange. It is expressed in friendship, solidarity networks, and even familial relations. Community integration requires people to recognize and be recognized, by the “other” as an equal with whom it is possible to trespass the borders of privacy. Community means intimacy and complicity” (Sabatini and Salcedo, 2005: 10). Community integration would then be related to the social contacts with neighbours, in terms of frequency of visits (Salcedo 2004: 120).

Moreover, and related to the previous definitions, the authors include spatial integration, which they see as “the more obvious aspect of segregation and relates to the degree of spatial distance between different social groups. This spatial distance refers not only to housing but also to the places where people shop, work, study, have fun, etc. (Sabatini and Salcedo 2005). Furthermore, physical integration would refer to the physical and material proximity of different income groups living close to each other. This has also been called pluri-classist integration by Campos and García (2004) in terms of “the spatial approximation between diverse socioeconomic

groups”<sup>94</sup> (Campos and Garcia 2004: 180). The way they have incorporated these terms into their research, is basically through the ways in which lower and higher income groups interact in a common territory in terms of provision/acceptance of employment in the neighbourhood; consumption in convenience shops; and improvement of social stigma (by higher income groups), thus providing a feeling or atmosphere of dignity of living in the neighbourhood (Salcedo 2004).

In the case of Santiago, the location of gated communities within lower income boroughs presents an example of physical integration, where the possibility of employment in gated communities could be seen as functional or market integration. However, none of these necessarily leads to community integration. Roitman (2004) warns about the myth of the creation of sources of employment for neighbouring residents by gated communities, since often these positions are often outsourced to service companies which hire their own staff from various urban origins. However, the types of social integration described above, may show very little about how these interactions impact urban inequality or whether through any of these interventions, access by different groups to the benefits of living in the city is modified or what are the consequences of this interaction.

Policies of integration, whether for racial, socioeconomic, religious or ethnic groups, require careful examination, since, as discussed by Young (2002), the ideals of integration could wrongly focus on patterns of group clustering while ignoring more central issues of privilege and disadvantage. By analysing residents’ everyday activities and institutional involvements to assess integration, Lemanski (2006) challenges the theoretical and empirical presumptions that physical desegregation facilitates social integration. This is particularly relevant for the context of South Africa where spatial integration is not accompanied by other policies that could guarantee social integration. Furthermore, as described by Pieterse (2004) for the case of South Africa, often the meaning of integration in urban development policies are multiple and shifting, and warns about the organisation preconditions required to implement such policies.

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<sup>94</sup> Author’s translation

Bourdieu (1999) also discusses this when he explains that a habitat can be occupied physically without really being inhabited in the full sense of the term if the occupant does not dispose of the tacitly required means of habitation, starting with a certain habitus. If the habitat shapes the habitus, the habitus also shapes the habitat through the more or less adequate social usages that it tends to make of it. Thus, believing that “bringing together in the same physical space agents who are far apart in social space might, in itself, bring them closer socially. In fact, socially distant people find nothing more intolerable than physical proximity. At the risk of feeling themselves out of place, individuals who move into a new space must fulfil the conditions that the space tacitly requires of its occupants. If they do not have all the cards necessary to participate in the various social games, the only thing they share is their common excommunication” (Bourdieu 1999: 127). Hence, just like urban space, social space, is not fixed, it often goes through transformations that can embourgeoise it or impoverish it. Having spatial heterogeneity in order to avoid urban segregation does not guarantee less inequality since it is very often possible to have spatial proximity and social distance (Dureau, Dupont et al. 2002).

A more careful analysis of existing power relations in these forms of integration would be necessary. This would also include new places, activities and people that different groups have access to by this integration. This is because encouraging the location of gated communities in lower income areas could be detrimental in the medium and long term, leading to gentrification and the eventual expulsion of lower income groups<sup>95</sup> (Davidson and Lees 2005), or increased resentment, fewer possibilities of encounter and exacerbated inequalities in the long run, which could remain hidden if income heterogeneity in residential location is the only way urban inequality is observed.

This means that the use of residential segregation does not fully explain the way people experience inequality in the city, or in their daily lives, thus urban inequality requires further analysis. Going beyond residential patterns analysis is relevant essentially in relation to the solutions or interventions that complementary diagnoses

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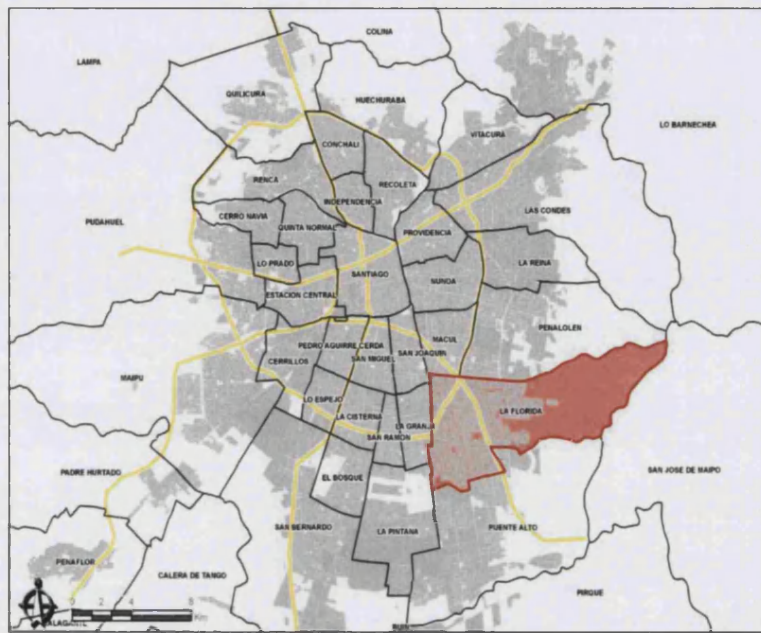
<sup>95</sup> In Europe and the United States, a way of generating integration or de-segregation, has been area-based approaches or residential mixing, often leading to processes of gentrification.

could provide and inform. One way could be acknowledging the experiences of the city as mobile, as opposed to fixed in permanent location. Also, within this mobile space, understanding mobility practices as another way in which the city is experienced and therefore another way in which inequality takes place. The following section introduces the specific cases being studied in this research, and analyses the borders and boundaries present between inhabitants of three selected neighbourhoods of different income, which, although located in proximity to each other, do not necessarily present relations of integration.

### **5.3 La Florida and selected neighbourhoods**

In light of the previous discussion on inequality and segregation in Santiago de Chile, and with the aim of describing and comparing urban daily mobility practices, this research opted for comparing different income groups living in a delimited area of the city, relatively close to each other. Prior to analysing the mobility practices of the selected groups in the following chapters, this section looks at how borders and boundaries present themselves in spatial and social terms at a neighbourhood level and the confrontations they present. As discussed in Chapter 3, within the city of Santiago, the criteria for choosing a specific area of study involved firstly, selecting those boroughs that present households from different income groups. The information used to identify the boroughs with most income heterogeneity in the capital came from the 2003 Household Survey (CASEN) (MIDEPLAN 2003) and the 2002 National Census (INE 2002), which helped to identify the number of households in each borough according to income quintiles. The boroughs with households with most heterogeneity included: La Florida, Peñalolén, San Miguel and Huechuraba. Seeking high levels of socioeconomic heterogeneity as well as major urban interventions, through a detailed examination of socioeconomic indicators, health facilities, household structures, housing location, land value, housing construction, major interventions, and field visits to each borough, the selected borough was La Florida, coloured in red in Map 17. La Florida, Santiago, as it provided all the conditions of a mixed income sector.





Source: Author's elaboration based on INE (2002)

### Map 17. La Florida, Santiago

Over the past 30 years, the borough of La Florida has evolved from a predominantly lower income, estate housing area of Santiago, to an increasingly gentrified one, where low-income groups live next to middle income families. La Florida is one of the boroughs in Santiago with the highest population growth over the last 30 years, with a population of approximately 390,000 inhabitants today (INE 2002), making it one of the most populated boroughs in Chile<sup>96</sup>. Since the 1940s, the inhabitants of La Florida began settling around the streets of Vicuña Mackenna Avenue, Walker Martínez Avenue, Rojas Magallanes Street and La Florida Avenue (See Map 18, Selected Neighbourhoods, La Florida Santiago). From this date on, large processes of immigration took place and between 1959 and 1967, various middle-income neighbourhoods were built. Also, until 1973, the State undertook intense construction of housing for low-income groups. Since 1979, with the liberalisation of the urban limit in Santiago<sup>97</sup>, population and housing growth increasingly consolidated, promoted basically by the private sector. The borough of La Florida became one of the most dynamic real estate areas in Santiago, attracting young couples as its biggest new residential group. Moreover, historically, the borough had a prevalent popular

<sup>96</sup> Punte Alto (702,948 inhabitants), Maipú (468,390 inhabitants), La Florida (365,674 inhabitants), Las Condes (249,893 inhabitants), Peñalolén (216,060 inhabitants) y Santiago (200,792 inhabitants). (MOP, 2007)

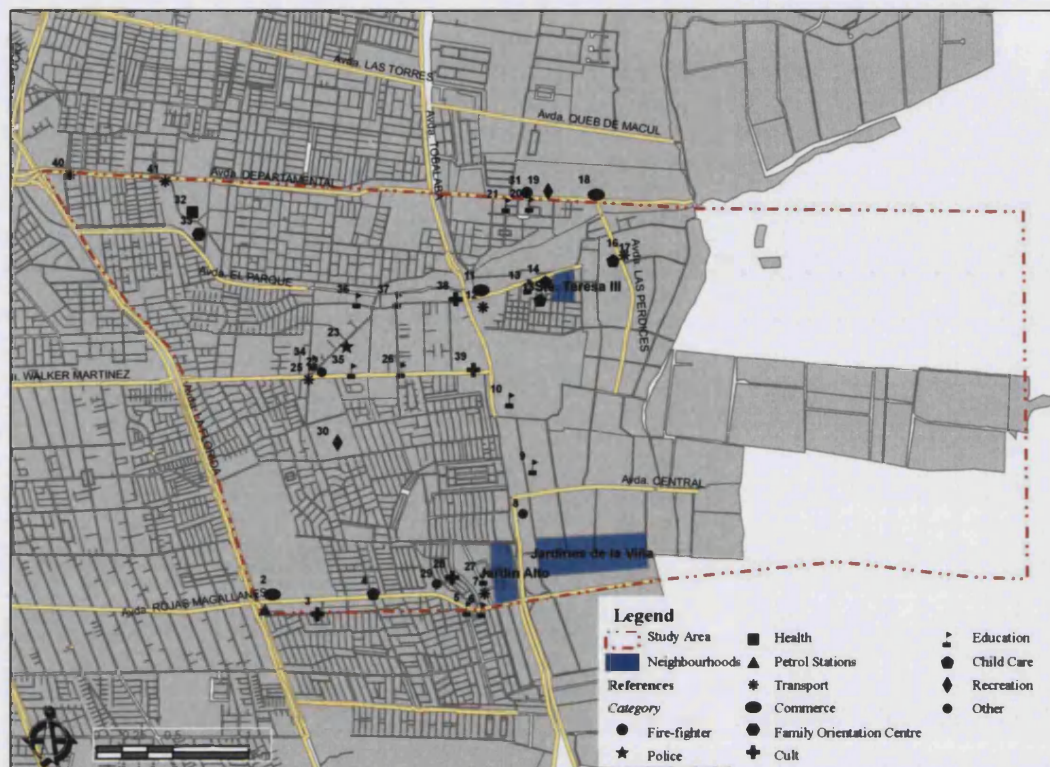
<sup>97</sup> Reinstated in 1985. For a detailed explanation of this see Fadda et al (2000)

character to it, the product of the first low income neighbourhoods which appeared as a result of land invasions or construction of social housing estates. However, this original orientation has changed with the arrival of middle income groups at the centre of the borough and the development of *parcelas* (large plots of land, up to 5000 m<sup>2</sup> in size) on the east. Although today the overall characteristic of the borough is middle income, there are still extreme poverty areas (6.12% of the population). However, La Florida can be characterised by its strong social heterogeneity.

Today, the borough of La Florida presents an increase in public and private services and the explosive growth of its commercial sector (particularly around Paradero 14 in Vicuña Mackenna Avenue), stimulated both by the construction of Line 5 of the Metro system (Parra and Tobar 2005). Age composition of the borough is particularly relevant as it determines the magnitude and types of services and equipment needed of its inhabitants. The large number of children living in La Florida implies the need for schools and child care centres to absorb the educational demand of its population<sup>98</sup>. The economic growth of the borough has emphasised its commercial character, serving as a service and sales subcenter for the south-eastern part of Santiago. It concentrates activities of local and city hierarchy including the Municipality, judicial system, banks, universities, medical centres, clinics, Malls (Plaza Vespucio and Florida Center), cinemas, shopping centres and various other services.

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<sup>98</sup> 13.2% of the borough population are between the ages of 0 y 5 years old (preschool education level) and 27.1% are between the ages of 6 and 19 years old (school education level) (INE, 2002).



Source: Author's elaboration based on INE (2002)

### Map 18. Selected Neighbourhoods, La Florida, Santiago

Once the borough was chosen as a result of its income heterogeneity and existence of different income neighbourhoods located relatively close to each other, the second criteria used to select the households to study was to identify the specific neighbourhoods or condominiums in terms of housing typology and price, which in the Chilean case, closely corresponds to income level. Furthermore, the average age of the condominiums had to be least two years old, in order for dwellers to present a certain amount of place making and have developed daily mobility routines within the neighbourhood and the city. The selection included three neighbourhoods from three different income groups in order to analyse their different mobility practices through the city. In total 11 families<sup>99</sup> from three different income groups living in a delimited area of La Florida<sup>100</sup> were selected. These families live in three specific neighbourhoods, which were selected for their proximity to each other and their location in a transitional area of the city: a borough undergoing rapid physical,

<sup>99</sup> The names of the interviewees have been modified to maintain anonymity

<sup>100</sup> Additionally, as described in Chapter 3, two high income families living in purpose built individual houses, were selected as a way of examining differences with a group which could be classified as high cultural and economic capital in relation to their housing typology, income and education.

economic and social change (See Map 18. Selected Neighbourhoods, La Florida, Santiago). Proximity of location of each neighbourhood was an important criteria as it was relevant to identify if living close to each other generated daily experiences of integration or encounter with residents of different income, age, or gender, or whether their places of encounter and integration occur elsewhere. As will be seen, despite the physical proximity among the different income groups, there are physical, social, economic and cultural boundaries that prevent them from integrating (socially, culturally, financially with others) or experiencing the city in a similar manner.

### 5.3.1 Santa Teresa

The first selected neighbourhood is Santa Teresa (Photo 1. Santa Teresa), a social housing estate, built in three stages since 1988. It is located between Av. Tobalaba (El Hualle) and María Angélica Street (See Map 18. Selected Neighbourhoods, La Florida, Santiago). Average housing value is approximately 300UF<sup>101</sup> and housing size is on average 40m<sup>2</sup>. Its original composition is, for the most part, informal dwellers that lost their self-built housing in the 1986 floods. The total number of housing units is 1630, including 3-story buildings and semidetached 2-story houses. The latest, and last, stage contains 300 units in 3-story buildings. Various studies carried out in Santa Teresa<sup>102</sup> have concluded that the inhabitants feel isolated from the rest of La Florida as infrastructure and services do not respond to the reality of the families. As to the neighbourhood, the number of quality public spaces that would promote communication among the inhabitants is limited. In terms of housing size, dwellers perceive it as small with limited possibilities of appropriation and identity building (Parra and Tobar 2005). However, due to the need for space, most residents have extended their housing in some physical form or another, giving the neighbourhood a deteriorated and uneven look (See Photo 2. Housing Extension in Santa Teresa). Furthermore the neighbourhood presents security issues as it is known and stigmatised for being dangerous due to drug sale and existing gangs (La Cuarta

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<sup>101</sup> Approximately £4,900

<sup>102</sup> In 2006 *Quiero Mi Barrio* (I Love my Neighbourhood), a National Programme promoted by the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU) to improve 200 deteriorated neighbourhoods in the country, included Santa Teresa among the neighbourhoods to be intervened by 2008.

2003). Moreover, to the west of Santa Teresa, crossing the Tobalaba Avenue, there is a large sector of low income housing well known for their vociferous political protest during Dictatorship years.



**Photo 1. Santa Teresa**<sup>103</sup>



**Photo -2. Housing Extension in Santa Teresa**

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<sup>103</sup> All photographs presented in this thesis, unless explicitly indicated, were taken by the author.

### 5.3.2 Jardín Alto

The second selected neighbourhood is Jardín Alto (Photo 3. Jardín Alto), an open urbanisation, also built in stages, with new housing stages still under construction. It is located along Jardín Alto Street bordering Rojas Magallanes Street (See Map 18. Selected Neighbourhoods, La Florida, Santiago). The total number of housing units is 560, each costing approximately 1,500 UF<sup>104</sup>. The group of people living there can be classified as middle income, with incomes around \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000<sup>105</sup> per month. The housing typology, as can be seen, is that of repetitive rows of attached housing, measuring an average of 80m<sup>2</sup> in two or three story houses with a small garden at the back. The interior houses are designed around small gardens or plazas (Photo 4. Interior Gardens Jardín Alto). The housing typology of housing to the North of Jardín Alto is similar to it; it is only after crossing the river to the West that the low-income neighbourhoods start and to the North is the third selected neighbourhood.



**Photo 3. Jardín Alto**

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<sup>104</sup> Approximately £25,000

<sup>105</sup> Approximately £1,000 to £1,500



**Photo -4. Interior gardens Jardín Alto**

### 5.3.3 Jardines de la Viña

The last selected neighbourhood is Jardines de la Viña (See Photo 5. Jardines de la Viña and 6. Gingko Amarillo in Jardines de la Viña), specifically the inner community named “Gingko Amarillo”. Jardines de la Viña is not a gated community, however, it is designed in such a way that each inner community can and has eventually gated themselves in. The housing typology is that of semidetached housing units of similar design, costing approximately between 3,000 and 4,000 UF<sup>106</sup>. The total number of housing built in this complex is 954, however, within the Gingko Amarillo community there are 47 housing units, closed in with an exclusive entrance gate. The average household income is approximately \$2,000,000<sup>107</sup> monthly and this is equivalent to the higher middle income group in Chile (ABC1) according market class classification<sup>108</sup> as well as to highest two deciles according to income distribution per deciles.

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<sup>106</sup> Approximately £56,000

<sup>107</sup> Approximately £2,000

<sup>108</sup> The major market research company in Chile, Adimark, segments Chilean households according to socioeconomic classification between ABC1 (the highest), C2, C3, D and E (the lowest). This classification is census data based on education level and quantity of household goods including shower, colour television, refrigerator, washing machine, microwave, cable television, personal computer, Internet and car.



**Photo -5. Jardines de la Viña**



**Photo -6. Ginkgo Amarillo in Jardines de la Viña**

#### **5.3.4 Boundaries and Borders: Integration in the new mixed income sectors?**

According to Wood and Graham (2004), mobility has always been configured by boundaries and borders composed of a multiplicity of hybrid objects, from infrastructure and technology to law and culture. From this, a boundary may involve physical obstacles, including visible natural or man-made walls or infrastructure that limit access; it may also include economic, social, cultural boundaries that also act as impediments to physical access in a city. A border, on the other hand can be



understood as a permeable physical, social, economic or cultural separation or division, which may be transgressed and overcome.

As can be seen in Map 18. Selected Neighbourhoods, La Florida, Santiago, although the whole area studied measures approximately 5 km<sup>2</sup>, and the distance between the neighbourhoods is easily walkable, there are social boundaries that act like walls dividing low from middle and high income groups and limiting their access from one neighbourhood to the next. These include a canal, roads, dead end streets, empty lots, or the newly built condominiums (See Photos 7. Canal Las Perdices and 8. End of Sánchez Fontecilla Street). Mobility at a neighbourhood level is blocked by either natural or infrastructure barriers, however, this does not prevent middle and higher middle income groups from passing through or on the side of the lower income estates, dodging them by driving, avoiding possible contact.

Moreover, the existing social, economic and cultural boundaries, exacerbate the physical ones where different income groups do not mix. The chances of mutual encounters are minimal, yet, at the same time, there is no need or desire to do so. Most interviewees mention that they have never been to the other neighbourhoods, except for Carlos, from Jardines de la Viña, who went to Santa Teresa once, looking for a thief that had tried to enter a friend's house. They thought the thieves came from the closest *población*<sup>109</sup>: Santa Teresa. They drove there at night but were soon frightened by the number of people walking about the streets. *"The streets were full of people, not like here, we got scared and preferred to come back home"* (Carlos). The residents of Santa Teresa have no access or reason for going to the richer neighbourhoods, as there is nothing there for them but houses, cars and different people. Those living in Jardín Alto do not frequent either Jardines de la Viña or Santa Teresa or the area around the two neighbourhoods. They might pass by next to each other, but do not see or interact with each other.

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<sup>109</sup> A low income neighbourhood



**Photo -7. Canal Las Perdices**



**Photo -8. End of Sánchez Fontecilla Street**

The narratives from residents reflect this limited encounter. These are complemented with the drawings of mental maps made which describe the places they go to in their neighbourhood on a daily basis, as can be seen in the case of Cecilia who lives in Jardines de la Viña. She is an Accountant and also has a University degree in Biochemistry. She comes from a higher middle income, conservative and Catholic family from the richer part of Santiago: Las Condes. According to her family, she married “down” by marrying Roberto given his socioeconomic status and the fact

that they could not be married through the Church because theirs was his second marriage. She moved to La Florida two years ago, when they bought the house they live in now. It was the only area of the city where they could afford a house with a garden relatively close to downtown and to Cecilia and Roberto's families. Her daily routines show that she does not really 'live' there; she never walks around the neighbourhoods, never shops there, does not know the area and is scared of the surrounding lower income neighbourhoods. She drives everywhere, "*skipping the city*" so she can get to the areas she knows best in North-eastern Santiago where she has been living all her life.

In her narrative and mental map of her neighbourhood (Figure 7. Mental Map: Cecilia, Jardines de la Viña), she clearly states how much she loves her house, and how she fell in love with it when she first saw it. She mentions how much she enjoys the view of Santiago from her house and the lights of the city at night. They do not pay anyone to help in the domestic chores, and the only people she talks to are her immediate neighbours in her community. In the map, she draws the primary scale of residence, her house, in great detail with her garden, trees, her family and dog. She draws the mountains and the small park close to her house and, at a distance, the private school where her son will go in a few years. These are the spaces that are significant to her in her representation of her place of residence and neighbourhood. The areas missing, those not drawn, are those where the others are, the others that she does not encounter.



Figure 7. Mental Map: Cecilia, Jardines de la Viña

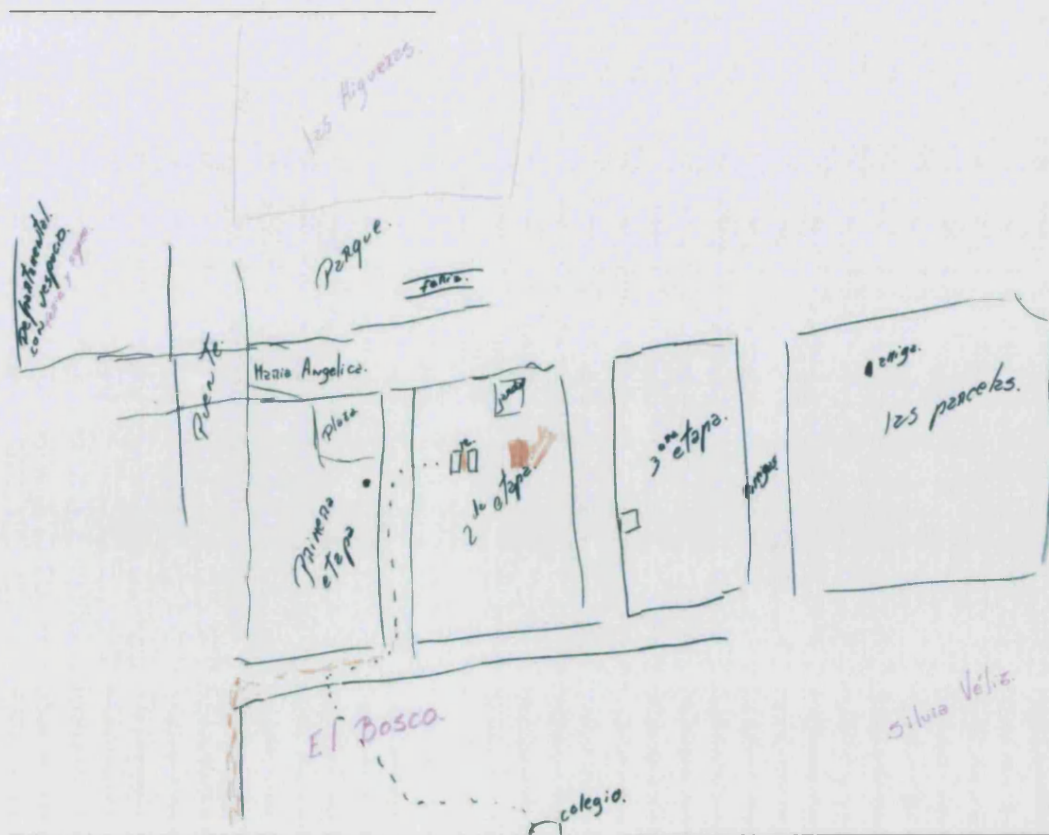


Figure 8. Mental Map: Alicia, Santa Teresa

Alicia, who lives in Santa Teresa, knows her neighbourhood very well, walks everywhere, knows and talks to many people, even if she does not feel like it sometimes. Her encounters, however, are only with the people from her neighbourhood, as in her daily practices there are scarce possibility of encountering others, mainly because she does not leave her neighbourhood. Her Map (Figure 8. Mental Map Alicia: Santa Teresa) shows that her scale of place of residence and neighbourhood is larger than that of Cecilia, yet her possibility of meeting ‘others’ is just as limited. She goes to the park sometimes, with her son, and wishes she would do it more often. The closest Alicia gets to the other neighbourhoods is through her son’s school, which she draws with a path through an empty lot, which is now blocked. The empty areas in her mental map are spaces where gated communities are located. She draws the area of Las Parcelas, where higher income residents like Oscar<sup>110</sup> live, as an area where she has better access, including to the residents, but not on a regular basis. She complains that her neighbourhood does not have the necessary amenities, including medical surgery, school, police station, supermarket, and childcare centre. She says she does not see the difference in living next to higher income groups as *“there is no contact, we never get together, the buses pass by the communities, but that doesn’t make a difference, as they have money and cars”* (Alicia). She mentions that they *“have another rhythm of life, they do other things, like take the kids to classes, send the kids to university, they go to different places”* (Alicia). Her husband mentions that there used to be activities organised by local NGOs that encouraged them to talk to the neighbours, especially those in Lo Cañas and Las Parcelas, *“it was good, because we managed to tell them how we felt and they listened and told us what they felt”* (Bernardo). She says there are more problems with people in her own neighbourhood *“no one really messes with anyone else, there is a lot of noise, music, fights, drugs”*, (Alicia) that discourage them from seeing each other more often.

Security issues are also barriers for mobility close to the place of residence. Interviewees from the three neighbourhoods mention not wanting children to travel

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<sup>110</sup> Oscar is one of the residents interviewed from the high-income area of Las Parcelas (The Plots). This area was originally subdivided into large plots of land for individual housing. Oscar is a well-known painter who, though may not be economically part of the wealthiest Chilean families, is definitely socially and culturally rich. He lives in an architect made detached housing on a large plot of land (1,000 m<sup>2</sup>) and has been living there for almost 20 years.

on their own, having to pick them up, or arrange for someone to do it for them, not wanting them to go out late at night, leaving work early so as to not get mugged, usually women more so than men. Although Claudia, from Jardín Alto, walks her dog around Jardines de la Viña sometimes, she hardly ever sees anyone, and is careful not to go too far, especially at night. The media enhances some of this fear, as it is not directly related to any neighbourhood specifically, but to urban fear in general, which inhibit people from accessing the immediate surroundings by foot.

Some residents complain about the heterogeneity within their middle income neighbourhood, that is, the people living in their own neighbourhood. Claudia mentions that difference in income is not an issue, *“what bothers me with the people that live in my neighbourhood is that they are rotos<sup>111</sup>”*(Claudia), referring to the fact that middle income neighbourhoods attract people from a wider range of income and a diversity of educational levels. According to Claudia, this is more disturbing than the rich or the poor around them, the ones from the poor neighbourhood are not a problem *“they never come around here”* (Claudia), and she knows what to expect from them, whereas she feels that those in her neighbourhood do not have any manners, *“I can’t stand them because they are messy, dirty, they throw papers on the street...they swear. Here I notice that kids chew gum and throw it on the floor, mothers see them and don’t say anything to them, it really bothers me, I feel like saying something but I avoid it”* (Claudia). As to the higher income ones, *“I don’t know about the neighbourhood up there [Jardines de la Viña], I never see anyone, there is nothing there, no small shops, no people on the street”* (Claudia).

Similar to what the Chilean authors mention (Sabatini, Caceres et al. 2001a; Salcedo and Torres 2004b), there are employment opportunities when higher income housing is located close to poorer ones. Ernesto and Francisco, who live in Santa Teresa, work as security guards in rich gated communities to the North of their neighbourhood. They cycle to work and it takes them between 10 and 20 minutes respectively. Both mention the difficulty of dealing with the people living in the gated communities, not because they are rich, but because they are ‘new rich’, who

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<sup>111</sup> Chilean slang literally meaning “ripped one”. It is a derogatory term used for lower income groups but also for people who are perceived as having little education or manners.

do not know how to treat people different to them. Francisco does not mind working there, he does not feel uncomfortable, but would never live there, he says he “*can be in the same place but not necessarily live with them*” (Francisco). He feels that these ‘new rich’ look down upon them and that “*there is no possibility for social coexistence*” (Francisco). Moreover, women from Santa Teresa have the possibility of working as domestic cleaners in the nearby gated communities, but they mention that the salary they receive working close by is not as high as what they would get if they worked in the richer areas of the city, 1 or 2 hours away. Because of that, some women prefer to stay at home and take care of their children instead of working and spending the money they earn paying for someone else to watch them. Additionally, young men can also work in the construction sites close by, 30 minutes walk, but they know it is temporary and that as soon as the housing are finished they could be moved any where in the city. In all situations, the possibilities of encounter or integration with others are rare.

A different situation occurs when dealing with church related activities, as those who attend religious ceremonies and activities mention the possibility of encounter at this level. Therefore the activities centred around the church could be seen as borders, as they permeate different structures, regardless of income, gender, or age. Carmen and her husband Felipe, who live in Jardines de la Viña, are active members of the Catholic centre, San Alfonso, close to their house, inside the *población* Las Lomas<sup>112</sup>. Apart from participating in Sunday mass, they also coordinate marriage counselling on Friday evenings and religion classes on Mondays. However, their neighbours are organising a church inside Jardines de la Viña and are requesting them to be part of it. Eighty year old Isabel, who lives in Jardín Alto, is also an active member of the parish inside Las Lomas. Although her family is not religious at all, they encourage her to participate and she is glad to have found this parish close by as she now can walk to it, instead of asking different family members to drive her to more distant ones. For her, participating in the church activities in Las Lomas has been a motivating experience of encountering others and defends those living in Las Lomas, when criticised as being burglars. Some of those living in Santa Teresa are

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<sup>112</sup> Las Lomas is a low-income neighbourhood located on a hill, it originated as a land invasion in the 1960s and has been regularised through national government housing programmes over the years.

also active in the church, however, they mostly participate in Evangelist Churches on Sundays and walk through the various lower income neighbourhoods close by. As a form of encounter, the Church is an important way of integrating society, and it is one that traditionally has been very important in Chile and in Latin America. This has also been seen in some cases of mixed income/race neighbourhoods in South Africa, where Lemanski (2006) suggests that institutions in which neighbours with a common identity or need to meet are most likely to facilitate social mixing and friendship between different neighbours.

In general, the way integration occurs seems to be a continuum of possibilities which are hard to pinpoint and find as determinants of integration. However, more than residential physical proximity within delimited spaces, which in itself is not very clear whether it is conducive of real encounter and exchange, it would appear that various types of encounters occur depending on how the various activities are incorporated into daily life. The places of possible encounter are not necessarily through daily shopping or leisure activities within the neighbourhood, at that scale encounter occurs basically through employment and the church. In the first the type of relationships are built in terms of 'asymmetrical networks'. The second is a more traditional form of gathering which cannot be attributed to the actual location, but its location does promote encounter. It appears that the places of possible encounter need to be looked at on a broader scale, by analysing how these are found within everyday activities.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter was to present the city of Santiago as the context for this research, providing a brief description of the main urban processes, its complexities and forces acting in the city today and also to introduce the selected neighbourhoods and their overall relation to each other. It explained how the city's uneven income distribution is reflected on its spatial conformation, particularly in terms of residential location of different income groups and the provision of infrastructure and services. Moreover, this chapter argued that current understanding of urban social relations and their spatial inequality implications require broadening the way urban inequality is studied and expanding the traditional analysis of urban segregation by



taking into account everyday practices and their various spheres and spaces of exchange and interaction which go beyond fixed residential areas.

Residential segregation in Latin America is undoubtedly a significant mechanism which manifests and reproduces socioeconomic inequalities. However, this may not be the only way in which urban inequality is manifested; this can also be the result of other phenomena including real estate development or pursuit of globalisation trends, including gated communities. It appears that residential segregation analysis is not sufficient to understand the whole complexity of urban inequalities, nor is it meant to. Therefore, the scale and distance of residential segregation may decrease; for example, with the location of gated communities in areas of predominant low income families residence. However, inequality may persist just as strongly in terms of uneven access to urban benefits, immobility, disparity in mobility potential (or motility) and differential access to spaces of consumption, as all these are strong determinants of people's ability to participate economically, politically and socially. This implies that central issues of privilege and disadvantage may not be overcome by proximity in residence, as social distance may remain. This indicates that the places to analyse urban social relations are the spaces of encounter and the way these occur.

In broader spaces of encounter, other forms of urban inequality may occur. This includes forms that are not always evident, but which may become visible and accentuated in specific boundaries that separate and connect people and places. These boundaries could refer to the physical boundaries of different neighbourhoods, but also to the social, cultural, economic or technological boundaries present in cities (such as money, knowledge of the city, public transport systems, feeling out of place), and they are context specific. Some of these boundaries are fixed, but others increasingly shift; some are more like borders, more permeable than others. As seen, permeability provides an opportunity where urban inequalities exist, this is particularly so through urban daily mobility practices.

It would be helpful to think of the spatialisation of inequality not only in terms of fixed enclaves, but as mobile gradients. Urban inequality can be seen as a phenomenon that may reach various groups of urban residents in fluctuant and

differentiated manners, particularly because people's permanence in the city vary and fluctuate hourly, daily, weekly, seasonally, and yearly. Social conditions of gender, income, age, ethnicity, or religion may be positive aspects of diverse societies, but they may also be based on unequal power relations and thus generate inequalities in outcomes (uneven levels of achievement), access and opportunities in the city. Shifting the location of spatial inequality from place of residence to spaces outside it and in mobility implies significant theoretical and policy shifts, which this research displays as feasible and recommended.

The following three chapters analyse the empirical data of mobility practices of residents of the three neighbourhoods selected in order to develop the main argument of the research: that is an urban daily mobility approach captures an ontological shift in the way the urban spaces are experienced. This shift has implications for the way urban relations and urban structures are observed; that is, from fixed physical entities to moving and dynamic relations. The next chapter, presents a way to analyse place making in mobility; Chapter 7 analyses difference, inequality and disconnection through differentiated access to activities, relations; and Chapter 8 analyses the consequences of mobile pace making in place confinement and place enlargement; and places.

## **6 The Experience of Mobile Place-making: Mobile Places and Transient Places**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In light of the current globalisation process, some believe that spaces lose their distinctiveness and become subdued and unified, making place lose its significance as its characteristics are emptied and abstracted (Harvey 1996); others insist that place persists as a constituent element of social life and historical change (Gieryn 2000; Cresswell 2001; Sheller and Urry 2006). According to Savage et al (2005), place making is still relevant today however, the process of place making in contemporary cities is complex. Massey has argued that if social organisation of space is changing and disrupting the existing ideas about place, then the concept of place should be rethought altogether (1994; 1995) and move towards understanding it as the location of particular sets of intersecting social relations and intersecting activity spaces (Massey 1995) in time. The multiplicity of changes in space and time in speed, forms and encounters generate what Massey (2005; 2007) refers to places as events, a constellation of trajectories and processes, multiple and not necessarily coherent. The event of place requires negotiation and it poses a challenge as to how encounters with others (or things) will take place and how conjunctuality occurs (Massey (2005). Places as events cannot be predetermined or anticipated, these occur as they happen and are relations occurring in time and space. This chapter attempts to move further in this re-conceptualisation by introducing the idea of mobile place making within the practice of urban daily mobility by using mobility experiences of urban dwellers in Santiago de Chile.

The dichotomy, overlap, similarity and juxtaposition of place, space and time has been a major topic of discussion in the broad field of geography and urban studies and their interrelation was analysed in Chapter 2 in order to adopt a definition of place under a mobility lens. Place always refers to a location, a locale and meaning, which is an appropriation and transformation of space and nature and which is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space. In this progressive sense, place is open, permeable and always in construction, and is

constituted through reiterative social practices, which make and remake place on a daily basis. As Cresswell (2001) mentions, places are never complete, finished or bounded, they are always becoming – in process. Places are about relationships, about placing [or displacing or replacing] people, materials, images, and the systems of difference they perform (Sheller and Urry 2006). Place is both the context for practice as well as a product of practice, thus the relationship between places and practices, particularly those occurring on a daily basis, are extremely relevant in contemporary urban life.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, mobility characterises modern living, be it through travel and tourism, migration, residential mobility or urban daily mobility, the latter, an increasingly important urban practice and the focus of this research. Understood as socially produced motion, mobility implies giving meaning to the practice of moving from one place to another and suggests the possibility of places being appropriated and transformed during this practice, generating what I term as *mobile places* and *transient places*. The first refers to those places that people signify while travelling on them: cars, buses, metros, trains, or bicycles. In transport and urban planning the time spent on these is usually perceived as dead time (Jain 2006; Urry 2006) and their interventions are aimed at diminishing the time spent travelling and improving connections by making it more efficient. As will be seen in the narratives in this chapter, travel time is experienced differently by different people, however, not everyone experiences it as dead time; on the contrary, for many the moments spent on different transport modes are crucial to their everyday existence.

Transient places, the second form of place generated through mobility, involve those fixed spaces, which people signify while moving through them. They are not places of permanence but places of transit and transition elsewhere, and regardless of the amount of time spent through them, they are nonetheless appropriated and signified. These often vary in type, form and permanence possibility and are sometimes understood as public spaces or spaces of public use. Those most commonly studied include markets (Cresswell 2006), bus stops, petrol stations (Normark 2006; Sabbagh 2006), airports, parks, and streets (Duneier 1999). These have been seen as "non-places" (Auge 1995), that is spaces of institutions "formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit, commerce, leisure)" (Kaufmann 2002: 94). Augé does not use this

term in a derogatory way, but rather in a descriptive manner of a certain sort of place that inculcates a new sense of thin or abstract identity (Auge 1995). Relph, on the other hand, points to such places as strip malls, new towns, international architecture style, tourist landscapes, amongst others as a way to evoke the way in which placelessness occurs in contemporary times (in Agnew 2005). However, in the cases presented here, these non places are not static, and 'placelessness' is indeed in the eye of the beholder, as mentioned by Agnew (Ibid), as malls, markets or bus stops are not just spots along the way, but reflect important meanings to people's everyday experiences. *Transient places*, are fixed spaces with intense mobility going through them, they are not places of permanence but places of transition and people signify them for convenience, leisure, distraction, socialisation and recreation. These experiences tend to have consequences, leading to the possibility of broadening or enlarging places, restricting or confining them along the way<sup>113</sup>.

