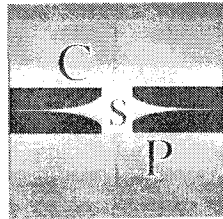


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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

PLACE MAKING IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN DAILY MOBILITY PRACTICES: ACTUALISING TIME-SPACE MAPPING AS A USEFUL METHODOLOGICAL TOOL

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Introduction

The everyday experience of place making in contemporary mobile urban societies requires an updated understanding of place as well as a way of representing this experience in a holistic manner. In simple terms, people identify places as those spots that they go to for some particular purpose or function, they also signify them and these in turn provide meaning to individuals and communities. However, the notion of place as signifying 'feeling at home' or as rooted or bound, settled and coherent communities has been questioned¹ due to the increasing pace of globalisation and time-space compressions² and for the fact that home is not always a positive or significant experience for everyone.

Thus places can best be understood as dynamic and mobile and not necessarily staying in one location.³ As a large part of our days are spent going from one place to another, the practice of being mobile (or immobile) becomes essential in the consideration of these places and how they are constructed and experienced. Within this mobility, there are sporadic places that have special meaning to urban dwellers, but there are also everyday places, both of these can either expand people's experience of a city or confine it.

Understanding the way people signify these daily encountered places as well as their meaning to urban practices requires innovative methodologies of enquiry and representation. Qualitative methodologies are usually used to explain urban practices through verbal description. However, visual and spatial forms of enquiry and representation are also required to adequately attempt to grasp them, though never fully, at least better. This paper proposes complementing time-space mapping, with an ethnographic research approach, as a comprehensive way of understanding mobile places, how they are created, and more importantly how they expand or restrict people experience of the city. This will be done using examples of three daily mobility experiences in Santiago de Chile.

Place making and mobility

Current globalisation processes, including technological, communicational and financial advances, as well as current planning, city marketing and branding trends, and global cities architecture tend to generate urban spaces that appear as clones of those elsewhere: suburban tracts, shopping malls, freeway interchanges, hotels, office complexes, rehabilitated old neighbourhoods, or gated communities are less and less distinguishable and often 'placeless' sites in Relph's⁴ terms. 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.⁵

According to Savage, place-making is still relevant today,⁶ however, the process of place making in contemporary cities is complex. Massey argues that if social organisation of space is changing and disrupting the existing ideas about place, then the concept of place should be rethought altogether.⁷ This is also because bound ideas of place representing identity and self value can exclude the migrant, the exiled, women, men, or children. In this view, places can be seen as the location of particular sets of intersecting social relations and intersecting activity spaces in time.⁸

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.

⁴ Relph (1976).

⁵ Gieryn (2000); Cresswell (2001); Sheller and Urry (2006).

⁶ Savage *et al.* (2005).

⁷ Massey (1994); Massey (1995).

⁸ Massey (1995).

¹ Massey (1995) Cresswell (2001).

² Harvey (1990).

³ Urry (2004).

Furthermore places can have different scales,⁹ types (private/public) or characteristics (fixed/mobile), all of which do not exclude each other and often overlap in time as well as in space. Thus space is not just a container of place but a disputed and integral part of it. As such, place is not only what is fleetingly observed on the landscape, a “locale” or setting for activity and social interaction, it is also what takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context through the creation and utilization of a physical setting.¹⁰ This setting can be fixed, but it can also imply, and most often does particularly in contemporary urban life, mobility.

Place making is relevant today because these non-places, in Auge’s¹¹ terms, are not simply un-rooted places marked by mobility and travel. Mobility and travel imply different forms of placement and displacement, by different genders, ages, religions, income groups, ethnic groups, etc. Places are about relationships, about the placing (or displacing) of people, materials, images, and the systems of difference they perform.¹² Place is both the context for practice as well as a product of practice, thus the practices that take place are of extreme relevance. As Cresswell mentions, places are never complete, finished or bounded, but are always becoming, in process.¹³ Also, places are made through power relations which construct the rules which define boundaries. These boundaries are both social and spatial, they define who belongs to a place and who may be excluded, as well as the location or site of the experience. In fact, boundaries are in question and the incessant struggles cause these boundaries to be constantly shifting, thus creating the possibility of enlargement or confinement. In this sense, place is constituted through reiterative social practices, meaning that place is made and remade on a daily basis. This is what makes it especially relevant today.