Daily mobility practices are spatialised in time, during which people encounter others, situations and spaces, and meaning is given to these encounters. Thus, place-making refers to the space where people feel comfortable, where the *habitus* feels comfortable in the specific field (Savage, Bagnall et al. 2005), understanding *habitus* as embodied, generative and modifiable dispositions that are embodied and enacted through practices. By looking at the way the *habitus* behaves when it encounters structures of mobility, the way place making occurs will be able to be identified.

Based on this, and by explaining the urban daily mobility routines and the mobility experiences of the members of the selected households residing in La Florida, Santiago de Chile, this chapter presents the idea of mobile place making and the elements that make it possible. It argues that place-making is also generated on the spaces travelled on, by, within, through, in those spaces encountered in mobility: buses, metros, cars, bicycles, or foot which become *mobile places*; and also in those spaces people signify while moving about, along or through which become *transient places*. The first involves places people appropriate for reflection or contemplation, socialisation and friendship, independence, distraction or evasion, amongst other; the

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<sup>113</sup> For further discussion on mobile place enlargement and confinement see Chapter 8 and Jirón (2007)

second are fixed spaces with intense mobility going through them, they are not places of permanence but places of transition and people signify them for convenience, leisure, distraction, socialisation and recreation.

## 6.2 Mobile Places

A major aspect of what makes mobility significant is that it greatly impacts people's daily life, as lives do not stop while being mobile. The time spent travelling is not 'wasted' (Jain 2006), and much occurs during these mobile moments and on the spaces travelled by/on. Although mobility has mainly been seen as physical, it can also be virtual or imaginative (Sheller and Urry 2006; Szerszynski and Urry 2006), and the use of devices like television, Internet or mobile phones, allow for the possibility of being present in more than one place at the same time<sup>114</sup>. These technological advances make people's management of distance increasingly relevant and the choices of presence have broadened to three: co-presence, which eliminates distance; mobility, which handles it through displacement; and telecommunications, which transfers dematerialised information (Bourdin 2003). However, despite constant innovations in technologies, being physically present is still imperative in daily life today and physical travel is still required to make necessary connections. According to Urry (2004b) virtual and physical travel transforms the nature and need of co-presence, thus virtual travel complements physical travel which in turn leads to co-presence. The same author (Urry 2003b) asserts that it is unlikely that virtual communications will alter the importance of meeting or face-to-face connection, thus the need to look at how these moments of connection and encounter occur.

Kaufmann (2002) explains issues of co-presence in terms of connexity and contiguity. Connexity can be defined as the establishing of relations using the intermediary of technical systems, whereas in contiguity this relationship is established by spatial proximity and relates to the traditional way people relate to one another and it implies density. Connexity cancels out spatial distance to allow for actors' interaction through trains, aeroplanes or automobiles. Kaufmann explains that

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<sup>114</sup> For a detailed discussion on the relation between technology and mobility see Sheller and Urry (2006)

these are often thought of as having a tunnel effect, meaning that whatever lies outside these modes is invisible, avoided, ignored, and that “the appropriation of space crossed between the origin and the destination is not possible” (Kaufmann 2002: 23) due to speed. However, the space inside can be appropriated and signified, that is the train, the aeroplane or the automobile can be meaningful spaces in themselves. It may appear that, as connexity increases, territories lose importance, but in practice, contiguity and connexity may have a tendency to merge, creating significant places in the process. The meanings these spaces generate provide experiences which may be characterised as being reversible or irreversible. Reversibility refers to the impact mobility has on actors’ identities, that is, the traces left behind by the mobility experience (Kaufmann 2002). A reversible experience would not leave any trace behind, whereas an irreversible one remains in the persons body and mind. The following narratives examine how these experiences take place.

### **6.2.1 A place for reflection: the Metro**

The Metro system in Santiago started running in 1975, and its lines have been continuously extended since, with under and over ground lines running North, South, East and West of the city<sup>115</sup>. It is considered an important symbol of Chilean modernity due to its speed, efficiency and cleanliness. Prior to the implementation of Transantiago in February 2007<sup>116</sup>, which is when this research took place, the cost of using the Metro was higher than that of public buses, and therefore its use was limited, underused and seldom crowded. In the midst of contemporary harried lifestyles, Metro’s reliability and comfort make it a refuge for some, or a place for reflection and introspection. The following experience of Claudia illustrates this.

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<sup>115</sup> The role of Metro in Santiago is discussed in further detail in Chapter 4

<sup>116</sup> Chapter 4 provides a discussion of the process leading to the implementation of Transantiago.



**Photo -9. Claudia takes *colectivo***

Claudia is 30 years old; she is a dentist and lives with her parents in Jardín Alto<sup>117</sup>. Her mother is a midwife and her father a retired dentist, both have always worked in the public health service, which is where her commitment to public work comes from. She has three brothers, all of whom are professionals and two of them still live at home. All her life, they rented a house in San Miguel, a traditional middle-income borough in Central Santiago. A few years ago, after much searching for a house they could afford, her parents bought the one they live at now. She finds it very far from where she used to live and has had to adjust to a very different lifestyle to what she was accustomed to. She has had a rough time adjusting, especially because she's now quite distant from the Metro; she used to live a couple of streets away.

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<sup>117</sup> The low-middle income neighbourhood selected for this study.





**Photo -10. View from the Metro: Women's jail**

She works at the public dentist clinic in Independencia<sup>118</sup>, the same surgery her father worked at for many years. She has just started a postgraduate specialisation on Orthodontics and will continue working part time for the two-year duration of the course, two days a week plus Saturday mornings. Fortunately she says, both her job and the University are located downtown. Her boyfriend lives quite far away from her, in Lo Barnechea<sup>119</sup>; they are planning to get married once they both finish their specialisations.

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<sup>118</sup> A centrally located borough in Santiago

<sup>119</sup> A well-off borough in north-eastern Santiago



**Photo -11. Claudia meets friend in Metro**



**Photo -12. Claudia inside Metro**

Her perception of travelling is that so long as she is using the Metro, travelling is fine. Although she owns a car, she loathes using it because of the demands of others “*honking at me to speed up*”, the fear of being robbed in the car, the parking difficulties... For her, travelling on the Metro is definitely not dead time. She says that it’s her place of reflexion and amusement, a break from her demands at work, school, a way of reacting to what is happening elsewhere, it opens her to other social realities. Claudia enjoys the ride, “*When I’m on the Metro, I think about what*

*I'm going to do in the day, I take something to read, or I buy the paper and read it, if not I just think about what I did during the day, or what I have to do when I get home. The time in the metro is definitely my reflection time, it's where I think. In the Metro I plan everything, or if I need to think or solve something, I do it in the Metro, I hold it until I reach the Metro. It's never lost time, it's my moment, from work to home, I forget about my work stuff, the things that happened, I disconnect, and I start thinking about other stuff" (Claudia).*

*"I never get sleepy or fall asleep, I think or look at people, I love looking at people, it's cool, since there're so many different people, I look at their reactions, I love it, that is why it's so relaxing. [...] There are people that can't read because they get dizzy, I never listen to music, never, I don't like it. At work it's all about work, then I finish, reach the Metro and I start thinking again" (Claudia). She enjoys eavesdropping. "It's more fun listening to other people's conversations, you'll think it's awful what I do, but some of the things you can listen to are incredible, it's very funny, I feel like telling them: 'hey, I think this or that'. You can spend the whole trip listening to stories, just imagining the stories. Generally people in the Metro are apathetic, well we all are, because I'm also very apathetic, it's like everyone is quiet, until two friends get on or mother and daughter or two sisters, and then you can tell everyone is paying attention to their conversation, it's really funny, and then you notice that people are listening. Or sometimes you get men reading the paper and the people around him are reading too, and they look sideways to be able to finish the section" (Claudia) (Photo 12. Claudia inside the Metro).*

*"What impresses me the most is what people do on the Metro, like nail clipping, a lot of people do that, you wouldn't believe it, they just take out their nail clippers, it astounds me, I just stare. In the morning, some people have breakfast on the Metro, and on the way back too, specially children, they eat all the time, crisps, everyone carries something, in the summer people drink water or soft drinks, some eat sandwiches, or quick empanadas<sup>120</sup> with a coffee or soft drinks, but not so early, around 9:00. And kids in the afternoon eat crisps, or things like that, children always eat, always, always, but adults usually drink water (Claudia).*

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<sup>120</sup> Chilean pastry usually filled with cheese, meat or seafood

*I know the Metro well, for instance, they never used to sell food before, now there are kiosks that, apart from the newspaper, sell food, but not in all stations, in the exchange ones only like Baquedano, I can't remember which other one, they sell candy, they are not just vending machines, they have a shop. Other Metro stations have wi fi, and you see people, specially young people, with their notebooks. Then everyone watches TV, because they show the news sometimes, the weather, every time the weather comes on, everyone looks up" (Claudia). "The memory I was left with today was from the Metro is close to San Joaquín<sup>121</sup>, there used to be a bare lot, that was under construction, they were doing the underground part, and it was a giant hole, and they are now on the second story, I was wondering how did they do that so quickly, I always look to the other side, and today I looked at this side and I was impressed" (Claudia).*

*She empathises with women with kids... "From March to November, mothers coordinate life over the phone [...] you see them, giving instructions, or with their little babies, with their 5 year old kids, or feeding their babies [...] In the morning, you see a lot of women putting their make-up on, everyone wants to sit, to put their make up on in the Metro, they take out their make up kit and start making themselves up, and they go all the way, you know, liquid eye liner, foundation, I used to think it was awful, why don't they do it at home? I thought, but then of course, they barely have time, if they are mothers, they probably had to prepare breakfast for their kids, wash the dishes, tidy up a bit, obviously, when do they have time for make up?! When they do their make up, I observe the type of make up they use, the brands, and if I'm bored, I just look at how they do it, it's fun. Sometimes I think they mind, 'what is she looking at?' They may think, but it's fun" (Claudia).*

*She recognises she lives a privileged life, easy in comparison to others, she still receives help from her parents, she feels no need to move out yet as she enjoys it. But the Metro ride expands her world. "I seldom talk, but whenever I give a seat to a grandmother, they say, do you want me to take your bag, and I say no thank you, they say, you are so nice, and we start talking, she starts telling me about her*

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<sup>121</sup> A Metro stop on Line 5

*family, people, I say a bit, but try to be as general as possible, no details, I do this, I live there, those type of things. Sometimes I see people more than once, in the colectivo especially, there is this lady, I don't say hello, but I know she lives close to me because we take the same colectivo..." (Claudia).*

Although Claudia has had to accommodate to her new living space and neighbourhood, she uses a mode of transportation that is familiar to her that she feels comfortable in, her *habitus* fits in well with the Metro. Because it is slightly more expensive than the bus and coverage of the Metro is low –according to Sectra, (2001), less than 7% of all trips made in the capital prior to 2007–, those passengers who use the Metro do not belong to the lowest income group, as seen in Chapter 4, and although it is not the most sophisticated mode of transport in Santiago, she prefers it because it is not overly crowded, it is quite comfortable and easier than using her car.

Her time on the Metro is relatively comfortable, enough for her to feel it adequate to relax and reflect on her life, work and personal issues. Her experience is a particularly sensorial one, where all her senses are awake, her eyes carefully observe other passengers; she listens to multiple conversations, smells the people who hop on and off, touches and bumps into other passengers and almost tastes the air in the Metro. These senses at times are not all enjoyable to her, but she feels familiar with the spaces, and they become meaningful enough to her to remain in her memory, the memories are irreversible.

An important experience that the practice of moving on the Metro generates is that she is able to put herself in other people's position and empathise with their situation: pregnant women, elderly ladies, women with children. The Metro ride effectively expands her world and makes her see more or different than what she would normally experience in her place of residence or work, it complements her possibility of encounter with others different from her and also similar to her. In Claudia's case, using Kaufmann's concept of reversibility, the journey is irreversible since not only does the journey leave traces in her mind about her own thoughts, but also it leaves traces about other people's lives and about the spaces encountered on her body.

### 6.2.2 The Metro: A Mobile Place for contemplation



**Photo -13. Morning view from inside Metro**

Roberto is 42 year old and lives with Cecilia, his second wife, in Jardines de la Viña<sup>122</sup>. At the age of 25 he married for the first time and had a son, Francisco, and soon after he separated. Francisco lives with his mother in a town in the South of the country. Unlike Cecilia, Roberto never went to University, he is an accountant by trade and his lack of education greatly hinders his chances of a more stable job and better salary. By marrying Cecilia he modified his social status as she comes from a higher income family, and has considerably more social and cultural capital, which he recognises, but does not appear bothered by it. He works at an exporting company on the other side of the city, close to the airport and is not overly excited about his job, plus he works very long hours, including Saturdays. His journey lasts about 2 hours on a colectivo/metro/bus ride across the city.

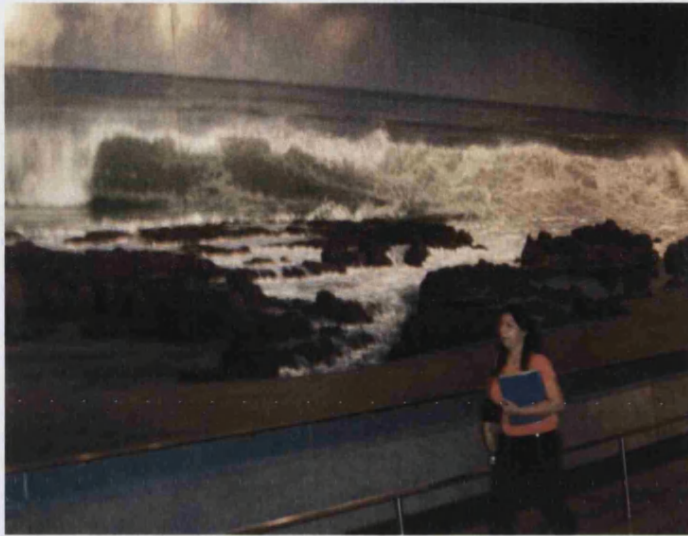
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<sup>122</sup> The selected middle income neighbourhood



**Photo -14. Advertisement inside Metro**

His journey starts at 6:40 when he walks out of his house towards the colectivo stand about a five minute walk away from his house. At this time the queue is short and soon he's on his way to the Metro. Once on there, he relaxes, stands by the window and contemplates the scenery (Photo 16. View from the Metro in the morning). It's his moment, the only time in the day when he's alone and gets to think, to be alone, to go over his thoughts, his days. He changes lines and complains about the excessive advertising; he says he feels invaded by it (Photo 14. Advertising inside Metro).



**Photo -15. Painting inside Metro station**

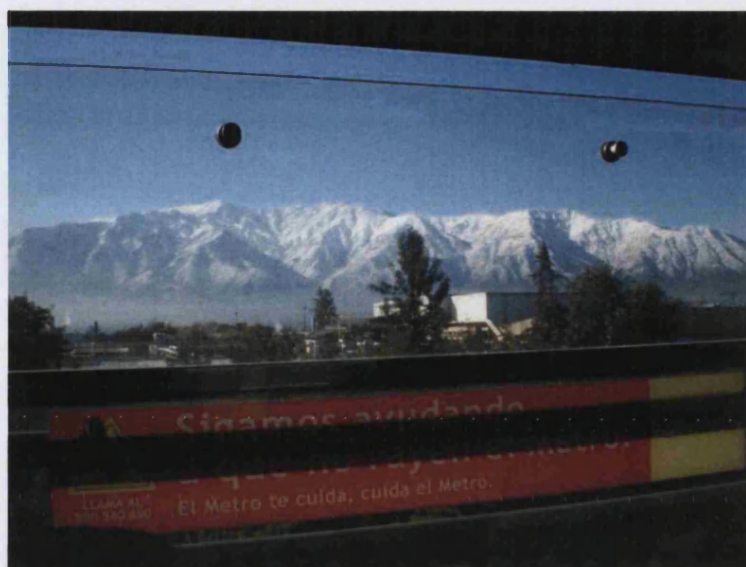
He likes the Metro, has been riding it since it first started and knows something particular about every station: the one with the mural, the one with the paintings of the ocean, the one with the tiles painted by children... (Photo 15. Painting inside the Metro Station). He remembers when each station used to have an icon identifying it. He never sits down, doesn't talk to anyone, and doesn't make eye contact, for him it is like being in his own world. As the wagons start getting emptier he begins to feel more comfortable again. He used to read books in the Metro, but not anymore, he says, *"I'm too tired, I now pick up Publimetro or La Hora<sup>123</sup> and I read it all, I read every detail of the news or do the crossword puzzles or soduko, I really like them"*.

He gets off the Metro and changes to a private bus that takes him to his job located in ENEA, an industrial park, very close to the airport; most of the area is still under construction, making the surroundings of his office building quite bare. He feels isolated at work, as it's difficult to leave since buses reduce their frequency after 9:00. He has lunch taken to his office and does not leave the building until 20:00 or 20:30, or sometimes later, when he goes back to catch the bus to the Metro.

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<sup>123</sup> Free newspapers distributed daily at Metro entrances





**Photo -16. View from the Metro: Cordillera**

Roberto is not oblivious to the outside scenery. Riding over ground for him is the best part of the journey. *“On the way back, I don’t read anything, I just contemplate”*. He says it changes every day. *“I like the Metro coming back, it comes out after Ñuble<sup>124</sup> station, and I enjoy it because you can watch the scenery, although it’s the same route, it doesn’t vary one centimetre, to the right or the left, but it does change, it doesn’t matter if it’s dark, you see the lights. I like winter better than summer, I like it because I watch the clouds, the rain, the storms, the wind, the snow on the Cordillera<sup>125</sup> is absolutely beautiful or the sunsets (Photo 16. View of Cordillera from the Metro)*. I use that time to think, to look, to distract myself just by looking at the scenery. Think about it, you are in the Metro and can somehow appreciate the outside while inside it, it’s amazing. For me it’s not really lost time, I use that time to think, it’s time for me. It’s nothing special, but I kind of renovate myself, I start rewinding the film. I like the time on my way back on the metro, although it’s the same, the outside changes [...] When you’re inside the tunnel it’s a drag, plus at the times I travel it’s very compressed and that’s the bad part of the Metro, the quality of people, you start losing the quality of people, independently of the person next to you, they don’t care if they have a big bag that

<sup>124</sup> Metro stop on Line 5

<sup>125</sup> Refers to the Andes Mountains, the most important geographical point of reference in Santiago, seen from practically every point in the city (smog permitting) and particularly beautiful during the winter months when covered with snow.

*squeezes you, they don't care, it's practically like a tin of sardines at times, but I still like travelling on it" (Roberto).*

At first glance it appears as though Roberto endures the daily journey, as when seen as a two-hour journey to cross the city it seems endless and an absolute waste of time. However, when analysed in the context of his broader life, the demands and frustrations, it appears as though his time on the Metro is the only timespace he has to himself, his timespace for contemplation. In his family life, he mentions the demands made by his wife for more time, more study, more money, more babies, and a better lifestyle. At work he complains about the mediocrity of the people he works with, the long hours and a low pay, because he does not have the necessary academic credentials to be properly recognised for the job he already does. He gets home late, works all day Saturday and Sundays are the only days he can rest, be with his wife and undertake all the family events and chores required. His travel time is the only 'in between' time to think, dream and drift away. His attitude on the Metro is a *blasé* one (Simmel 1969), purposely ignoring the rest of the passengers and feeling annoyed by those who interrupt his inward thinking. His body is stiff, standing by the window and just contemplating. The Metro is not just a mode of transport from home to work; it is a mode of transport to drift away, to the times and places where he will never be.

### 6.2.3 Travelling by Metro: A Place for Independence



**Photo -17. Isabel climbs Metro stairs**

Isabel is 80 years old; she lives in Jardín Alto with her daughter and her daughter's family. For many years she lived in Sweden as a political refugee with her family, most of whom are back in Chile since the return to democracy. Every Wednesday she visits her best friend from childhood Soledad who is 81 and lives in downtown Santiago. Although Soledad's son takes her to the doctor and she has someone helping her everyday, Isabel visits her once a week to accompany her to the pharmacy, the supermarket, or just for a coffee close to home. For both of them this is their weekly outing. Isabel looks in very good shape, but she says she feels increasingly tired, she can't see very well and has trouble going up and down the stairs. She has made herself a weekly routine which she follows strictly. However, when things change, like a bus route, or a new station opens, it's dreadful for her, as change means finding her way around and this generates difficulty. This once-a-week outing is her way of feeling useful, alive and independent still...

Around 11:00 am, she calmly strolls down the street to catch the colectivo that will take her to the Metro. Although she sits in the front seat, the car is old and uncomfortable and she has trouble getting up from the seat and seems disoriented crossing the street to enter the Metro station. Once she reaches the Metro, she feels at home, she knows it well, knows her way, where to go, how it works. She has gotten used to it by now and security guards are always helpful, she says. Although she has trouble going up the stairs, she grabs the hand rail and goes up slowly (Photo 17. Isabel climbs Metro stairs). She knows which way to turn and where to wait for the appropriate wagon. Once inside the train, she takes a seat, changes her glasses and enjoys the ride (Photo 18. Isabel inside Metro).



**Photo -18. Isabel inside Metro**

She loves the metro; each station has a special design and generates a special meaning to her. Her favourite one is the one with the palm trees she says, *“you know, the one with the long palm trees on the walls, it’s so nicely designed, they really thought about it, the whole station is green and the palm trees just emerge from the ground, look”* (Isabel) (Photo 19. Tiles in Metro Station). In Baquedano she has to change to Line 2 and it is slightly difficult for her as there are many stairs and it is more crowded. People are not always kind on the Metro, but still one person gets up to offer her a seat. She then reaches her station and gets out. She gets scared of going back on the Metro on her own at night, particularly because the colectivos are not very regular at night, she says, and she fears getting off at the wrong station and then has no way to get back home. So today, her daughter is picking her up.



**Photo -19. Tiles in Metro Station**

New stations are difficult, “*specially now, for me Vicente Valdés<sup>126</sup> is a mess, because I am still trying to adapt myself to those new levels, because they have two or three levels, the lifts and mechanic escalators are located only in some places within the station, so sometimes I’m in the lift and I don’t know which button to press, there is something written, but I don’t see too well, I’m almost blind, with these [glasses] that have so much prescription, I see awfully, and the other dark ones are worse, so if I want to see the sign I confuse the letters, and don’t see well, so I end up asking people which button, where do I have to go, and it’s embarrassing (Isabel).*”

As a vehicle of the *habitus*, the body performs its distinct dispositions. In the case of Isabel, with her aging body she insists on using the Metro and public transport as a way of feeling independent and still capable. After leading a life of political commitment, social awareness, exploring new worlds, she returned to Chile to attempt to continue living like this. When she first returned, she lived alone, but her daughter soon insisted she lived with her, mainly because she was getting old. She refuses to be a burden on her family, yet understands that she no longer has the agile body she used to in order to explore the streets. Her sight is weak, her strength is frail, yet her she finds the energy to continue repeating the weekly practice of going out to visit her friend. This once a week outing downtown to help a friend does not only involve the experience of socialising with a friend, but it is also her experience of being capable of undertaking the journey that will take her there. The space of the Metro is an important place, which she appropriates skilfully with her aging body. The Metro’s infrastructure is not always prepared or equipped to accept this body, but she nonetheless makes it her mobile place, where she strolls independently, at the most convenient times for her, on the days that are easier for her and through the routes that are most familiar and that she has made and remade over time. She admires the spaces she goes through and the whole experience has meaning and remains with her for at least a week, and makes her look forward to the next one.

The three persons mentioned above are going through different stages of their life cycles, which affect their appreciation of time and space and thus their process of

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<sup>126</sup> New station on Line 4

place making. Claudia is not 30 yet and is still preparing herself for her job, she still lives at home and will leave home once she gets married, but for now she is aware of what lies outside, she recognises her worries are few and is eager to learn and see the situations surrounding her. Roberto on the other hand, has already entered his 40s, is married, already has a child and is expecting another, and his education and preparation have already occurred, he is more resigned to his current situation and it appears as though his daily routine leaves him drained. However, his approach to his daily travel is introspective, it is his time to think and be with himself, away from all the responsibilities that surround him, which is why he ignores others, he mainly cares about the spaces he encounters. Although Isabel is in her 80s and has lived a very hectic, fruitful and difficult life, remade her life elsewhere and managed to reconstruct it in Chile. She sees the reality she comes across with the eyes of experience and of someone who has travelled extensively in her life, she compares the spaces she encounters with other places she has been to and sees the problems in the city as a reflection of society. However, she still feels useful and dares to go out and see what is out there, even if it scares her, she manages to control the spaces she goes to so she can still enjoy her once a week outing.

Although these mobile places might be reversible to some, meaning that few traces remain of them after the journey, for these participants, although their journeys are part of their daily (or weekly) routine, they do not lose track of the characteristics, they are familiar with them and themselves become part of them. The spaces are signified along the way, and their *habitus* enacted in the practice: Claudia's social concerns guide her work and life, and this is reflected in her journey in the way she observes the world around her; Roberto lives in a life where his *habitus* does not feel 100% comfortable, having married someone of a higher social status, in the Metro, his *habitus* is enacted in a way that feels comfortable to him, enough to make him drift away; Isabel's history is enacted in each journey, she perceives beauty where most ignore it, she looks for independence where most her age would have perhaps already given up, she emplaces the space of the Metro to make it mean that she is still capable to move, and still capable and useful to society.

#### 6.2.4 A place of intimacy: The car

Owning a car is no longer a luxury in Chilean society. There are just fewer than 900,000 cars in the capital (Sectra 2007), with a population of 6 million, and it is estimated that the number of cars will increase by 200,000 in 2007. For many, having a car is necessary to carry out their jobs as well as their family routines. For some though, the harried lifestyles leave very little room to develop relations of intimacy, as everything is done in a rush, the moments to stop, have a conversation or think are limited. In the midst of the daily commotion, the car becomes the only station where co-presence is possible and where the chance of intimate discussions and affection can take place.



**Photo -20. Carlos greets his wife Sandra**

Carlos and Sandra are married, have three children and live in Jardines de la Viña. Carlos studied to become a teacher and practiced as such for many years. About 5 years ago, he decided it was more profitable to manufacture and sell school uniforms to private schools. He started small, making sweatshirts for the school he taught at, but he now provides uniforms for at least 6 different schools in Santiago, and even manages to make special orders for out of town clients. His job is informal, he buys the material himself, cuts some of the material at home, in his living room, but most of the sewing, embroidery, cutting and pasting, takes place in informal workshops throughout the city. He doesn't have a 'regular' routine, for, apart from trying to make his business work, he also manages various aspects of home keeping as well as his wife's extra income generating activities. Sandra is a

nutritionist and works full time at the Military Hospital, she also runs her own business on the side providing food for recuperating patients and has a consultation at a Surgery in her borough. According to Carlos, he is *“the family’s driver, secretary, busboy, nanny...”* The car is fundamental for all the activities they carry out: *“I work with the car, it is my means of working, without the car I can’t do anything, I have to pick things up, drop them off, go to the workshops, to the embroidery, from one workshop to the next, plus I’m the driver, for everyone, my wife that goes back and forth, the kids, now Andrea has volleyball”* (Carlos).



**Photo -21. Carlos and Sandra arrive home**

Carlos doesn’t remember much from the journey, he doesn’t really notice what is happening outside; he’s mainly concentrated in the driving, in avoiding getting more tickets, in answering the phone, in organising in his head all the things he needs to do. The moments that are important to him and perhaps most significant in the day are the moments he spends in the car with his wife. (Photo 20, 21 and 22).





**Photo -22. Carlos and Sandra inside car**

*“When I pick her up, we spend the whole way talking about the children, their homework, her work, my work, what we are doing, what she’s doing, what I’m doing, so we always talk on that trajectory... we try to be together most of the time. If I have to go out late for instance, at night, or go to Puente Alto at night and I don’t feel like going, she says I’ll go with you, if it’s not too late we take the kids with us, but some times the kids don’t want to come because they are doing something fun. So we leave them locked in with the alarm on and we go and talk. Some times it’s another way of sharing, sometimes I have to go to a workshop or she needs to go to her company, so we all get in the car and we go together, we use that time to talk, go over the homework, we review school, the day, and then come back. And it happens often” (Carlos).*

Carlos and Sandra’s lives are so hectic that they barely have time to be together as a couple. The moments of co-presence are restricted to those filled with children activities, shopping or in the car on their way to specific activities. As will be seen in the next chapter, although they use technological devices like the mobile phone to coordinate themselves and to keep in touch, the important part of their days, the moments that are truly precious to them, are those times when they are together in contiguity inside the car. Little attention is paid to the fact that the car is *“old, ugly, messy or dirty or full of sweatshirts and jumpers, we don’t care”* (Sandra), while moving, the car becomes a significant space of intimacy that is difficult to replicate with the plethora of activities they develop as individuals and as a family.

Their bodies become an essential part of these moments, as being next to each other allows them to touch and kiss, listen to each other stories while looking at each other, their senses become intensified in this experience and the half hour together remains with them for the rest of the day. For this couple, the car is a mobile place event. It has location, locale and meaning, but only for brief periods of time and only when those people are present to make it a place.

### 6.2.5 The possibility of socialising on the bus



**Photo 23. Passengers pass money on the bus**

Bernardo lives in Santa Teresa and works downtown, he leaves early in the morning to be able to catch his bus almost empty at the bus terminal and get a seat. Very soon the bus is full and he begins to enjoy the ride. His friend Clara gets on the bus and stands next to him while he carries her bags. They talk about what's going on in their lives, the driver's lives, the man who just got on... (Photo 24. Inside the bus). As people push their way in through the aisle, he nods hello to many of them, some he knows from his football matches or from parties that he's been to, others he has met on the same bus, taking the same route for many years plus he's a friendly guy. *"Sometimes friends or acquaintances get on the bus, but also there's people I don't know, they get on and since we see each other often, on a daily basis, we talk. [...] Maybe it's because I'm an extrovert, I never miss a chance, when people ask me for the time, I start talking, things come up, it's not complicated, it makes the trip shorter, I don't even notice, but it doesn't affect me getting on the bus, I sit all the way and talk. No problem"* (Bernardo).



**Photo 24. Inside the bus**

He doesn't look outside "what for?" he says, "it's the same ugly scenery every day, better to leave the curtains closed, that way you don't see the same ugly streets everyday, and just concentrate on the bus. I know the outside, so I prefer to see what happens inside, usually talking". Those that have very long journeys try to get a good seat, "they accommodate well and they sleep all the way, making up for the time they didn't sleep to get up early [...] I sometimes sleep, but not too often, as I have fallen off my seat with the sudden brakes" (Bernardo).



**Photo 25. Inside the bus**

The bus in the morning and in the evening becomes a place for Bernardo and it offers the possibility of encountering other people, of connecting to others in co-presence, even if they do not talk. Bernardo would not change his job for one closer to home, he says he "doesn't really mind the ride, something always happens". Bernardo's

personality helps in his enjoyment of the trip, the bus becomes a place for socialisation, even under overcrowded conditions, and it becomes a place that Bernardo finds meaningful. For Bernardo his habitus fits in well with the situation on the bus, the people who get on it are similar to him in terms of social, economic, cultural capitals, and they all share similar experiences not only of travelling on the bus, but also in terms of the long working hours, their education or their aspirations. He feels socially, economically, culturally comfortable in it. The route outside is not as relevant as what occurs inside. Those inside are the ones that make this space his space for socialisation. However, as Agnew explains, placelessness in the case of the bus is indeed in the eyes of the beholder (Agnew 2005), as not everyone socialises in their journey. The bus is not really a fun place for everyone, like Marta:

Marta lives in Santa Teresa, is married and has one daughter. She works as a cleaner at a high-income house in a very posh area of the city. *“On the way there I can’t read, I can’t sleep, can’t talk, don’t even get to see outside because there are too many people. I really don’t like it. I don’t remember anything from the journey, nothing special, and nothing that calls my attention but there’s really nothing to see, there’s nothing about the journey that I like. It’s boring. On the first bus on the way back when there’re seats available, I want to fall asleep but the journey is too short, I start relaxing, get sleepy and by the time I fall asleep, I have to get off, it’s too short, about 25 minutes, unless there is traffic, but normally it’s 25 minutes. And then I take the other bus and it’s too full to fall asleep”* (Marta). Marta takes the same bus at least three times a week; she doesn’t know the name of the streets or the actual route. *“My journey is so routinely, everyday is the same that there really is nothing special about it [...]. I can’t sit because it’s too full. On the way there I’m one of the last ones off, most get off at the shopping mall. Some men work on construction sites, but otherwise it’s mainly women on the bus, nanas<sup>127</sup>”* (Marta). The trip is also tiring, *“we all do the same, alternate one foot to rest, especially in the afternoon. We carry each other’s bags if one is sitting down, even if we don’t know each other”* (Marta).

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<sup>127</sup> *Nana* is Chilean slang for domestic cleaners

Although the experience described above is not necessarily pleasant, these are also places, as they have locale, locality and meaning. The meaning however is more negative because the experience itself is negative. However, places are created anyhow, but as mentioned by Marta, they leave nothing behind, they are completely reversible, but in the long term they could leave a trace. The meaning this journey has for her is of difficulty, of overcrowding, of being on a bus full of other women that are doing exactly the same things as her, almost numb in their experience. Moreover, it is physically uncomfortable, however, the *habitus* is comfortable with similar people sharing the same field. She understands what they are all going through and mentions the difficulty for them. She constantly wonders if it is worth it, and this type of experience, as will be seen in the next chapters, leads us to understand that experience of travelling on a daily basis is not homogeneous and this difference has implications.

### 6.3 Transient Places

A parking lot, a petrol station, a mall or an airport engage people as drivers, shoppers or passengers, and could become placeless or 'non-places' by generating thin identities. Braidotti (1994) calls these transit places, in between zones where all ties are suspended and time stretched to a sort of continuous present. She calls these places of transition and passage places of non belonging, spaces of detachment, where people pass without registering passage. Although for some these places can be reversible, these spaces are not thin or empty to everyone, as they provide meaning to many. Extreme cases of transient places include those temporary "post it" spaces, as referred to by La Varra (2000): vacant lots, parking lots, residual spaces that temporarily, at night, during holidays, for a party, somehow offer chances to meet and exchange. Therefore, confirming what researchers like Cresswell (2006) have suggested that spaces where people intersect and are momentarily present are also places, this section examines the way a local market and a shopping mall become transient places for people while they move through them. Different from the previous mobile places, transient places are spaces that are appropriated while moving, but in themselves physically fixed.

### 6.3.1 La feria

For many, shopping can be a way of distraction, entertainment and enjoyment, specially when it fits into their weekly routine. The *feria*<sup>128</sup> or street market is an important place for urban dwellers in Santiago and they are an important part of Chilean culture (Salazar 2004). The main reasons for going to the *ferias* instead of the supermarket are said to be price, quality, proximity, variety and overall habit. There are currently approximately 70,000 *feriantes*<sup>129</sup> and around 700 open air *ferias* in Chile, generating an official gross income of \$173,276<sup>130</sup> million from formal stall holders and \$76,078<sup>131</sup> million from informal ones (Leemira Consultores 2003). More than 400 of these *ferias* are in Santiago, 27 of which are in La Florida (ONG Espacio y Fomento 2008).

*Ferias* in general are ambulant, meaning that they move around to different streets during certain days of the week. The 'day of the *feria*' on specific streets is fixed, and people know that, for instance, the *feria* of Gerónimo Alderete is always located on that street on Tuesdays and the rest of the days, the street goes back to its regular use. *Feriantes* usually move around with them and might be in one location on Tuesday and another on Wednesday. Some *feriantes* only go to one *feria*, to Departamental on Saturdays and Sundays, for instance. Hence *ferias* are fixed only during the time and day that they are there.

Francisco and Alejandra, who live in Santa Teresa, do a large part of their shopping at the *feria* in Departamental. This is one of the largest markets in Santiago and is only there on weekends: Saturdays and Sundays. It is very well located at the intersection of two major boroughs: Peñalolen and La Florida. It is a busy place during the weekend, and it is possible to find anything from used washing machines to fake perfume bottles, the latest trend in jeans, films that have not arrived at the regular cinemas, as well as the freshest fruits and vegetables. "*We go to the feria on Sundays, but he goes on his own, he takes his time, visiting every stall on the feria; I*

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<sup>128</sup> A *feria* is an outdoor street market (located on streets, sidewalks, plazas) mostly selling fruits and vegetables but also clothes, household products and second hand goods.

<sup>129</sup> Stall owners/sellers in each *feria*

<sup>130</sup> Approximately £173 Million

<sup>131</sup> Approximately £76 Million

*don't like going with him, he takes so long. He can be there from 10:00 until 16:00! We usually don't have lunch together on Sundays, I can't wait for him, he just warms up the food when he gets back"* (Alejandra).

She trusts his shopping skills because he does all the shopping around the house, so she knows he will bring good vegetables eventually, but she does not know what to do with the other things he brings. Francisco defends himself: *"I'm taking less time now, I take Sergio to church, then we have lunch here and then I go to the feria, from 14:00 to 16:00. I just like going through the junk they sell, but I bring good stuff, like the vacuum cleaner and the lamp that I put together slowly..."* (Francisco). He goes on his bike, with ropes in a plastic bag in case he finds something useful to bring back. He never fails to bring a new film for his son Sergio; by now he has an extensive collection of every possible children's film. *"I need to buy him these videos, it's the only thing that calms him down, when he's watching TV, he relaxes"* (Francisco). He also has copies of concerts, music, series, films and makes copies for his family and friends. *"And they cost \$1,000<sup>132</sup> each, you can't go wrong!"*. He also enjoys the fact that he can stroll up and down the aisles of stalls, take a look at everything and no one bothers him. But just in case he wants to talk, and he likes chatting, there is always a friendly face that he knows. He jokes around with the *caseros* who all seem to recognise him. When he gets home, he tells Alejandra all the new gossip he has discovered in his outing and that is how she keeps up with what is happening in her old neighbourhood and her old friends. This time and space is his way to enjoy his Sundays and rest from his work. He mainly works night shifts, so a day off at the *feria* is quite a joy for him. *"He prefers that than going to a friend's house for a barbeque"* (Alejandra).

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<sup>132</sup> Approximately £1



**Photo 26. Carmen picks tomatoes**

Ferias also operate as fields, stratifying those who feel more comfortable according to their *habitus*<sup>133</sup>. In the case of *feria de Departamental*, although the variety of items on sale is immense, not everyone feels as Francisco does. Since Roberto moved houses, his regular *feria* is now too far for him. *“I don’t go to the feria anymore, that’s what I miss the most about living here, I swear, I always say so. But there are many ferias around here? Yes, there is one here in Departamental, we’ve gone by, just looking, but have never bought anything, but I don’t like the atmosphere, it seems like they sell everything, lots of junk, everything, also to go there you need a car, because I don’t have public transport to get there, and I don’t like leaving the car alone”* (Roberto). Changing place of residence and social status, has meant a big change for Roberto *“I used to walk to the feria, with bags, no problem, now I go to the vegetable stands, but she [his wife Cecilia] doesn’t really like it, she likes everything frozen”* (Roberto). This means that in order to make a transient space a place, the *habitus* also needs to feel comfortable.

This is certainly the case for Carmen, who is married to Felipe, and like Roberto, they live in Jardines de la Viña, the middle-high income neighbourhood. They have

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<sup>133</sup> The market’s composition vary according to income sector they are located, in the higher to medium income ones, ferias have a limited contribution to the local economy and mainly sell fruits and vegetables as well as fish and seafood. The composition varies in lower income sectors where very large *ferias* are set up generating high impact on the borough’s economy, selling mainly food stuff but also personal and household use goods (ONG Espacio y Fomento, 2008).



two cars because Felipe works with his car promoting medications to doctors, while Carmen stays at home and does the errands including taking the children to school and to their extracurricular activities, taking her mother to the hospital, grocery shopping, her ceramics and yoga classes, visiting friends and also shopping at the *feria* once a week. Carmen thoroughly enjoys hers on Gerónimo Alderete street: “*I love my feria, last week the casero<sup>134</sup> told me ‘I’ll give you extra because I love you more than I love my girlfriend!’ I told him ‘I’m so sorry, but I’m married’, he got upset and said ‘how can you say that on lovers day [valentines day]!’ and that cheers me up for the day!’*” (Carmen).



**Photo 27. Carmen picks corn**



**Photo 28. Encounters in the *feria***

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<sup>134</sup> Seller at the market

So on Tuesdays, once she has taken the children to school, she takes her mother to her doctor's appointment, drops her off at her house and then drives to Geronimo Alderete street, a short 10 – 15 minute drive from her house. As soon as she gets out of her car, a man she already knows approaches her offering to wash her car while she shops, she says ok but it has to be ready by the time she finishes. “*No problem*” he says. Although she is a regular and knows most *caseros*, she goes around to every stall, touching the vegetables, seeing what is in season, comparing prices, tasting the fruit, flirting with the *caseros* she knows. Sometimes she bumps into people she has meet before and stops for a short chat with them.



**Photo 29. Carmen leaves feria**

In the end, she is faithful to her regular *caseros*, he gets her onions and potatoes from one, the tomatoes from another, and the fruit is always best with Doña Tita. Corn is in full season (See Photo 27. Carmen picks corn) and she loves picking the best ones, checking for worms and rotten bits. She looks up as she picks the corn, to explain about the recipe she's going to try tonight; she saw it on the Gourmet Channel.

She wheels her trolley around, carefully putting her purchases in. After half an hour her bag is full and she is ready to go home. The man that washed her car comes to meet her and helps her put her bags in the car. She leaves happy, saying ‘see you next week’ to her regular *caseros*, she gives the car washer some coins and drives home to prepare lunch. Carmen also shops at the supermarket, but she enjoys the

*feria* more, she says “*it’s fresher, people are friendly and you get a personalised service, I love seeing the colours, it kind of cheers me up*” (Carmen).

The market for these interviewees is a fixed space that activates when themselves and others as well as the various objects and activities that occur there happen simultaneously in a place event. After 5 o’clock or any other day of the week the street returns to its usual self, and only the memories of the ‘place event’ that took place there earlier remain. Transient refers to something that lasts a short time, so transient places are not perpetual, they only occur temporarily in a specific fixed space. Therefore this temporality, its ambience and the fact that people walk through them transitionally to buy or just look around, is what makes this place event mobile.

It is also a place because it has meaning for those using it, for Francisco it is a place of distraction and encountering others; for Carmen it is a place of joy, it is essentially sensorial for her, the smells of fish and fresh vegetables, the taste of fresh fruit of the season reminds her of the many flavours she will be cooking with later on that day, the texture of corn, being able to choose the ones she truly finds the best and pick amongst the leaves and piles of corn lying on a mountain, along with the colours fill her up with creativity. It is a fully embodied experience as she strolls through the stalls. This once a week event is part of what identifies them with who they are, the things that matter to them. They relate to people similar to them there, Francisco likes the junk he finds and the junk keepers, Carmen enjoys the sensuous feeling of fully using her senses.

### **6.3.2 Mall Plaza Vespucio**

The main mall in La Florida is Mall Plaza Vespucio, usually referred to as “*el Shopping Vespucio*” or simply “*el 14*<sup>135</sup>” referring to the street stop, and it is a point of reference for the residents of the borough and a common place to visit for all those interviewed, except for the richer groups, who notice “that the variety and quality of

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<sup>135</sup> One of the main avenues in Santiago running north to south is Avenida Vicuña Mackenna, it starts at the centre of the city and is numbered by 35 stops until its end at the southern end of Santiago, the closest stop to these neighbourhoods is Paradero 14<sup>th</sup>, where Mall Plaza Vespucio is located.

goods is not as good as in the richer malls in the city, Parque Arauco or Alto Las Condes<sup>136</sup>” (Susana). It was built in 1990 and since then it has progressively grown and become more accessible since the Metro was also built with one stop at the Mall and another one four streets away from it. It now offers an array of services including those typical of most malls like shops, cinemas, major department stores, food courts, supermarkets, shops, post office and banks. It has also expanded to include a large section for car sales, a concert hall, an arts exhibition hall, a theatre, a public library, an area for exclusive restaurants and pubs, a medical centre and it now hosts a private professional training institute (Mall Plaza 2008).



**Photo 30. Carlos parks in the Mall**



**Photo 31. Carlos goes to the bank in the Mall**

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<sup>136</sup> Two of big malls located in the North Eastern area of Santiago

The uses of the Mall are varied, as not only is it a place for shopping but also for distraction and leisure. This is a fixed place that offers a variety of services that make it convenient for people to go to and take advantage of their proximity. Thus for many, the Mall signifies a place of convenience, as is the case for Carlos, Felipe and Laura. Carlos parks his car at the mall while he runs errands like making deposits at the two banks in the mall and paying bills outside of the mall but within a 5 minute walking distance. (Photo 30. Carlos parks in Mall). Once he parks, he stays for about 2 hours saving parking money and keeping his car safe. (Photo 31. Carlos goes to the bank at the Mall). For Carlos the Mall is one of the most convenient places in the borough and it is close to the house and to the children's school, relatively short distance from his workshops and he does not need to go downtown to pay or make deposits.



**Photo 32. Felipe buys wine at the Mall**

Felipe, Carmen's husband, does not like crowded places and feels uncomfortable on places like buses, malls or stadiums. However he goes to the shopping mall because it is on his way home, close to the doctors' consults he visits, easy to park and it offers the main services in terms of shopping that he might need. Today is one of the doctor's birthday so he wants to buy her a present. Although it is not required in his job, he knows that doctors will be nicer if he remembers to get them something, so he called Lab to ask for permission to buy the present. He first tried to buy

chocolates, but the shop is not there anymore, so he ended up buying a bottle of wine at a department store. For Felipe the meaning this mall has is mainly ease of shopping and convenience, a place he knows and can easily find what he is looking for (Photo 32. Felipe buys wine at the Mall).



**Photo 33. Laura outside Mall Plaza Vespucio**

Convenience is key to most, as it is easier to do everything in one place, like Alicia: “I take the bus there and if I buy too much stuff I come back on a *colectivo*, I prefer the *colectivo*, because it’s more comfortable, but it’s hard to take it at the other supermarket, so I now go to Lider<sup>137</sup> at the Mall, it’s easier (Alicia). Isabel goes to the Mall once a month, she goes to pay her ISAPRE<sup>138</sup>, she never goes for a stroll, but to do something specific. She does not like the crowds she says there are “*too many people at the mall, it’s better to go around 11:30 - 12:30 when there is no one there*” (Isabel). When she goes to the bank she needs to go with someone, because she cannot see the money very well “*so I need someone to help me, it’s usually my son in law, who helps me see and count the money so that I don’t get robbed*” (Isabel). Laura also uses it as a way of distraction and convenience: “*On the days I don’t have shift, I stop by the Mall to pay bills, from 5:30 to 6:00, sometimes even later, I stay there until 8:00, I walk over or take the bus, I take it easy, I stop by to buy something if there is something missing at home*” (Laura) (Photo 33. Laura outside Mall Plaza Vespucio).

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<sup>137</sup> Supermarket chain

<sup>138</sup> ISAPRE stands for Instituciones de Salud Provisional, Provisional Health Institutions, and refers to a generic form of private health insurance system in Chile.

This sense of distraction attracts many to the Mall. Rodrigo's 16 year-old girlfriend, Rosario, explains that when he has money, their place to hang out is generally the mall. When he needs to go pay a bill, they go to the mall together and watch a film or shop or have a drink. She would like it if it was more often, but he studies and does not have much time or money for it. Similarly, Marta's husband, Ernesto, complains that she is always busy or tired and that they do not have couple life anymore, like they used to. He cajoles her to go out on Friday evenings for a drink, and they have to find someone to leave their daughter with, but when they manage, they go out for a beer to the mall. *"There are many restaurants and pubs and not all of them are expensive, so we have a lomito or a churrasco<sup>139</sup> or something like that and a few beers and that is our night out"* (Ernesto). She says she does not like going out drinking and partying but Ernesto does, *"a friend told me I needed to start going out with him, or else he's going to start looking sideways"* (Marta) so Marta is starting to go to the Mall with him on Fridays.

For Claudia the mall is a place for shopping, but also distraction, leisure and socialising. She says she goes because it is practical and when she is in her car she can park. *"If there is one place I go a lot to it's malls, I go especially when I have to go to the supermarket to buy something, or if I have to meet someone, I usually meet them there, we go to a coffee shop and I use up the whole day. I go to Mall Plaza Vespucio the most, but others as well, almost never to Parque Arauco or Alto Las Condes. I go shopping, meet my girlfriends, it's easy because they live in different parts of the city, in San Miguel, Ñuñoa, Las Condes, so we meet. [...] Now with my new schedule it'll be easier, I'll start at 12:30 some days so I'll be able to leave home at 10:00, stop by the Mall, pay my mobile bill, go to the bank and then go to work. When I shop for clothes, I stop by after work, not everyday. [...] Sometimes I go with my mother to the supermarket, on the meat day or the vegetable day. We don't usually go to the feria, mainly the supermarket"* (Claudia).

On Saturdays Roberto sometimes leaves work earlier, around 5:00, so Cecilia picks him up at the Metro and they go shopping together to the Mall. He prefers shopping on his own because he likes to look at the shop windows. When it is supermarket

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<sup>139</sup> Typical Chilean fast food sandwiches, *lomitos* are made with pork and *churrascos* with beef.

time, they try to spend this time together at the Mall. Although Roberto would prefer to stay at home, *“sometimes we need to get something at the Mall and we shop around, or we go to the cinema, or have lunch, if we are too tired to cook, she likes some prepared food but I have a vegetable pie, they are fantastic at El Platón, there is one in every mall, it’s like a MacDonald, really good”* (Roberto).

Some still prefer *ferias* to the mall, mainly because of the prices. Catalina says *“every time I go to the mall I get depressed, I don’t find what I like, or things are too expensive, the things that I do like, or the size is not there, I prefer Patronato<sup>140</sup> because you can try on a lot of things and there is more variety and there are other things like films and stuff in the ferias or the Persa Bio Bio<sup>141</sup>”* (Catalina). Something similar happens to Ana, *“we almost never go to the Shopping, we go downtown or to the persa, still we do go to the mall, to buy something we are missing, and the girls eat there at the Macdonalds, or something, we mainly go for the girls, but when we go shopping we go elsewhere cheaper, like Estacion Central<sup>142</sup> or el persa, when we have to buy the girls things for school, shoes, clothes”* (Ana).

As can be seen, the meaning of the transient place of the mall varies, for some it is a convenience place, to ease their shopping, as a transient place it is a place of consumption. As a place of convenience, physical ease of access is essential either by car, bus, metro, *colectivo*, or walking. Many find it easy because of parking. For Alicia, she finds access to the supermarket at this mall easier, and she can go home with her bags in a *colectivo* without having to pay for a taxi. Variety also makes it accessible for it has a large magnitude of shops, from the regular pharmacy and supermarket chains, to department stores and specialty shops, food chains, banks, cinema, theatres, library, etc. Even if people are not purchasing, they can enter the space to window shop and access entertainment, there are restaurants and pubs and fast food chains that can accommodate most people’s budgets.

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<sup>140</sup> An area in downtown Santiago with abundant retail and wholesale commerce, it is also known as the Arabic and Lebanese migrants section of the city and lately also Korean.

<sup>141</sup> *Persas* are fixed markets selling new and second hand goods at wholesale prices generally.

<sup>142</sup> Central train station



Another meaning people give the mall is for leisure and socialisation. Claudia enjoys shopping and meeting her friends. Ernesto and Marta use it as their evening out on Fridays, and Roberto and Cecilia for their lazy Sundays or Saturdays when they prefer not to cook, they go shopping and then enjoy the cinema. Even younger people enjoy their time there like Rodrigo and his girlfriend.

#### 6.4 The meaning of mobile place-making

The narratives presented in this chapter provide insights on how mobile place making is possible in everyday mobility practices. This process occurs in two ways: through mobile places or through transient places. The first involves the possibility of place making while travelling on objects that are in movement like a metro, a bus, or a car. This experience is significant to travellers as a place of contemplation, reflection, intimacy and socialisation. The second involves fixed spaces where people go through, as was exemplified through the Chilean version of a market: *la feria* and through the internationally recognisable mall. These transient places are significant places for convenience, entertaining, accessibility and socialisation. These spaces are obviously not always experienced the same by all urban travellers, and each person's experience of urban spaces varies, thus the Metro, the car or the bus, do not necessarily have the same meaning for everyone, nor does the experience of going to the *la feria* or the mall generate a sense of appropriation. However, the fact that the possibility of signifying those spaces exists, and that the practices of moving on, through or by those spaces enrich people's urban experiences, makes them valuable and irreplaceable, and means that they are relevant spatial practices to analyse.

According to Agnew, for humanists, "places are woven together through space by movement and by the network ties that produce places as changing constellation of human commitments, capacities and strategies" (Agnew 2005: 90). Although this is true, mobility does not just bind or weave places together, places are created in mobility and through mobility, not just in spite of mobility, but as seen in this chapter, the act of moving or repeating mobility routines creates mobile places that are meaningful to people. The Metro provides a comfortable space where diversity is

encountered and people manage to distract themselves, reflect, and contemplate. It is also a place people signify because it is where they can empathise with others. For the travellers presented, the Metro is a concrete significant space, a place they appropriate with their thoughts and where they look forward to get to in order to unwind and prepare for another phase of their lives. It is an intermediate place, an 'in between' place, from a job where they stop having to perform to another place like home where they have other types of responsibilities. The people around Claudia's journey make the journey interesting, she can empathise with them, and manages to put herself in their position, on the difficulty for women with children, how hard it is for the elderly, how other people's problems make hers seem less dramatic. Roberto has a more introspective experience; he drifts to another world in the Metro, puts order into his life, and enjoys the beauty outside. For Isabel, on the other hand, the experience of riding the Metro leaves with her a sense of being capable and independent in the space encountered.

Although the use of car is often criticised due to the pollution and congestion they generate or the culture of individualism surrounding them, the space in itself is meaningful to some, provoking a place of intimacy, charged with meaning for the couple using it. For Sandra and Carlos, these encounters are the only moments in the day where they manage to talk, to discuss the children, to tell each other about their days, their worries and concerns. It is their time to be together. Their days are so packed with information, that the time in the car is their private and intimate time, the car itself is their place, their significant place where they decide upon their lives. Their multiple demands do not allow them to dispose of time or space for their intimate moments, therefore they use the slivers of time in their appropriated space to do it, what happens outside does not really matter to them, the space of the car is a place during the moments they are inside it, together, as a place event, it only occurs during that time. However, this is not a space of socialisation like the bus or the Metro and it clearly reflects the difficulties hurried lifestyles have to encounter even with those who are important to us.

The bus is a means of transport that is more uncomfortable than the Metro or the car, during rush hour it is generally overcrowded and finding a seat is often difficult. However, regardless of the discomfort, people still manage to socialise in it. The

space inside, with the curtains shut to avoid the outside, may be a place to catch up with sleep forgone in order to be on time, but for many, the nods, smiles, small talk or long conversations held on the bus are enough to leave traces in their identity and friendships over time. This experience is not positive for everyone, but as a place event it seems to have potential if it were more comfortable.

Transient places also provide meaning and also become place events while the constellation of people, activities and objects align. A Chilean institution like the *feria* becomes a place that people feel comfortable in as they become imbued in its happening. The multiplicity of sounds, smells, colours, tastes invade the space and each participant somehow understands it and appropriates it with the dispositions their habitus presents. As a field, the *feria* is also structured, and different *ferias* make different people feel more or less comfortable.

Residents of La Florida interviewed are not oblivious to the Mall Plaza Vespucio, as it is strategically located in the centre of the borough. They all have something to say about it, and for most, it becomes a place of convenience, distraction, recreation and socialisation. As a place with an array of possibilities for many, the mall is a place people signify. People's permanence in this place varies, for some it could be a few minutes, for some a few hours, and others a whole day. Visiting times are strategically selected, the times with least people before noon, the time with least cars in the morning, the time with more people on Friday evenings or with more to offer on Saturday afternoon. Ease of access either by bus, *colectivo*, car, metro or walking makes it especially attractive. People recognise it as a significant landmark in their borough and a point of reference to where they live and what they do.

In both types of places, the habitus plays a crucial role in the process of place making. Because the habitus represents the internalisation of the social order, which in turns reproduces the social order, the way the habitus is enacted in the specific spaces encountered provides light on how places become significant. Thus in order to be enacted, the habitus requires being emplaced. Physical emplacement along with social emplacement makes the habitus feel more or less comfortable in specific spaces. The habitus also becomes embodied in the act of place making, the body

moves around the places, and senses become an essential part of the process, often through sight, but increasingly in mobility through smells, tastes, touch and hearing.

Also, the experiences of mobile practices can be reversible or irreversible, the more irreversible the experience the more meaning it has for those performing it. An irreversible experience leaves traces in the minds, emotions and bodies of people are bound to stay in the memory and return in the future. Some experiences may be more positive than others. A completely reversible experience leaves traces that very quickly disappear if ever present. This can also be positive or negative as will be seen in Chapter 7.

In the context of mobility practices, co-presence is still significant today, but so are the moments that people are capable of being co-present in isolation. It seems that in the midst of harried lifestyles, of multiplicity of demands, travel time is becoming an opportunity for co-presence, but also an opportunity of stopping to take some air. Mobility seems to be producing the spaces 'in between' that might have occurred at home and people are increasingly providing meaning to this moment and making it valuable. By choice or not, long periods on the move have provoked people to adapt, sometimes significantly improving their lifestyles, others barely using this travel time to take a break from increasingly demanding lives.

Gender differences are also intersected by other social conditions like age or income or household responsibility. Age becomes a barrier to accessing the city, as travelling for older people is particularly difficult. Mobility in the city of Santiago has not been designed to accommodate access of elderly people with difficulties to see well, climb stairs, walk fast, change quickly, remember places or freedom to pay. At the age of 80, Isabel's once a week outing is one of the only possibilities for connecting to the city, of feeling useful and independent. However, the infrastructure available is not designed for her needs: *colectivos* are uncomfortable as she has difficulty bending down to sit and get up; bus stops are unsafe and uncomfortable, as there is no place to sit and they are un protected from the weather; the Metro's constantly changing operation confuses her, bus drivers are careless and rough, plus schedules are unreliable; signposting are too small and not easily located, the transport system has too many stairs to climb, sidewalks are not well kept and it is easy for her to trip with

loose floors of holes on the side walk. Finally, lighting is inappropriate at night making her very scared of being in public areas at night. However, one of the most difficult problems includes unfriendly passengers, who do not respect elderly and their travelling difficulties. Her best consolation is security guards whom she seeks when she needs help in the Metro.

## 6.5 Conclusions

The previous narratives explain how mobility gives place to encounters and interaction that have a potential to either be ignored or linger in people's lives in terms of irreversible experiences. For some, the interactions that take place while travelling open possibilities, like putting one self in the position of others. In these cases, mobile place making becomes an opportunity for place enlargement, the chance of seeing and opening to new possibilities. Women develop strategies and become aware of their surroundings in order to travel, otherwise they stay at home. For some, the experience of mobility allows them to evade, escape, or deal with their reality better. Travelling on public transport is a constant reminder that others exist and, although some might be closed to any possibility of encounter or negotiation, these situations force people to meet others. The experience of mobile place making is mostly irreversible, as it leaves traces that make up for the limited mobility and places are opened, offering new sights, new encounters, new possibilities of independence, thus by avoiding the tunnel like trips, some people enlarge their places.

For some middle income families, the car becomes an intimate place event in the midst of overly booked days, it makes them realise how enclosed they are, how limited their spaces are, although they run around the city, covering long distances. However the experience of moving is limiting, not in terms of access to things in life, but in terms of restricting them from enjoying life and what the city has to offer. This group realises that their daily routines leave them drained, but the effort is worth it for the future of their children. They feel as though they are postponing their life for the sake of their children. It could be said that not everyone seeks faster mobility, thus speed might not be the solution, sometimes comfort, reliability, or safety is more important to urban travellers.

The next chapter looks into what the hours of travel imply to people's lives and how the experience of place making in mobility is not homogeneous. Everyday mobility practices are differentiated according to gender, age, ethnicity, life cycle, income, religion, amongst others. These differences require untangling and analysing them in terms of how they originate, how the travelling takes place, and what occurs after the practice ends.

## **7 From Fixed Enclaves to Mobile Gradients: Differentiated and Uneven**

### **Access to Urban Daily Mobility Practices**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The discussion in Chapter 4 indicated that analysing the spatialisation of urban inequality primarily from a residential segregation point of view ignores other forms of inequalities which are harder to detect, but increasingly relevant in urban analysis. It suggested seeing urban inequality not only in terms of fixed enclaves, but also as mobile gradients that may reach various groups of urban residents in fluctuant and differentiated manners, precisely because permanence in the city varies and fluctuates hourly, daily, weekly, seasonally, yearly. This chapter explains mobile gradients, as opposed to fixed enclaves, by examining differentiated experiences of urban daily mobility, exploring ways in which hidden and complex manifestations of urban inequality may be unveiled.

As discussed in Chapter 2, differentiated mobility refers to the diverse ways people experience urban daily mobility according to gender, life cycle, religion, income, age, ethnicity, or ability, amongst others. Moreover, because social practices remain based on uneven power relations, social differences may exacerbate them and impact the possibilities of accessibility to people, activities and places. This means that for some people, their social characteristics provide them with open passports to access all sorts of domains in urban areas, a form of “laisser passer” through the city. For others, their social conditions limit their connection, flow and accessibility, leaving them in longer queues, with restricted access and limited possibilities. Under a mobility lens, urban inequality refers to uneven access to practices, relations and places leading to temporary or permanent connections or disconnections in timespace. Therefore, different social conditions expressed in daily mobility practices combined with daily mobility barriers generate a complex web of relations taking place in cities today. However, little is known about the way these relations take place, and this chapter provides further detail in the case of specific residents in Santiago.

Inequality has, for the most part, been studied and measured in terms of income through the analysis of the uneven distribution of wealth in society, and in urban areas it has usually been analysed in terms of income distribution and employment, seeing cities as containers of inequality. Over the past few years, there has been a shift from understanding inequality solely on the basis of individuals' structural class locations within an economic order, to notions of insecurity, as a condition where people have an uncertain or precarious relation to economic membership (Tonkiss 2006). The conventional focus on class structures as the primary axis of social inequality has been criticised for overlooking power relations which are not fundamentally about class but rather ascribed to identities of gender, race, culture, religion or sexuality (Ibid). Within the European debate this has been captured as social exclusion (Hamnett 1998; Clert 2000)<sup>143</sup>, referring to the ways that economic and social marginality tend to overlap. In the US, this debate has been linked to the term "underclass", to denote radical exclusion of vulnerable groups from the economic and social mainstream (Wacquant 1995; Wacquant 2000; Wilson and Taub 2006; Wacquant 2007).

The concept of social exclusion has been extremely valuable to recognise how inequality also involves power relations that go beyond class differences, and includes identities of gender, race, culture, religion or sexuality. However, most social exclusion studies in urban areas in developing countries largely focus on those groups of people living in segregated areas, social housing, shantytowns or overcrowded inner city rooms. Similarly in developed countries, like the UK, urban social exclusion studies are mostly area based (Tunstall 2000), particularly concentrating on deprived zones (Hine and Grieco 2003). A problem with concentrating only in deprived areas is that it does not take into account that the socially excluded may not always be clustered together, but are also scattered as a consequence of life circumstances (Ibid). It also does not account explicitly for the fact that social exclusion is relational, as discussed by Beall, Crankshaw et al (2002), exclusion implies that someone is being excluded, the elderly, poor, women,

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<sup>143</sup> Although the discussion in France regarding the way groups living in suburban housing projects (banlieu) have been left out from society goes back to the 1970s, in the UK it has been mainly incorporated since 1997 through the creation of the Social Exclusion Unit now Social Exclusion Task Force ([http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social\\_exclusion\\_task\\_force](http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social_exclusion_task_force)). For a detailed discussion of the evolution of the concept see Clert (2000),



children, ethnic minorities, the disabled, but also that “someone or something is doing the excluding” (2002: 24). This requires analysing uneven social relations in a broader context and how the relations with broader actors influence the way inequality is experienced by different groups and individuals.

Another difficulty with traditional approaches to social exclusion is that, for the most part, the analyses lead to prescribed solutions, frequently tending to promote social integration. However, seldom is social integration’s meaning specified and it is often perceived as an ideal way in which urban actors can live. Few studies on social exclusion look at everyday living in enough detail (for an exception see Wacquant 2000; 2007) to reveal how uneven social/spatial relations are generated, regenerated, transformed, contested, negotiated on a daily basis. It is suggested here that looking at these relations through an everyday mobility lens can be revealing of the conflicts present and also the possibilities encountered in urban social practices.

When access has been recognised as a major aspect of social exclusion (France/UK), increase in transport is often seen as the main possible solution. A closer look at the practices of daily mobility and the way inequality is experienced reveals that transport can be a major barrier, but that there are also other barriers that need to be overcome. This involves seeing social exclusion as a process as opposed to outcomes. In closer detail and from an urban daily mobility approach, transport systems can sometimes be distinguished as deficient but not necessarily the main barrier of exclusion. This is because mobility entails more than travelling from point A to point B; it involves understanding what occurs in mobility practices, how they occur and what happens prior to and following the practice. Mobility can sometimes be the cause and other times a consequence of uneven social relations, or the manifestation of more profound inequalities in urban living. Consequently, within everyday practices of daily mobility, social exclusion can be analysed through the concept of accessibility.

When understood as level of connectivity, Church, Frost et al. (2000) point out that accessibility is only one dimension of social exclusion<sup>144</sup>, and high accessibility does not imply people are able to benefit from it (Ibid). Thus, to understand how mobility affects social exclusion, adapting Cass et al's work (2005), accessibility here is understood as the ability to negotiate space and time to accomplish daily practices, maintain relations and generate the places that people require for social participation. Although it does not capture all the dimensions of social exclusion, this definition provides a deeper comprehension of the implications of being connected or disconnected, of the capacities people have to enter or exit, the consequences of being left out or choosing to stay out or in, thus looking at the types of connections, the times, places and relations.

This chapter argues that urban daily mobility practices are differentiated according to social conditions of gender, income, age, stage in life cycle, amongst others, and this differentiation affects people's accessibility to various aspects of daily living. These differences are enhanced when physical, financial, organisational, temporal, technological and skills-related dimensions of mobility restrict access to practices, relations and places, becoming mobility barriers and generating experiences of inequality. This chapter concentrates on the first type of access: access to practices, and specifically on the practices of going to work, while the following chapter expands the notion of access to relations and places, which, when analysed in conjunction with access to practices, may lead to the possibility of mobile place confinement or enlargement. The first section of this chapter briefly introduces the discussion on urban inequality from a mobility point of view. It then provides a detailed description of individual daily trajectories in Santiago in terms of access to the specific practices of going to work, analysing how the specific mobility barriers unveil inequality issues related to gender, household responsibilities, income, technology, time and flexibility.

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<sup>144</sup> Kenyon et al (2002, 2003) suggest 9 dimensions of social exclusion that influence lack of mobility: economic, living space, mobility, organised political, personal, personal political, social networks, societal and temporal.

## 7.2 Access to practices, relations and places

The literature on mobility, mainly from transport studies in Europe and the USA provides various measures for accessibility (Miller 1999; Baradaran and Ramjerdi 2001; Hine and Mitchell 2001; Kenyon, Lyons et al. 2002; Hine and Grieco 2003; Kenyon, Rafferty et al. 2003; Miller 2005; Kenyon 2006; Miller 2006). As such, it is seen as the most “prevailing measure used by planners and politicians to bolster their everyday propositions” (Baradaran and Ramjerdi 2001: 32). Although most authors agree that there is no universally acknowledged measure of accessibility, and it is often understood in a straightforward way as connectivity either from the supply side or the demand side. Miller (1999) classifies three types of approaches: (i) constraints-oriented approach<sup>145</sup>, (ii) attraction accessibility measures<sup>146</sup> and (iii) transport benefits, usually seen as utility maximisation<sup>147</sup> measures<sup>148</sup>. Most transport models use the latter, calculated in terms of cost benefit, using data intensive models, and measuring it in monetary units of cost. However, according to Axhausen et al (2002), recent research into the processes by which travellers allocate their time has clearly revealed that this most widely used paradigm, utility maximisation, is incomplete in its lack of understanding of the rhythms, routines and habits that make up daily life.

Within the area of transport, travel behaviour research has greatly advanced since Hanson’s work (Hanson and Hanson 1980; Hanson and Hanson 1981) which clearly linked travel behaviour with daily travel activity and conceptualised travel as more complex than simple moving from A to B. As suggested by Law (1999), a considerable amount of work has been carried out to explain the relation between travel and gender inequality<sup>149</sup> as well as disability and transport. Today, the analysis of accessibility is developed mainly through quantitative data, modelling daily life

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<sup>145</sup> Based on Hägerstrand (1970) time and space constraints

<sup>146</sup> Based on spatial opportunities available to travellers (Baradaran et al. 2001) also known as the gravity and opportunity approach

<sup>147</sup> Based on travel demand modelling and depends on the groups of alternatives being evaluated and the individual (Baradaran et al. 2001) and is measured in monetary units

<sup>148</sup> Baradaran et al. (2001) complement these with travel cost (ease with which any land-use activity can be reached from a location using a particular transport system) and composite approaches (which Miller (1999) presents as a composition of constraints and utility based).

<sup>149</sup> For a detailed evolution of the study of transport and gender in Western societies see Law (1999)

and mobility (Axhausen, Zimmerman et al. 2002; Kwan, Janelle et al. 2003; Kwan and Lee 2003; Miller 2005; Miller 2006; Ohnmacht 2006) using mostly the gravity and opportunities approach based on spatial opportunities available to travellers. Although these analyses are necessary and useful to understand aggregate patterns of travel behaviour, they still lack the understanding of the specificity of the experience of travelling for many groups of people, how it impacts their access to urban benefits and how this practice relates to other aspects of urban living. Therefore, travel behaviour studies would be significantly enhanced if complemented with more detailed research that explored the experiences of daily mobility.

Within the broader social policies literature, accessibility is becoming a key issue in the discussion of inequality and exclusion (Church, Frost et al. 2000; Baradaran and Ramjerdi 2001; Hine and Grieco 2003; Kenyon, Rafferty et al. 2003; Lyons 2003; Schonfelder and Axhausen 2003; Cass, Shove et al. 2005; Miller 2006). Specifically in the UK, the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU 2003) has defined it as the way people access key services at reasonable cost, in reasonable time and with reasonable ease. Thus accessibility analysis involves not just approaching transport but also the location and delivery of key activities. In this type of analysis, adequate access would involve knowledge of transport as well as the experience of it, trust in its reliability, and having physical and financial access to it<sup>150</sup>.

This way of looking at accessibility has become extremely useful to acknowledge mobility implications of social exclusion, yet it presents some problems, as it is presented as a somewhat top down approach with little consideration of actual practices individuals carry out daily or the way people use mobility for purposes other than transport. Furthermore, it says little about the way people access the network of relations they have, as suggested by Cass et al (2005). For this, Hine and Grieco (2003) suggest distinguishing between direct and indirect accessibility, where the first refers to “ability of individuals to plan and undertake journeys by public or private modes subject to time budget and cost” (:300), whereas the second refers to

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<sup>150</sup> SEU report Transport and Social Exclusion (Feb 2003) led to Accessibility Planning becoming embedded in the work of Local Authorities. Accessibility Planning seeks to ensure that there is a clear and more systematic process for identifying and tackling barriers that people face in accessing jobs and key services such as education and healthcare (SETF 2007).

“the extent to which individuals or groups can rely on neighbours or other support networks to access goods and facilities on their behalf subject to time and financial budgets” (Ibid: 300). This implies that, a transport-only approach limits the comprehension of inequality in mobility experiences<sup>151</sup>. This is relevant in the context of urban policy interventions, as transport planners in places like Chile, make mobility equal to transport discussed in Chapter 4.

Consequently, accessibility analysis here is based on Cass et al’s approach to access as “the ability to negotiate space and time to accomplish practices and maintain relations that people take to be necessary for normal social participation” (Cass, Shove et al. 2005: 543). The relevant aspect of this definition is negotiation, as it is in the daily intersections in timespace that connection and disconnection are more likely to take place, become a problem or an opportunity and manifest existing inequalities. For this research, however, this definition is expanded to include the way in which individuals and groups negotiate access to practices, relations *and* places. Places has been added given the importance of mobile place making, as seen in Chapter 6. Thus access to mobile places becomes an important aspect in urban inequality under the mobility lens, and this, along with access to relations, will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

In the process of negotiating access, the various ways in which it may be restricted, - for instance by social, physical, economic, or even environmental limitations -, indicate that inaccessibility may be related to uneven location of infrastructure or inadequate public transport systems<sup>152</sup>. However, uneven access may also stem from factors such as existing uneven gender relations within the household or society, or cultural barriers that prevent different groups from mixing or encountering each

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<sup>151</sup> Kenyon et al (2003)’s work is relevant in highlighting the need to look at mobility from a broader point of view to include virtual mobility and not just physical one, i.e. transport

<sup>152</sup> Existing infrastructure affecting frequency, quality and availability of public transport could be seen as a physical boundary inhibiting mobility. During this research, some of the problems detected in Santiago’s public transport system included overcrowded, unsafe, insecure and unreliable buses, inconvenient routes, unsafe bus stops, rude drivers, and cost of public transport. Many of these issues were part of the diagnosis used to implement a major transformation of Santiago’s transport system: Transantiago. The new transport system was in its pilot phase during the time the research was conducted and was implemented fully in February 2007. Although public transport in Santiago has changed since fieldwork was undertaken, many of these mobility issues persist and, in many cases, have been exacerbated. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

other, amongst other. This implies that social differences such as gender, age, income, ability, religion or ethnicity, may generate differentiated experiences of mobility, which could lead to restricted accessibility. Thus, improving accessibility involves thinking about factors beyond the elimination of physical barriers or the creation of infrastructure, services or housing, as perhaps more transport may have perverse consequences for social exclusion (Shove 2002). It also refers to the need to observe the capacity and possibility of making use of such opportunities in terms of motility<sup>153</sup> as introduced in Chapter 2. Therefore, in this research, both aspects of mobility barriers are relevant: the persons' motility and the existing structures that constrain or enable mobility.

As introduced in Chapter 3, time geography pioneered in the 1970s and introduced the indissoluble link between time and space. In his elaboration of time space mapping, Hägerstrand (1970) developed the two major constraints to accessibility: time and space, through three types of time space constraints: coupling, capability and authority constraints<sup>154</sup>. However, time and space do not capture fully the complexity of the barriers present in mobility. Church et al (2000) identified seven dimensions that act as barriers to accessibility: physical, geographical, activities and facilities, economic, time, fear and space. In turn, Cass et al (2005) have synthesised these into four key dimensions of access: financial, physical, organisational and temporal. Law (1999) also presents skills and technology as mobility barriers.

For this research, accessibility to practices, relations and places is observed according to financial, physical, organisational, temporal, skills and technological barriers. Financial barriers affecting mobility may involve, for instance, the cost of using different modes of transport; physical dimensions may relate to the distance travelled but also the physical aspect or condition of spaces encountered, including

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<sup>153</sup> Motility refers to the process in which “an individual or group takes possession of the realm of possibilities for mobility and build on it to develop personal projects not necessarily transforming it to travel” (Flamm et al 2006: 168)

<sup>154</sup> Coupling constraints define where, when, and for how long individuals can join other individuals, tools and materials in order to produce, consume and transact; capability constraints are those which limit the activities of individuals due to physical (distance) or biological (sleeping, eating) factors; authority constraints refer to a domain or control area where things and events are under the control of certain individuals or groups that set limits on access (requiring payment, invitation, ceremony, fight). These three aggregations of constraints interact (Hagerstrand, 1970).

roads, sidewalks, bus stops, buses, metros, platforms, bike paths, or parks, amongst others. Organizational restrictions deal with the multiple activities people carry out on a regular basis in order to coordinate daily living, including shopping, attending health facilities, paying bills, accessing work, etc. Temporal dimensions involve looking at the way day, night, seasons, opening hours, and duration of trips affect mobility decisions. Skills refer to the capacities people have to be able to move in specific ways, for instance knowing how to drive or having a drivers licence, knowing how to change tyres, knowing how to cycle or being able to fix a bicycle, being able and feeling comfortable about riding a motorbike. Technological barriers involve the possibility, capability to use and availability of technology to enhance or facilitate journeys or substitute the need for physical travel, including the Internet or mobile phones. Each of these barriers is altered when looked through individual and group socio cultural conditions, including gender, age, stage of lifecycle, ability or ethnicity.

Sociocultural characteristics are seen as an additional barrier that influence all the above-mentioned mobility barriers and greatly impact the differentiated way mobility is experienced. This set of barriers is presented in Figure 9. Inequality in Mobility Framework, to analyse mobility practices, where, for instance, access to travel might be physically impaired if bus stops are not located in convenient sites, but this complication is enhanced for the elderly who have extra difficulty walking, causing them to minimise their use or refrain from using the mode. Similarly, transport availability at specific times may be an issue for most travellers, but as a barrier it becomes particularly difficult when women fear for their own security when travelling alone at night.

Mobility Barriers/ Everyday Accessibility Dimensions	Socio-cultural Conditions					
	Physical	Financial	Organisational	Temporal	Skills	Technology
Practices						
Relations						
Places						

**Figure 9. Inequality in Mobility Framework**

Accessibility in itself is neither good nor bad; its evaluation depends on the implications it has on everyday life. Unevenness in accessibility becomes a problem when it is not voluntary, when people lack alternatives, when it is mandatory, when the only options are to remain disconnected or perpetuate unwanted connections. It becomes a problem when greater possession of capitals provide greater disproportionate access, or when structures in society enhance differences, leaving people outside of the benefits of society. Analysing accessibility and how it may lead to involuntary connection or disconnection and uneven social relations within the practice of mobility involves looking at the strategies people use to access and overcome existing barriers. In the strategies for coping, challenging, defying or transgressing existing accessibility barriers, the difficulties households and individuals face are envisaged, but also in these strategies the possibility to negotiate, encounter, exchange or create something completely new can be found. Although many strategies are individual, more often than not, they have household implications, particularly in terms of routine organisation or use of time, and they often involve third parties like friends or family. Strategies here will be understood as the set of practices that are implemented to improve or maintain access to timespace, while keeping or improving the volume of capital.

The next sections specifically examine accessibility in terms of the practices of going to work<sup>155</sup>, and, as mentioned before, analysis of access to relations and places is expanded in Chapter 8. These practices have specific implications in terms of uneven experiences of mobility, where at times socio-cultural conditions are in themselves the major barrier generating such unevenness, while other times uneven access can be attributed to physical, financial, temporal, organisational, technical or skill boundaries that impact different groups in uneven manners. People devise multiple strategies to enable mobility, and perhaps immobility is not the main problem for many, but rather the hardships experienced during mobility practices and the meaning given to these experiences.

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<sup>155</sup> Other practices analysed in this research but not included in this analysis are shopping, going to school and recreation.