In this context, mobility refers to all the ways people relate socially to change of place¹⁴, which means more than the sum of journeys made. Mobility can be physical, but it can also be virtual or imaginative.¹⁵ Urry¹⁶ 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 need not begin with the types and forms of transport, but with the experience of mobility, as the act of moving is not usually an end in itself but a means to achieve certain socially patterned activities. It is by untangling the experiences, that these practices and their consequences can be better understood, as would be the case, for instance, with the practices of going to work, taking children to school, or shopping. Understanding mobility from the individuals’ practices, according to their spatial and socio-economic reality, broadens understanding mobility as transport, which can be limited to the supply and demand of infrastructure and means of transportation, and the number of journeys per person per day, according to motive, mode, itinerary and time.¹⁷ Thus, 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, and for politics and protest,¹⁸ 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. Mobilities are organised into complex patterns that transform the very social relations that the social sciences seek to explain.¹⁹

Furthermore, research has shown that mobility practices are hybrid. Therefore, what matters is to understand the situations of mobility and the experiences it gives rise to for the people involved and not just the finality of mobility. A comprehensive approach to the practices of mobility requires a grasp of the reality of contemporary movement but also an analysis of the genealogy of these practices.²⁰

The notion of place in this mobile context is crucial, because, analysing mobilities involves examining the consequences for different peoples and places located in what could be called ‘the fast and slow lanes’ of social life. There is a proliferation of places, technologies, and ‘gates’ than enhance the mobility of some while reinforcing the immobilities of others.²¹ Similarly there are certain experiences of mobility or immobility that enhance or restrict places. The time spent travelling is not the dead time that people always seek to minimise; activities occur while

⁹ McDowell (1999).

¹⁰ Pred (1986).

¹¹ Auge (1995).

¹² Sheller and Urry (2006).

¹³ Cresswell (2001).

¹⁴ Bourdin (2003).

¹⁵ Sheller and Urry (2006); Szerszynski and Urry (2006).

¹⁶ Urry (2003b).

¹⁷ Montezuma (2003).

¹⁸ Sheller and Urry (2006).

¹⁹ Urry (2003a).

²⁰ Lussault (2003).

²¹ Sheller and Urry (2006).

on the move, therefore, travel is not just a question of getting to a destination.²²

A key issue about incorporating the analysis of urban daily mobility practices to understand place making, is that these practices may actually create place confinement or place enlargement. In the analysis of exclusion and social segregation, the work of Pierre Bourdieu in *The Weight of the World*²³ is crucial, as it explores the social suffering in contemporary society marked by neo-liberalism, the dissolution of class identity and the retreat of the State. One specific form of *misere de position* is related to the experience of occupying a low/marginal position in a social and geographical hierarchical space. While people who possess financial, cultural and social capital have power over space and tend to self-segregate, people with scarce resources are confined to places they do not choose. Bourdieu argues that in the context of the de-industrialised society, the former working-class communities have suffered a symbolic transformation into places of social deportation, where people find nothing in common but the lack of economic, social and cultural capital.²⁴

This place confinement appears relevant to incorporate in a study of urban daily mobility, as it can be understood as the restriction or limitation of individuals to place making in mobile contexts due to physical, social, economic, cultural or other forms of boundaries. Thus the need to clarify whether, despite the high levels of mobility in urban areas, the point of departure contributes to perpetuate the existing inequality, thus confining places along the daily journeys or, whether regardless of the point of departure, places are expanded or enlarged in the experience of being mobile in the city. In this analysis, the point of departure, i.e., housing, socioeconomic conditions, past history, habitus in general, may contribute to place confinement/enlargement, or perhaps the actual experience of urban daily mobility, plays a more important role in urban place making.

The above discussion promotes the idea of understanding that the process of place making in the context of urban daily mobility requires rethinking both the object of enquiry as well as the methodologies for research, this is mainly because there is currently a difficulty in terms of explanation and representation of the implications of daily mobility in the social sciences. Urban practices require more detailed explanations, however, although lived space can be mapped, it can never be captured by conventional cartographies, it can be creatively imagined as it obtains

²² Sheller and Urry (2006).

²³ Bourdieu (1999).

²⁴ Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992); Bourdieu (1999); Castro and Lindbladh (2004).

meaning only when practiced and fully lived.²⁵ Through an ethnographic approach to researching urban daily mobility, the following section explains the way time-space mapping can be used today in urban daily mobility research as a form of representing the experience of mobility. This will be exemplified through preliminary results using maps, photography and narratives, in the aim of getting a step closer to understanding the lived space of urban mobile experiences.

Ethnographic approach to urban daily mobility using time-space mapping

For this research, an ethnographic approach was chosen as the best way to describe the everyday mobile lives of individuals, given its flexibility and possibility of penetrating, through deep description, into the daily routines of mobile urban dwellers. With the aim of analysing urban daily mobility practices in Santiago de Chile, the research was undertaken in a delimited, mixed income sector on the South-eastern part of the capital. A three stage process was undertaken with selected households: the first stage involved in depth interviews regarding the person's history, background, choice of current place of residence, and a detailed description of a regular day. This daily routine was explained using maps and a 24-hour diary. The second stage involved accompanying each person on a regular weekday, from the time they left the house until their days were over. Details of the journeys were recorded as well as photographed by the researcher and the interviewees. The final stage involved further interviewing on issues not covered during the previous stages particularly in terms of access and place making. The information gathered is currently being processed to reach the research objectives through the analysis of time-space mapping as well as narratives and photography.

Time-space mapping is part of a disciplinary area within geography denominated time geography. In its integral view of the world, time geography attempts to bring together the different elements of life experienced through a unifying lens. The approach was originally formulated during the 1970s by Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand, and it was initially used mainly in terms of transport planning. During the 80s and 90s it was also applied in a diversity of fields from city planning to social equity. Hägerstrand's visionary work implied an attempt to bring together knowledge from distinct scientific areas and from everyday practice and to

²⁵ Soja (1999).

reveal relations taking place in this milieu.²⁶ Through his work, he implied that the study of aggregate populations masked the true nature of human patterns of movement, believing that an understanding of disaggregate spatial behaviours was paramount.²⁷

Within this approach, Hägerstrand developed time-space mapping to illustrate how a person simultaneously navigates his or her way through the spatial temporal environment²⁸ (see figure 47). 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).²⁹

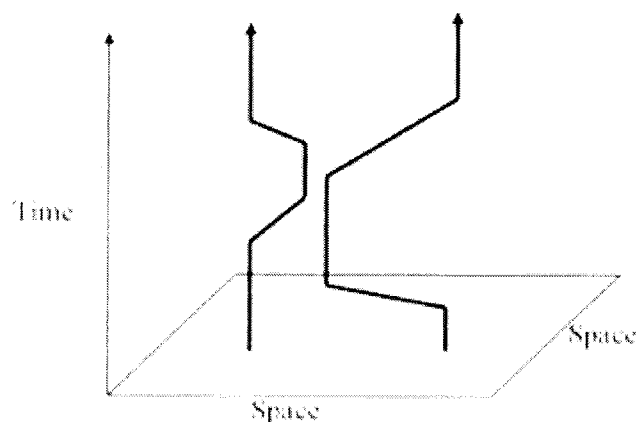


Figure 47: Time-Space map

There were some criticisms to the approach as it was seen as a mechanistic device for social engineering.³⁰ Also, during the 80s, though recognising all the possible attributes, Giddens considered the approach as naïve in

²⁶ Hägerstrand (1970).

²⁷ Corbert (2005).

²⁸ Corbert (2005).

²⁹ Corbett (2005).

³⁰ Lenntorp (1999).

treating individuals as coming into being independently of the social settings they confront in their day-to-day lives. Also, he expressed that it perpetuated the dualism of actions and structures, giving little attention to the essential transformation character of all human actions. Thirdly, he criticised that the emphasis of people through time and space was seen only in terms of constraints and limitations, without considering the possibilities which may arise in movement.³¹ Finally, Giddens criticised the weak developed discussion on power, invoking a zero sum conception of power as a source of limitation upon action, where little possibility for generative power exists.³²

Over the past few years, there has been a revision or revival of time-space mapping as a useful tool in various disciplines. It is still considered powerful in terms of providing a sense of concreteness; as seeing that space and time are not simple social categories but actual constraints on human action; as providing a geographical ethics in terms of the wise use of time and space; as providing a language to explain time and space; and most importantly, in terms of its visual representation in maps and diagrams.³³ Today, the approach is being incorporated in various areas, from travel behaviour in transport planning using origin and destination surveys,³⁴ spatial mapping using GIS or eventual virtual interaction³⁵ or the human activities effect on the natural environment.³⁶ It has also been used in gender studies³⁷ or migration analysis,³⁸ all of which have a quantitative approach to human behaviour. Other ways to see the potential of time-space mapping can be taken further as in the use in art³⁹ or artistic performances.