### 7.3 Accessibility to the practices of going to work

Within the many routines people carry out in their everyday lives, going to work is particularly mobility sensitive. For some, the mobility-time-distance equation becomes increasingly relevant in their daily routines, often influencing their residential location decision. For others, although residential location is important, it is not a significant factor in the choice of employment, as job selection is more closely related to employment possibilities according to skills or household responsibilities. The way people manage everyday working schemes within mobility practices highlights their relevance for current urban life. In the era of flexible work, 'mobile jobs', or jobs that require constant mobility, have gradually become more common, sophisticated and valued, but they also require special skills, like knowing how to drive or access to resources like a phone or a car.

The following sections explain how gender, income, technology, job type, household responsibilities and aspirations greatly impact the way the city is accessed. These differences are affected by temporal, organisational, physical, financial, skills and technological mobility barriers that are enhanced by sociocultural conditions. Each journey is narrated using the chronological sequences of each trajectory after providing a brief introduction to each traveller or household. The narratives are complemented with time space maps, which illustrate the sequence or path<sup>156</sup> of the practice on the time (vertical) and space (horizontal) axis of the maps, along with selected photographs of the journey, which provide a visual image of specific situations. In order to highlight specific 'stations'<sup>157</sup> (Hägerstrand 1970) where mobility issues become relevant, the maps incorporate specific 'station numbers' and the narratives and photographs include the corresponding number.

Work related daily mobility greatly varies according to income groups, however gender differences have specific implications in the way urban mobility is

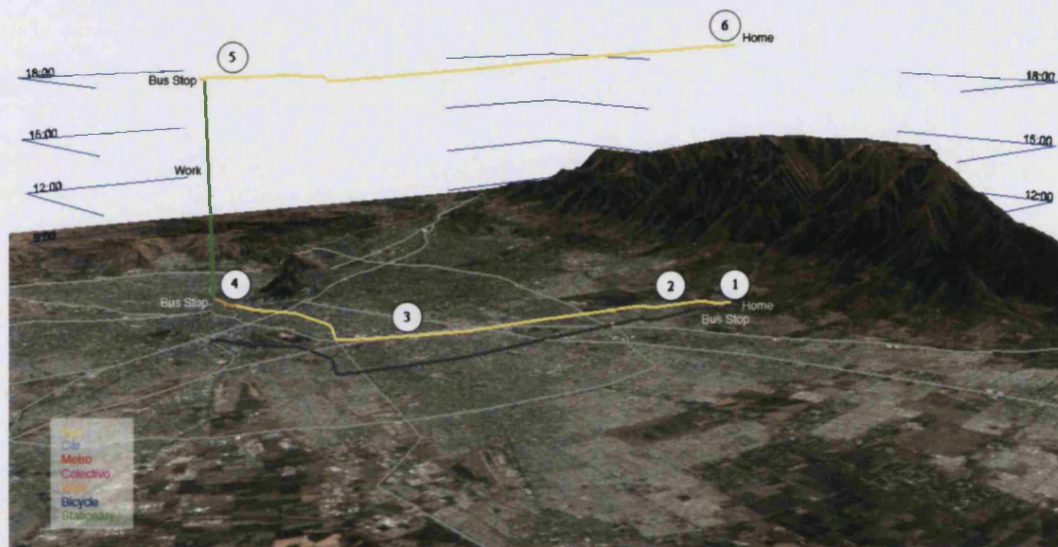
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<sup>156</sup> In time space mapping, the display of trajectories is referred to as space time paths (STP). The STP shadow projected is called the path footprint.

<sup>157</sup> Although stations for Hägerstrand are seen as no movement, given the importance of the journey experience as well as the origin and destination, stations here refer to those timespaces of encounter and interaction which are relevant for the journey.

experienced. The first two cases are extracted from two households in Santa Teresa<sup>158</sup>.

### 7.3.1 Bernardo's Journey



**Map 19. Bernardo's Journey**

Bernardo is 40 years old. He is married to Alicia, who is 39, and they have 3 children: two 19-year-old twins and one 7-year-old boy named Mario. Bernardo works at a print shop close to downtown, where he has been working for the past 8 years. Alicia stays at home taking care of the house, Mario, and the new sewing business she is trying to set up with limited success. Once a month she goes downtown to buy material, but mostly she stays at home and around the neighbourhood.

Every morning Bernardo gets up at 6:00; leaves his house by 6:30, while everyone else in the house is still sleeping, and walks to the bus terminal close to home to catch his bus at the beginning of the route (See Station 1 in Map 19. Bernardo's Journey and Photo 34. Bernardo walks to bus terminal in the morning).

<sup>158</sup> The selected lower income neighbourhood



**Photo 34. Bernardo walks to bus terminal in the morning**



**Photo 35. Bernardo's friend on the bus**

Being one of the first ones on the bus gives him seating choice, he accommodates by the window and begins a ride that he actually enjoys. Very quickly the bus fills up and within a few stops, his friend Mayra gets on the bus, she stands next to him while he carries her bags on his lap and they talk all the way to work, about their friends, their family, their jobs, other passengers, life... (See Station 2 in Map 19 and Photo 35. Bernardo's friend on the bus).



**Photo 36. Inside bus in the morning**



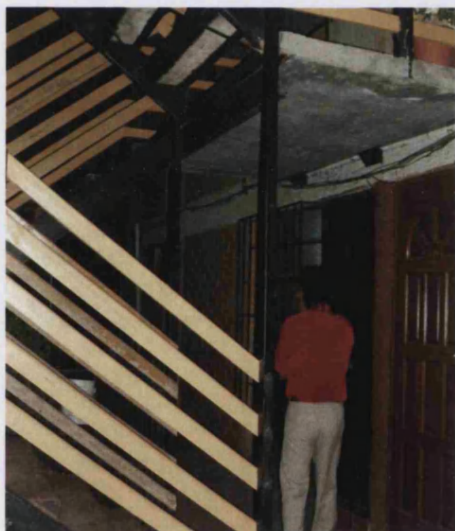
**Photo 37. Bernardo buys breakfast**

He constantly nods and waves to passengers as they get on and off the bus. The ride lasts over an hour, it is overcrowded, people look tired, and chances of pick pocketing are high, but Bernardo is not bothered by the journey, he says he only gets fed up “*when the machines breakdown half way through the journey and we all have to get off and wait for another bus*” (Bernardo) (See Station 3 in Map 19 and Photo 36. Inside bus in the morning). He makes it to work before 8:00, with enough time to buy, prepare and eat his breakfast (See Station 4 in Map 19 and Photo 37. Bernardo buys breakfast). He stays indoors until about 18:00. He knows buses are very busy at this time, so he walks further, for about 15 minutes to catch his a little bit emptier and gets on it from the back. The ride back home takes an hour and a half and he

rides standing, but within a few minutes he manages to get a seat (See station 4 in Map 19 and Photo 38. Bernardo on bus in the afternoon). Bernardo arrives home at 19:30. (See Station 5 in Map 19 and Photo 39. Bernardo arrives home).



**Photo 38. Bernardo on the bus in the afternoon**

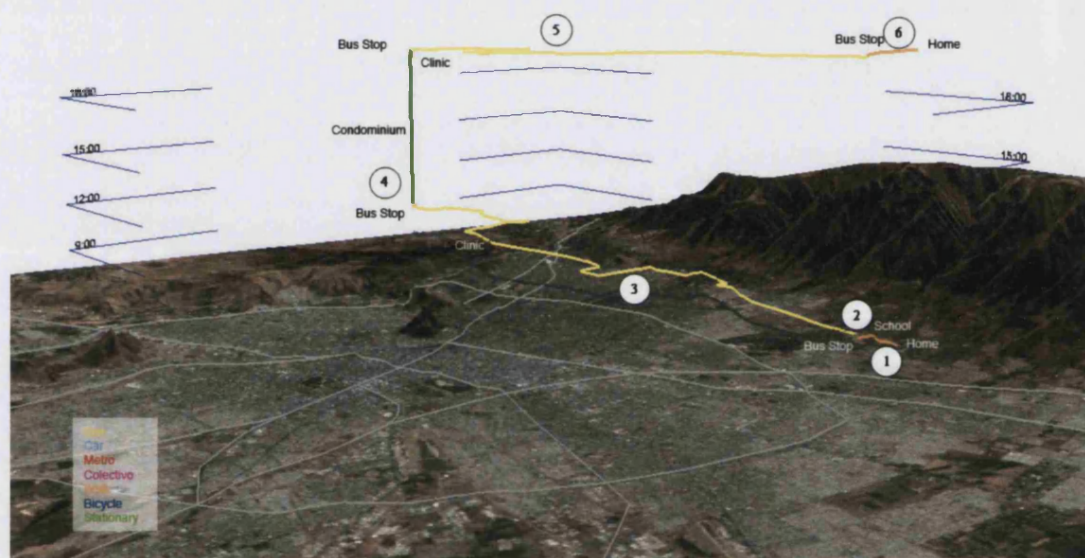


**Photo 39. Bernardo arrives home**

This is Bernardo's routine from Monday to Thursday; on Fridays he brings his guitar along and goes out singing and drinking with his mates. He does not get involved in many of the reproductive roles at home, Alicia sorts that part out, including cooking, cleaning, grocery shopping, child minding, and he contributes with a monthly amount that she has to see through the month. Alicia is having a hard time realising that "*life is happening outside*" and says she cannot do much about it for now. She knows she could get a job, her husband has no say in that, but she is afraid of leaving her 8 year-old son alone. She knows other children who have been molested by adults from the estate, and does not want to risk it with her son. She wants to be there when Mario gets home from school. Bernardo's limited involvement in household

duties allows him to opt for the best time to find, within the available bus choice, a comfortable and suitable way to get to work early in the morning. He says he would not switch jobs to one closer to home; the ride is not an inconvenience for him. Those with household responsibilities, like Marta, however, have to sort household duties prior to getting on the bus, making their journey particularly difficult.

### 7.3.2 Marta's Journey



**Map 20. Marta's Journey**

Marta is 24 years old; she's married to Ernesto and they have a 7-year-old daughter named Patricia. She works cleaning and childminding in a house in one of the richest and most exclusive neighbourhoods in Santiago: La Dehesa. Ernesto works as a security guard at a higher income gated community not far from their neighbourhood. His night shift starts at 20:00 until 8:00 and continues like that for five days. Then he has three nights off and changes to day shifts from 8:00 am to 20:00. When he is at home during the day, he mostly sleeps.

Every morning Marta gets up around 6:30 and prepares her daughter for school. At 7:30 they walk through the park, an empty lot, a pedestrian bridge and a shantytown,

to make it to school before 8:00 (See Station 1 Map 20. Marta's Journey & Photo 40. Marta and Patricia walk to school).



**Photo 40. Marta and Patricia walk to school**



**Photo 41. Marta takes bus**

Once she drops Patricia off, Marta walks down the main road to catch the first of two buses she takes to work (See Station 2 in Map 20 and Photo 41. Marta takes bus). Because of the time, the buses are already too full and the few that pass by do not stop for passengers. She walks past her stop to one further down the street to make sure the bus stops for her. Pushing and shoving, she gets on it. It is difficult to see inside, let alone outside, the bus is absolutely crammed, and as she manages to move further in, the passengers inside appear. *"It's mainly nanas on this bus"* she says, going to work to the richer areas of the city, where the better paying jobs are.

The women sitting down are all sleeping; and except for the initial jokes to the driver, the ride is quiet for most of the way. She stands for most the ride and gets off

before her actual stop to be able walk to catch the next bus, she explains that *“if I don’t do that, the bus is so full, it wont stop for me at the next stop”* (Marta) (See Station 3 in Map 20 and Photo 42. Marta inside the bus).



**Photo 42. Marta inside the bus**



**Photo 43. A different Santiago: La Dehesa**

She travels for another 45 minutes until she arrives at a different Santiago, a clean, green and empty one (See Station 4 in Map 20 and Photo 43. A different Santiago: La Dehesa). In total, the journey lasts almost two hours, arriving at work way past 10:00 am. Her boss complains about her coming in so late and tells her to get up earlier: *“she doesn’t understand that I can’t leave any earlier, I have to take my girl to school in the morning and it’s not a matter of getting up earlier”*(Marta).

She doesn’t leave the house all day and finishes around 19:00 pm. Once showered, she walks to the bus stop, waits for the bus for over 20 minutes and quickly grabs a



seat when it arrives. She gets off at the end of the route, runs to take her second bus and manages a seat as well. She is very tired but cannot sleep. The curtains are shut and she doesn't really try to look outside; she doesn't recognise any of the streets, she doesn't know their names or what is in them, she skips the outside. It's dark by the time she gets to her stop. (See Station 5 in Map 20 and Photo 44. Bus coming back at night). She buys tomatoes, bread and butter in a corner shop on her way home and walks for about 20 minutes through the same route she took in the morning. It's very dark and although she knows her way (See Station 6 in Map 20 and Photo 45. Bridge crossing at night), she prefers to walk quickly, as she is scared. She could take a bus that would leave her closer to home, but it would mean more waiting and paying for another fare. So she prefers to risk the dark road. When she gets home, Patricia is at home alone, watching TV. She has been alone for about an hour, has done the washing up and had her tea.



**Photo 44. Bus coming back at night**



**Photo 45. Bridge Crossing at night**

Although both Bernardo and Marta have fixed work stations that require them to be physically present during specific times with limited possibilities to move during the day, their travelling experiences differ, as do the strategies they execute, regardless of using the same mode of transport. Bernardo organises himself to be at the bus stop early in the morning, that is his strategy for having a comfortable journey, while Marta has to leave home later and endure the overcrowded bus while standing. The main difference is that Bernardo can leave earlier, although his boy is the same age as Marta's little girl, his wife Alicia prepares his child for school every morning, whereas in Marta's case, she is the one in charge of this task. His strategy for not getting involved with household duties is supporting his wife to stay at home. Marta does not have that possibility as both she and her husband work. One of the advantages of her husband's shift work is that he can sometimes take care of Patricia for a few hours, but they cannot rely on that.

The daily chore of taking children to and from school has important implications in the daily life of urban dwellers, and in the case of Marta, for the work decisions she makes. She mentions how "I worry about her [Patricia], you see, she's starting second grade and can't read very well yet and I think it's partly because she's alone all the time ... but it's hard, you see, I get home tired, the bus takes a long time, the traffic, then walking here... by the time I get home at 9 ... it's too late, I have to feed her and it's too late to do homework, it's too late..." (Marta). Marta's concerns oscillate between her daughter and her job, she knows there is no way she can stay at home as she gets bored and the money she makes helps at home. But she says she needs to be there for her daughter, unlike her own parents, who sent her to a children's home when she was very young. She is thinking of quitting her job and finding another one closer to home to avoid travelling for 4 hours every day and spend that time with her daughter. However, even if she does manage to get a job close by, there still will not be anyone to pick Patricia up from school, and the money would not be as good as what she makes now. Marta takes care of higher income people's children yet she does not have the social networks or the money to take care of her own.

Marta's strategy to deal with a more comfortable ride is limited mainly to walking further to catch an emptier bus. In the afternoon, she tries to organise for her husband

or friends take care of Patricia but her social network is not broad enough and often ends up paying someone to pick her up. Marta is constantly worried about Patricia, unlike Bernardo, who has Alicia to do that. This does not mean that he neglects his children, but his wife is more present in solving their daily demands than he is. Alicia, on the other hand, has different issues to face, mainly to do with immobility.

Uneven mobility access in these cases is clearly crossed by gender. Marta faces temporal, organisational and financial barriers, as she needs to sort out her daughter prior to setting off to work. This forces her to face rush hour in a system that does not operate adequately at such times. Her organisational barriers are based on her not having the social networks to help her ease her responsibilities and thus her journey, either to take Patricia to school or pick her up. At times Ernesto does it, when he has night shifts, other times a neighbour takes care of her, but they have to pay for it. Double earning households invariably face these difficulties of having to leave their children with others. For Marta, the time spent on the bus is wasted time; she can't sleep, read or look outside. Her husband worries: *"my wife's journey is difficult... and when she gets home she's tired, everyday something new hurts, her feet, her head, a leg, an arm, a hand..."* (Ernesto). She now struggles between her job and Patricia, who does not have anyone to pick her up after school. Although she wants to work, the possibilities available with her skills involve working far away from her home.

For lower income groups, money is also a mobility issue, as Marta explains: *"I want to leave my job, because I spend too much time and money on transport. I spend about \$1,500<sup>159</sup> daily, it's a lot of money, but I don't get extra money for transport, I make 200,000<sup>160</sup> monthly, and I take the transport from there, about \$30,000<sup>161</sup> a month. But I need daily cash; if not, I can't go out to work"* (Marta). Paying someone to take care of Patricia would cost almost half of what she makes. These difficulties impact all areas of Marta's life, but makes it particularly difficult when travelling is involved.

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<sup>159</sup> Approximately £1.5

<sup>160</sup> Approximately £200

<sup>161</sup> Approximately £30

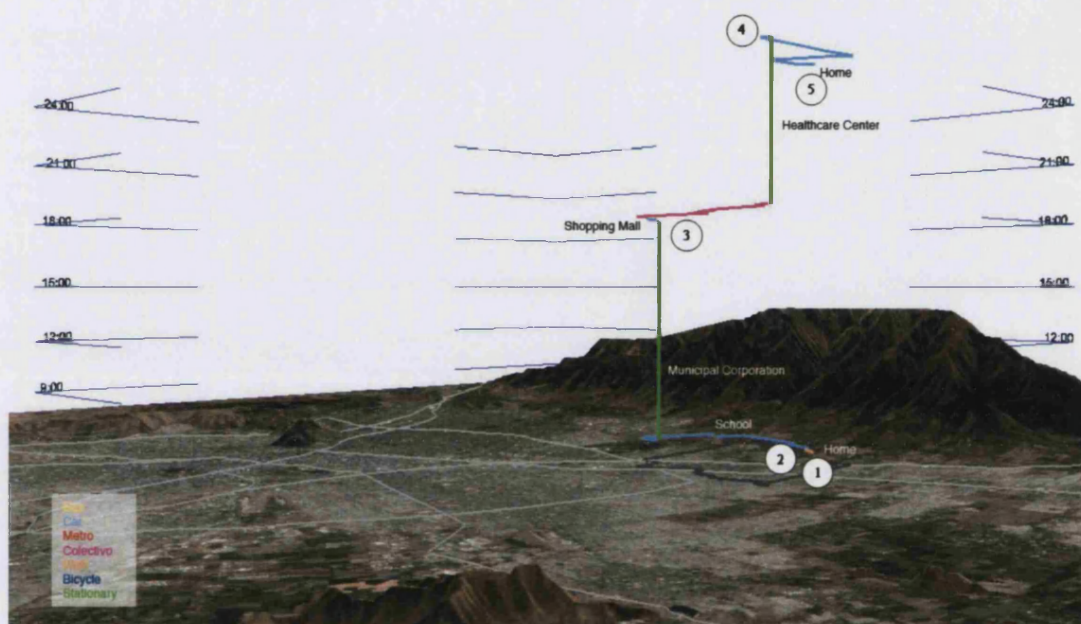
Marta's lack of ties or networks to help her organise her household life, and her limited time make her travelling burden a gendered one. This situation relates to Chant's (2007) discussion on the 'feminisation of poverty', where she criticises it as being a static view of poverty in terms of income, overemphasising female headed households, and neglects men and specificities of gender inequality, and suggests looking instead at the 'feminisation of responsibility and/or obligation' (Chant 2006; Chant 2007). This means that although the number of women working outside the home has risen, and men are more participant on household matters, the bulk of unpaid domestic and care work is still carried out by women. In the cases presented, this remains so, as women, both Marta and Bernardo's wife, are still responsible for the household and childcare and this has an impact on the time available to carry out the activities they do, the decisions they make about employment and the way these organisational, time constraints and responsibilities affect their mobility experience in a negative manner. This makes many women in low income households 'cash poor' as well as 'time poor'.

Although it has been broadly recognised that gender differences generate different access to transport, affecting women particularly (Grieco, Pickup et al. 1989; Levy 1992; Turner and Grieco 2000), the complexity of everyday life means solutions cannot be simplistic in their assumptions. For instance, providing childcare alone will not solve Marta's problem as someone still has to take Patricia to school and be present for moments of crisis, like illness. On the days she needs to go to the doctor, she has to take a whole day off, as she does not know how long it will take her to be seen at the Surgery. Understanding the chain of activities would provide a better idea of the differentiated difficulties faced by women and men in urban settings.

### **7.3.3 Getting by with help from friends: Laura's Journey**

Contemporary work patterns are increasingly mobile, requiring some to move around, while others' multi-job lifestyle obliges them to move from one work location to another. Flexible jobs also involve working nightshifts or seeking extra work to compensate for low paying jobs or to pay outstanding debts, as is the case of Laura. She is 45 years old, is separated and lives in Jardín Alto with her 19 year old daughter Catalina who just started University. For the past 16 years she has been

working as a health professional at the Municipal Health Office and as a nurse at a public surgery two or three nights a week for extra income. Most of her activities are carried out within the borough she lives in, she hardly moves further away in the city. Laura's extensive network of friends and colleagues help her get by, especially through rides from friends, colleagues, and even Municipal ambulances, hence seldom paying for transportation.



**Map 21. Laura's Journey**

She gets up at around 7:00 and quickly cleans up the house and prepares her things for work. She leaves the house at 8:00; 5 minutes earlier her friend has rang her to tell her she was leaving.

She walks for less than 5 minutes to Rojas Magallanes, the main street (See Station 1 in Map 21. Laura's journey and Photo 46) and waits in the corner until her friend Julieta picks her up at 8:10. Julieta has two children who go to a private school nearby. They drive through the back streets to avoid traffic. While Julieta walks the children to the entrance, Laura puts her make-up on in the car (See Station 2 in Map 21 and Photo 47. Laura waits for friend). She prefers using this time to do it instead of the morning when she can have breakfast and watch the news. On the way to work

they drive through rough neighbourhoods which they call '*barrios peludos*'<sup>162</sup>, they say they have to be careful, keep the windows and doors shut, and hide their handbags to avoid being robbed, as it has happened before. Laura doesn't really look outside; they talk all the way and arrive at work at 8:40. Although she can arrive later, it is important for her to arrive before 9:00 today, so she can leave by 17:30.



**Photo 46. Laura walks to street corner**

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<sup>162</sup> Chilean slang for difficult neighbourhoods



**Photo 47. Laura waits for friend**



**Photo 48. Laura on *colectivo***

On the days when she doesn't have a shift, she sometimes goes to the Mall to pay bills after work, or for drinks or shopping with her girlfriends, many live close to her, so she gets lifts back home. But today, she leaves the office at 17:30, gets a lift from a friend to the Shopping Mall, then walks a few metres to the *colectivo* stand, quickly finds hers and it leaves by 17:45. They head towards Los Quillayes, a large social housing estate known for security problems, but she knows it well as she used to live there a few years ago (See Station 3 in Map 21 and Photo 48. Laura on *colectivo*). She arrives at 17:55, changes her clothes and works non-stop until midnight, when Doctor Santos, who lives in one of the gated communities close to her house, gives her and another nurse a lift home at 12:10 (See Station 4 in Map 21 and Photo 49. End of shift: waiting for lift home). They mention how at this time of night the streets are dangerous, that is why they don't stop at the traffic lights, to avoid thieves but they are also on the lookout for car races on the main streets. It has been a very

long day and she gets home by 12:25 (See Station 5 in Map 21 and Photo 50. Dr. Santos drops Laura off at home). Tomorrow she has to get up early for an out of town session with her regular job.



**Photo 49. End of shift: waiting for lift home**



**Photo 50. Dr. Santos drops Laura off at home**

Although she has a monthly income of about \$1,200,000<sup>163</sup> at the Corporation, classifying her around the 9th and 10th Chilean income deciles, she still needs the extra \$200,000<sup>164</sup> she makes at the surgery to cover her debts. She enjoys being a nurse, but she finds it tiring as she goes to bed at 1:00 am on the days she has shifts and gets up at 7:00 the next day. She relies on friends to perform her routines, making travelling convenient, comfortable and practical, but she also saves money. Without the lifts she gets, she would be spending the extra money she makes to pay for her debts, plus the mortgage and help her daughter with University. However, her

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<sup>163</sup> Approximately £1,200

<sup>164</sup> Approximately £200



accessibility is influenced by the financial, physical and temporal dimensions. She lacks the financial means to buy her own car and drive or pay for daily transport. Her travel time may be potentially dangerous as she travels after midnight and goes through very poor areas. However, she manages her impediments through her social capital; her networks allow her to make use of lifts that will support her to move around, easing access to her various jobs.

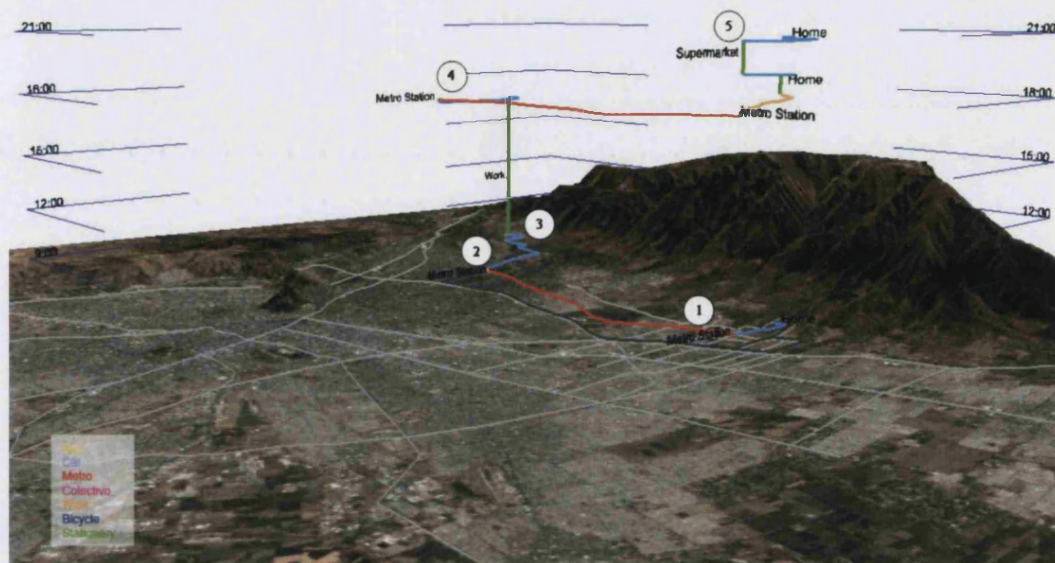
In comparison to Marta or Bernardo, although she earns a higher income than both of them, lives in higher income neighbourhood, and has a profession, her mobility restrictions are improved not by money but by access to her social networks with the means to help her. Bernardo's networks are also broad, but they are similar to himself, and do not enhance his mobility. Marta's networks on the other hand are more limited. Therefore, owning a car is not the only possibility for improved access, access to a car and practices of carpooling greatly complement accessibility.

#### **7.3.4 Life on the move: juggling multi-sited and mobile jobs**

Both those living in Jardines de la Viña as well as those living in Santa Teresa have difficult journeys; however, the first carry them out mainly by car and the second by public means. The difficulty for middle income travellers is not so much comfort, since they travel in relatively comfortable vehicles, but mainly time and stress, as traffic makes journeys interminable, thus forcing them to leave earlier or later as a way to avoid it. In their attempt to save time and perform their multiple roles, middle-income women multitask along the journey. For this, modern technologies, particularly mobile phones, are a necessary tool, and become another form of mobility, enhancing their mobility possibilities along their time space paths.

For many household members, daily journeys are completely linked, that is, the activities of one member depend on or are constantly connected to another, making their mobility practices inseparable, as is the case with Sandra and Carlos. The following section explains their intertwined journeys.

### 7.3.4.1 Sandra: ubiquity through virtual mobility



**Map 22. Sandra's Journey**

As introduced in Chapter 6, Sandra is married to Carlos and they live in Jardines de la Viña<sup>165</sup>. She's a nutritionist and has three jobs. The main one is at a hospital in North-eastern Santiago where she works full time, 5 days a week and has weekend and sometimes week day shifts every two weeks. On Thursdays she goes to her second job attending patients at a surgery close to her neighbourhood. Her third job, more constant but practically virtual for her, is a business she set up with three of her colleagues providing post operation patients with meals that are specific for their dietary requirements once they leave hospital.

Carlos manufactures and sells school uniforms to private schools in Santiago. He either takes the uniforms to their destination or leaves them at home, in a converted storage and display room. However, his best sales occur at the school parking lot when he picks up his children. He doesn't have a 'regular' daily routine, for, apart from trying to make his business work, he also manages various aspects of home keeping, as well as his wife's extra income generating activities.

<sup>165</sup> The selected middle high income neighbourhood

Sandra's shift starts at 8:00, but prefers to leave early to avoid traffic, so she can get to work in 45 minutes instead of an hour and a half if she were to leave a little later during rush hour. Every morning she gets up at 6:20, quickly showers and at 6:50 Carlos drives her to a nearby corner where one of her colleagues picks her up.



**Photo 51. Sandra inside the Metro**



**Photo 52. Sandra waits for friend**

Today however, her friend cannot pick her up at the usual place, so Carlos drives her to Rojas Magallanes Metro (See Station 1 in Map 22 and Photo 51. Sandra inside Metro). She is not used to taking the Metro, so she has to figure out the way. While on the Metro, she rings her friend to make sure she'll meet her at the right corner, and then rings Carlos to see how they are doing. The ride is comfortable and not overly crowded yet as it is still early and rush hour has not started. Her main concern is that her mobile phone does not lose the signal, but it works underground as well. She gets off after 9 stops at Simón Bolívar Station and walks one street to a

crossroad where her friend Eliana picks her up (See Station 2 in Map 22 and Photo 52. Sandra waits for friend).



**Photo 53. Sandra arrives at work**

Another colleague also shares the ride, as car-pooling is common practice at her hospital, she says. As soon as she gets into the car, after the regular greeting while her friend drives, she starts talking on the phone. When she left home the children were still sleeping, “*so they should be up and ready to go by now*” she says and rings them. She starts cajoling them over time, their bags, breakfast, their clothes, their teeth... 20 minutes later she rings them again; they are now in the car with Carlos. She goes over their classes, their homework, behaviour... 10 minutes later, she rings again to wish them a nice day. She manages her household over the phone. In between these calls to the boys, she rings her daughter Andrea, to make sure she’s also ready. Andrea goes to another school and gets a ride from a neighbour. They arrive at work at 7:30 (See Station 4 in Map 22 and Photo 53. Sandra arrives at work). Sandra only sees patients on Thursdays, the rest of the days she finishes work at 17:00, unless she has a shift, so today she leaves at 17:00. On the way back, Eliana drives her to the Metro again (See Station 5 in Map 22 and Photo 54. Sandra gets on the Metro). Although she stands, the afternoon ride is comfortable as well, there are mostly high school students on it, and she is impressed by how nice the new Metro turned out.



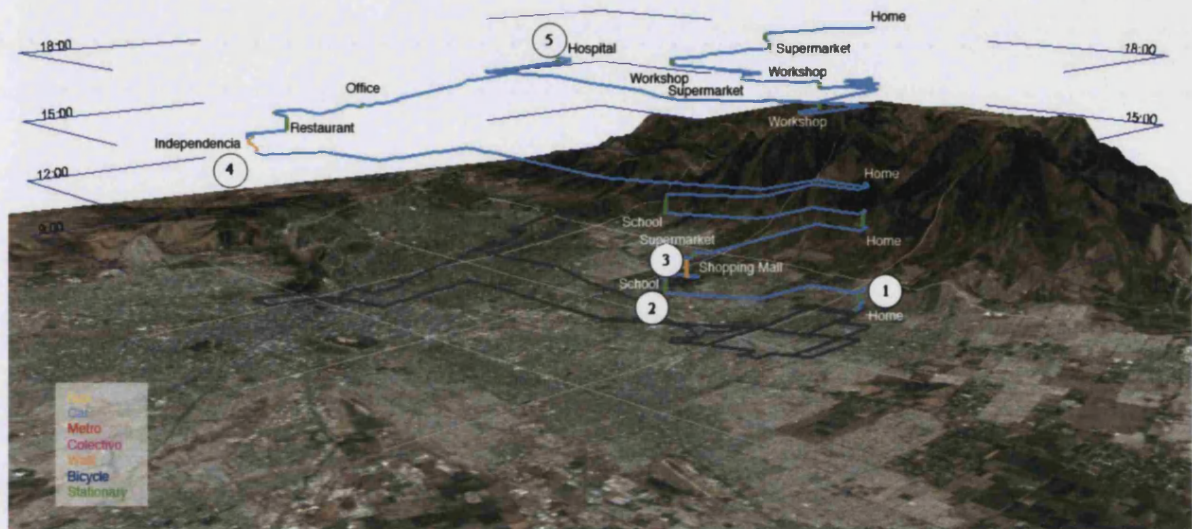
**Photo 54. Sandra gets on the Metro**



**Photo 55. Sandra at supermarket**

On the ride back, she also manages her family over the phone, making sure they are on the right track and gives Andrea instructions to make a dentist appointment... Additionally, over the phone, she coordinates the secretary from her business telling her who to call, where to drop off food, where to refill, how to charge... Carlos picks her up at the Metro and they go home, see the children and at 19:00 they go to the supermarket for the weekly shopping (See Station 6 in Map 22 and Photo 55. Sandra at the supermarket) and get back home by 21:00.

### 7.3.4.2 Carlos' Journey



**Map 23. Carlos' Journey**

Carlos' daily journey starts at 6:30 in the morning when he quickly dresses and drops Sandra off a few streets away from home where she's picked up to go to work. He then returns home to get the children ready for school, making sure they wash themselves up, eat breakfast, and have their bags ready to go to school by 7:45 (See Station 1 in Map 23. Carlos' journey and Photo 56. Carlos takes children to school).



**Photo 56. Carlos takes children to school**



**Photo 57. Car boot uniform sale**

He takes alternative routes to avoid traffic and stop lights. Today, one of the children forgot his drawing block, but there is no time to go back home, so he gives him money to buy paper at school. Once there, the children go to their respective classrooms, he opens the car boot and parents, who already know him, approach him to buy uniforms (See Station 2 in Map 23 and Photo 57. Car boot uniform sale).

Once the parents leave, he packs up and heads to the petrol station, to fill up the tank, and rings Sandra to receive the instructions for the day. He then goes to the shopping mall to park his car and start his errands. Banks open at 9:00, so he needs to wait. From 9:00 to 10:00 he manages to go to two banks, pay the water, electricity, phone and gas bills at each service and at Sencillito<sup>166</sup>, which are all relatively close to each other. He has lost some of the invoices, so he has to queue up to get them. At 10:30 he goes to the supermarket to buy bread for breakfast and rings the cleaning lady, who is at home by now, and tells him what to buy for lunch (See Station 23 in Map 6 and Photo 58. Carlos at supermarket).

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<sup>166</sup> A debt collecting/bill payment service



**Photo 58. Carlos at supermarket**



**Photo 59. Fabric shopping in Independencia**

Back at home, he makes himself breakfast and by 11:30, he rushes back to school, because the children are finishing early today, and starts selling again. This is the best time of the year for him, he says, since school just started, and parents are buying the yearly supply of clothes: trousers, shirts, aprons, sweatpants, sweatshirts, t-shirts, jackets. *“When I finish selling, I sometimes have to stop by the bank with them [the children]. Then if there’s no lunch, we stop by the supermarket to buy something, chicken and chips, then I bring them home and Andrea rings me to tell me that she doesn’t have lunch, and so I take her lunch to school. A lady comes 3 times a week and cooks, but the other two I have to manage”* (Carlos). After dropping the children at home, he heads off to Independencia<sup>167</sup> (See Station 4 in Map 23 and Photo 59. Fabric shopping in Independencia).

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<sup>167</sup> An area in down town Santiago, which specialises in fabrics and various materials



*“This is the best shopping area for my work, it’s where all the fabric shops are located”* (Carlos). Although he has his regular shops, Carlos shops around for the exact colour and best prices. After an hour and half of visiting at least 20 shops, he goes to an embroidery workshop not far away to leave some material; it’s closed so he goes to another shop to pick up some pockets, it is also closed for lunchtime. He’s hungry and decides to have lunch at a diner close by. By 2:30 he goes back to the two previous shops which are now open. Soon Sandra rings to give him more instructions for the afternoon. On his way to the hospital to pick Sandra up, Carlos stops by her business to pick up boxes and gives them to one of her colleagues at the hospital. Then, because it’s Thursday, he takes her to the South of the city, to her third job (See Station 5 in Map 23 and Photo 60. Sandra’s hospital).



**Photo 60. Sandra’s hospital**

After dropping her off, he leaves the material at home, picks up clothes, and heads to one of the workshops to pick up cotton shirts. On the way there, he stops by the supermarket to get cardboard boxes. No one is home at the workshop but he has keys to enter. However, he left them at home, so he goes back, returns and starts packaging the shirts, in individual bags first and then in the boxes. The package is for a client who is travelling to a town in the South and needs to make the delivery by 17:00 today. He is only a few minutes late for the delivery. Afterwards, he stops by another workshop to pick up badges, but they are not ready, so he has wasted the trip. He makes a stop at the supermarket again to buy materials for school, and to kill time for when his wife is ready to go home. She calls at 19:00 and he picks her up. He’s tired; it has been a stressful day, he says he tries to calm down, to concentrate

on the driving, as he already has too many tickets. The day is almost over; they buy bread on the way home and arrive home exhausted, but it's time to prepare the children for the next day. They don't sit down for tea, as the table is covered with a cutting board and machines; the children make their own sandwiches. *"Tomorrow should be a calmer day"*, he says...

In their daily activities, Carlos is the thread that stitches together the hectic life they lead. Without his flexibility, the thread would break and the possibilities of undertaking all the activities they carry out would be impossible. However, his life is fragmented by everyone else's lives. Their daily routines are completely intertwined. Sandra's multi-sited jobs depend on Carlos' 'flexibility' to take her around at the times she needs it, pick up packages, pay her bills and go to the bank.

Sandra, on the other hand, faces time, financial, organisational and physical mobility barriers. Travelling during rush hour lengthens the duration of her journey so she leaves earlier in order to avoid it. She does not own her own car to drive to work herself, so she car-pools with her friends to save money and ease the journey. Her roles as mother and wife are made possible by the use of the phone with which she becomes ubiquitous. Although she has fixed stations she needs to be at specific times, this rigidity is smoothed by the use to a mobile phone. Her phone bill is high, she says, but it has become indispensable in her daily use. This means of communication makes the distance and impossibility of being physically with her family easier, making her present even in physical distance. When plans change at the last minute, she adapts easily, for instance by taking the Metro.

Sandra mentions how *"we always communicate, we have now incorporated our daughter to our network, and Andrea also has a mobile, so we are really well coordinated. In case she has to go anywhere after school she rings me, or I know she needs something"*. Although this eases the communication flow, it also puts an extra burden on Andrea: *"so I ring her and ask her is your dad home? if not, then serve the children tea [...] We don't have much time to be organising everything either, Carlos made some bulletin boards for the children to know when they have homework or exams, we can't disconnect, so when it's time to make their bags at night, I know what goes in them... I leave before they're up, and Carlos starts*

*moving things, they are showered from the night before, so they have breakfast and leave, then I start calculating where they are [...]. I am constantly connected to them; I don't even notice my journey as I'm constantly paying attention to the children" (Sandra).*

This household makes Sandra's multi-sited activities fit into Carlos flexible work, and vice versa. The rich and mobile routines are feasible in a city like Santiago, but accessible only within the possibilities of organisation, finance, technology and skills they have, as well as the possibility to complement each other. Sandra is very aware of this:

*I have all these jobs because we have all these responsibilities, the mortgage, the kids' schools, as they get older then need more things, so our income is too small for all we need. Carlos doesn't always do too well, so I have had to take on more work responsibilities, open my company, see patients at the surgery, on top of my job at the hospital with all the shifts. The idea is that I let something go, I hope I will let one go soon. At least the surgery doesn't take me that much time, but on the days I have a shift and I can leave early the next day, and I could come home but I have to go to the surgery, so it implies that I have two days coming home really late, so I end up being very tired. The company doesn't tire me, it's my greatest pride on the professional part, at the beginning it took a lot of time, because I'm the head, so I moved everything, I buy everything, make the contacts, and now I'm able to relax a bit. At the beginning when we didn't have money to hire someone, we were virtual. We did everything over the phone and I was on the phone all day. My daughter used to complain all the time that I was always on the phone. I'd get home and continue working on the phone. I don't talk as much anymore. The income of the company has been increasing, and it has a lot to grow still. Maybe I would have to leave the hospital at some point, maybe in the future, maybe it's not worth it, and better to retire from there with a pension and then dedicate myself to the company. We want to renew the car, look at it, it's falling to pieces, but we can't afford it now (Sandra).*

Another car would make their lives easier, he would not have to run around picking her up, but they cannot afford it for now. The car is useful to him as a tool for flexibility, yet he still faces temporal, organisational and physical restrictions. He travels throughout the city and depends on the coordination of his wife's activities and children's schedules. He also depends on his clients' schedules and on those who

work for him, as well as on the city's rhythm; some shops close at lunchtime, banks close at 14:00, most services open at 9:00. A 24-hour city would be ideal for him, but then his days would be constantly stretched, like an elastic band. The 24 hours in the day are not enough for him, but there is only so much he can do in a day. This time of the year is particularly busy because school started; in a few months he will not have as many pressures, and will become the family driver for a few months.

Carlos worries that he will not be able to make enough money, as they depend on his wife's permanent and considerable higher income to make things work. He stresses about not being able to keep up, about life going by without him noticing, while he's driving. He fell very ill last year and he didn't have a medical insurance to cover for it, but fortunately through her job at the hospital, he managed to get access to high quality health at lower cost. He was very stressed, about having just bought the house and not being able to pay the mortgage. His role as a family provider is changing and his wife is assuming that role. He does not mind it, but he says it stresses him out, even if he doesn't show it<sup>168</sup>. This incessant moving is just the way this family assumes life for now: moving, constantly performing different activities, they are opting for this lifestyle for the future of their children and to be able to live in the house they bought. Carlos and Sandra are aware of their busy lifestyle and reflect on the need to stop and think. They say they live for the future that their children will have and their currently harried and mobile lifestyles is the means to a better future for them.

When compared to Bernardo, Marta and even Laura, this household has access to better education, employment and health opportunities, at least for their children. They are also able to have better physical access to the city, because of their financial, educational, skills, technology and social networks, as well as their

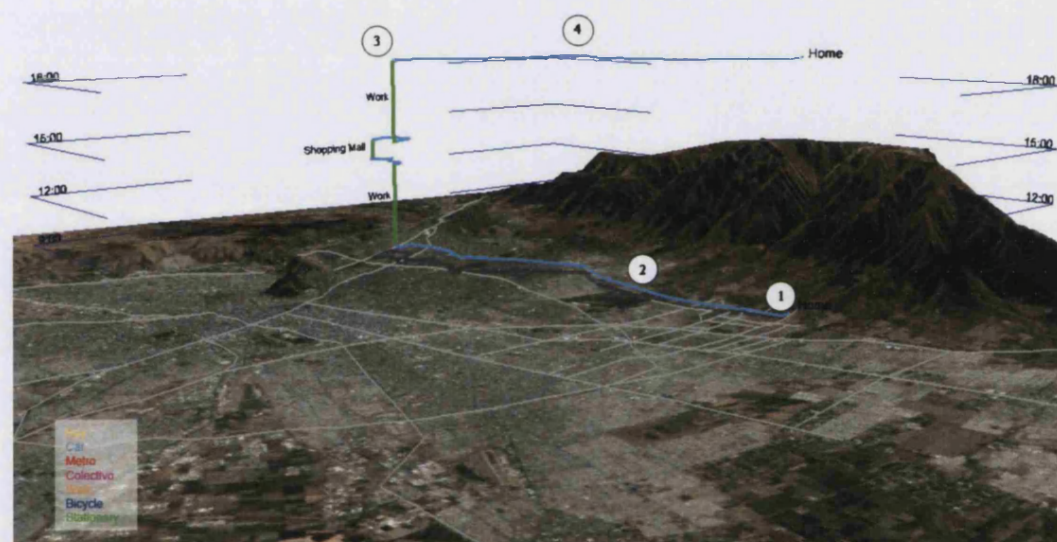
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<sup>168</sup> Sandra worries about him; she says he thinks that he can stretch time like an elastic band. *"I tell him, 'Carlos, programme yourself', but it's crazy. Every Thursday he drives me from the hospital to my practice, and I have to leave by 4:00 to make it. That day he had to buy varnish before picking me up, so at 3:45 I rang him to see where he was, thinking he was on his way, but no, he says, 'I'm going into Homecenter right now, I'll be right there', I almost died, he still had to buy and actually thought he could make it! So I had to call the secretary to tell the patients that I would be late... We are always rushing, it's like relays everyday. Sometimes he makes deposits for me at the bank, so I tell him 'you have to make it before the bank closes at 2:00', and I'm nervous, I call him at 13:50, and he says 'I'm on my way out' and flies to the bank and rings me, 'I made it!'"* (Sandra)

organisational flexibility. However, this flexibility is a double edged sword as, while it allows them better access to urban benefits, it also generates high cost in physical terms. Their incessant mobility and quest for a better future leave them drained at the end of the day, with little energy to do much else.

## 7.4 Uneven social conditions at home get translated on the road

### 7.4.1 Cecilia's Journey



**Map 24. Cecilia's Journey**

Cecilia is 38, she's married to Roberto (42) and they don't have children, but she's pregnant. She comes from a high-middle income family in the wealthier part of the city. She studied two undergraduate degrees, one in biochemistry and one in accounting, deciding to follow the latter as it would provide her with a better income. She works at a medium-size accounting firm in the North-eastern part of Santiago and makes half as much money as Roberto does, and he gives about a third of his salary to his ex-wife for child support. In his current job, he acts as the accountant and hopes that after 5 years, he will be able to get a better job as a proper accountant.

He does not speak too enthusiastically about his job and often complains about the mediocrity. He also works long hours, including Saturdays. Cecilia demands more

time and simultaneously motivates him to study, but his daily routine would not really allow it. He works at the other side of the city, close to the airport, and even if he left earlier from work, he would not make it to school on time, and his currently limited leisure time would be even more reduced.

Cecilia's work is flexible enough for her to be able to arrive and leave later than the rest of the employees. She's up before 7:00, as Roberto leaves around 6:40, and, while watching TV, she gets ready, sorts the house out and feeds the dog. She prefers to leave later in the morning to avoid the morning rush hour, after school buses and parents have finished dropping the children off, she waits until 8:20 to leave the house (See Station 1 in Map 24. Cecilia's journey and Photo 61. Cecilia leaves house).



**Photo 61. Cecilia leaves the house**



**Photo 62. Cecilia drives to work**

She prepares for her journey with special driving shoes, sunglasses, and her freehand phone (See 2 in Map 24 and Photo 62. Cecilia drives to work). While she masterfully

skips traffic jams, potholes and road bumps, she takes alternative routes and shortcuts. She says that her next car it will be a Yaris because the road bumps have ruined her present car. She soon rings her office and starts dictating over the phone. During the trip she might make two or three phone calls, so by the time she gets to her office, her day has had a head start. *“I think a lot while I’m driving, specially about work, while I try to skirt potholes. I know the potholes by heart. I drive thinking and thinking and all of a sudden, I realise I’ve gone by I don’t know how many traffic lights, and I don’t know how many streets, and I wasn’t paying attention to the driving. It’s as though I was on automatic pilot. I plan my day while in the car; I think whether I’ll give the kid at work a hard time, I start organising work. Having a free hands is useful, when I don’t have it I can’t do much. With it, I start talking on the phone, I ring Marcelo at work. He’s the first one to arrive, so I start: ‘Hi, get the cheques out’, ‘Tell Patricio to do this, and then that’. I usually leave late so I can leave things on my desk for them to do as soon as they arrive, and I get there later, but it is as though I arrived at 9:00 because I call them and start giving instructions”* (Cecilia).

At lunchtime she goes to Shopping Mall Parque Arauco with her boss, stops by the bank, shops a bit and has lunch. At 19:05 she leaves her office, having left instructions for the early workers for next day (See Station 4 in Map 24 and Photo 63. Cecilia leaves work). *“On the way back I usually talk to friends and family, because once I get home, I have to water the plants, cook and clean”* (Cecilia). Traffic going home is heavy, again she uses all her secret routes to avoid traffic, but it is unavoidable (See Station 5 in Map 24 and Photo 64. Cecilia driving in Traffic).

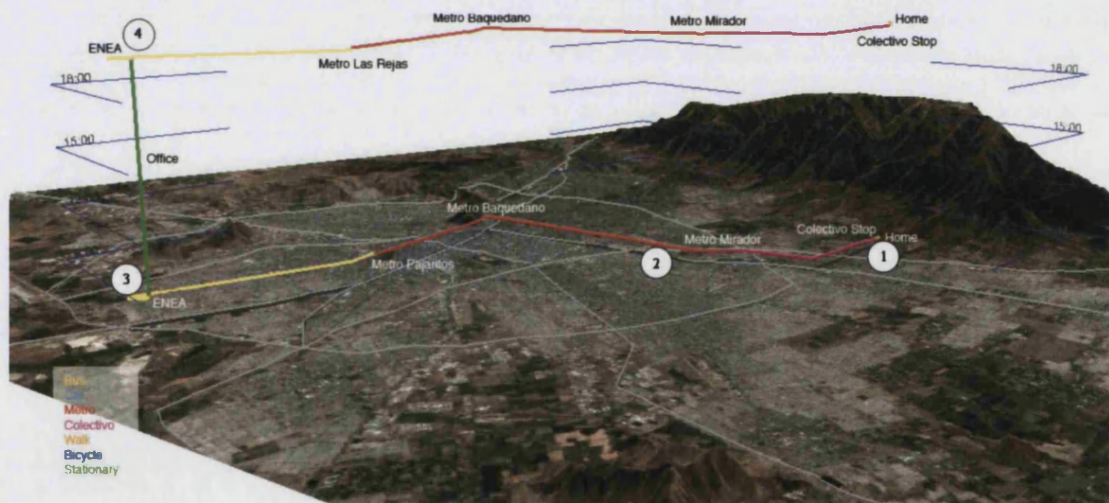


**Photo 63. Cecilia leaves work**



Photo 64. Cecilia driving in traffic

### 7.4.2 Roberto's Journey



Map 25. Roberto's Journey





**Photo 65. Roberto walks to *colectivo* stand**



**Photo 66. Roberto on Metro in the morning**

Roberto's journey starts at 6:40 when he walks towards the *colectivo* stand (See Station 1 in Map 25 and Photo 65). At this hour the queue is short and soon the *colectivo* drives towards Metro Mirador, and by 7:00 he's entering the Metro. By 7:25, after 10 stops to Baquedano Station, he changes line and heads westwards for 13 stops. Rush hour has already started, so the platforms and wagons are full, particularly with people going downtown (see Station 2 in Map 25 and Photo 66).

At 8:00 he's at his final Metro stop in Pajaritos. He buys breakfast while he waits for a private bus that will take him to ENEA, an industrial park next to the airport, which mainly hosts offices and warehouses. He arrives after 8:30 to his office, and has breakfast before everyone else arrives. After 9:00 the buses towards and from ENEA reduce their frequency, so there are limited chances of leaving the area unless by car, and the area surrounding it is bare and under construction (See Station 3 in Map 25 and Photo 67. ENEA industrial park).



**Photo 67. ENEA industrial park**



**Photo 68. Bus stop at ENEA**

At 19:30 he is ready to leave work and walks to the bus stop where employees from various companies are already waiting (See Station 4 in Map 25 and Photo 68. Bus stop at ENEA). He repeats the same journey back, on the bus, the Metro, which is still very full, changes lines at Baquedano station, towards Mirador station, where he stands in a long queue for his *colectivo*, that drops him off a few streets away from home. By the time he gets home at 21:15, his wife is waiting and has warmed up some food for him. He gets ready for the next day.

The strategies Cecilia uses to get to work, mainly by using the car, are economic as well as practical or organisational. Similar to Jarvis' (2005) cases, for Cecilia daily routine is practiced to a fine art, and knowing local traffic conditions means she can save valuable minutes by leaving later. She is mobile and flexible in her job, as well as at home as she does the shopping and picks up what is required at home.

Moreover, she has more say in her time as well as in her household budget. The decision to use the car is organisational, but also a gendered one. She feels threatened by the neighbourhood she lives in, does not know it well and finds it extremely dangerous. Both her and her husband, Roberto, opted for her to use the car “so that she wouldn’t have any security problems” (Roberto). Thus for her, driving and the phone are strategies to multitask, but also to face the perceived danger of her trajectory and district she lives in. The car is hers and she is used to driving to carry out all her errands.

The couple only has one car, and they cannot afford a second one for now. “We’re going to have to do the same as the neighbour, buy another car, because it’s too many hours lost. My work is close to Escuela Militar<sup>169</sup> station, about four blocks away from it, but I prefer to drive, he’s work is about 25 minutes on the highway, but it’s an economic thing, you know, he gets his bus fare to the airport paid for, so there are advantages, so he spends about \$35,000<sup>170</sup> monthly [...], but for now we can’t afford two cars, as it’s not just about buying one but maintaining it and paying for petrol” (Cecilia).

Roberto’s social mobility by marrying Cecilia is hindered by his cultural capital. The type of life she wants to lead requires a certain monthly income. Her sole income is not enough for the standard of living they want to have and he does not have the education level to get a better job. He would like one that he would actually enjoy, or the salary to buy himself a car which would make his journey easier. As it stands now, he has to work for long hours, including Saturdays, at a very distant location, spending approximately 4 hours a day travelling. To improve this situation, he would have to get better skills by studying, but night course schedules and his current job distance make it practically impossible. Studying would also imply an even later arrival at home. His strategy is sticking it out for 5 more years at his present job. Roberto is practically disconnected from any possibility available in the city, he does not have enough time to enjoy his new house, they seldom go out, he barely has time for shopping, or going to the *feria* as he used to, or improving his abilities.

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<sup>169</sup> Metro station on Line 1

<sup>170</sup> Approximately £35

The problem with the female travellers presented here is not so much the uncomfortable journeys but the stress that having little time implies in the activities they have to fulfil; their limit to accessibility is temporal, organisational, physical and financial. This is a typical case of time squeeze, or the “acceleration of the pace of life, a rise in time-saving innovations, increasing stress and role overload” (Jarvis 2005: 136). For Sandra stress is part of her life. Although her work at the hospital is not very stressful and she enjoys it, the way she multitasks and the fact that she holds three jobs simultaneously is stressful. She manages to control her household, but controlling it all has overburdened her and the cost of being omnipresent is high, as she has regular migraines requiring days of rest. Cecilia is more organised, holds only one job and has no children, yet she has many responsibilities. For her, using the car is the only way she could manage. Sandra only manages with the unconditional help of her husband and carpooling from her friends to carry out all the activities she aims to. The phone is a strategy both Cecilia and Sandra deploy to ease their mobility and become more efficient in their everyday.

Comparing the experiences of Sandra with Marta’s, it can be observed that financial access generates differentiated mobility experience for women with similar gender responsibilities. Sandra has access to a car and also has the networks that can provide this access. The possibility of a car is beyond Marta’s means, and she has limited networks to access one. Marta has a phone, but uses it as ‘pay as you go’, generally she does not have any money on it and mainly uses it to receive calls in case of emergency. Although her boss does not like it, she uses the landline at work to check up on her daughter, but she can only do it when her boss is not around, for very short periods and not too often. Both women have very demanding routines, one requires more mental ability to coordinate her household and job and the other more physical skills to work hard for long hours. The risks faced by women are similar: shoplifting, assault, security, yet access to a car or lifts greatly diminish the risk, making poor women more vulnerable.

Different modes of travel are also emplaced by people to do what cannot be done during the rest of the day and tiny slivers of time are made productive, including calling, texting, putting make up on, eating, nail clipping, listening to music,

listening to news, studying in the car, bus or metro. The car is a place for intimacy but also, increasingly a place to work from, or an extension of home and work. In the case of Cecilia, it gives her a way of making both her work and social relations more efficient; as once she gets home she does not have chance to focus on telephone conversations. This extended use of the car becomes clear in the case of Carlos.

## **7.5 Differentiated mobilities**

By specifically examining the practices of going to work, this Chapter argued that urban daily mobility practices are differentiated, amongst other aspects, according to social conditions of gender, income, and position in life cycle, and this differentiation affects people's accessibility to everyday practices. These differences are enhanced when physical, financial, organisational and temporal, technological and the skills dimensions of mobility restrict access to practices and become mobility barriers, generating experiences of inequality. From the journeys presented above, the specific mobility barriers influencing accessibility to the everyday practices detected were related to gender relations, mobile jobs, income, technology, time and household responsibilities. These situations are not always simple and generate intricate practices, that also produce complex ways in which uneven access to the city, or inequalities in mobility, are seen.

Mobility is clearly affected by differences of gender, income, lifecycle, which generate a differentiated experience when physical, temporal, organisational, financial, skills, or technological barriers are encountered. The way they impact everyday life varies and cannot be generalised. In some cases, gendered social relations condition the way daily routines are carried out, making them more difficult for women when they are responsible for household responsibilities. Public transport is experienced differently by men and women. When men have freedom to dispose of their time individually they allow for more comfortable travelling and have a more positive experience. For women, who have to undertake many chores before getting on the crowded bus, the trip becomes a burdensome activity they have to endure.

Although changes are slowly taking place in Chilean society, women are still responsible for the reproductive roles involving child bearing, rearing and those tasks

related to the household reproduction, restricting their time availability. While men are increasingly more involved in household chores including shopping, washing, cooking or child minding, women are still predominantly in charge of these tasks or their coordination as well as carrying out their productive role. The cases of Marta and Bernardo clearly show this, and the implication for Marta is a difficult journey and the uncertainty of having to decide between her job and her daughter, she faces temporal, physical and financial mobility barriers. The results are difficult travel conditions for both, but particularly so for Marta as she has to ride standing an overcrowded bus across town, whereas Bernardo can ride sitting down, due to the fact that his wife resolves the household responsibilities. This questions the notion of cash poor-time rich urban residents, as in the case of Marta, she is cash poor but also time poor, making her doubly restricted in her mobility. The cash rich time poor are also organisationally constrained but use their skills and technology to manage this, thus money solves many of the issues of distance and physical barriers.

Davies (2001) explains how space and time are different for women as their time is not individual time, it is always shared with the people she has to care for. The author explains how, in the context of always being “in care for others”, there is little time for pause time, or what I have called here ‘in between’ time: time for reflexion, introspection, thinking, going over life, thoughts, switching off, disconnecting. She mentions that in the spaces of home and work, with the multiple responsibilities women have, pause or in between time is impossible to find. However, as presented here, pause can also happen in mobility. Despite their time at home or work, men like Bernardo or Roberto, have the possibility of switching off or socialising, during their travel time, for them this is their time. However, for Marta, the trip is difficult because she has had to perform other activities prior to getting there, and as we will see in the next chapters, women continue responding to their reproductive as well as their productive roles on the move, allowing them to pause for very limited time and think and be with themselves.

When men take over or share household responsibilities, like Carlos, jobs that permit for this responsibility swap are chosen. However, the experience is complex, as Carlos has practically taken over this role, yet his wife still controls it over the phone. The level of coordination required is high: Carlos juggles childcare, his

informal job and his wife's multiple jobs in unsystematic yet extremely coordinated ways. At the moment, given their economic and household responsibilities, this is the only way they can approach urban living. The cost is high, particularly in physical terms, regardless of the possibility of having a car. The situation produces stressful travelling conditions, tiredness which, in the long term are reflected in health problems. Within the multitasking schemes, time becomes a major limitation requiring the devise of 'bridges' that can contribute to linking the tasks undertaken. These bridges or space connectors can be phones, cars, Internet, or people: Carlos, for instance, is a space connector for his family.

In some cases the level of multitasking involved in daily routines also involves stress, particularly when the job is mobile. For some of the men interviewed, their daily journeys are enhanced with the difficulty of having a mobile job that, to many, is synonymous with flexibility. Thus, the main advantage high-middle income dwellers in Jardines de la Viña have is flexibility: being able to adjust according to time availability, organisational arrangements that allow them to shift things around, and the possibility of moving around freely in their cars. As indicated by Shove (2002), private cars provide the flexibility public transport cannot guarantee. However, often this flexibility is seen, or chosen to be, as having more free time and organisational leverage, requiring those with flexible jobs to take over household chores.

Mobile or multiple jobs make the days very intense and routines extremely demanding. Flexibility and the possibility for multiple jobs, does not come without difficulty and requires the use of social, financial and symbolic capital. For the most part, access to cars is indispensable in the daily routines of flexible workers, using public transport only when strictly necessary. In Carlos' case, he spends his day driving people and things around, plus he requires flexibility to accommodate to the sudden change of plans, all this would not be feasible without a car. Also without the lifts, Laura and Sandra would be limited in the type and number of activities they carry out in terms of cost and time loss. They do accommodate to using public transport or taxis when necessary, but if this were a constant, in the long run, it would make travelling more expensive and delayed. Cecilia however, refuses to take public transport; she feels uncomfortable in it, so the car is crucial for her. For all of

them, their time budgets are precise, but some, like Carlos, are constantly stretching them. If Laura and Sandra did not have time space anchors, they would probably stretch their time budget more as well. Having access to a car mainly benefits the possibility of travelling longer distances in shorter periods of time and going to more places during the day.

As a mobility barrier, technology becomes an opportunity for those for whom it is available, as it is often used as a strategy to ease the difficulties present in the city, as is the case of mobile phones, Internet and cars. Sandra controls her household over the phone, by sending instructions, caring, ordering, cajoling and supervising over the phone, from the car as well as from her work. Marta also has a mobile phone, but she does not top it up regularly and only uses it to receive calls or in case of emergency. Enabling and empowering those with difficulties, by improving access to technology or at least to information, might contribute to having better access, however, knowledge of everyday life activities, the specific difficulties and potentials to overcome inequality must be clearly identified. The use of cars and mobile phones in everyday life has become essential for middle-income groups, for whom not having them would make access to all their activities difficult. However, a closer look at strategies shows other efficient uses of technology, like car-pooling.

Laura's situation, as a single mother in debt, pushes her to use her social capital to get lifts from friends and colleagues. In this context, carpooling is an informal practice that requires further study and detail in the Chilean case<sup>171</sup>. Without the help from friends, Laura would not be able to access the Municipal Health Office or the public surgery two nights a week for free and in such comfort. Most of her activities are carried out within the borough she lives in, she hardly moves farther away in the city. This reinforces the fact that access is more relevant than ownership in terms of mobility.

In terms of strategies, given the complexity of daily practices, analysing each individual trajectory, without contemplating the role of other family members in the

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<sup>171</sup> Only one study was found in Chile dealing with carpooling, related basically with technical issues of the subject in one specific borough ASINTRA (1997). Moreover, an interesting site has been developed to encourage carpooling for students driving to a private university (<http://www.rutauai.cl>)



feasibility of this journey is impossible. Uneven daily mobility difficulties require people to develop strategies to cope, overcome or break them in order to improve their experience. Strategies are seldom individual and they involve the family as a whole especially when children are involved. Carlos and Sandra run over his time budget and constantly involve the whole family in their coordination. Marta and Ernesto find ways for their daughter to be picked up from school; Bernardo, leaves earlier in the morning, which makes him find a seat and enjoy the trip, but he is able to do it because he does not deal with any of the household responsibilities, which Alicia solves.

The ease at which some men are able to carry out their jobs without Carlos' multitasking, depends on the possibility of their wives to stay at home. When women stay at home, gender inequality persists, yet income differences make mobility practices quite different. In the analysis of these travel patterns, it is impossible to disentangle men's daily activities from those of their wives' or children's. For some, their wives' possibility to stay at home allows them to have a relatively work concentrated day. Whereas for others, like Carlos, whose wife has jobs that demand high mobility, work/home activities are negotiated, coordinated and often modified on an hourly basis. However, the possibility of paying someone to do the major household chores greatly reduces the home based burdens.

Two main methodological aspects can be discussed in terms of apprehending or gathering this type of information, and in the way it is represented. Although it is difficult to assert that all urban dwellers present similar characteristics to those interviewed here, and will suffer the same type of inequality, this type of exploratory research highlights some of the problems present in mobility practices. These need to be unveiled further as they are not currently being thoroughly analysed, at least in the case Chile. As seen in Chapter 4, unveiling these inequalities presents challenges for urban interventions which are likely to affect current mobility practices, however because they are currently invisible, they are not contemplated in their implementation. Representing research data using narratives, maps and photography, provides a close approximation to how these practices take place. It is suggested here, that each form of representation is not sufficient on its own to provide an account of the experience, and although using the three simultaneously does not and

cannot provide the whole experience, as this is impossible, it does open new ways in which representation can be complemented. The possibilities of time-space mapping become quite relevant, and new horizons can be seen if these journeys are expressed using such techniques, as they can reveal the immense complexity present when used in aggregate ways.

Data intensive modelling and aggregate mapping have overcome many of the problems of data availability and complex representation through the use of GIS. The future of this type of representation is only now beginning to be unveiled (See for example the work of Miller 1999; Kraak 2003; Kwan and Lee 2003). Although the possibilities of geovisualisation can be “effective in revealing the complex interaction between the spatial and temporal dimension in structuring human behaviour, as well as a tool for exploratory data analysis for computational or behavioural models” (Kraak 2003), a word of caution must be made. This is because, regardless of the sophistication of the visualisation techniques, care must be taken in understanding the nuances and complexities of the practices themselves. Thus, the use of maps and other visualization techniques including photography, complement each other in the attempt to unveil the daily mobility experiences, under the understanding that this can never be fully apprehended. However, together they open new possibilities to observe new spaces of encounter, negotiation and interchange. Timespace mapping in the future can be used to visually display and analyse paths of individuals or multiple groups, it can also be employed for real time monitoring, linking with other multimedia, providing even greater visual opportunities. Yet, it is only one form of representation, and the richness of understanding each individual experience should not be lost in complex forms of modelling as the consequences of over dwelling on them can be alarming, as seen in Chapter 4.

Analysing difference in the context of urban daily mobility practices is a useful analytical tool, requiring incorporating a richer and more complex view of difference. As mentioned by Beall (1997), difference becomes a useful analytical tool to recognise identities, interests, affiliations or causes. However, these are not carved in stone or immutable. Recognising difference is an initial step, the next would be working with diversity, implying variation, modification and protection against loss, implying action among by people rather on or for them. The relevant

aspect here is to recognise difference in the analysis, but in action to interact with diversity, that is valuing difference and working with diversity (Ibid).

Analysing accessibility moves further the discussion on social exclusion in urban areas as through it, the understanding of unequal access affects the poor but also higher income groups, as well as the way mobility affect this type of inequality.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

Issues of access to the benefits being produced by societies such as the Chilean one, require bearing in mind how people use the city instead on imposing ways of using it. The details of the experiences of differentiated mobility in the city are not well known or researched yet, and even less incorporated into urban, transport or housing policy, yet these have daily consequences on people lives. The differentiated experience of mobility can shed light, first of all, on the need for a better transport system in terms of being affordable, available, accessible, acceptable comfortable and safe. It can also lead to better connected infrastructure, improved housing interventions, but also the need to improve access to better working conditions, educational and health services, cultural activities, use of leisure time, the recognition of the informal economy in operation, etc.

The issues presented in this chapter need to be dealt with within broader social policies than transport ones, and in this context, transport policy must be integrated to social policy. Although public transport accessibility will undoubtedly improve mobility inequalities experienced by some groups and individuals, these inequalities need to be looked at more explicitly. This is because although they are transport-related they are also linked to other areas of daily living including employment, recreation, childcare, household relations, etc.

Continuing with accessibility analysis, the following chapter examines the way people access relations and places in their daily mobility practices. It goes further into analysing the consequences of this accessibility for everyday practices, proposing that they may generate mobile place confinement, or the restriction or limitation individuals face to mobile place-making or mobile place enlargement or

the possibility to create, signify or access mobile places or transient places. Mobile place confinement and enlargement are forms of mobile boundaries that shift along depending on the type of movement within the city. Both can have consequences in the way the city becomes more or less fragmented not only seeing inequality as fixed enclaves but also as mobile gradients.

**8 The consequences of restricted urban accessibility: Mobile Place  
Confinement and Place Enlargement<sup>172</sup>**

**8.1 Introduction**

In cities today, the possibility of being confined is not only applicable to fixed areas, like work or home, but it may also occur while on the move. This is because high levels of mobility, long distances and extended hours of daily travel, along with monotonous and difficult mobility experiences or otherwise expedient and uninterrupted journeys, may lead some to ‘miss’ the city, in a tunnel-like manner, oblivious to their surroundings. Some may seek this situation while others are compelled to endure it. Alternatively, although people may be confined to fixed places, the experience of mobility could generate the possibility of expanding places during or by the journey, permitting access to new and different activities, relations, places or objects.

The consequences of uneven access are here presented in terms of the possibility of restriction or expansion of places through mobility or as mobile place confinement or enlargement. *Mobile place confinement* refers to the restriction or limitation individuals face in mobile place-making whereas *place enlargement* refers to the possibility to create, signify or access mobile places or transient places. Mobile place confinement and enlargement are forms of mobile borders that shift along depending on the type of movement within the city.

Following the discussion presented in the previous chapters where the idea of mobile place making through mobile places and transient places, and the way differentiated mobilities generate uneven access to practices were presented, this chapter continues analysing differentiated access to relations and places. It specifically argues that uneven spatial relations become further unveiled during mobility practices when restricted access to relations and places occurs. This generates the possibility of

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<sup>172</sup> Parts of this chapter were presented in Jirón (2007)

mobile place confinement or mobile place enlargement, depending on the types of encounters, interactions or negotiations that take place during these practices. The chapter first discusses the significance of mobile place enlargement and confinement. It then exemplifies how accessibility to relations and places is also differentiated and influenced by mobility barriers. Thus the same mobility barriers that restrict access to practices of going to work also influence accessibility to relations and places. Finally, it discusses how this accessibility influences the creation of place confinement or enlargement during mobility practices.

## 8.2 Mobile Place Confinement and Enlargement

In *The Weight of the World*, Bourdieu et al (1999) identified confined places as those spaces where people with financial, cultural and social capital have power over and tend to self-segregate, while those with scarce resources are confined to places they often do not choose. Under the mobility lens, this can generate a double sort of exclusion for those with limited capital: spatial fixation in spaces with agglomerated vulnerability along with limited possibilities to urban access. Kenyon (2006) calls this 'poverty access', a "dearth of services in a locality and both the lack of and the presence of obstacles to physical access" (Ibid: 104). In terms of spatial configuration, this situation may lead to parallel cities within cities, where people overlap but seldom meet, separated by social, cultural, economic and physical boundaries which define the routes, speeds, times, forms, means and destinations through which people circulate and socialise. Visually it can be imagined as a city with basically horizontal like tunnels, with increasingly less vertical or diagonal intersections.

Thus, the boundaries referred to here may involve physical obstacles, including visible natural or man-made walls or infrastructure that limit access. Obstacles may also be economic, social and/or cultural restrictions that also act as impediments to spatial access in a city. The mobility barriers discussed in the previous chapter are thus often seen as boundaries. Generally, fixed boundaries can define who belongs to a place and who is to be excluded, as well as the location or site of the experience (McDowell 1999: 3). Borders, on the other hand, may be understood as permeable

physical, social, economic or cultural separations, divisions or barriers which may also be transgressed and overcome. As well described by Weizman (2007) through the case of Israeli and Palestinian territories, borders may be deep, shifting, fragmented and elastic, responding to multiple and diffused power rather than a single source of it. In fact, boundaries are constantly in question and incessant struggles cause them to be persistently shifting, thus becoming borders and creating the possibility to eliminate, diminish or reinforce them even further. This is particularly so under mobility practices.

In her book *Borderlands/La Frontera* (2007), Gloria Anzaldúa discusses the meaning of borders in the context of the Mexican/American border and the conflicts and difficulties of being border people living in borderland. For her, becoming border people also means knowing where you come from, so you can choose and select to either integrate, assimilate, or be border people or isolationist. Borders can split or fragment you, but they can also join people, and people can become bridges, or connectors. They can connect people from one world to the next and access to other worlds can be done through these bridges. A border can be an uncomfortable space because it is a space of transformation, it can be a space of conflict or uneasiness, but it is also a space of encountering and negotiating with the other. These spaces can also become places of meaning and significance.

Place making occurs in fixed spaces, and also, as discussed in Chapter 6, on the spaces travelled on, by, within. Those spaces encountered in mobility: buses, Metros, cars, or bicycles, become *mobile places*; whereas those spaces people signify while moving about, along or through: markets, train stations, bus stops, petrol stations, plazas, and malls become *transient places*. These mobile places are not permanent and occur as a sort of event, an event of place (Massey 2005, 2007), a constellation of trajectories and processes, multiple and not necessarily coherent. The event of place requires negotiation and poses a challenge as to how encounters with others (or things) will take place and how conjunctuality occurs (Massey 2005). Places as events cannot be predetermined or anticipated, these occur as they happen and are relations occurring in time and space.

When looking at mobile place making through mobile and transient places, place as events become very clearly the way borders are experienced as explained by Weizman and Anzaldúa. It is during these *place events* that actual processes of subtle negotiation take place, persistently modifying the borders that confine or enlarge places, thus generating *mobile place confinement*, the restriction or limitation of individuals to mobile place-making or *mobile place enlargement*, the possibility to create, signify or access mobile places or transient places.

Given that places are made through power relations that construct the rules that define boundaries (McDowell 1999), people develop strategies to either encounter other people, places or objects or to perpetuate overlap, that is, strategies to avoid others. Some of these strategies are subtle and perhaps unconscious and may be seen as tactics in de Certeau's (1986) way, but they may manifest ways of coping and may also become explicit and transgressive, depending on the situation. For example, on public transport, people are required to see, smell, listen, touch and even taste one another; for many, this is an uncomfortable experience and if the possibility for eliminating it from their daily routine exists, they adopt it, for instance, by using the car. For others, this can be seen as an opportunity to expand their place event possibilities, even if they occur in a minimal way, hence encountering other people, places and objects becomes relevant in their lives. For others, particularly when the daily journey is reversible, leaving no traces behind, the spaces of struggle, resistance, negotiation, encounter are not in mobility.

Some of the experiences of mobility are more reversible than others, as seen in Chapter 7, but most of them leave some form of trace behind. The most interesting traces are those that generate the possibility of negotiation over space and time, space and place, and where the possibility of encounter and interaction occur. Not all processes of mobile place making generate an automatic change in power relations or a process of negotiation, at least not immediately. The way place confinement or enlargement occur depends on what is made of the event of places taking place, knowing that the traces left behind are not homogeneous, what is done with them once the journey is over, what remains of peoples experience and how these are



incorporated into everyday lives, can provide hints as to how fixed boundaries become mobile borders.

### 8.3 Differentiated access to relations

Within people's quotidian activities, different types of relations are developed which are considered necessary in daily or weekly routines. This section focuses on access to three different types of social relations: immediate family, extended family and friends.

#### 8.3.1 Immediate family

In the context of this research, immediate family is related mainly to the members of the household, and their access is not necessarily restricted by distance but basically by time and organisation. Therefore, although people live under the same roof, the rush of daily activities provides them with limited possibilities of co-presence, thus making access to these relations difficult. Talking, laughing, sharing, spending time together becomes another task in their daily activities or becomes reduced to what people do when the rest of the daily activities are accomplished.

Those interviewed from Santa Teresa do not seem to have money or time for developing relations with immediate family members outside the house, and when sharing time and space at home, they usually do it while attending to household chores or while watching TV. Sometimes they go to the park close by, and rarely to other places in the city, unless these *sejours* are part of their shopping activities, as they often require spending money. Bernardo tends to avoid going out with the family because of financial limitations *"I'd like to go to the big parks, but I just don't feel like going to Cerro San Cristobal<sup>173</sup> or Santa Lucia<sup>174</sup>. I don't go mainly for money, because going means spending, and we would have to go out the two of us with Mario, and then we would have to eat out, because the chips and all that, are expenses, spending money, I think it's better to spend money on other stuff, more*

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<sup>173</sup> A landmark in Santiago, main hill with a zoo, a virgin and sight seeing points

<sup>174</sup> A landmark in Santiago, a smaller hill than San Cristobal

*necessary stuff*” (Bernardo). For this family, a major mobility restriction to spend time together outside the house is money.

Due to money restrictions, spending time together is usually done along with other activities: like shopping or paying bills. So is the case for María, who also lives in Santa Teresa: *“When we go shopping, we use it as a ‘paseo’, a leisure trip, as well, we go out, look around, if we have money left we get something to eat at Los Pollitos Dicen<sup>175</sup>, but we always eat something, we squeeze ourselves a bit for an ice cream in the Plaza. Children love it. If not, we visit a sister that lives close the Plaza de Armas<sup>176</sup>. When we go out with the children they’re always asking for stuff, a drink, something, but we can’t afford it all the time”* (María). Ernesto and Marta go out when they have to pay bills. *“We don’t go out much, sometimes we go to the 14<sup>th</sup><sup>177</sup> with my wife, I go with her to pay the bills, we might have a beer, talk, but it’s always to the 14<sup>th</sup>”* (Ernesto). An important mobility barrier to going out is money which they replace by spending time at home, when time is available.

For Francisco, his major barrier to spending time with his family is time: *“days off just fly by, I have two and a half days, I got out yesterday and I have today off, and will go back tomorrow night. She [his wife] wants to go out, take walks, but we don’t really have time, when we have Saturdays and Sundays off, it means cleaning and fixing up the house. I do some laundry during the week, but I can’t do everything! Sometimes we go to the park to play especially in the summer, in winter we mainly stay in”* (Francisco). Leisure time is limited and household chores restrict these residents from going out. Seasons also encourage people to spend time indoors, particularly in winter when it is cold outside; summer time provides more opportunities for being outside.

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<sup>175</sup> Fast food chain selling roasted chicken

<sup>176</sup> Central civic centre, where a major shopping mall, Mall Plaza Vespucio, is located. When people refer to the 14th, they often refer to the Mall.

<sup>177</sup> One of the main avenues in Santiago running north to south is Avenida Vicuña Mackenna, it starts at the centre of the city and is numbered by 35 stops until its end at the southern end of Santiago. The closest stop to these neighbourhoods is *Paradero 14<sup>th</sup>*. It also refers to the location of a major shopping mall (Mall Plaza Vespucio) built around 1990. The Mall has supermarkets, cinema, shops,, restaurants, museum, theatre, and is serviced by a Metro stop and major bus and *colectivo* lines. Surrounding this Mall, there are health centres, as well as office buildings and the borough council offices.

Distance and transport availability make choosing from a variety of places to go to also difficult. *“If we could, I’d like to go outside of Santiago, not here, to the Buin Zoo<sup>178</sup>, maybe next month, or to El Cajón del Maipo<sup>179</sup>. People say it’s like the country, but we don’t have a car so we have to go by bus or colectivo, there are buses leaving the Estación Central<sup>180</sup>. We’ve also been to Campo Lindo<sup>181</sup>, it’s close by, we can walk there, it’s a 15 minute walk, we go in the morning and come back by 7 in the afternoon, there are pools, we make a barbeque, jump in the pool, it’s fun to relax ... We hardly ever go dancing, Patricia is too young, maybe if she was older, but my wife doesn’t like parties, I like them”* (Ernesto). For the residents of Santa Teresa, physical distance, money, seasons, household organisation, tend to restrict immediate relations to home, thus their activities together are mostly home based.