There have also been attempts to understand urban daily mobility in qualitative terms. Latham⁴⁰ suggests the diary-photograph/diary interview method, where people are solicited to write diaries and photograph their daily experiences and photograph the interesting and/or significant places and events of their week. Though innovative in the way of inviting interviewees to participate in the research production and interpretation

³¹ Giddens (1985).

³² Giddens (1985).

³³ Thrift (1995).

³⁴ Newsome *et al.* (1998).

³⁵ Miller (2005).

³⁶ Peuquet (1994).

³⁷ Kwan (2002).

³⁸ Southall and White (2005).

³⁹ Thrift (2005).

⁴⁰ Latham (2003); Latham (2004).

and thus minimising the input of the researcher, there are difficulties in convincing participants to fully engage in the process, particularly when their daily mobility experience is filled with time limitations and multitasking to make end meets, thus risking being able to obtain accurate, detailed or any information at all. For the aim of understanding the experience of mobility, mobile place making and the generation of inequality through mobile practices, this research applied an ethnographic account of the journey, where, after a period dedicated to obtaining access and generating trust among 12 families living in a specific area of Santiago de Chile, the researcher joined the research participants in their daily journeys. These journeys were complemented with photography, daily activities charts, interviews, mental maps, and in some cases group discussions which provide more detailed descriptions of the experiences and the possibility of triangulating the information. Using time-space mapping as a way of representing these experiences, photography and narrative greatly contribute to understanding the complexity of urban daily mobile routines in the city of Santiago, and their social, economic, cultural and physical implications.

It should be said, that through these approaches, the whole picture is never wholly revealed, nor is it their intention, but this implies a need to work towards creating a better methodologies to capture mobility experiences, in terms of its production, as in their interpretation and representation. This requires a variety of methodological instances such as observation, interviewing, accompanying travellers in their daily journeys, as well as aggregate travel patterns, but also moving towards creating methodologies to generate greater participation in the research process from those involved. Such endeavours may require longer time for fieldwork, particularly in terms of building trust relationships.

Mobility in Santiago de Chile: Journeys of Bernardo, Marta and Carlos

El mundo pasa allá en otra parte mientras yo me quedo en la casa

The world is happening elsewhere while I stay at home
(Alicia, housewife)

Using analytical narratives, photographs and time-space mapping to represent daily mobility activities, the following section describes the

journeys of three people living in Santiago de Chile. These are the mobility experiences of Bernardo, Marta and Carlos...

Bernardo is 40 years old, married to Alicia and they have three children. He has lived in Santiago all his life. He finished high school and by the age of 18, Alicia became pregnant and they got married. Life during the first years of marriage was difficult in economic terms, living at their parents' homes, making very little money and 'raspando la olla' (scraping the pot), literally he says, "it was tragicomic, but we really didn't make enough to eat". He says they lived like gypsies for years, from one place to the next, with their relatives in overcrowded spaces. It took them many years to get the house they live at now, through the government application system. They have been living at their current house for about 6 years. His job has also improved and now works in a printing shop; he's been working there for almost 8 years now and enjoys it.