For those in Jardines de la Viña, time is also a barrier to access to immediate family: finding time to spend together. Mostly, they also stay at home but have more opportunities to share when they go out. Because time is the major restriction, they may opt for going out of town, or out for lunch or an activity that will group them. The relationship between couples becomes important, as they are aware of the limited time they have to be together, not as parents but as partners, as is the case with Carmen and Felipe. *“As a family we go out on Saturdays for lunch, not every Saturday but at least once a month. As a couple we have our Friday activity with the community<sup>182</sup>, which we love. It’s an activity that enriches us as a couple. We still go out a lot; we do a lot of stuff as a couple. We try to pololear<sup>183</sup>, play the dating game, a lot. We might go to Buenos Aires now, he won tickets at work, last year we went to Buenos Aires to celebrate our anniversary, so we try to have activities alone, not just family”* (Carmen). They also organise dinner dates, *“there’s an Italian restaurant we love, then sometimes we go around Plaza Brasil<sup>184</sup>, a nice neighbourhood, nice architecture, good restaurants”* (Felipe). Carmen mentions that *“we try to dedicate the weekends to the children, even if we don’t go out much... The other day we went*

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<sup>178</sup> A zoo located in the southern periphery of Santiago

<sup>179</sup> An area to the south of Santiago close to the Los Andes Cordillera, where the River Maipo starts, known as an area for picnics, barbecues, traditional restaurants

<sup>180</sup> Main train station and bus terminal located in downtown Santiago

<sup>181</sup> Barbeque area close to Santa Teresa

<sup>182</sup> Marriage preparation sessions they help to organise at the local Catholic parish.

<sup>183</sup> Chilean slang for romantic dating, courting

<sup>184</sup> A neighbourhood close to downtown, known for bohemian night life

*to el Cajón del Maipo, we ended up in a farm, flying kites and playing football, it was fun, just the four of us watching the clouds”* (Carmen). Access to financial resources like having a car, being able to pay for dinner, or even access to international travel, eases the time barrier for these families, providing means and opportunities to spend time together outside home.

However, rush in daily life impeaches family time together, as is the case with Sandra and Carlos whose routines were discussed in the previous chapter. To compensate the lack of a social life due to their busy schedules, they spend most of their free time with the immediate family. *“We don’t really have much of a social life, we don’t have time, what we try to do is [to have] a lot of family life, we are always looking for ways in which we can do stuff together, even if it is watching the Festival<sup>185</sup> on the TV”* (Sandra). Because they are out on the road most of the time, they prefer to stay at home, for them buying a house with a backyard was very important. *“On weekends, we don’t really go out much, we stay here, because of her shifts. So I stay at home on Saturdays with the children and on Sundays we wait for her, we usually have a barbeque here”* (Carlos). She says that *“we don’t go out much for dinner, once I get on a work roll, I don’t have time for those things. Lately, we’ve gone out twice, sporadically we’ve been to the movies, but it’s something we’ve talked about, that we need to do more. On Valentines Day, we left the children locked in with the alarm on and we went out, the two of us. Sometimes children are a restriction and we don’t like leaving them alone, but we still have to go out and we will do it and Andrea is older and she can take care of them now. The two of us have meetings, mostly in the car, to analyse the situation, how we are doing, what we are missing, where we fail, always talking about this”* (Sandra). Their limited time and busy organisational barriers force them to choose among the activities they can participate in and social life is diminished in order to strengthen family time. Great effort is made to maintain couple time together, in the car, as seen in Chapter 6, but they are also constantly looking for ways to be together.

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<sup>185</sup> Festival de Viña del Mar, an international song festival, similar to Eurovision, but it takes place over the course of one week during the summer in the city of Viña del Mar and is televised every evening.

It would be unfair to deduce from this that higher income families are more concerned about their couple and immediate family time together. Income does not relate to the concern of spending time together but to the strategies they devise to do it, and mobility restrictions make a difference. In some cases, it is more related to income, but others it is also related to having the responsibility of small children. Lower income groups spend more time at home or make use of their shopping outing to spend time together, or also wait for nice weather to spend time outdoors. Whereas higher income groups have the motility to do other things, either drive around, go out, even if they do not make use of it. The opportunities for mobile place making are greater for higher income groups because of access to a car. However, having a car is not the only opportunity for expanding places, a transient place like the mall also presents itself as a possibility to expand mobile places.

### 8.3.2 Access to extended family

Access to extended family involves seeing parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, cousins, nephews, etc. This usually takes place on weekends and mainly at each others' houses. The occurrence of these meetings depends on the possibility of physical and financial access, as much as time and organisation.

Those living in Santa Teresa have two main restrictions to accessing relatives, mainly seen as physical barriers. The first refers to having out-of-the-way public transport to reach their relatives' houses, making access complicated. The second is related to many feeling locked up in their apartments and prefer avoiding closing themselves up in their relatives' flats that are very similar to their own. For them taking the bus becomes a hassle, as they require changing buses to get anywhere. Such a situation happens to Alejandra and Ana: *“Our relatives live all over; I even have some in Pudahuel<sup>186</sup> or Puente Alto<sup>187</sup>. But we don't go to see them, I don't like leaving our own flat to go inside another one, it's not fun”* (Alejandra). *“We don't go out much, we don't like going out, I don't like going out to get into other people's flats, I'd rather go to the supermarket all day than go to another flat. I like going to*

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<sup>186</sup> A borough in the north-western periphery of Santiago

<sup>187</sup> The next borough to the South of La Florida

*my brothers' place in Puente Alto, because he lives in a house with a backyard"* (Ana). Going to see family usually implies places similar to where they live, Bernardo says *"what for? leave a población<sup>188</sup> to go to another one, it's like when we go to my mother's house, we just stay indoors, we close ourselves up, we go from one seclusion to another, there is nothing to visit outside of their flat, or ours, just the park which we don't take advantage of, even if it's not a great park, it's still a park"* (Bernardo). Their networks come from similar socioeconomic background who live under comparable conditions, therefore, visiting extended family in their flats is not attractive to them. It would be more appealing if these visits were carried out in other spaces, away from the incarceration of homes and preferably carried out in outdoor settings<sup>189</sup>.

Complicated routes and interruptions to mobility also make visiting relatives difficult. *"When I visit my mom I can't come home too late, because there is no direct public transport... and then from there to Vicuña<sup>190</sup> is more difficult"* (Alicia). Alicia also has relatives living in higher income neighbourhoods, she says she seldom visits them, mainly because it is out of reach, and she does not have a direct route, *"It takes forever getting there, and it becomes expensive to get there for five people. So I just go see my uncle on my own, quickly and that's it"* (Alicia).

Some think having a car would help them, others think it could be cheaper. *"If we had a car we'd go out to make barbeques, I hate being indoors, if I go out it won't be to go inside another flat"* (Alejandra). For Marí a car is something they are longing for, *"we are saving money for a car. We need it so that we can go out to places. In church they organise trips and we have to pay for the bus so that we can all go. My husband would like to go out and sometimes we don't have the money or the means because buses charge for every ride, to go up and to go down. We could use the car on Sundays to visit family around, have something to eat, but we don't go anywhere"* (María). *"We sometimes make a barbeque at the Cajón de Maipo, we go with the girls, with my sister and her children, we take something or cook there and then we*

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<sup>188</sup> A popular name for estate housing as well as shanty towns

<sup>189</sup> For a discussion on living conditions in low income neighbourhoods in Santiago see Jirón and Fadda (2003)

<sup>190</sup> Avenida Vicuña Mackenna, a main avenue

*come home. We go with my brother who has a car and lives close by*” (Ana). The idealisation of the car makes them think that they would go out more if it was available. Although this might be true, this desire to go out would also be solved if public transport effectively provided access to the various destinations at the times needed.

Those living in Jardín Alto have better access to cars, even if they do not own a car themselves. For them, extended families either visit them or they go to see them. *“On weekends we go out, depending on the season, we go to the park with the children, the one close by, we visit family, but visiting family is less, unless we go by car, there are a few cars at home, but we don’t own one. If not, we stay at home, there is always something going on here, always someone visiting”* (Mónica). For Laura, the *“Sunday trip is to my parents’ for lunch, we do that about twice a month; they also come here, they like coming here, they have a car so it’s easier for them to come. When we go there we take a bus to the 14<sup>th</sup> and then a colectivo to my parents. Then my father drives us back, and he distributes everyone everywhere, or my brothers, we organise ourselves... I don’t really go out on weekends, except to my parents’ or to visit my friend in the old neighbourhood where we used to live, or to our old nana, but not too often, because it’s far and I’m lazy to go out in general”* (Laura). The barriers here are more organisational than anything else, as although they do not own cars, they have access to them.

Those living in Jardines de la Viña have a different experience; as some have relatives living outside of Santiago and manage to go away to visit them occasionally. *“On weekends we programme ourselves to go South, we always go to my mother’s house in Cauquenes<sup>191</sup>, we use it as a way of disconnecting from all this madness, if we are here we don’t manage to disconnect. It doesn’t matter if the children have a birthday, we just go, the 5 of us, it’s our family time, we have a good time, we disconnect, get some oxygen and then we come back. We go more than 5 to 6 times a year, mostly for Easter, the 18<sup>th</sup><sup>192</sup>, New Year, those are untouchable dates,*

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<sup>191</sup> A city in the south of Chile, an approximate five hour drive from Santiago

<sup>192</sup> September 18<sup>th</sup> is Chilean Independence Day, one of the main holidays of the year, marking the beginning of spring. Many take the whole week off.

*then there are the long weekends, and winter holidays, we used to go once every two weeks, minimum once a month, but less so now” (Sandra).*

The car is not only used during the week to go to work, it is also a major tool for visiting extended family. Access to a car then becomes a tool for place enlargement, for getting to places and seeing people that might otherwise be avoided or arrived to under difficult circumstances.

### **8.3.3 Access to friends**

For most of those interviewed, seeing friends on a regular basis is rare, regardless of the neighbourhood they live in, the time allotted for friends is generally minimal. This is the case of Alejandra and Francisco from Santa Teresa: *“I like going to our friend’s house in Peñalolén<sup>193</sup>, he makes great barbeques, it’s open air there, it’s nice, and they are both nice, we have a good time with them, but we don’t go often. I call them every once in a while, but he [Francisco] never does. Whenever I ring them they get really happy, and want us to come over, but his schedules [Francisco’s] are difficult with the night shifts and has to sleep during the day. Getting there is a bit complicated but on the way back, they usually drive us back” (Alejandra).* In this case, leisure time is the time left after everything else is done.

Sandra, from Jardines de la Viña, recognises the lack of friends, saying that *“he [Carlos] doesn’t have many friends; we know people but not friends. To me he is my life and I’m his. We rarely invite people, because we don’t have time, so the little time we have, we try to make the best of it. In winter if we haven’t gone out the two of us, he prepares a tray of little things to eat, a drink and we watch TV, we enjoy it, that’s our way dating again and that’s it” (Sandra).* *“My friends are at work and some of the neighbours here, but we’ve been here for a short time, I get along with the nurse next door, we don’t meet much but when we do, we laugh a lot, the children get along well. But my friends are at work, and some from the Lab, we might go for coffee sometimes, or to the Nutritionist Day dinner, that’s the most I do, but it’s very sporadic. Sometimes we have something to go to and I tell them, you*

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<sup>193</sup> The next borough to the North of La Florida



*have to help me because I hate going, and they're like 'yes mommy'. It's easier for me not to go"* (Sandra). She gets complicated with social life, *"we might have a barbeque to go to, and she says yes, but when the time comes, she says she's too tired and prefers to stay in and sleep. I like going out, but she's always tired, she does a lot of stuff"* (Carlos). Similar to the case before, limited time availability makes this family reduce their social life.

For Cecilia, from Jardines de la Viña, moving to her new house in La Florida has provoked a radical change in her lifestyle, and the distance now require more planning. She used to live in the richer part of Santiago: Las Condes. Most of her activities are still carried out in her old neighbourhood and she still misses it. *"I find this is far, you know why? Because my house was always the centre of operations before, everyone used to meet at my place, but now, we have to plan a lot for someone to come here, because we are far"* (Cecilia). In the case of Cecilia, access to friends is interrupted by distance, thus seeing them requires prior organisation to get together, and otherwise, she is restricted to talking on the phone with them on the way back from work, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Some enjoy their friends and their mobility is easier because they are able to get lifts from them, like Laura. *"When I go out with my friends, the drop me off, Cristina and Julieta live close by, they have cars so they pick me up or drop me off. Going to parties is not an issue for me, I don't worry about it, it's resolved, plus because I don't drive and I can drink and they can't!"* (Laura). For some women, however, going out with friends until late can be an issue, particularly for younger women, like Claudia, mainly for security reasons: *"I just don't go out for drinks after work, it's impossible, at least for me, if I take the Metro and I know I'm going to be late, I have to call home and ask one of my brothers to pick me up. That's why I never take the Metro on my own after 10:00, I've never taken a colectivo on my own after 10:00 because it's dangerous"* (Claudia). This is mainly due to fear of being attacked, robbed or harassed. In this case, the possibility of accessing a car can also enlarge places: *"if I'm going to do something after work, I drive to work"* (Claudia). Without her car, Claudia would have to limit her activities or be restricted to travelling at certain times only, but access to a car means she drives if she knows she will be late.

She might have parking issues, but this does not prevent her possibilities of moving, her places are constantly expanded by the car.

Security issues and distance make going out more difficult for women. Men in general have more possibilities and ease of going out at night. *“Last night I came in late, I was singing at the pub in the corner, it’s a good pub, but it’s expensive. But I don’t go out during the week, it’s mainly on Fridays, and then I just go everywhere ... I wanted to come home early, but who are we kidding? I wasn’t going to, I went to help a friend out, we had a few beers, and then by the time I made it here, my light bulb lit up, and I went to the pub, and stayed there, they know me, I’ve sang there before. So I got home around 4:00 am”* (Bernardo). His possibility of place enlargement is also related to feeling safe walking alone at night and also to his relative ease of household responsibility.

Age also becomes a limitation for the elderly as for young women. Isabel who is 80 years old, is also confined to specific routes and times, and if she changes route or time she runs the risk of getting lost as she gets confused and cannot see very well. This restriction confines her and makes her lose her independence however, because her daughter has a car, she has the possibility of getting picked up and continuing to visit her friend Soledad once a week. Thus, for an older person, travel support makes mobility expandable. Catalina who is 19 years old, also feels restricted, *“I do feel limited living here, because it’s so far. So my friends end up coming here and spending the night. Living so far means that I can’t go to many parties, if I do I have to spend the night... because there is no transport coming back home when it’s too late, there is simply no way to get back home. I sometimes go to a friend’s house that lives in La Florida by bike, but I don’t usually like riding my bike too much, I only do it sometimes and always during the day, never on the main streets, so I take alternative routes”* (Catalina).

The main issues restricting accessibility for relations for these families are physical, temporal, organisational and financial. These are enhanced by social conditions of income, gender and age. Income makes physical access particularly difficult for lower income groups, whose possibilities for accessing relations are restricted due to inaccessible routes, cost of going out and limited networks. For most households,

time becomes a major barrier to access relations but income makes access to a car an easier way to move. Moreover, access to friends and family who own houses also becomes an important organisational tool. Gender differences particularly restrict women from travelling alone at night, limiting access to social relations. Temporal and physical barriers are also a major impediment for the elderly to access relations.

For these families a car becomes an extremely important tool to expanding places, mainly because public transport does not fulfil their travel needs, particularly at night and on weekends. However, it must be mentioned that it is access to a car and not necessarily ownership that facilitates access to relations. If the main impediment and demand were detected, then public transport or other forms of mobility tools could be identified to turn this boundary into a border that expands places. The next section explains how place accessibility can also be restricted to the various members of the households interviewed.

#### **8.4 Differentiated Access to Places: Boundaries and Borders on the Move**

Access to fixed and mobile places requires various acts of negotiation, to restrict, condition or facilitate this access. In mobility, these acts of negotiation involve dealing with organisational, physical, temporal, financial, skills-based and technological barriers. Among the most common difficulties to access places involve travelling with children, feeling out of place, insecurity, traffic or feeling incarcerated. As will be seen, some people submerge themselves in the barriers thus confining themselves, while others devise strategies to enlarge their places thus creating new forms of access.

##### **8.4.1 Physical barriers encountered when travelling with children**

In Santiago, travelling with children on public buses is a difficult task, particularly because, for the most part, buses are not designed for baby buggies to be taken on board or operated so as to facilitate travelling with children. Generally people with babies and children avoid experiencing such difficult times, like Mónica who lives in Jardín Alto and has two small children:

*I avoid taking the bus with the kids because of the sudden brakes, I can't go out with the buggy, even on the new big buses, the 'cuncunas'<sup>194</sup>, they are not as good as the paint them to be, since there is so much open space inside, there are too many people standing. My son Francisco hates taking the bus; every time we get on it he says 'I hope we arrive soon'. I don't think any child likes it. He says 'Mom, where to do I sit?'. Seats are either for the elderly or for ladies with babies. Teenagers don't care if they see a child that is tired. A child cannot stand for too long; people think that children don't get tired [...] Every time I go out with the kids I come back upset because I argue with someone. [...] The other day the four of us went to school on the bus, Susana, Miguel, grandma and me and the two kids and it was a chaos. If it was just taking the bus it wouldn't be so bad, but it's also waiting for the bus, then seeing if it will stop, paying, the little kid that falls over... I simply avoid it. I don't travel with kids unless strictly necessary (Mónica).*

However, many women assume the risk of taking children along, despite all the difficulties it brings. *"I saw a lady in Irarrazabal<sup>195</sup> with a buggy and four kids, and she had no problem, the kids got on the bus from the back door on their own, the mom would just leave them, I mean, people get used to it"* (Claudia). Claudia who does not have children of her own recognises the difficulty: *"Those poor women, it's so sad, they leave really early. In winter it's worse, they go out with their little babies wrapped up in the shawls, and their bag, and the baby's bags, and sometimes a little kid by their hand, it's amazing, admirable [...]. For them moving around is difficult, but you can't really stop working, especially with children, you just can't have the luxury of not working"* (Claudia). Regardless of the lack of recognition of the difficulties which arise from travelling on public transport, people cope with travelling with children. However, it is not just the buses that do not respond, the location of services also makes the mobility experience especially cumbersome for some, as Claudia explains:

*A lady at work lives in Cerro Navia<sup>196</sup> and has a baby. Three months after having the baby, she went back to work and had to take the baby on a bus to Mapocho<sup>197</sup>, then take another*

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<sup>194</sup> Caterpillar, refers to the new buses being incorporated into the new Transantiago system.

<sup>195</sup> Major Avenue

<sup>196</sup> A North Western District of Santiago

<sup>197</sup> A downtown area of Santiago

*bus to El Salto<sup>198</sup>, because that's where the nursery is, then she would come back to Quilicura, then back to El Salto to breastfeed, and then return to pick her up. She would walk some times to save money and not take so many buses, she says she used to hold the baby and fall asleep, and it was like that until the little girl went to Kinder. All that since she was 3 months old! So you sometimes notice how sacrificed people are, you just see them on the bus and never imagine (Claudia).*

Thus the location of urban infrastructure or services does not make this situation easier. The combination of inadequate transport, dispersed services (land use) and fixed daily activities, limits the options available for women (or men) with children. Their solution is either not to use the services or to walk when the destination is close by, thus reducing the time and space scope of movement. Another option is to organise themselves so as to take public transport at times where they are not so overcrowded, thus restricting the places, times and distances they go to and often forgoing employment possibilities. Alternatively, those with means make use of cars or taxi and mostly avoid contact with others to make their journey easier. However, one of the most common strategies, particularly for lower income women, is simply not going out, unless strictly necessary, thus confining them to their neighbourhoods.

#### **8.4.2 Inaccessible circuits: feeling out of place**

Restricted access to certain places has much to do with the sense of belonging and feeling familiar or similar to others. Savage, Bagnall et al. (2005) develop the idea of elective belonging which articulates “senses of spatial attachment, social position, and forms of connecting to other places” (2005: 29). Belonging is not a fixed community according to the authors, but is more fluid and places are sites for performing identities. Thus, when people feel they are similar or have things to share they feel attracted to each other, but when the contrary occurs, and difference is seen as problematic, interest in seeing each other is minimal, as is the case of Catalina:

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<sup>198</sup> An area to the North of Santiago

*There are places in the city that I don't go to not because they're dangerous but because they're too 'cuico'<sup>199</sup>. It's not a matter of not being able to get there but the sense that the place just doesn't attract me, I rarely go to posh places, why would I go to Vitacura<sup>200</sup> or Lo Barnechea<sup>201</sup>? I don't have friends there. At my new university there will probably be more posh people, I guess I'm going to be the only one from La Florida, the only dark one, I don't think there'll be other dark people there (Catalina).*

For Catalina, there are areas in the city that are blocked because she does not identify with them. The space of University will become a place of encounter and negotiation of her identity as well as learning. This experience will possibly expand her places, putting her in a position to negotiate her identity.

A similar situation occurs to Bernardo and Alicia who skip places according to class identity, because they feel they do not belong there and because they are not accessible.

*I don't know Providencia<sup>202</sup> or La Reina<sup>203</sup>. In my old job I used to go by on the bus, but why go to those neighbourhoods? There is nothing attractive there. It's just buildings, too many cars, and different people. People look at you differently; they look at the way you dress, even if they are very messy to dress themselves, in shorts and sandals, but they look at you differently, because over there, you can tell by the skin. We feel it (Bernardo).*

The discomfort of not belonging, of encountering people different to oneself is common, and part of the extreme segregation in cities like Santiago. This fear is often confused with security issues and solved by erecting fences, exclusive areas and procuring more and better security systems. Seldom are they dealt with by being able to negotiate difference. In this discussion, ideals of integration are often recommended as ways in which inequality will decrease, where residential proximity, or mixed communities in terms of tenure or income are seen as a way of

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<sup>199</sup> Chilean slang for posh

<sup>200</sup> High-income district located in the North-eastern part of Santiago

<sup>201</sup> High-income district located in the North-eastern part of Santiago

<sup>202</sup> High-income district located in the North-eastern part of Santiago

<sup>203</sup> High-income district located in the North-eastern part of Santiago

increasing social integration. However, this integration rarely occurs, as people tend to avoid each other where possible and develop alternative circuits. As seen in Chapter 5, most of the cases analysed have extremely limited or no contact with neighbours of different social status to their own. The difficulty to integrate is also visible in mobility, however, during this practice, there are certain mobile places like the Metro or transient places like the Mall, that force people to share the space and negotiate the space with others. This does not mean that it is easy, but though subtle, it does present itself as a possibility of place expansion even if somewhat resisted.

*Now that there are people from Puente Alto<sup>204</sup> on the Metro, 'se chacreo'<sup>205</sup>, it got spoilt; all sorts of people go on it now, and a lot of people, large number of people. In Baquedano you have to let some trains go before getting on. In the morning and on the way back, you have to wait until people pass, and wait for the next one you can get on [...] we are going to be like in China, where people push you to get it. Still I prefer it to driving or the bus (Claudia)*

The use of the car generally acts as a social barrier for those not wanting to encounter others that are not within their networks. Although the car might expand access to relations it generally restricts access to places. As seen in Chapter 6, certain mobile and transient places act as spaces of socialisation. These spaces are less easy to find in the place of residence. Mobile and transient places require further analysis to see their potential in terms of places enlargement and confinement, as often the idealisation of the ease of use of the car enhances division or the creation of a tunnel effect.

### 8.4.3 The tunnel effect: Security and Fear

Another situation that requires previous negotiation and restricts access to certain mobile places involves issues of security and fear. Taking public transport, particularly buses, is seen as dangerous to some, especially women. It implies that, in

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<sup>204</sup> A district in the south of Santiago, the most populated district in Santiago, with a high percentage of low income housing.

<sup>205</sup> Chilean slang literally meaning it got spoilt, used for when situations turn bad.

most cases, women are restricted by what they can bring on their journey, the time they travel, the actual bus ride or the location where they can sit inside the bus.

*Nothing has ever happened to me, but that's why I never sit at the back, only when I'm with my husband, but when I'm alone with the kids, I never do. I'm scared of having someone do something to me. Coming back from Lider<sup>206</sup> you always see people pick pocketing, they once tried to rob me but I didn't have any money, I had already spent it all. I shop with cash and I carry a little bag so people don't think I carry money, and I put it in front of me, with my daughter on my arms, it's safer that way. They got on like they were passengers and I had my little bag across my front, but it went to my back and they pulled it and but I didn't get a chance to see who it was. It didn't have much money, just the fare money (Maria).*

Men also recognise this fear.

*Women don't sit at the back for security reasons, so that they are not molested or pick pocketed. I saw a guy running on the bus, he rang the bell and got off, and then everyone started screaming because he had robbed someone. Another time I was with some construction mates and a guy started picking pockets and someone told us, and we started beating him up. The guy was wearing a tie and had a briefcase with him, when we opened his briefcase he only had a pair of socks in it; his job was pick pocketing on the bus (Ernesto).*

The high chances of being pick-pocketed imply that people carry very few elements on their journeys, for fear of being robbed.

*I got my phone stolen on the bus, I had just bought it. It was at the end of the month, when supposedly everyone has money, so they wait for the bus to be very full, squeeze you, and pretend like they can't get through. I checked [my bag] because a lady said to me: 'hey, they were stealing, a man got his wallet stolen back there', so I checked just in case, and I didn't find it, I wanted to die. My bag was closed; she opened my bag and closed it again, on her way down, I guess that's when it happened, because it wasn't cut open. But she just squeezed by and pushed her way through, right next to*

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<sup>206</sup> Supermarket chain



*the driver, she told me 'let me get through', and I said 'I can't move', she squeezed me and it was just a few seconds. They're experts you know, and it seems like it was a couple that got on, afterwards everyone commented, but no one says anything. I think people know who they are and that they are violent, I mean if you say something or let others know, they have a knife and they just point it at you; people are scared of getting cut. So you can't let the person next to you know that they're being robbed. The other day I saw someone stealing and they noticed I was looking so I just played stupid, I got scared. I saw how they were taking a wallet out of a man's pocket. He was desperate afterwards; they took all his cards and his ID. So now I only travel with my ID card inside my bra and the bus fare money in my pockets. In my bag I just take a comb, maybe creams and junk like that, things that have no importance [...] They steal anything that calls too much attention: compact players, personal players, all those, jewellery. I never wear jewellery on the bus, it just calls attention and they take it. And I don't take my personal stereo, so the ride is even more boring (Ana).*

This situation generates mobile place confinement as Ana's only possibility is to take the bus, due to the destination she goes to and her financial resources, thus, her strategy is to eliminate any sources of extra difficulty, by protecting herself from theft, while getting bored. This also means that she avoids travelling when it is not strictly necessary. She is restricted in terms of routes, modes and travel times. Moreover, because of fear, people tend to look the other way, avoiding conflict, as though they were not there.

Some women feel threatened on *colectivos*, or at *colectivo* stands, particularly at night. Like 80 year old Isabel for whom modal changes are complicated. *"They changed the colectivo stop, the guard said I had to go out and take it elsewhere, at the other exit and walk along the long street to the stop, but it's dark and I don't like it. I waited for about 20 minutes and nothing went by. For me that experience was disastrous. I felt completely disoriented"* (Isabel). Isabel does not like taking the bus either. *"I never sit at the back, for me it's easier at the front, plus if you sit too far back you have to walk the whole aisle, and it's full of people and it's not very nice. Women sit in the front to avoid getting mugged, students in the back, with their backpacks and they move so it's complicated for me, so I always sit at the front. When I'm alone I get off from the front never from the back, because I've seen what*

*happens, the driver just takes off and you are still on the bus, and at my age I don't move as fast anymore. And even if the driver tells me to get off from the back, I don't do it because it's safer from the front. Also, there are too many people stealing: they open your bag and threaten you"* (Isabel). Her travelling experience is thus limited. Every Wednesday she takes the Metro downtown to visit her best friend Soledad who is 81 and can barely walk on her own. Together they run errands and enjoy afternoon tea close by. She dreads the possibility of things changing in the Metro, of new routes, or new operations, as she knows she will have a hard time getting used to it again. This once-a-week outing is her way of feeling useful, alive and independent still, to avoid feeling incarcerated. Her daughter is starting to get concerned now, so she either does not let her go out at night or picks her up herself.

The difficulty faced by the elderly through the journey is seldom recognised in urban interventions. The hardships do not only refer to having a seat on the bus or Metro, but it relates to the chain of activities that make up their mobility practices, from the moment they leave their house until the moment they arrive at their destination. In physical terms, it involves pavement in poor conditions, raised sidewalks, short traffic light duration, wide streets to cross, limited sign visibility, bus stops without seats or shelter, poor lighting, high bus steps, long metro stairs; but it also involves temporal and organisational restrictions. For many, these travel barriers leave them confined to fixed spaces, refusing to go out much or to limited routes or modes.

When it involves their teenage children, both men and women are very concerned about safety issues. Carlos' teenage daughter Andrea gets a ride to and from school from a neighbour. He says *"she could walk but it's not safe, we don't want her to, for the risk it means. It's about two kilometres only but it's very lonely around there, there is nothing, just the school and horses. Too many kids have been robbed, they take their bikes away. I mean, things happen, so a girl walking on her own is not good, no way"* (Carlos). To avoid security problems they use their social capital to have a neighbour take Andrea to school. Car pooling is thus common practice and also extends place enlargement possibilities.

Therefore, in order to avoid fear, the city becomes restricted to specific ways for specific people, specific tunnels depending on the social characteristics and

possibilities. This generates a tunnel for the poor, a tunnel for the elderly, a tunnel for women, a tunnel for the rich. Each tunnel becomes a strategy to avoid each other, passing by each other but never actually meeting. This is further enhanced when fear, traffic and the possibility of a car are bundled together. The possibility of skipping the city through a more sophisticated tunnel, like the car, becomes available for those with means and extra flexibility

#### **8.4.4 Skipping town: the consequences of traffic**

The stress of dealing with traffic makes people organise their days according to the hours where traffic is lower. *“I get to work around 7:20, I punch in at 7:20 but start at 8:00, we go very early because of the journey, if we leave a few minutes later, we catch the traffic and make it for 8:00 or 8:20, and that is what makes the difference, El Hualle [street] is full and traffic is horrible, whereas when we leave at 6:15 or 6:20 it flows easily, we go straight through (Sandra).*

Some people search for the tunnel effect in their driving, like Felipe. *“What I enjoy the most is when I arrive somewhere, because I drive when there is so much traffic, it’s tiring, I like going to Puente Alto because the drive is long and I don’t have to stop so much, it’s straight [...] When I drive I’m usually concentrated in the cars that cross by, I concentrate on the lights, I don’t get distracted by the outside” (Felipe).* In the case of Carlos, *“I take a lot of detours, cutting corners, to avoid traffic. If I leave later, I catch traffic and it takes much longer [...], but I don’t really notice what’s outside” (Carlos).*

Those with the possibility of skipping the city are mainly middle and high income residents. The availability of a car and the flexibility of their jobs allow them to choose to skip the city. Those with lower income however, have limited options and skipping is less possible.

*If there was one bus going all the way there it would be great. But, on top of taking so long, and being full, in the afternoon it takes me half an hour of just waiting. On Thursdays when I stay later at work, I come home exhausted, and the bus is heavier then, even if it is just a little bit later,*

*and in winter it's worse, with construction men. On the way there it's mainly women, but on the way back, later, it's mainly men. Construction workers leave at 6:15, but if I leave at 6:00 it's very light, so I always try to leave 10 to 6:00 and be at the bus stop before construction workers get there (Ana).*

Again, skipping town generates even more tunnels, differentiated by income. Not only is the city extremely segregated two dimensionally, but when looking at it under a mobility lens, a third dimension of segregation and division appears. Separate route, modes, means, times, places, companions, queues, hence a double form of exclusion takes place, on fixed places as well as on mobile places. However, being confined to fixed and mobile places may be modified and new forms of extending these places begin to appear.

#### **8.4.5 The mobile experience of incarceration or expanding places on the move**

Daily mobility can be seen as a major dimension of social exclusion by means of being disconnected isolated, divided, fragmented, confined or through mobility practices. Some people move freely and easily from where they live, others simply stay. This situation is enhanced when confinement takes place in both fixed and mobile places. Those with greater motility also become inaccessible to whoever, unlike them, is confined to space. This is particularly so for lower income groups, especially when the causes of immobility are mainly financial, temporal and linked to gender responsibilities. Some women refrain from going out much because they prefer to stay home to take care of the house and children. These restrictions have specific consequences in terms of exclusion, feeling trapped, tired and frustrated.

Alicia does not have many friends and staying at home has become a torture over the past few years, with music blasting from neighbours' houses day and night. They go to the park every once in a while, *"we like going there, even if it's for a little while, it's so close by...it's as though we were in another place, but we don't often get to do it, because we stay here, incarcerated, like we were being punished, it's like we are used to it though"* (Alicia). Bernardo, her husband, gets *"to vent out more, on Fridays I take my guitar to work and afterwards go to a beer hall and start singing, I get home late on Fridays but that's my way of venting out [...] I also have the Toby*

*Club, with a group of neighbours we get together every once in a while and drink outside, but she doesn't go out" (Bernardo).*

For many of the women interviewed, leaving the house starts being a way of changing their life, of opening their independence as was the case with 80 year old Isabel, as seen in Chapter 6. Going out is important, for many women leaving the house, having a routine, making money, without having to stay at home, even if it means going out to do the same thing at someone else's house: clean and take care of children. Having money means more independence and it makes working very important. The journey is a crossing, a gateway; unfortunately the mobile places they encounter along the way are often restricting and many experience incarceration on the move. Although urban labourers cross the city at least twice daily, their knowledge of it can be minimal, especially for lower income groups because they seldom look outside. Often, although the same route is taken daily, passengers barely know where they are, the names of the streets, or what lies outside the bus. Like Marta who has been taking the same route for over two years yet she does not know where she is when asked, has never gotten off at a bus stop that is not her own, and barely looks outside mostly because the bus is too overcrowded, and the curtains shut. Although she crosses the city almost daily, she also skips it, completely confined inside the bus.

Younger people are facing the possibility of moving in a different manner. Access to mobile phones and especially Internet allow them to coordinate meetings and expand their places on the move. This is the case with 19 year old Julian. He is Bernardo and Alicia's son and works full time in an artefact assembling company. In his free time he sings hip hop with his band called 'Secta Imperial'<sup>207</sup>. They make music and perform at gigs around town on most weekends, mainly in gyms at different low income neighbourhoods they know well by now. His main medium of communication is the Internet. This is how the band disseminates their music, how he gets in touch with his friends, fans, how he coordinates with them and how he organises his time out. Performing at gigs is essential for them, but they take their crowd with them, as they walk from his neighbourhood around other housing estates

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<sup>207</sup> Imperial Sect

picking up friends along the way and together they go to the various performances in the evening. Most know the circuit and are informed of how it will be organised, as it has all been arranged previously online, and they simply join along the way. Julian is not disconnected, he is selectively connected, electively belonging to the timespaces he chooses and his places are physically expanded through Internet. *“We walk there, talking, ‘tirando la talla’<sup>208</sup>, mocking around, my group and the mascots, we start walking in the afternoon, and we sometimes stay out until 7:00 am the next day. We walk around the neighbourhoods we know, and the kids know us already”* (Julian). Although they often walk, the physical distance is minimised because walking is a way of socialising and relating with friends and fans. *“Some of the neighbourhoods are dangerous, so you have to be more alert there, but they know us, Villa O’Higgins, San Gregorio, it’s our territory, the places that are not good for us, we just don’t go”* (Julian). Technology helps them choose how and where to connect, despite their lack of financial means, access for Julian and his friends is facilitated by technology. As they become better known, their places of performance expand, as do their relations. They are enjoying themselves, for them expanding places on the move like this is also part of the fun of playing hip hop.

## 8.5 Conclusion

This chapter argued that uneven spatial relations become unveiled during mobility practices when access to relations and places is restricted, however the possibility of mobile place confinement or mobile place enlargement depends on the types of encounters, interactions or negotiations that take place during mobility. To examine this, it presented the different ways in which accessibility to relations and places is differentiated and influenced by mobility barriers.

For many, being able to create and maintain relations with friends and family is central in daily living; however, keeping up with them is a hard task. The examples presented show how the main barriers to accessing relations for lower income groups are money, distance, transport availability and time. Whereas for the residents of the higher income neighbourhoods, time is the major barrier they face. Those with lesser

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<sup>208</sup> Chilean slang meaning joking around, mocking around

financial capital tend to be more fixed in accessing in their relations, either immediate, extended family or friends. Lack of financial means paying for activities when they go out, limiting the activities carried out with the social relations they have. Money difficulties are enhanced with inconvenient public transport routes which makes accessing family and friends a difficult task to accomplish, and travelling for leisure a complicated experience. Time is a scarce resource both for the lower as well as the higher income groups. Busy schedules apply both to lower income families as well as to higher income ones, but the main difference is that the higher income groups have greater motility.

Having access to a car makes a considerable difference when it comes to being able to reach social relations. Not only does having a car expand the possibilities of meeting friends and family, it overcomes many of the temporal, physical and organisational barriers people face on a daily basis. However, having access to a car does not necessarily imply owning one but it refers to the possibility of having one available. In some cases carpooling becomes a major possibility not only for being able to reach relations but also to be able to develop them through this practice. Those with thicker and diverse social networks have greater possibilities of having access to a car. Car accessibility solves many problems that could also be resolved by better taxi or *colectivo* services, better bus transport, or new forms of car accessibility not currently contemplated in Santiago if travel needs were better assessed (shared ownership). Today, having a car is synonymous to having more money and increasingly possible only for those with higher income, thus creating uneven access due to income. The motorisation of all urban dwellers is not presented as an optimal solution, however, the use of the car cannot be undermined, ignored or even restricted without considering the whole system of transportation and the alternatives available. It is difficult to assert or even hope that urban dwellers will stop using the car, but ways to make its use more friendly, egalitarian and useful need to be contemplated. Although car access is closely related to greater income, its access may increase encounters with some relations but, at the same time, it restricts access to places.

Accessing places is a cumbersome task for many and it is clearly uneven according to gender, household responsibilities and income. The mobility barriers in this case

are mainly physical and hit women with young children harder, forcing many to either face the difficulty or decide not to move. Temporal, organisational, financial barriers make travelling difficult for women with small children. Access to places is also restricted by its cost, and enhanced when the journey is also difficult in terms of time and organisation. Under these conditions, in order to avoid security issues, many opt for specific routes, times and modes. This situation creates a fragmented city in mobility, with parallel circuits for specific groups. This generates a different city for children, for the elderly, for the young, for the rich, for the poor, for men, for women, for young girls, for women with children.

However, many of these barriers creating place confinement have the possibility of becoming borders. They have the possibility of shifting and enlarging places in the process. The use of technology like cars, mobile phones and Internet can become a major tool for connection and breaking down barriers, especially for younger people who also have the skills to use it. Access to these tools is at times conditioned by income and skills, yet it is still a possibility of place expansion. Mobile places and transient places, if seen as current places of socialisation can also be seen as possibilities to expand places.

The places for encountering difference today include work, school, buses, hospitals, shopping centres, and not necessarily the neighbourhood. People are very connected to other social realities but this is not always from the place of residence, unless virtually from the home. There seems to be a split between the home/neighbourhood world and access to practices, relations and places in the external world where people actually engage with difference, accept it, reject it or negotiate it. Mobility is then experienced as a bridge that can either exacerbate inequality or can start breaking barriers and become places of encounter or difference. This is not to be idealised as a form of integration, but requires further research. Mobility in these terms becomes not only a practice through which daily living can be observed, it may also be a locus for encounter, conflict, negotiation and transformation, thus requiring further research as a space of socialisation.