Looking at figure 48 below, Bernardo's daily routine starts at 6:00 when he gets up. He leaves his house at 6:30 in order to catch the bus from the bus terminal close to his house and avoid traffic as much as possible so he can make it comfortably in time for his job, which starts at 8:00 am. His journey to work is an enjoyable one, he says. He's been taking the same route for many years, so although the other passengers are not his friends, he knows many of them and, since he enjoys any available possibility for conversation, he always ends up talking to the person sitting next to him. He doesn't like sleeping on the bus, unlike most of the morning riders; he's scared he might fall off his seat. He doesn't like looking out the window either, he knows the scenery by now and it doesn't impress him much, he says. What is more interesting for him is what happens inside the bus. 2) A few streets away from his neighbourhood, his friend Angela gets on the bus. They talk for the whole ride, about their friends, their family, their jobs, other passengers, life... 3) She says Bernardo prefers sitting next to pretty girls and chatting them up. He just smiles. He nods and waves too many passengers on the way. 4) He helps pass money to the driver from the back passengers who hop on the bus from the back entrance, he then helps to pass the ticket and change back. 5) When he arrives at his stop, he walks Angela to her job at a factory, then walks to a bakery to buy bread and ham for breakfast. He walks to work and waits for his boss to arrive and open the door. He stays indoors all day, gets his lunch delivered to work.

6) At 6:00 pm he showers and leaves his work. He walks to the main street to catch his bus. The neighbourhood is known to be dangerous, but he knows most of the people who go by. 7) The bus going home is full, so he hops on it from the back. He meets some people on the bus. He's on the

lookout for thieves who usually get on the bus on the 15ths and 30ths of the month, when people get paid and the buses are full. He's had his phone stolen before. He says people usually signal to each other when a 'lanza' (thief) gets on. But no one does anything. 8) He makes it home early on weekdays. His neighbourhood is buzzing with music, laughter, screams, kids playing and people on the street. Inside his house, the noise from outside makes being indoors unbearable, he says it's easier being outside...

He says he wouldn't change his job to one closer to home as he actually enjoys taking the bus, talking to strangers and people in general. He doesn't mind the daily hour and half on the bus, since he doesn't see it as dead time but as a way of socialising and relaxing. Life for him is about having fun, enjoying himself; he loves singing, playing guitar, socialising. On Fridays he takes his guitar to work and goes out to pubs and parties to play, usually returning home the next day. He doesn't want much more in life. He thinks people should be friendlier, sees how incarcerated people are in their houses, how few opportunities they have to see the world, even by going to the park, he knows people can open their minds and think differently and not feel caged in. He knows there are inequalities in the city, and that there are parts of it that because of money, access or simply because of his clothes or looks he doesn't fit in, so he just won't go there.

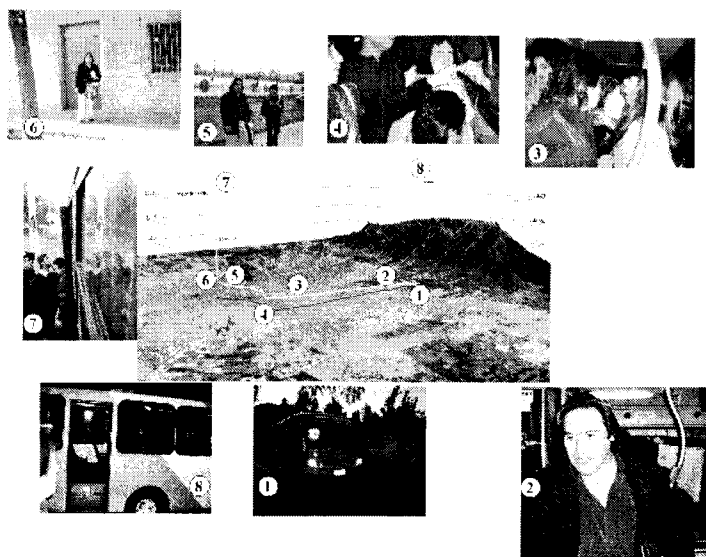


Figure 48: Bernardo's Daily Routine.

Marta is 24 years old and is married to Luis. They have a 7-year-old daughter called Patricia. They both come from a small farmers' town in the North of the country. Because of family problems she was sent off to live in foster homes since she was very young. By the time she finished 7th grade, she decided she didn't want to go to school anymore. At the age of 17 she moved to Santiago, to work as a house cleaner. She went back to her town a few years later, got pregnant and married Luis. She didn't like the country life style, it bored her, so when Patricia was about 3 years old she went back to Santiago to work as a cleaner and Luis' mother took care of her. She'd go back to see her once a month, for four days at a time, but it was difficult she says, Patricia wouldn't recognise her at the beginning. She thinks that it's because of this period that she's now believes that her mother doesn't love her enough and is not going to come back. After a few years of this, her husband decided to move to Santiago, and they rented a room downtown. She applied for a house through the government housing system and managed to obtain the house they are living in now. She now works cleaning in a rich neighbourhood in the North-east of Santiago, but it takes her almost two hours to get there. She's thinking of quitting because of the distance and time she wastes moving back and forth, but mainly because she doesn't want her daughter to be alone and she doesn't have anyone to pick her up from school.