However, public transport and overall infrastructure, because of their quality and efficiency problems, tend to allow for encounters of people who are alike. As such,



urban infrastructure can be seen as a border. This is particularly interesting as it can be seen as a possibility of place enlargement, thus providing multiple opportunities for urban planning in the future.

Mobility or lack of mobility possibilities can generate the sense of confinement in fixed places like home, which becomes exacerbated when residential location is in segregated areas. However, the situation worsens when, through citywide trajectories, places in the city are blocked. The possibility of enlarging or confining mobile places depends on the modes of transportation, destinations, times, comfort, but also on the way people manage to appreciate what lies outside, or enjoy what occurs inside, while on the move.

Analysing current forms of urban inequality from a mobility point of view highlights the complexity of the matter and captures a shift in the way urban reality is being experienced today. In mobility, urban living in cities that are increasingly being left to the market to resolve urban inconveniences manifest extreme forms of uneven access to practices, relations and places. Yet little is known about how this urban inequality is experienced, or the specific strategies people use in these practices to overcome such unevenness. Exclusion on the move generates parallel cities, where the possibilities of encounter can become even more restricted.

## **9 Conclusions. Implications and new beginnings of journeys into the practices of urban daily mobility**

In this thesis, I explored the various ways in which daily mobility practices shape the experiences of urban living by examining the mobility practices of selected residents of different income neighbourhoods in Santiago de Chile. I argued that an urban daily mobility approach captures a shift in the way urban spaces are experienced. This means that, in the context of technological innovation, processes of globalisation, democratisation, changes in family relations, new forms of employment, differentiated increases in living standards and constant urban interventions, the way people live in cities today is changing and becoming increasingly complex. This change and complexity is reflected in the multiple and hybrid practices of urban daily mobility and these practices in turn provoke changes in urban living that are only beginning to be unveiled by researchers.

In order to capture this shift in urban living, I proposed in Chapter 2 an urban daily mobility approach using social practice theory to analyse mobility experiences and their spatial relations. I then examined in Chapter 4 the logic of transport planning in Chile through the experience of Transantiago as emblematic of 'state of the art' in transport thinking in Chile and the problems this thinking generates. In Chapter 5, I introduced the case of Santiago, showing the Chilean understanding of urban inequality in terms of market-led and public policy induced urban segregation. I argued that an urban daily mobility approach can provide significant insights for undertaking a more effective analysis of urban inequality,- one that requires us to move from an orthodox perspective based on an understanding of fixed enclaves to an approach that recognises instead moving gradients of inequality.

To apply an urban daily mobility approach, I proposed in Chapter 3 a mobile ethnography as the most adequate way to obtain thick descriptions of mobility practices. I selected 20 participants from three different income neighbourhoods living relatively close to each other in a specific sector of the city of Santiago and shadowed them during their mobility practices. The results of this research enabled

me to move further in the conceptualisation of mobile place making in Chapter 6, introducing the concepts of mobile and transient places as spaces of location, materiality and meaning. In Chapters 7 and 8, I analysed the differentiated access to practices, relations and places and discussed the consequences of differentiated mobility in terms of urban inequality, according to different mobility barriers. These conceptual developments contributed to discussing the possibility of place confinement and enlargement in detail in Chapter 8, where the practices of daily mobility were shown to play a crucial role in generating new spaces of socialisation.

Capturing this shift has significant conceptual, methodological and policy implications. In the following section I discuss these implications and explain how they make an original contribution to current academic debate. I then suggest possible future orientations for research in the area of urban daily mobility.

## **9.1 Theoretical Implications**

Urban daily mobility research unveils the hidden, mundane and perhaps tedious aspects of daily living. It submerges into the daily lives of families whose lives seem regular in the midst of the abundance of activities taking place in cities like Santiago today. This research shows the importance that everyday living constitutes today. It shows the intricacies of running these activities and, following Lefebvre's work, insists on the importance of knowing about everyday experiences in order to be able to say anything about the construction of cities. Apart from the conceptual, methodological or policy implications that are outlined in the next section, this research manifests the analytical value of observing current daily living in urban planning and research.

An urban daily mobility approach involves advancing the conceptual understanding of the city from a fixed to a moving entity, where mobility practices expand our understanding of contemporary urban living. The analysis of urban daily mobility suggests a theoretical shift in certain concepts, including: urban strategies, place, gender relations, urban inequality, and 'in between' spaces. This section expands on the conceptual implications of these five topics, while the following sections explore the methodological and policy implications, respectively.

### 9.1.1 Mobility strategies

Urban practices are a continuum, meaning that it is difficult to separate out the activities, relations and places people are involved in on a daily basis. The linkages between these are directly related to the urban strategies people use to move through space. As early as 1974 Larisa Lomnitz researched the survival strategies by poor urban dwellers in urban areas in Mexico through the use of networks. Her seminal work showed how the reciprocity networks of poor and excluded urban dwellers helped them to survive in the city, but also, given their structural location in society, the closed homogeneity of these networks reproduced their social inequality.

In urban daily mobility practices, urban strategies are not only displayed by lower income groups as survival strategies: middle and higher income groups use them to enhance their position in social space through the networks they belong to. When mobility practices are dissected, intricate strategies reveal the difficulties urban travellers go through on a daily basis, particularly when modal change is involved or when there is scarcity of capitals. However, when daily individual activities are coordinated with those of family members, extreme difficulties arise; for example, parents juggle and accommodate time and mobility possibilities on an hourly basis. The intricate intersection, connection and overall relation between activities indicate that mobility is not just related to transportation but that major daily living decisions are submerged in mobility practices. To face these difficulties, skilful coordination strategies are devised to link activities within daily routines. Although many undertake mono-functional journeys, most people tend to juggle multiple activities during these journeys and find ways of adapting to the city.

This reveals certain rigidity from the city when it comes to the daily needs of its population. What becomes clear from the Chilean case presented in this thesis is that current forms of urban living, the demands of economic growth, employment structure, cultural dynamics, and personal aspirations are not always adequately met for everyone by the city. Little is known about the reasons for this inadequacy. Some causes are structural, but some are also related to the new forms of living in the city today.

Mobility practices are key theoretical tools to observe the relation between social and spatial practices in contemporary cities and this thesis understands them as *embedded*, *embodied* and *emplaced*. This means that these practices are not loose or related only to the need to reach certain destinations. They are embedded in social structures that frame these practices. It is under the current structures of income, gender relations, age, life cycle, that they operate. Individuals or households' mobility decisions respond in great part to their location in the social structure. These structures often generate uneven access to the city and unless expressly intervened or contested, they reproduce themselves and perpetuate in time. Thus the relevance of recognising these structures when significant urban interventions like Transantiago are implemented, as they can either perpetuate uneven structures further, enhance them or attempt to diminish them.

One of the shifting structures is employment, particularly flexible employment. Flexible jobs, for instance, can be both a great opportunity to find alternative forms of income generation or can lead to oversteering due to the level of multitasking involved within limited timespaces. While multitasking, time becomes a major limitation and requires devising bridges that can contribute to linking tasks committed. These bridges or space connectors include phones, cars, Internet, or people. In fast-paced cities, the need to multitask and carry out hybrid forms of mobility, people themselves become the bridge, and embody the way connections in today's cities take place, becoming connectors themselves.

Becoming a connector is not simple, as the multitasking involved in the daily routines also involves stress, particularly when the job is mobile. For some, their daily journeys are enhanced with the difficulty of having mobile job that for many are synonymous with flexibility. Thus, the main advantage middle income dwellers have is flexibility –being able to adjust according to time availability, organisational arrangements that allow for shifting things around, and the possibility of moving around freely in their cars. However, often this flexibility is often seen, or chosen, as having more free time and organisational leverage, requiring those with flexible jobs to take over household chores.

Given the complexity of daily practices, analysing individual trajectories without contemplating the role of the rest of family members in the feasibility of journeys, is impossible. Uneven daily mobility difficulties require people to develop strategies to cope, overcome or break them in order to improve their experience. Strategies are seldom individual and they involve the family as a whole especially when children are involved.

The service delivery systems in place do not recognise these needs (e.g. urban infrastructure, education, employment, health) and coping strategies reveal practices that are expanding the notion of informality to be experienced not only by lower income groups, but also by middle and middle high income groups. What ends up happening is that people adapt, mould, make alternatives, ask for help, choose differently or lead invisible lives. A daily mobility approach assists us in identifying the strategies that people develop to cope and reveals the way society is changing in the midst of larger processes. This research moves further the work on everyday life and work-life balance of Jarvis (2001; 2005a; 2005b; 2006), McDowell (2005), Salazar (1999) or Lindón (2002).

### **9.1.2 Mobile places**

Mobility practices are emplaced in physical space and although the correspondence between social and physical practices is not always direct or visible, they often impact each other. The relation people have to space while moving is significant for many in their experience of the city. This thesis presents urban mobility as a construct, experienced differently by many people and resulting in multiple and hybrid forms. This means that it is not possible to generalise them as having a sole objective of moving people, objects or ideas, from one station to another.

The spatial experiences in mobility practices are characterised as having meaning, location and materiality, expanding the notion of place as fixed and often homebound, to the possibility of mobile place making. Research on place making from the disciplines of geography and urban studies is abundant, and although the possibility of mobile place making is becoming significant (Cresswell 2006), there is little empirical work showing how this experience actually takes place. By

differentiating between mobile and transient places the research in this dissertation highlights the role of the passenger/passenger by, as the carrier of the experience of place-making in their relation to space. When on a bus, car, metro, bicycle, the moving space is appropriated and meaning is given despite and because of its movement. This research shows how, for example, saving contemplative thoughts for the time on the metro, socialising on the bus or developing a sense of intimacy in the car, are all forms of emplacing mobility. These experiences are significant because they demonstrate that travel time is not dead time, and during these timespaces, meaning is given to the moment, the spatial surrounding and moving experience. Not all travellers have the same experience, and thus the experiences here given cannot be generalised, but place-making definitely occurs in mobility. The importance of the place making process is that the spaces people signify are not only those of the home and the neighbourhood, but also, and perhaps mostly, occurring in the spaces outside the home. This shifts the importance of places of meaning and extends the moving experience as a significant one, in the processes of urban living.

The second type of mobile place-making occurs in fixed spaces with mobility going through them. These types of places have been studied in greater detail over the past few years and include markets, parking lots, petrol stations or parks, amongst many others. The importance of such places is their transient nature or their momentary occurrence, and this relates to Massey (2007)'s understanding of places as events, moments that last as long as they require to last. Their relevance is that they provide meaning to the city as a moving entity and also express the hybridity of uses and forms of space, where spaces are modified and their meaning changes on an hourly, daily, weekly or on a seasonal basis. As will be seen in the following section, this also has implications on how to plan for such spaces in terms of their usage but also in terms of their design. This can be translated to a conception of design that is closer to understanding the qualities of spaces desired as opposed the fixed ideas of what spaces should be like. Qualities of space for intimacy, flexibility of uses, socialisation, recreation, comfort, safety, commercialisation, require different responses both on mobile as on transient places, as well as on the spaces that lead to these including sidewalks, roads, stairs, parks and many of other that require further enquiry.

### 9.1.3 Gender relations

Mobility practices are also embodied and enacted through the habitus, hence the way the body performs the practice contributes to the understanding of the relations between social and physical space. As developed by feminist geographers (Rose 1993; McDowell 1999), bodies have an impact on the way places are experienced. This experience is based both on gendered social relations as well as in biological differences between men and women. Through urban daily mobility practices, the pregnant, aging, coloured, disabled, young body perceives and is perceived, and this generates significantly different experiences of space by men and women. The embodied habitus, although embedded in social structures, is also able to modify this structure by confronting the places it encounters. This may occur in quiet, often invisible forms, but the emplaced and embodied habitus begin to mould its and others experiences of mobility. The gender implications are many, including pregnant women, young girls in public spaces, the elderly in changing situations, etc. Each situation is confronted by barriers of fear, discomfort, and accessibility amongst many other.

Gendered social relations also condition the way daily routines are carried out, making them particularly difficult for certain women at times, especially when they are responsible for household chores. Women who undertake household chores prior to boarding a crowded bus often experience the trip as burdensome to endure. Although changes are slowly taking place in Chilean society, women are still responsible for the reproductive roles involved in child bearing, rearing and those tasks related to the household reproduction, restricting their time availability. When men dispose of their time freely, it often allows for more comfortable journeys and relatively positive experiences. While men are increasingly more involved in household chores that include shopping, washing, cooking or child minding, women are still predominantly in charge of these tasks or their coordination, and manage this along with their productive role. This questions the notion of cash-poor-time-rich urban residents, as many women can be cash poor as well as time poor, making them doubly restricted in their mobility. Cash-rich-time-poor individuals are also organisationally constrained, but use their skills and technology to manage this



constraint; in this case money solves many of the issues of distance and physical barriers.

#### 9.1.4 Urban Inequality

Until recently, daily mobility was largely unstudied as a form of urban inequality. The inequality-relevant aspects of the mobilities research in this thesis contributes to the work of Cass et al. (2003; 2005), Lyons (2003), Kenyon (2002; 2003; 2006; 2006), Church (2000) or Delauney (2007), as well as those looking at broader fragmentations or injustices in the city identified by Soja (2000), Marcuse (2007), Swyngedouw (2003), Graham and Marvin (2001), or those in Latin America proposing new ways of looking at urban inequality like Garcia Canclini (2004). This research provides empirical data showing how uneven access to activities, relations and places occurs on a daily basis, leaving people excluded while moving.

Analysing urban inequality through accessibility enlarges the discussion of social exclusion in urban areas by highlighting the multiple relationships between mobility and inequality. This relation questions the understanding of urban inequality based on analysis of fixed location of different groups in terms of segregation, and also idealist views of social integration, which offer physically mixing social groups in space as solutions to achieve less homogeneous neighbourhoods. Access to benefits offers a more dynamic way of analysing the disparities in urban areas. It moves towards more relational ways of understanding exclusion, by looking at different groups and provides a perspective that goes to the causes and the consequences of urban inequality.

This work provides a new understanding to the way inequality occurs in urban areas, and presents mobility as a *cause, consequences* and *manifestation* of urban inequality today. As a cause of urban inequality, transport systems are unevenly distributed among the population. For instance, the construction of high speed urban highways promoting car privileges certain groups while defining poor public transport systems to be used by other groups generates uneven access to the city in modes, times and spaces. When such systems are associated to residential location it causes a double sort of inequality based on location in distant poor areas with limited transport

means. Mobility or the lack of mobility possibilities can generate the sense of confinement in fixed places like home, which becomes exacerbated when residential location is in segregated areas. However, the situation worsens when, through citywide trajectories, places in the city are blocked.

The consequence of this uneven access is that the city becomes inaccessible tunnels –parallel, and often impenetrable between social groups. The city can then be visualised as encapsulated tunnels going to different places, at different speeds and times, avoiding each other, increasingly minimising the possibilities of encounter. The possibility of enlarging or confining mobile places depends on the mode of transportation, the destinations, the times, the comfort, but also on the way people manage to appreciate what lies outside, or enjoy what occurs inside, while on the move.

As a manifestation, the differentiated use of mobility systems –mostly according to income, but increasing according to age, disability and gender –shows that there are broader inequalities in societies that are simply reflected on mobility and such practices help to enhance them. By looking at inequality in terms of accessibility, existing inequalities are revealed, and new forms of uneven relations unveiled.

### **9.1.5 The ‘In betweenness’ of mobility practices**

In the midst of uneven social relations, mobility also appears as an opportunity – a new place of socialisation, encounter and transformation, as also recognised by Sheller (2004) in her discussion of mobile publics. Travelling on public transport is a constant reminder that others exist and, although certain situations might shut any possibility of encounter or negotiation, mobility practices also lead people to meet others different from them.

This research shows that mobility experiences can be reversible or irreversible: the more irreversible the experience the greater meaning it has for those performing it, following the work of Kaufmann and Flamm (Kaufmann, Bergman et al. 2004; Flamm and Kaufmann 2006). Irreversible experiences, like being harassed, fondled or robbed on public transport, leave traces in the minds, emotions and bodies of

people and are bound to stay in the memory and unexpectedly return in the future. A completely reversible experience, on the other hand, such as those of drivers who cannot recall passing a traffic light, leaves traces that very quickly disappear, if ever present.

Some experiences may be more positive than others. For some, positive irreversibility may involve traces that make up for limited mobility and expands places that would otherwise remain out of reach, offering new sights, encounters and possibilities. Thus by appropriating mobile places and avoiding tunnel-like trips, some people enlarge their places. These places become relevant today, as they evoke the possibility of finding spaces of socialisation, encounter and meaning that are no longer restricted to the neighbourhood.

In the context of mobility practices, co-presence is still significant today, but so are the moments that people are capable of being covert in co-presence. It appears that, in the midst of harried lifestyles and multiple demands, travel time is both an opportunity of co-presence as well as an opportunity for alone time, for time and space for a break. Mobility seems to be producing 'in between' spaces that formerly might have occurred at home, neighbourhood or at some recreational space, but due to time space restriction, insecurity or current dynamic life styles have been diminished or eliminated. By choice or not, long periods on the move have provoked people to adapt, sometimes significantly improving their lifestyles, with others use this travel time to take a break from increasingly demanding lives. This highlights the importance of mobile places in urban analysis today.

Also, barriers can be circumvented or transcended, and many of the barriers that create place confinement have the possibility of being transcended and becoming borders; that is, they have the possibility of enlarging places in the process. Mobility becomes important in this border creation as it articulates daily life: it is the space of sociability and at the same time it is the space of fragmentation. Mobility can be seen as the border space, as a space of possible transformation, a semi permeable place event, where socialisation may happen. There are opportunities in the places accessed as a result of mobility, but also during mobility. As explained by Anzaldúa (2007), borders can split or fragment, but they can also join people, and people can

become bridges or connectors: to connect people from one world to the next, creating access to other worlds through these bridges. A border can be an uncomfortable space because it is a space of transformation; it can be a space of conflict and uneasiness, but it can also a space of encountering the other, of negotiating with the other. There is great potential in analysing mobile and transient places, in their potential for socialisation of new forms of urban living.

### **9.1.6 Methodological Implications**

From a methodological point of view, capturing the changes in urban living engages with the way knowledge about urban relations and urban space is observed and captured, as mobility practices require observing how dynamic urban relations oscillate from fixed to moving relations in space. This shift transforms the often static nature of urban analysis and compels a necessary broadening in their scope. This requires incorporating aspects of urban everyday experiences that are yet to be present in most urban analysis.

This research shows an innovative form of capturing daily urban experiences through the use of mobile ethnographies and it moves forward the discussion on representation of spatial practices to better express the diversity and mobility of urban living today so as to render it more accurately. For instance, observing everyday practices using mobile ethnographic methods provides a view of current reality that is very difficult to observe with more aggregate methods, such as those used in traditional transport or mobility studies. Particularly, through the use of techniques like shadowing, the multiple ways people coordinate everyday life and are able to cope and prepare for the future are manifested. As an urban research tool, this provides an understanding of the implications of travelling that urban and transport planners lack through their costumed tools. Although surveys, interviews, use of GPS, mobile phones, could also be used to capture this experience, these would not enable such close reading of the fine texture of daily mobility practices.

The advantages of using a mobile ethnography is that it provides a deeper understanding of the significance, feelings, emotions, senses experienced when travelling through, by and on various places. For the purpose of understanding the

process of place making, it would have been difficult to understand how this takes place unless experiencing it and accompanying the participants in their practices. This also involves recognising the importance of senses in the experience of lived space. All senses, and not just sight, become crucial in the experience: following the work of Degen (2002; 2008) and Pink (2006) amongst many others, the sensual experience of mobility, the way the senses of smell, taste, vision, touch and hearing are constantly exalted in mobility, make the body the locus of mobility experiences.

Complementing time-space mapping with photography and narratives provides a dynamic way of representing the experiences of urban daily mobility practices. This contributes to the scholarship developed by Rose (2001; 2003), Latham (2003; 2004), or Buscher (2006). The various methods used were useful to capture part of mobility experiences. This approach to research is still relatively new, and it reinforces the need to work towards creating better methodologies that can both generate knowledge regarding mobility experiences and also question its production, interpretation and representation. This requires a variety of methods such as observation, interviewing, shadowing travellers in their daily journeys, but also involves combining these with aggregate travel patterns, and simultaneously moves towards creating methodologies that generate greater participation in the research process from those involved. Such endeavours may require longer time for fieldwork, particularly in terms of building relationships of trust. This also leads to developing mobile methods including using video and remote data gathering and Internet, to render a better account of mobility experiences, giving urban citizens the opportunity to be part of the construction of knowledge.

## **9.2 Policy Implications**

In terms of policy, an urban daily mobility approach, as presented here, recognises an urban reality that current transport or urban interventions often dismiss. Transport studies, by concentrating on transport systems and on urban travellers as rational decision makers, often disregard the implications of the experience of moving in the city, and how this experience affects urban living or the way urban and transport

interventions impact everyday life. Similarly, urban studies often assume spaces and people's use of space as fixed and contained in specific areas, thus policy interventions informed by this perspective generally miss the practical scope and experiential value of mobility practices in the city.

The research here shows that urban travellers not only seek to maximise utility in their mobility choices, as they often prioritise other alternatives when deciding which or how a mode of transport is used. The research also shows how mobility practices are inextricably linked to all other activities, relations and places people perform on a daily basis. Decoupling these practices in policy interventions—that is severing the links between the various activities performed or how these link the different social relations people have across the city—involves artificially separating the essential way people live in contemporary cities. Any approach that divides the city and the ways the city is experienced is bound to provide a partial response to the needs people have of the city.

Both transport and urban planning, and the different forms that they manifest in spatial policy practices, require a broadening of their analysis to incorporate the mobile experiences of the city. Although a transport network is a basic tool for transport planning, in its construction, definition, implementation and evaluation, the needs, norms, interests and identities of those involved need to be recognised. By ignoring the everyday experiences in the city, urban and transport disciplines and practices neglect the fact that the city is a construct, socially and temporally constructed on an everyday basis by all those taking part of it. This neglect negates any possibility of understanding the city as a complex system and provokes top down, technocratic and predominantly physical views of it. A better understanding of such experiences appears as necessary to both transport and urban planning practices. By looking at the problems found in the implementation of Transantiago, the results of this research provide insights as to why and how specific policies could be enhanced by an urban daily mobility approach. The Transantiago 'disaster' was not only predictable, it was also unavoidable under the existing urban and transport planning logic and simplistic understanding of urban mobility.

Incorporating a mobility approach could lead to two approaches: improving existing tools and devises to plan the city and transport systems or informing new ways of intervening in urban areas. The former could lead to improving surveys that inform transport models, providing additional checklists to include in planning process, or help to explain aggregate results. It would also lead to finding better forms of representation, as in the use of aggregate time space maps. It would also lead to improving certain infrastructure design or urban usage of existing systems. The latter approach would not only involve complementary transport interventions including private and public transport, highway and road investments, but also interventions on urban policies including land use, housing, public space, services, amongst many others.

This research presents an innovative way of capturing the details of the experiences of differentiated mobility in the city. This experiential information is not currently incorporated into urban and housing policy, in spite of its daily consequences on people's lives. The differentiated experience of mobility can show, first of all, the need for a better transport system in terms of affordability, availability, accessibility, comfort, safety and reliability. It can also lead to a better-connected infrastructure, improved housing interventions, and also but also the need to improve access to better working conditions, educational and health services, cultural activities, use of leisure time, etc. This requires efforts to make this aspect of urban daily experiences more visible and also discussing the implications of such interventions on daily mobility practices and experiences.

### **9.3 Future research**

In light of the previous discussion, future developments in this area of research could include development in the areas of methodology, policy and further mobility research.

#### **9.3.1 Future methodological advances**

To address this shift in urban experiences, further methodological development is required to update the understanding of the meanings of the experiences of urban

daily mobility as well as ways of representing these experiences in dynamic yet clear ways. This involves looking further for better forms of enquiring and representing urban experience through innovative methods that help to express the multifaceted aspects of mobility. Capturing the way urban life is experienced requires broadening the epistemological scope of this research and finding ways in which these can capture the experiences of daily mobility practices and their meanings.

Moreover, as a linkage to transport studies, new mobility variables could be incorporated into existing transport or social surveys or improving accessibility indices. However, unless awareness of what the experience of living in the city is about, new variables would just be an oversimplification of the implications of a mobility approach. This means generating more research that demonstrates the implications of urban decisions as well as further explanations of how people are living in cities that appear as successful in economic terms, yet hold immense inequalities.

Mobility as a new way of perceiving urban inequality could become an important dimension of the current debates on the right to the city carried out both by international organisations like HIC (Housing International Coalition) and UN-Habitat, or the theoretical debates about this (Soja 2000; Dikec 2001; Marcuse 2007). This means that such research needs to go beyond academia, and inform policy as well as regular citizens so that they can make informed decisions and demands on their needs in cities. Informed citizens would allow for the possibility to question agendas and contribute to setting up new ones. Current forms of dissemination and discussion as well as current multimedia and Internet become invaluable in this search. One way is using technology to make available existing experiences, using audiovisual tools, online television, radio, written media, online blogs, amongst many others.

### **9.3.2 Policy implications of further mobility research**

Transport planning requires adopting a perspective that incorporates urban transport, public transport and urban development. The implementation of Transantiago evidences a major complexity in Santiago's overall transport and urban planning



practice, including the institutional framework, tools and approaches used to intervene urban space. New methodologies and evaluation skills are required to adequately assess the type of investment and their location in relation to other existing and future urban investments. Currently urban investments in Chile are evaluated as individual projects according to their economic rate of return. These methodologies do not contemplate other impacts related to urban living.

Urban and transport planning require broadening their scope of analysis and this involves shifting methodologies as well as means of policy intervention. The consequences of myopic views of the city are too expensive for countries with limited resources to waste on ill-conceived urban interventions.. The choice of modes of intervention requires urgent revision, reviews from interdisciplinary discussions but also the incorporation of society in the discussion of the future of the city. The impacts of mobility shown in this thesis are a clear indication that access to daily mobility need also be incorporated in the discussion of the right to the city. In this context, incorporating a broader view of mobility into urban and transport research and interventions is not only necessary, but soon will also be a demand from citizens, and more research needs to be set in place that looks at the right to mobility and its policy implications.

### **9.3.3 Daily mobility after Transantiago**

Information emerging one year after the implementation of Transantiago indicates that the transport system has improved, yet it still presents many of the difficulties discussed here in terms of unexamined and disruptive impacts on urban daily mobility. One field of future research could be an analysis of transport systems as suggested by Montezuma (2003a; 2003b) or Figueroa (2005), or carrying out an in-depth examination of the mobility field in Chile. This would be useful to understand the decisions made and how urban and transport planning can effectively be improved after such interventions. By also looking at the inequality implications of mobility experience it is also possible to consider the way transport policies can work alongside broader social policies.

However, perhaps more interesting than understanding the transport system, would be to understand how urban travellers reacted to this change, as given the implications of such interventions, it appears that Transantiago users were relatively passive to such a city-wide intervention. This question relates to the measures and strategies of resistance adopted after a transformation in urban living. This leads also to a consideration of place-based politics, and also on the role of mobile places in the collective shaping of urban policy decisions. This line of enquiry would also include furthering the work on the experience of mobility as a space of socialisation.

The Transantiago intervention created a major disruption in contemporary daily life, interrupting a mobility construct and fragmenting routines and trajectories. The negative aspects of this major intervention can be perceived on a daily basis in the newspapers and also on public transport. However, it would be necessary to observe whether such interventions also made public transport a borderland – a place of encounter and socialisation for different people in the midst of the sense of individualism and indifference otherwise experienced at the neighbourhood level.

This would also entail further research that could compare differentiated mobility practices in terms of location in the city, as well as comparison among other cities nationally and internationally. Moreover, other social dimensions including other groups in the city like ethnic minorities or migrants who come to Santiago in search of better economic opportunities. Limited urban research has been carried out in this area, and even less on its mobility implications.

Looking at the city from a mobility perspective shifts the view of the city from the one-dimensional optic of orthodox transport planners to a multidimensional one, as time and space are seen simultaneously, and other dimensions come alive, including the experience this time and space generates. This means that the city becomes a shifting entity, going against all efforts by planners to domesticate and discipline it. The implications of this new reality and what it may mean in terms of understanding the city are beginning to emerge. Cities like Santiago and other cities in developing countries have to cope with the ever-present discomfort of the shifting urban experience. Ignoring what citizens are quietly saying will become impossible in the near future, yet the tools, information or mechanisms to respond to this change are

yet to be constructed. This implies an exciting area to research, but it also presents a need to act quickly as urban interventions in countries like Chile are ongoing and the current knowledge of urban daily mobility is insufficient to inform urban planning and policy decisions. This thesis goes in a direction very different to current urban and transport planning and research in Chile today, but it demonstrate the possibility to capture and make visible the current forms of everyday living as necessary and urgent.

## 10 APPENDIX 1 - Glossary of Terms

<i>Alto Las Condes</i>	Shopping mall located in the North Eastern area of Santiago
<i>Apretado de estomago</i>	Tight in the stomach, Chilean slang for nerve wrecking
<i>Av. Vicuña Mackenna</i>	Avenida Vicuña Mackenna, a main avenue
<i>Barrios peludos</i>	Chilean slang for difficult neighbourhoods
<i>Cajón del Maipo</i>	An area to the south of Santiago, where the River Maipo starts, known as an area for picnics, barbecues, traditional restaurants, very close to the Los Andes Cordillera
<i>Casero</i>	Seller at the market
<i>Cauquenes</i>	A city in the south of Chile, about 5 hours drive from Santiago
<i>Cerro San Cristobal</i>	A landmark in Santiago, main hill with a zoo, a virgin and sight seeing points
<i>Cerro Santa Lucía</i>	A landmark in Santiago, a smaller hill than San Cristobal
<i>Churrasco</i>	Typical Chilean fast food sandwich made with beef
<i>Colectivo</i>	A type of taxi that follows specific routes; it charges fixed rates according to the distance travelled. The trip starts at <i>colectivo</i> stands or metro stations, once the minimum number of passengers is seated, and stop wherever requested.
<i>Cordillera</i>	Refers to the Andes Mountains, the most important geographical point of reference in Santiago, seen from practically every point in the city (smog permitting) and particularly beautiful during the winter months when covered with snow
<i>Cuncunas</i>	Caterpillar, name given to the new buses bendy buses being incorporated into Transantiago.
<i>Cuico</i>	Chilean slang for posh
<i>Departamental</i>	A major road running east to west, leading directly to the Paradero 14

<b><i>Empanada</i></b>	Chilean pasty usually filled with cheese or meat
<b><i>ENEA</i></b>	An industrial park located close to the airport
<b><i>Estación Central</i></b>	Central train station
<b><i>Feria</i></b>	Outdoor street market, mostly selling fruits and vegetables but also clothes and second hand goods.
<b><i>Feriante</i></b>	A person who owns a stall at a market ( <i>feria</i> )
<b><i>Festival de Viña del Mar</i></b>	An international song festival, similar to Eurovision, but it takes place for over one week during the summer in the city of Viña del Mar and is televised every evening.
<b><i>Gran Santiago</i></b>	Greater Santiago, the urban area of Santiago, made up of the urban areas of all the districts in the Province of Santiago, plus the districts of San Bernardo and Calera de Tango (Provincia de Maipo), Puente Alto y Pirque (Provincia de Cordillera) and Padre Hurtado (Provincia de Talagante).
<b><i>Independencia</i></b>	An area in down town Santiago, which specialises in fabrics and various materials
<b><i>ISAPRE</i></b>	Instituciones de Salud Provisional, Provisional Health Institutions, and refers to a generic form of private health insurance system in Chile
<b><i>La Hora</i></b>	Free newspaper distributed daily at Metro entrances
<b><i>La sombra</i></b>	The shadow
<b><i>Lider</i></b>	Supermarket chain
<b><i>Lo Barnechea</i></b>	A well-off borough in North-eastern Santiago
<b><i>Lomito</i></b>	Typical Chilean fast food sandwich made with pork
<b><i>Los Pollitos Dicen</i></b>	Fast food chain selling roasted chicken
<b><i>Mall Plaza Vespucio</i></b>	Shopping mall located in La Florida
<b><i>Micros amarillas</i></b>	Yellow buses, which characterised the bus system in Santiago prior to 2007
<b><i>Nana</i></b>	Chilean slang for domestic cleaners

<b><i>Onces</i></b>	Tea time
<b><i>Pan Amasado</i></b>	Home baked bread
<b><i>Paradero 14</i></b>	Paradero is a Stop. One of the main avenues in Santiago running north to south is Avenida Vicuña Mackenna, it starts at the centre of the city and is numbered by 35 stops until its end at the southern end of Santiago, the closest stop to these neighbourhoods is Paradero 14th.. It is also the place where a major shopping mall (Mall Plaza Vespucio) was built around 1990, it has major supermarkets, cinema, shops, and is serviced by a Metro stop and major bus and colectivo lines. Surrounding this Mall, are major health centres, with doctors' offices concentrated along with major office buildings and Municipal offices.
<b><i>Parar la oreja</i></b>	Sticking the ear out, Chilean slang for listening or eavesdropping
<b><i>Parque Arauco</i></b>	Shopping mall located in the North Eastern area of Santiago
<b><i>Parque O'Higgins</i></b>	Santiago's main park, has place for picnic and barbecues and a major entertainment park
<b><i>Paseo</i></b>	A leisure trip. Could be a walk, a drive, a stroll, for no specific purpose.
<b><i>Patronato</i></b>	An area in downtown Santiago with abundant retail and wholesale commerce, it is also known as the Arabic and Lebanese (and lately also Korean) migrants section of the city.
<b><i>Peñalolén</i></b>	The next borough to the North of La Florida
<b><i>Pisco Sour</i></b>	Chilean national alcoholic drink, very popular as a cocktail
<b><i>Persa</i></b>	fixed markets selling new and second hand goods at wholesale prices generally
<b><i>Plaza Brasil</i></b>	A neighbourhood close to downtown, known for bohemian night life
<b><i>Plaza de Armas</i></b>	Central civic centre
<b><i>Población</i></b>	A popular name for estate housing as well as shanty towns

<b><i>Pololear</i></b>	Chilean slang for romantic dating, courting
<b><i>Publimetro</i></b>	Free newspaper distributed daily at Metro entrances
<b><i>Pudahuel</i></b>	A borough in the north-western periphery of Santiago
<b><i>Puente Alto</i></b>	The next district to the South of La Florida
<b><i>Quiero mi Barrio</i></b>	I Love my Neighbourhood, a National Programme promoted by the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU) to improve 200 deteriorated neighbourhoods in the country.
<b><i>Quinta Normal</i></b>	A traditional park in close to down town Santiago
<b><i>Recoleta</i></b>	A district in the North of Santiago
<b><i>Roto</i></b>	Chilean slang literally meaning “ripped one”. It is a derogatory term used for lower income groups but also for people who are perceived as having little education or manners.
<b><i>Se chacreó</i></b>	Chilean slang literally meaning it got spoilt, used for when situations turn bad
<b><i>Sencillo</i></b>	A debt collecting/bill payment service
<b><i>September 18th</i></b>	Chilean national independence day. One of the main holidays of the year, marking the beginning of spring. Many take the whole week off.
<b><i>Tirando la talla</i></b>	Chilean slang meaning joking around, mocking around
<b><i>Transantiago</i></b>	New public transport system implemented in February 2007 in Santiago
<b><i>Vitrina/vitrinear</i></b>	Shop window, vitrinear is the act to strolling by and looking at the show windows.
<b><i>Zoológico de Buin</i></b>	A zoo located in the southern periphery of Santiago

## 11 APPENDIX 2 - Interviewees

<b>Middle High Income Neighbourhood</b>	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
<b>Jardin de la Viña</b>	El Hualle esquina Rojas Magallanes
Average Housing Value	2,500 – 3,500 UF
Average Income	\$1,000,000 - \$1,500,000
Sandra	Nutritionist. She comes from Cauquenes a town in the South of Chile. She is married to Carlos and they have three children. She works at a Hospital in Las Condes. She also runs a medical food business with three other colleagues, providing food for patients that leave hospital. Also, once a week, she works at a surgery.
Carlos	A school teacher. Comes from Chillan, a town in the South of Chile. He is married to Sandra. He works informally making school uniforms.
Cecilia	An accountant. She holds two Bachelor degrees and comes from Las Condes, a rich area in Santiago. She is married to Roberto. She works at as an accountant in an infrastructure management firm. She is pregnant.
Roberto	Did not go to university but works as an accountant. He is married to Cecilia and has one son from a previous marriage. He works at an exporting company close to the airport.
Felipe	Is a biologist. Comes from Santiago. He is married to Carmen. They have 2 children. Worked as a marine biologist for many years but now is a salesman for a large pharmaceutical company.
Carmen	Is a Nursery teacher but now no longer works. She is married to Felipe. She takes care of the house and runs a small business of making lunches for school children. She also paints ceramics and sometimes sells them.



<b>Middle-income neighbourhood</b>	
<b>Jardín Alto</b>	Rojas Magallanes y Jardín Alto, Quebarada.
Average Housing Value	UF 1,500-2,000
Average Income	\$800,000 – \$1,000,000
Catalina	Is 19 years old and is Laura's daughter. She is studying Photography at a private University. She has a boyfriend.
Laura	She is 48 years old. She has two children: Catalina and Esteban. Catalina lives with her and Esteban with his girlfriend and is getting married. She is a nurse by profession. She works full time at the Municipal Health Office in La Florida. She also has 3 shifts per week at a Health Clinic in Los Quillayes, a low income neighbourhood in La Florida
Isabel	Is 80 years old and has 4 children, one lives in Sweden, another in the USA, another son and daughter in Santiago. She live with her daughter and her family which include her husband; one daughter, one son and his wife and two children; a cousin from Ecuador, a niece from Sweden and her daughter. After 1973, three of her children were exiled to Sweden and she followed them a few years later. She came back to Chile in 1990s. She receives a pension from the Swedish government and that is what she lives from. Goes to Church at the local parish.
Claudia	Is 30 years old, she is a Dentist and is specialising in Orthodontics. She lives with her parents and 2 of her 3 brothers. Since she started her studies, she works part time at a public Health Centre in downtown Santiago. She has a boyfriend and is planning to get married once she finishes her studies.

Low-income neighbourhood	
Santa Teresa	María Angélica, La Araucarias, <i>Paseo Los Robles</i>
Average Housing Value	600 UF
Average Income	\$300,000
Alicia	Is 39 years old. She is married to Bernardo. They have three children, two 19 year old twins and a small 7 year old boy. She works as a seamstress from home.
Bernardo	Is 39 years old and is married to Alicia. He works at a print shop in downtown Santiago. He has another daughter with another woman.
Rodrigo	Is 19 years old. He is Alicia and Bernardo's son. He works at a construction site close to home and studies at an Institute downtown to become obtain a technical construction certificate. He has a girlfriend with whom he spends most of his free time.
Julian	Is 19 years old. He is Alicia and Bernardo's son. He works at an assembling company in La Florida. He also sings in a hip hop group called "Secta Imperial".
Marta	Is 24 years old. She comes from Salamanca, a small town in the north of Chile. She is married to Ernesto. She has a 7 year old daughter. She did not finish High School. She works 4 days a week as a domestic cleaner in La Dehesa, a high income neighbourhood.
Ernesto	Is 28 years old and is married to Marta. He comes from Salamanca, a small town in the north of Chile. He works as a security guard in a gated community about a 10 minute bicycle ride from his home. His has night and day shifts.
Ana	Is 30 years old. She is married to Juan and they have 2 teenage daughters. She did not finish high school and is taking night courses to finish it. She works as a domestic cleaners in La Dehesa, a high income neighbourhood.
Francisco	Is 42 years old and is married to Alejandra. He used to work as a butcher but now works as a security guard in a gated community close to home on the night shift. They have a son with a mental illness and he takes care of him during the day.
Alejandra	Is 39 years old and is married to Francisco. She has a daughter from a previous partner and a son with Francisco. She works as a domestic cleaner in a middle high income neighbourhood about a 30 minute <i>colectivo</i> ride from home.
María	Is 26 years old. She is married to Santiago. They have two small children. She stays at home to take care of the children. She has just set up a small kiosk in the estate and sells chewing gum and candy.