Martha (see figure 49 below) works three days a week as well as every second weekend. She gets up at 6:45 to prepare Patricia for school. By 7:30 they leave the house and walk through the park, an open wasteland, and a bridge, to get to school. She drops her off, waits until she's let in and walks to take the bus. She walks further than needed because at this time the buses are full and if she waits by her stop, she won't get let in. 2) The sidewalks are not paved and the air is very dusty. She manages to get on the bus and push her way in. 3) Effectively, when the bus gets to her stop, the driver doesn't even bother stopping. The ride lasts about an hour and slowly she moves towards the middle of the bus. The bus is so full, it's almost impossible to see outside. It's mainly women riding on it, most of them going to the richer side of town to work as house cleaners. By the time she almost reaches her first stop, she manages to get a seat. 4) She gets off and quickly walks to the corner as she sees her next bus approaching. This one is also full and she gets on it from the back. It is also full of women and some male construction workers. The music is very loud and she likes it. This ride takes about half an hour and she manages to get a seat almost one block away from her final destination, she's the last one off the bus. 5) She then walks through beautifully gardened houses, with pretty dogs and nannies wearing uniforms to her

job inside a gated community. She doesn't leave the house all day and finishes around 7:00 pm. She waits for the bus for over 20 minutes and manages to grab a seat. 6) She takes her second bus and manages a seat as well. It's dark when the bus gets to her final stop. She buys tomatoes, bread and butter in a corner shop on her way home and walks for about 20 minutes home through the same route she took in the morning. 7) It's very dark but she knows her way. When she gets home, Patricia is at home alone, watching TV while she waits for her mother. She has been alone for about an hour, has done the washing up and had her tea.

She doesn't find anything about her journey interesting or worth remembering. She can't sleep on the way there because she stands and can't read on the way back because she gets dizzy and is too tired. She doesn't remember the route or know the names of the streets although she has been making the same journey for over two years, she's oblivious to her surroundings. The journey is just a necessary step to get to work.

Her boss has asked her repeatedly to get up earlier so she can get to work earlier, but she has explained that she can't get there any earlier because she has to take her daughter to school and then the buses are overcrowded. The boss says it's not her problem; she just needs to get there earlier. So she decided to tell her boss she was going to give up the job, and the boss told her to give her enough time until she finds a replacement. Marta is therefore looking for a job closer to her place. She likes having days off but then she gets absolutely bored, she gains weight and feels trapped, she says. But she doesn't know what to do; she doesn't have anyone to leave her daughter with and can't afford to pay for it. She doesn't want her daughter to have the life she did.