<b>Expert Interviewees</b>				
	<i>Expertise</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Interview Date</i>
Expert 1	Transport Engineer	Hernan Silva	Chief Urban Division, SECTRA	December 2006
Expert 2	Urban Planner	Luis Eduardo Bresciani	Chief Urban Development Division, MINVU	December 2006
Expert 3	Transport Engineer	Raul Barrientos	Chief Infrastructure Transantiago	December 2006
Expert 4	Sociologist, Transport Expert	German Correa	Ex-Director of Transantiago	December 2006
Expert 5	Transport Engineer, Academic	Francisco Martinez	Professor Transport Engineering Department, University of Chile	December 2006
Expert 6	Transport Engineer	Cristian López	Road Division, MOP	December 2006
Expert 7	Transport Engineer, Consultant	Pedro Donoso	Labtus	December 2006
Expert 8	Urban Planner, Academic	Lisandro Silva	Academia, School of Architecture, University of Viña del Mar	December 2006
Expert 9	Activist	Patricio Lanfranco	Director, Ciudad Viva	December 2006

## 12 APPENDIX 3 - Tools and Instruments

### Expert Interview themes

<i>Aim</i>	<i>Questions</i>
Principles and objectives of urban planning policy	<p>What is the aim of the urban policy?</p> <p>What are the guiding principles</p> <p>What are the main elements of the Chilean urban policy</p> <p>What cities do they wish to follow emulate</p> <p>What examples do they view as successful?</p> <p>What models do they think Santiago should emulate adopt?</p> <p>What type of research do they use to feed or devise urban policy?</p> <p>How is the view of experts incorporated into policy?</p> <p>What is the role of the planner?</p>
Approach to place making in urban planning	<p>How is the experience of living the city incorporated into planning policies and practices?</p> <p>How important is appropriation of space in planning</p> <p>What are the main spatial elements of everyday living that affect quality of life</p> <p>What role does meaning that people give to space in urban policy</p>
Approach to mobility in urban planning	<p>How do you see the relation between social exclusion and mobility What strategies are used?</p> <p>How is access defined? How is access improved?</p> <p>What measures should be adopted?</p> <p>What is the relationship between urban mobility and urban policies</p> <p>Is mobility seen only as part of transport planning?</p> <p>How is transport infrastructure construction related to housing?</p> <p>What are the barriers that prevent mobility from taking place</p>

## Household Expenses

Items	Daily	#	Weekly	Monthly	Annual	Total Monthly
House						
Water						
Light						
Gas						
Cable						
Community Expenses						
Rubbish						
Telephone						
Mobile phone						
Supermarket						
Market						
Corner Store						
Pharmacy						
Garden						
Home fixing						
Other						
Transport						
Bus						
Metro						
Petrol						
<i>Colectivo</i>						
Car Maintenance						
Highway Charge						
Plate tax						
Insurance						
Tickets						
Other						
Children						
School						
Clothes						
School material						
Extracurricular activities						
Lunch						
Allowance						
Other						
Medical Expenses						
Doctors						
Medicine						
Clothes						
Recreation and free time						
Books/newspaper						
Going out						
Sports						
Other						
Debts						
Credit Cards						
Commercial Cards						
Other						

**Travel Lodger**

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Neighbourhood \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Time	Origin	Destination	Duration	Purpose	Mode	Trajectory	Accompaniment
5:00							
6:00							
7:00							
8:00							
9:00							
10:00							
11:00							
12:00							
13:00							
14:00							
15:00							
16:00							
17:00							
...							
23:00							
24:00							
1:00							
2:00							
3:00							
4:00							

# Household Information

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ Neighbourhood \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Email \_\_\_\_\_ Place of Work \_\_\_\_\_

	First Name	Sex	Age	Civil Situation 1. Married 2. Living together 3. Annulled 4. Separated 5. Widow 6. Single	Relationship to head of household 1. Head of Household 2. Partner or Spouse 3. Son/daughter 4. Parents/In laws 5. grandchild 6. Son/daughter in law 7. Sister/brother/in law 8. Other relative 9. Other 10. Not a relative	Last school course approved: 1. Preschool 2. Elementary 3. High school 4. High school technical 5. University 6. Professional Institute 7. Special school 8. None 9. Other	Main activity of last month 1. Unemployed 2. Employer 3. Self employed 4. Employee 5. Domestic Service (Sleep in) 6. Domestic Service 7. Armed Forces 8. Agricultural Temporary worker 9. Family no Remuneration 10. Student 11. Other
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
<b>Household Income</b>						<b>Housing value:</b>	
1. Over \$ 1.500.000						1. Over 5.000 UF	
2. Between \$1.000.000 and \$1.500.000						2. Between 2.500 UF and 5.000 UF	
3. Between \$750.000 and \$1.500.000						3. Between 1.200 UF and 2.500 UF	
4. Between \$350.000 and \$750.000						4. Between 600 UF and 1.200 UF	
5. Between \$220.000 and \$350.000						5. Between 280 UF and 600 UF	
6. Between \$90.000 and \$220.000						6. Between 90 UF and 140 UF	
7. Less than \$90.000							

Date \_\_\_\_\_

### 13 APPENDIX 4 - Urban and Transport Planning in Santiago de Chile

A major characteristic of urban and transport planning in Chile is the institutional overlap of the various entities whose interventions have some form of influence over the territory. With a population of over 15 Million inhabitants (INE 2002), Chile is structured by two levels of democratic institutions: national and local. At a national level it is organised through the Executive (President), the Legislative and the Judicial branches and at a local level, through the Municipalities with its Executive (Mayor), Legislative (Council) and CESCO<sup>209</sup> (Consejo Económico y Social Comunal) branches (See Figure 1. Chilean Institutional structure). An additional intermediate government layer exists at a regional level, as the country is divided into 15 regions<sup>210</sup> (Gobierno Regional, GORE), each with a Regional Governor (Intendente) appointed by the President. Each region is further divided into Provinces. The executive branch is composed of 22 Ministries<sup>211</sup> which operate on a national, regional and local level.

The city of Santiago is part of the 13th Metropolitan Region (Region Metropolitana, RM). It is composed of 6 provinces and 52 boroughs (MOP, 2007), within which the city of Santiago, also known as Greater Santiago, has a population of 5.428.590 inhabitants, equivalent to 35,91% of the national population (INE 2002), and is made up of the urban areas of 34 boroughs<sup>212</sup>. The RM concentrates the greatest national population and GDP (47%) making it the Region with highest economic growth, even greater than national average (MOP, 2007). This urban primacy makes Santiago the centre of all the communication and transport systems in the country; it hosts all diplomatic representations as well as most commercial headquarters. Therefore Santiago is not only the country's capital, it is also the place where most national decisions are made, thus the saying that anything that occurs in Chile, usually happens in Santiago, thus the relevance of any major intervention in the city.

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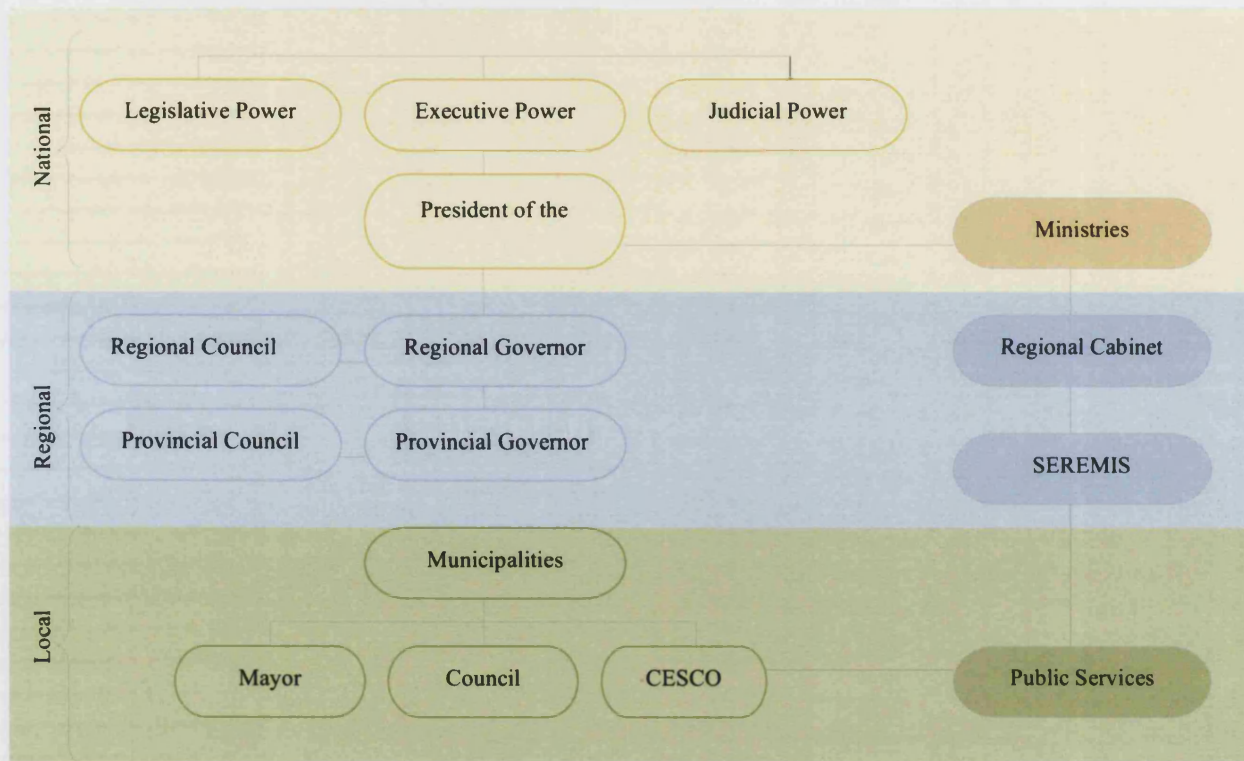
<sup>209</sup> Advises the Municipality and is made up of representatives of the organised community.

<sup>210</sup> 13 of which were created in 1974, and the last two, Region de Arica y Parinacota and Region de los Rios, were created in 2007

<sup>211</sup> Four of which (Comision de Medioambiente, CONAMA; Consejo Nacional de Energia, CNE; Servicio Nacional de la Mujer SERNAM, and Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y las Artes) are not called ministries but have ministerial status.

<sup>212</sup> Greater Santiago is made up of the urban areas the 32 the boroughs in the Province of Santiago, plus the boroughs of San Bernardo (Provincia de Maipo), Puente Alto (Provincia de Cordillera).





**Figure 10. Chilean Public Institutional Structure**

This brief national institutional introduction sets the scene to the institutional overlap in socio-spatial, urban and transport decision-making in the capital. In Santiago, there is no single metropolitan authority to overview planning and management. This means that ‘urban issues’ are not all handled by the same institution: housing, parks, land, infrastructure planning, mega projects, air pollution, congestion, public or private transport, citizen security, waste disposal, are all handled by different institutions, often operating on the same territory without sharing a common objective. As can be seen in Figure 2. Main institutions intervening in Urban and Transport Planning<sup>213</sup>, the number of institutions involved often make multilevel and simultaneous interventions. This uncoordinated decision making and information flow as well as the inadequate urban tools lead to increased territorial fragmentation (Gaete 2003; Soms 2004; Sierra 2006)(Expert 6). This multiplicity of actors inhibits a coherent overall urban aim to be translated into policies, programmes, plans or projects and often creates urban development difficulties for public and private actors alike (Galetovic 2006). On an operational level, the absence of common aims translates into a situation where generally, each institution has its own objectives for environment, transport, land use, housing or urban management.

Despite this multi layer web of institutions lacking an adequate institutional framework or citywide authority, there is still uncertainty as to the role of the state in terms of spatial decision-making. Some view this role as one of a market enabler, “today the role of the state could be that of a regulator, promoter, facilitator, but there is no clarity, there are some ideas but they are left in the discourse, but the visions are not convergent with economic reality, or with the way markets work. The business mechanism of real estate promoters need to be recognized and understood, and from there see the mechanisms of regulation that promote competition, strengthen quality, improve services. Those themes are not present today” (Expert 6). Others think this role should be one of guaranteeing a more just society (Expert 9). However, regardless of divergence, “the roles of each institution have to be very clear, and if the decisions made by one ministry induce costs to another ministry or society as a whole, they have to be incorporated into the total costs” (Expert 6). Hence, an urban policy that would “integrate all the city policies, is yet to be devised. What we have in Chile is a set of sectorial policies, specific to treat particular problems, that are sometime integrated in local policies, but only sometimes when the authorities manage to do it” (Expert 2).

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<sup>213</sup> For further detail on urban planning in Chile see Appendix 4. Urban and Transport Planning in Chile

Within this institutional web, there are also other issues: effective evaluation and planning tools. The lack of tools to evaluate is related to the pressures “ministries have and the way we are evaluated, these tool do not allow for integrated policies, the Ministry of Public Works is measured according to the money spent, the works finished, as is in Housing, they don’t measure the coherence of works in the long term, there are no tools for this, what happens is what economists call high transaction costs, there are no tools that facilitate convergence, you may have the will, but we don’t have a tool that encourages integration” (Expert 2). There is an absence of tools to “evaluate real impact of interventions but also legal tools that can protect urban development for the future. MINVU operates without really having an overall territorial evaluation of what the implications of the location of certain projects will be, their prime consideration is land value, with no analysis of transport, accessibility, economic activity, segregation, other infrastructure” (Expert 6).

Hence, in the context of an inadequate institutional framework, absence of urban policy, and inadequate tools, the absence of citizenship demands and criticism of what is taking place, makes the city left to the mercy of private developers. Most urban interventions are carried out without any form of participation, very limited information is leaked into public discussion and urban citizens demand very little explanation of what takes place. Within this context, the decisions to undertake a major urban intervention were generated. The following sections provide a closer detail of how this took place.

### **Urban Planning in Santiago: Institutional Fragmentation leads to Urban Fragmentation**

There is growing consensus that the current planning system requires urgent modification in order to cope with the current and future development of Chilean cities (Galetovic and Jordan 2006; Galetovic and Poduje 2006; Sierra 2006). The most recurrent criticism relates to the institutional fragmentation and multiplicity of public actors making decisions on the territory, lacking coordination within and among institutions. The second criticism involves the law regulated planning system, with diverse, superimposed laws as well as outdated public policies that attempt to organise and redistribute the territory but constantly lag behind urban areas that have long changed. This has generated recurrent, continuous and excessive law modifications and new planning instruments to chase the city’s increasing extension, in the attempt to mitigate its urban development impacts. Although most urban experts would agree in seeing these issues problematic and in need of change, there is no agreement on the future orientation of urban policies or planning, or the role of the state in

planning, the role of public participation in this task and, most importantly for this research, the way differentiated urban experiences are included in this vision.

Institutionally, Ministries are at the top of the national executive hierarchy after the President, and are in charge of national planning and enforcement within their respective sector. See Table 1 for a summary of the main institutions according to level of intervention on the territory. Nationally, the main actors within urban, city, territorial decision making include the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, MINVU) and the Ministry of Public Works (Ministerio de Obras Publicas, MOP). MINVU's main responsibility is national housing development as well as urban planning at a national level, through the Urban Development Division (Division de Desarrollo Urbano, DDU), while MOP provides infrastructure for national connectivity, public construction and optimal use of water resources (MOP, 2007). On an on and off basis, MOP has been in charge of the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications (Ministerio de Telecomunicaciones y Transporte, MTT or MOPTT) which oversees national transport policies. Moreover, the Secretary of Regional Development (Subsecretaria de Desarrollo Regional y Administrativo, SUBDERE), dependant on the Ministry of Interior, also has attributions on the territory by strengthening regional and municipal governance and decentralisation process, through its various tools<sup>214</sup>. Additionally, the National Commission on Environment (Comision Nacional de Medio Ambiente, CONAMA, depending on Ministry General Secretary of the Presidency, SEGPRES) promotes, protects and supervises relations between individuals and the state regarding the environment, and regulates and implements Environmental Impact Declarations and Evaluations.

Regionally, other instances that play vital roles on territorial decision making include the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (Ministerio de Planificacion y Cooperacion Internacional, MIDEPLAN), which oversees and promotes national development through the organization of programmes, plans and public investment. MIDEPLAN is also responsible for the Regional Planning and Transport Secretary (Secretaría Interministerial de Planificación de Transporte, SECTRA), which provides

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<sup>214</sup> These include Programming Agreements (Convenios de Programacion) among various institution to act jointly on the territory; Neighbourhood Improvement Programme (Programa de Mejoramiento de Barrios, PMB); Regional Public Investment Programme (Programa de Inversión Pública en la Región, PROPIR) which deals, among other issues, with city and infrastructure investment including connectivity infrastructure, roads, bicycle trails Subsecretaria de Desarrollo Regional y Administrativo, S. (2007). "Subsecretaria de Desarrollo Regional y Administrativo, SUBDERE." Retrieved 27 November, 2007, 2007.; major local, provincial or regional funding through the FNDR (Fondo Nacional de Desarrollo Regional) for investment on roads, schools, health centres, green areas, public lighting, water drainage, sewerages, amongst others, which are then technically analysed by the Regional Councils (Consejos Regionales, CORE) and then executed by Regional Services, Municipalities, Regional directions, and the Regional Government (GORE) usually oversees these investments.

technical transport support to the state entities involved in transport planning, such as MOP, MTT, MINVU, SEGPRES (SECTRA, 2007). Moreover, the Agricultural and Livestock Service, part of the Ministry of Agriculture (Servicio Agrícola Ganadero, SAG, Ministerio de Agricultura, MINAGRI) regulates urbanisation of rural land. Within the Regional Government of RM, another instance of technical support is the Environmentally Sustainable Territorial Development Project (Proyecto Bases para un Ordenamiento Territorial Ambientalmente Sustentable - OTAS), which provides technical tools for integral territorial management (Gobierno Regional Metropolitano de Santiago 2007). More specifically, MINVU aside from its major task of overseeing the national housing policy and its implementation, which, as seen in Chapter 4, has had major influence on the territory over the past 30 years, is also responsible for urban planning at a regional level and in charge of developing regional land use plans and regulations and through the Housing and Urbanism Secretary (SEREMI MINVU) and executes plans through the Housing and Urbanism Service (Servicio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, SERVIU), which also deals with infrastructure

From a regulatory point of view, urban planning in Chile is regulated by law, mainly by the General Law of Urban Development and Construction (Ley General de Urbanismo y Construcciones, LGUC), which is translated into Ordinances and technical norms (Zegras and Gakenheimer 2000). According to the LGUC, urban planning is understood as “the process that takes place to orient and regulate development in urban centres as a function of national, regional and municipal socioeconomic development policy. The aims and objectives established by such national policy for urban development shall be incorporated in urban planning at all levels” (art 27 in (Torres 2005)) and its elaboration and implementation is MINVU’s responsibility. Moreover, each region has its own regulatory tool; which for RM is called the Metropolitan Regulatory Plan (Plan Regulador Metropolitano de Santiago, PRMS) developed by MINVU’s Regional Ministerial Secretary (Secretaria Regional Ministerial de Vivienda y Urbanismo, SEREMI MINVU). The PRMS was last formally updated in 1994 but has had successive amendments (MINVU 2006 [1994]) particularly in terms of land use and expansion areas, devising new tools for intervening or creating new areas of urban expansion. These new tools include the Conditioned Urban Development Zones (Zona de Desarrollo Urbano Condicionado, ZODUC) which allow the development of new residential areas outside the urban limit with the condition of self-sufficiency in terms of infrastructure and amenities<sup>215</sup>; Priority Development Area (Area de Desarrollo Urbano

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<sup>215</sup> In 1997 the PRMS was modified to add 60,000 new hectares to the urban developable area of Santiago by adding the Province of Chacabuco on the North of Santiago within the urban limit, thus allowing the incorporation of change in location of economic activities, norms of land use and edification, demographics,

Prioritario, AUDP), areas within the urban limit that are encouraged for development; Conditioned Urban Development Projects (Proyectos de Desarrollo Urbano Condicionado, PDUC), or floating ZODUC, are large real estate projects which may develop in any area outside the urban limit under the condition that they comply with enough infrastructure and amenities<sup>216</sup> through urban impact studies which identify the areas of influence, determine the impacts and propose mitigation actions for natural risks, transport and roadways, running water, sewage, water treatment and drainage. Each of these tools define the scale of the projects, minimum hectares, the regulation within the zone, the percentage of social housing, the development stages, and other specific regulation. Another new planning tool is the Real Estate Co-ownership Law (Ley de Copropiedad Inmobiliaria), which regulates the development of condominiums or gated communities.

At a local level, Municipalities have control over their territories through District Regulatory Plans (Plan Regulator Comunal, PRC) which are made up of norms on land use, building coefficients, building conditions, urban spaces and roads (Artículo 41 LGUC). According to Gurovich (Gurovich 2000) the PRC is the most used urban tool in the country and has four major characteristics: it is a set of norms; a formula of conjunction and coordination of procedures on how to act over space or its spatial impacts; an objective image achieved after negotiation and has a temporal perspective; and, a tool for municipal management. However, PRC require approval by MINVU and not all of Santiago's Municipalities have an approved PRC, therefore, they must follow the PRMS, which prevails at a local level as well. Municipalities also have District Development Plans (Planes de Desarrollo Comunales, PLADECO Municipio) oriented to develop local social and economic strategies, which are usually short term and depend on the elected authority.

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social composition, housing location, access improvement, local services and amenities. This made the urban area of Santiago, including the urban consolidated, urbanisable and extension area, approximately 120,000 ha.

<sup>216</sup> These projects require to be developed on a territory equivalent to 300 ha or more with an average density of 85 inhabitants per hectares, allowing for 15 inhabitants per hectare and requiring 30% of social housing. So far project in Pudahuel, Colina and San Bernardo have been presented without acquiring full permission yet.

**Table 1. Urban Planning and Transport Planning Institutions Relevant in Mobility Field**

	<i>Area of Intervention</i>	<i>Government Entity according to Level of Intervention</i>		
		<i>National</i>	<i>Regional</i>	<i>Municipal</i>
<b>Transport</b>	<i>Infrastructure</i>	MINVU (SERVIU) MOP MIDEPLAN		Municipalities
	<i>Planning</i>	MINVU MOP SECTRA MIDEPLAN	SEREMI SERPLAC	Municipalities
	<i>Operations</i>	MTT METRO EFE	SEREMI – MITT UOCT	Municipalities
<b>Land use</b>	<i>Planning</i>	MINVU MIDEPLAN	SEREMI- MINVU GORE SERPLAC	Municipalities
	<i>Development</i>	SERVIU		
<b>Housing</b>	<i>Planning</i>	MINVU MIDEPLAN	MINVU	SERVIU Municipalities
	<i>Development</i>	SERVIU MIDEPLAN	SERVIU SUBDERE	SERVIU SUBDERE Municipalities
<b>Environment</b>	<i>Planning</i>	CONAMA	COREMA GORE (OTAS)	
	<i>Enforcement</i>	CONAMA MTT MINSAL	COREMA SESMA	
<b>Basic Services</b>		MOP MINVU MINSAL MIDEPLAN	SUBDRE SESMA	SUBDERE MINVU

Adapted from (Zegras and Gakenheimer 2000)

Within this institutional and regulatory framework, under the pressure from real estate developers (Expert 5) urban planning in Chile has evolved from a completely top down state controlled activity deciding over what gets done on the territory to a project based one practice which attempts to implement a ‘pay per use’ approach or conditioned planning, where urban development is permitted under the condition that the impacts provoked by each intervention are paid for. Although the two approaches are on extremes of an urban planning continuum, both are being applied simultaneously using the existing institutional setting and regulatory framework, which is constantly being patched up as new circumstances and opportunities arise, making urban development especially difficult and

complex. The assumption under conditioned planning is that growth is inevitable and desirable (Galetovic and Jordan 2006) and must therefore be regulated. This assumption is taken as a tendency of cities in developed countries, however little discussion has taken place on whether it necessarily has to be Santiago's. Although it could be, this orientation requires democratic discussion and open debate, on what to regulate, by whom, for what and for when, particularly when the capital faces such diverse challenges as affordable housing, urban segregation, air and noise pollution, urban regeneration, urban extension, suburbanisation, and urban inequality. These issues cannot be tackled with the existing institutional and regulatory framework, and new institutional, legal, opinion, habits, management styles are required, however these can only arise from broad and open discussions.

This market led type of planning often leads to planning by projects that can become problematic when applied in a vacuum of urban vision, and the absence of an urban policy to guide urban planning at any level in Chile, as the previous one was derogated in year 2000 (Torres 2005). In 2004 a process denominated the Urban Reform (Reforma Urbana, RU) was initiated by MINVU with the intention of elaborating of an urban policy. This initiative has recently evolved to an Urban Agenda (Agenda Urbana, AU). RU and AU attempt to tackle tendencies of increasing urban population, growing diversity in types of cities and urban form, increased daily mobility; greater construction and urban change; ever-increasing need for urban land, and urban inequality by actions in the regulatory system, urban management, urban improvement investment; and of neighbourhoods regeneration (MINVU 2007). The bottom line intention of MINVU with these reforms is quite clear as it has been trying to become the main actor in territorial development by having the attribution to regulate the whole territory (urban and rural); second, improve, change, and develop regulatory system to allow for urban expansion. Although participation is mentioned as a key in the process, actual participation in decision making, or the concrete and intention incorporation of participative methodologies has been minimal. Moreover, constant mention to improvement in public space investment as essential for proper urban development, but in concrete terms, little is done in terms of relevant investment in this area and public space funding has been limited and decreased over the years. Finally, MINVU's latest key selling idea is urban integration. This concept as seen in Chapter 4, attracts many as it is seen as a way of improve existing urban inequalities. However, it is often void of content and as mentioned by DDU's Chief, it is presented as way to please all "those complaining about poor housing quality, get a response, those complaining about rich and poor living in the same are, get a response, those asking for more land to develop get a response" (Expert 2), as contradicting as some of these may seem the response all fall under the integration intention.



In Santiago, there is no single authority to overview planning and management, meaning that not all “urban issues” are handled by the same institution: housing, parks, land, infrastructure planning, mega projects, air pollution, congestion, public or private transport, citizen security, waste disposal, are all handled by different institutions, without sharing a common vision among them. However, the plethora of institutions mentioned above make multilevel simultaneous interventions, uncoordinated decision making and information flow in their actions as well as through their urban tools leading to territorial fragmentation. This multiplicity inhibits a coherent overall urban aim to be translated into policies, programmes, plan or projects and create urban development difficulties for public as for private actors. On an operational level, the fact that an overall vision of the city is either absent, or not shared, translates into the situation where most of the time, each institutions has its own objectives for environment, transport, land use, housing or urban management.

From private investors point of view, this complexity makes it difficult to develop urban areas, only allowing those with considerable size and resources to hire specialists to disentangle the process, or conversely those with enough power to appeal directly to a minister or even the President<sup>217</sup> to actually access urban development (Galetovic 2006)<sup>218</sup>. For them, the procedures and diversity of uncoordinated authorities (in the case of PDUC it takes 14 institutions to approve a project), urban investment is a real challenge (Galetovic 2006). According to Galotevic (2006), the private sector wishes for further simplification, ease and speed in operation from public authorities. However, this can only occur if public authorities are supported by serious, capable, knowledgeable guidance to oversee urban investment. When the rules of the game are complex, and state operates with vague intentions, as on one side it wants to operate in a market-like situation, allowing for urban development to intervene and expand the urban territory, but on the other side, it does not regulate, control, evaluate or guide properly to guarantee certain urban criteria or aims. Simultaneously, it does not operate fully under a normative planning logic, as its normative tools are either outdated or too complex to implement. Thus, real estate companies are not fully to blame for their project led urban development, but the planning system also has major responsibilities for not providing adequately for it.

Therefore, urban planning in the city of Santiago is a function that although should be carried out locally by each Municipality, it is still under direct control and coordination of the MINVU and municipalities lack adequate economic and human resources to tackle the

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<sup>217</sup> As the President ultimately has the responsibility, which is mostly delegated to settle urban conflicts Sierra (2006)

<sup>218</sup> From a public institutions point of view, because each of these institutions is evaluated not for its efficacy, but by their capacity to spend its annual budget (through meters of road built or paved or number of houses started)

complexity of contemporary planning. This absence of real commitment to having an adequate planning system is reflected in the inadequate human resources available at the most crucial urban development level: the municipality, which lacks up to date urban planning professionals as well as dynamic interdisciplinary teams. Municipalities also lack the resources to undertake the tasks they are required to do. At most, there has been an increased involvement of urban geographers in urban development management<sup>219</sup>; however, further strengthening of urban professional staff is needed. At a Ministerial level at MINVU, most professionals dealing with urban development are architects with a strong physical planning orientation and little interdisciplinary discussion. Conversely, the private sector hires the best skilled professionals and constitutes multi disciplinary teams that are better prepared than those regulating. Moreover as a guild or association, the construction industry is backed up by a very strong organization, Construction Chamber (Camara Chilena de la Construccion, CChC) with strong influence on MINVU. This scenario is ideal for powerful real estate developers, as ill prepared public servants make the interaction easier. In this context, silent urban citizens do not have any corporative weight in the system and no genuine open participation process (Lee and Rivasplata 2001) exists.

Since the 1990s, Santiago “has experienced an expeditious process of urban change involving a number of public-private initiatives like the constructions of high-standard urban and interregional highways, the development of gated communities and enclosed cities” (Zunino 2005): 1825. Therefore, under conditioned planning, urban planning in Chile is seen as a set of projects whose purpose is to modernise the city, optimise land use, and generate economic growth to the capital. Physical integration among these projects or their thematic or functional relation is often spelled out after individual projects are conceived or even built, thus generating islands of urban development throughout the city. Under strong competition for urban land, speculation for land prices abound as do the new forms of segregation through gated communities increasingly located outside the urban limit in search for suitable land plots. Growth in peripheral areas is very clearly defined according to income groups, as there are districts for social housing for low income groups, districts for middle income groups and districts for high income groups. This is a process that is broader, linked to Chiles liberal development model and obviously it impacts the way urban development takes place. Therefore, Chile’s economic liberalisation and consensual politics have affected urban development by strengthening the market role and promoting the use of strict technical criteria in the evaluation of urban initiatives (Zunino 2005):1826. Where the

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<sup>219</sup> In Chile, the use of GIS in urban development has become a must, making geographers knowledge indispensable, however, urban geography is practiced in an overly descriptive way, without analytical skills, makes them specialists in georeferencing data but lack analytical skills to solve complex problems

planning process is still strongly influenced by large landowners and real estate corporations (Lee and Rivasplata 2001). The logic behind this urban development is that when income increases people want more housing and bigger plots, and only way of having them cheaper is buying away from the centre. Under this logic, so long as certain areas are protected, all the territory should be potentially urbanisable (Errazuriz 2006).

The spread of condominiums or gated communities, institutional or infrastructure projects, architecturally attractive at times but hollow in terms of unity among them, results in a fragmented city that perpetuates a splintering in physical, but particularly in social terms. The main reason why the city is broken up into projects is that, as individual units, the city becomes a commodity that is easier to sell than as a whole, also generating greater profit margins. Thus breaking it up into small fragments, splintering it, is a way of planning. The compartmentalised view of the city contributes to this fragmentation, as plans, programmes and policy are not coherent on paper even less so can they be integrated on the ground.

The discipline of urban planning in Chile is a physical one, mainly handled by architects and executed by real estate developers. Increasingly, using the latest technology in attempts to use objective measures to convince of what is happening, using satellite images, maps, quantitative cartography (see Galetovic book), thus the increase in geographers in planning. However, as suggested by (Bertrand 2006), this does not contemplate social dynamics or daily practices, through these types of representations, ideas such as demonstrating of unavailable urban land for only two more years, CCHC makes it difficult to argue. Moreover, the approach is overly physical and rational (Bresciani). This is important to note since as discussed in the previous chapters and originally argued by Lefebvre (1991a), the production of space is different from its representation and the way it is lived and this also needs to be understood in urban planning.

Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 5, the city is seen as static, fixed in space and time, without recognising mobility implications in contemporary urban living. In this context, the integration between urban and transport planning is inexistent and merely done in terms of creating connections between specific areas of interest, as they are elaborated as unrelated projects. As discussed in Chapter 5, it would be helpful to think of the spatialisation of inequality not only in terms of fixed enclaves, but as mobile gradients, as a phenomenon that may reach various groups of urban residents in fluctuant and differentiated manners, particularly because people's permanence in the city varies and fluctuates hourly, daily, weekly, seasonally, yearly. Social conditions of gender, income, age, ethnicity, or religion may be positive aspects of diverse societies, but they may also be based on unequal power

relations and thus generate inequalities in outcomes (uneven levels of achievement), access and opportunities in the city.

It appears that the new model for urban planning in Chile with its successive amendments, fragmented vision and institutions, unqualified professionals and eager urban developers require a profound and substantive shift. This goes beyond preparing a new urban agenda or submitting a new law modification, or adding a new institution to oversee certain functions. Chilean urban planning practice requires a shift in mentality and vision of seeing the city integrally, but with all the differences present. Although this shift may be seen as subtle and slight, it would require a profound transformation not just in urban but in transport planning as well, as will be seen in the next section and in the analysis of Transantiago. The Transantiago experience, indicates that market led planning requires not only sophisticated institutional systems to regulate it, but also a type of government capable of handling such complex interventions with massive urban implications.

Transantiago was coordinated by the newly created Executive Secretary of Transantiago within the MTT, in charge of overseeing the General Transantiago Coordination (Coordinación General del Transantiago, CGTS) which coordinated the design and execution of the plan through the diverse state entities linked to the public transport sector: MOP, MTT, MINVU, GORE, CONAMA, Metro Santiago and SECTRA. Parallel to this, Transantiago responded to an Inter-ministerial Committee involving the heads of MINVU, MOP, MTT, Metro, Santiago's Intendente (See Figure 11. Transantiago Coordinating Structure).

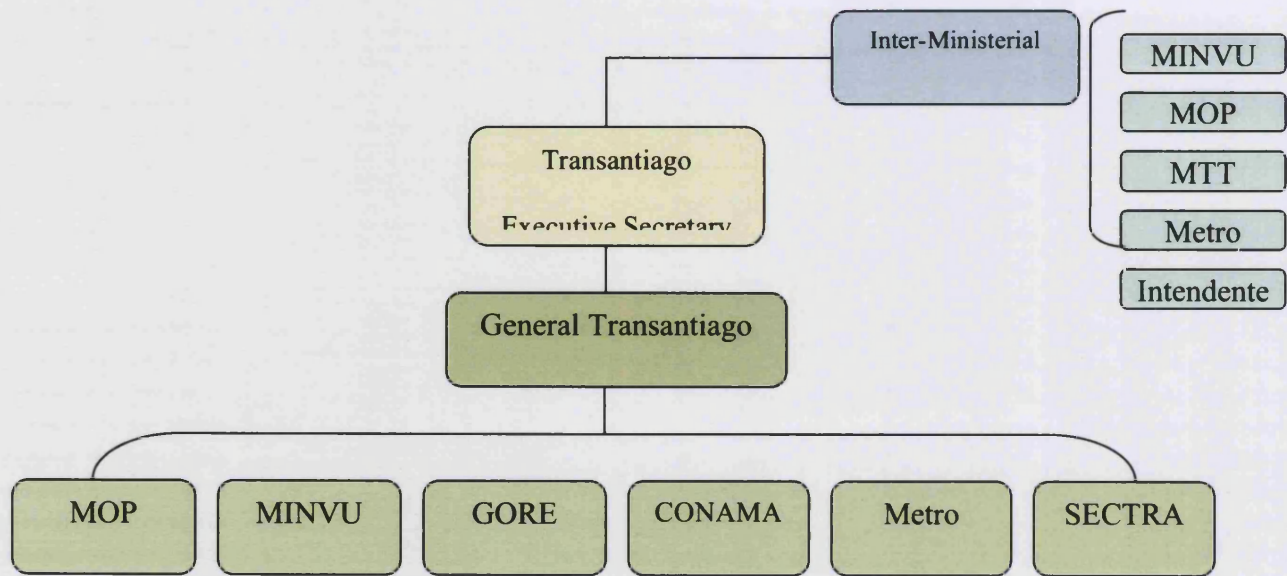


Figure 11. Transantiago Coordinating Structure

## **Transantiago Institutional Arrangement**

As briefly described in the first part of this chapter, the institutional structure of the Chilean urban and transport planning system is scattered and responsibilities for its functioning lie on various institutions which operate in an uncoordinated manner. Since the implementation of the PTUS, transport for Santiago has been coordinated within MTT and guided by an Inter-ministerial Committee (CI, *Comite Interministerial*) formed to advise on decision-making, which included the heads of MINVU, MOPTT, Metro S.A., Intendencia de Santiago. As mentioned by Geissen (2006), certain incoherence could be perceived between the CI and Transantiago Coordination (*Coordinacion General del Transporte de Santiago-Transantiago*, CGTS), where the first was primarily political and the second mainly technical. There was also territorial inconsistency as national institutions were in charge of making major metropolitan decisions. This led to a third problem which is the inexistence of a Metropolitan Transport Authority. Lastly, Geissen (2006) mentions how the emphasis on business over interdisciplinary and socio-political aspects of urban transport was bound to generate operational difficulties.

Transantiago is a manifestation of deeper problems in urban management, planning and urban investment decisions in the country. The complexity of decisions and political will required a strong authority with clarity and real decision making power to carry out major changes and transform the transport industry. Proposals regarding the creation of a Metropolitan Transport Authority existed and a new law proposal was elaborated, but never sent to Congress, thus never implemented. The existing institutional framework made it impossible to manage a system like Transantiago including the bus routes, fares, financial administration, communication, management of services, infrastructure, monitoring, operation, follow up and control, without clear and strong multi-territorial and multi-sectorial authority. Although it might appear as feasible, the Transport SEREMI does not have the faculties or resources to take over such task. In Santiago there is an urgent need for a new form of a institutional set up, which could take the form of metropolitan authority, with political and administrative competence to oversee regional, administrative, sectorial issues of the city in the long term.

The major problem with the lack of an institutional authority is insufficient power to control the various institutions that play a role in urban and transport decisions in the capital. Overstepping on each other's operations would have occurred to Transantiago or any other initiative requiring a metropolitan intervention. This is because there is no metropolitan/citywide authority with the political and institutional strength to step over

individual ministerial wishes and desires. Therefore, unless the city of Santiago solves its institutional web and decentralises decision making away from the national Ministries, this institutional problem will persist. This generates a need not only for a transport authority but for a broader urban authority at a metropolitan level.

Such a metropolitan authority needs to be able to provide an inter-municipal and inter-sectorial urban management approach and be able to integrate the management/planning of the city while at the same time promote an open participatory democracy. Such change would generate a major upheaval in Chile, as it would give the city of Santiago more power than it already has in national terms, and it would also involve new and adequate planning tools for such a new structure that would require the elimination of the existing precarious ones. Such a move also require democratically elected authorities – not yet the case for Regional Intendentes – and municipalities who represent the view of its population.

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