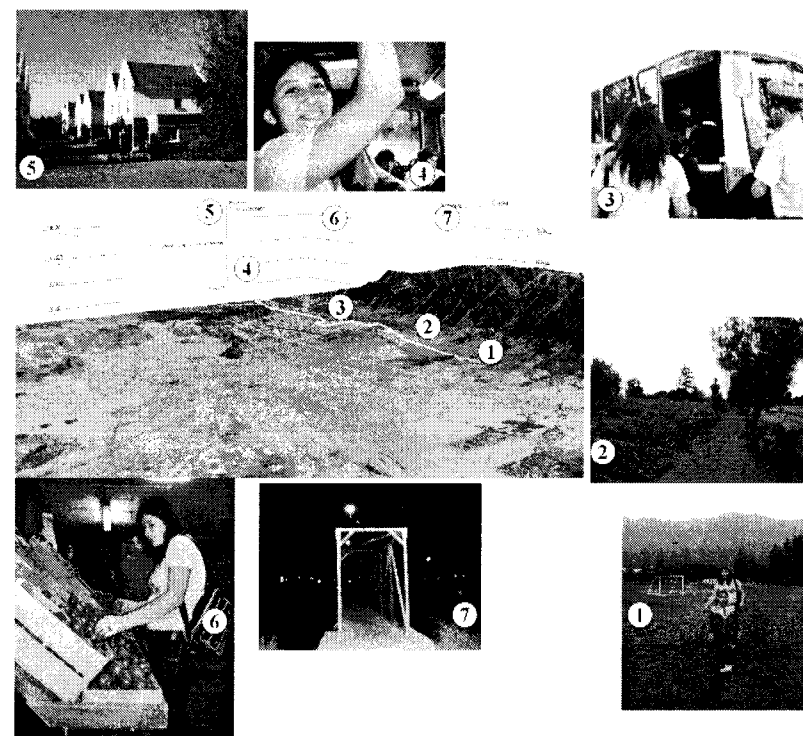


Figure 49: Marta's Daily Routine.

Carlos is 50 years old, comes from the South of Chile, is married Laura and they have three children. He 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 worked at, but he now provides uniforms for at least 6 different schools, 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 sawing, embroidery, cutting and pasting, takes place in informal workshops throughout the city. He has a room in his house where some of the uniforms are stored and displayed, but most of the selling occurs in the school's parking lot when he picks up his kids. He doesn't have a 'regular' routine, since, apart from trying to make his business work, he manages various aspects of home keeping as well as his wife's

extra income generating activities. According to Carlos he is the “family’s driver, secretary, busboy, nanny...”

Carlos’ daily journeys starts at 6:30 in the morning when he quickly gets dressed and drops his wife a few blocks away from home where she’s picked up to go to work (see figure 50). He then goes home 1) to get the children ready for school. He makes sure they clean up, have breakfast, have their bags ready and takes them to school. He takes alternative routes to avoid traffic and stop lights. 2) Once there, he opens the car boot and people who already know him, approach him to buy. Once the parents leave, he packs up and heads to the petrol station, to pump up for the day. He stops to talk to his wife and receive the instructions for the day. By 8:30 the day ahead seems tough. He goes to the shopping mall to park his car and starts his errands. Banks open at 9:00, so he has to wait. 3) From 9:00 to 10:00 he manages to go to two banks, pay the water, electricity, phone and gas bills at each service, they are all quite close to each other. He doesn’t have the invoices, so it takes him longer because he has to queue up to get them. By 10:30 he goes to the supermarket to buy bread for breakfast, he rings the cleaning lady who is at home by now, she tells him what to buy for lunch. Back at home he makes himself breakfast and by 11:30, he has to rush back to school, because the children are finishing early today. He picks them up and opens the car boot to sell again. This is the best time of the year for him, since school just started, the parents are buying the yearly supply of clothes: trousers, shirts, aprons, sweatpants, sweatshirts, t-shirts, jackets... 4) After dropping the kids at home, he heads off to Independencia, an area in down town Santiago which specialises in fabrics and various materials. Though he has his regular shops, he shops around for the exact colour and the best prices. After an hour and half of visiting at least 20 shops, he goes to the embroidery workshop, not far away to leave some material, it’s closed so he goes to another shop to pick up some pockets but it is also closed. So he decides to have lunch at a diner close by.

By 2:30 he returns to the two previous shops and his wife rings to give him more instructions for the afternoon. 5) He goes to Laura’s business, to pick up some boxes on the way to her job at the hospital where he picks her up and they set off to the south of the city, to her third job. He then stops by at home to drop off some material and pick up clothes. Soon after, he goes to one of the workshops to pick up cotton shirts. 6) On the way there, he stops by the supermarket to ask for cardboard boxes. Once at the workshop, he realises that no one is home, so he goes back home to get the keys to the house. Once at the workshop again, he packages the shirts, in individual bags first and then in a box. This package is for a

client who is travelling to the South and needs to make the delivery by 5:00 today. 7) After delivering the packages, he stops by another workshop to pick up badges. They are not ready, so he has wasted the trip. He stops by the supermarket again to buy things for the kids to take to school. As he heads back home his wife calls again. She’s ready, so he picks her up. The day is almost over; they stop by on the way home to buy bread. They arrive home shattered, but it’s time to prepare the children for the next day. They don’t sit down for dinner as the table is full of cutting machines; the children make their own sandwiches, while the parents mechanically operate. Tomorrow should be a calmer day he says...

He doesn’t remember much from the journey, he doesn’t really notice what is happening outside, as he’s mainly concentrated on the driving, on answering the phone, and on organising all the things he needs to do in his head. The moments that are important to him and perhaps significant are those he spends in the car with his wife. They are the only time of the day where they manage to talk, to discuss the kids, to tell each other about their days, their worries and concerns. It’s their time to be together. At times, when he has to go out late at night to pick up clothes or drop off material, she goes with him, just for the ride, just for the chance to accompany him, to be with him and spend time together. Their days are so packed with information, that the time in the car is their private time, the car itself is their place, their significant place where they decide upon their lives.

This incessant moving is just the way he assumes life is, constantly performing different activities; it’s the life he’s choosing, for his children to be better, to be able to live in the house they bought. They represent Chilean middle income group with aspirations to improve in life and give a better life and more opportunities to his children. He worries that he won’t be able to make enough money, as they depend on his wife’s permanent and considerably 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 enough medical insurance to cover for it. He was very stressed, about having just bought the house and not being able to pay. His role as a family provider is changing and his wife is assuming that role. He doesn’t mind it, but he says it stresses him out, even if he doesn’t show it.



Figure 50: Carlos's Daily Routine.

The complexity of differentiated mobility

The above three stories provide a brief description of the way daily mobile routines in Santiago de Chile might be like. As can be seen, they shed light on mobile practices that then can illuminate different aspects of contemporary urban living. They describe representations which illustrate the possibility of unveiling the complexity of differentiated mobilities.

An initial complexity relates to gender differences and their implications on a daily trajectory and development of daily activities. Such is the case of Bernardo and Marta who belong to a similar income group and live in the same housing complex; however, their experiences differ. The first is more comfortable, because Bernardo can leave early in the morning, thus enjoying the experience, while Marta has to leave later and endure the overcrowded bus while standing. The reason why Bernardo can leave earlier, although his boy is the same age as Marta's little girl, is that his wife Alicia gets his child ready for school, whereas in Marta's case, she's the one in charge of this task while her husband works. 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 parents, who sent her to a children's home when she was very young. Four hours daily on the bus are long and difficult, but regardless of getting a job close by, she still needs to find someone to pick Patricia up from school. Gender differences, the way traditional household roles perpetuate, have relevant implications in daily lives, including the way people experience mobility.

Income also generates a difference, as is seen in the case of Carlos. This experience, though different than the previous ones, due to the use of the car, is nonetheless difficult, intense and tiresome. Having a mobile and flexible job requires fast and available mobility, which not only burdens the worker, but often involves the whole family. In these circumstances, the city itself does not make the routines easier and the car is a necessary means to accomplish all the tasks. Daily life for middle income groups in Santiago is increasingly difficult, attempting to juggle the multiple needs of the family with limited resources generates stress, an unavoidable symptom of modern times. This family, as well as others interviewed, recognise the daily difficulties to access activities, relations and places, it's "a machine that doesn't stop" and "all of a sudden, the year is over". They recognise that they have immersed themselves in a cycle of debt to reach what they aspire for their children, not for themselves, and this cycle is clearly reflected in their daily lives.

A more detailed look at the experiences of the different members of these families, reveal different ways of place making, as is the case of the youth, who in their access to leisure, generate new places, new relations and new practices, purposely skipping places that confine them. Other experiences, such as the elderly, struggle to find autonomy through mobile place making, or the single mothers who endeavour to develop friendships that help to cope with their daily routines, and enjoy the places encountered daily. Other experiences reflect the inequities present in the city of Santiago, in access to activities like education, employment, health, but also leisure and relations. The inequities revealed, bring about a new discussion in the way urban segregation in Latin American cities is being approached, and how through urban daily mobility analysis, new responses to urban inequality can be addresses. Finally, the experiences reflect the inadequacy of current urban planning policies and interventions, particularly housing, infrastructure, urban design. By providing a closer look at the way people are living in cities today, these formal interventions could have a better chance at improving urban quality of life.

As can be seen time-space mapping, complemented with an ethnographic account, 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 basic 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 an ethnographic approach to understanding urban daily mobility. This methodological approach can be useful in contemporary urban research as it provides a whole range of possibilities for representing information that would otherwise be lost in the research process.

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