

Mobile Borders in Urban Daily Mobility Practices in Santiago de Chile

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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 moving. This is because high levels of mobility, long distances, and extended hours of daily travel, along with monotonous and difficult mobility experiences may lead some to “miss” the city, in a tunnel-like manner. In the context of urban daily mobility practices, this paper argues that although the possibility for expanding places by daily mobility exists, increasingly urban experiences in cities like Santiago de Chile, involve a simultaneous tunneling or confining effect, reducing the possibilities of encounter and interaction, which are the essence of urban experience. Using an ethnographic approach to urban daily mobility practices in Santiago de Chile, this paper discusses how mobility relates to place making and to urban inequality and then analyzes the way place enlargement and confinement occur.

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 moving. This is because high levels of mobility, long distances, and extended hours of daily travel, along with monotonous and difficult mobility experiences may lead some to “miss” the city, in a tunnel-like manner. Oblivious to their surroundings, others may choose expedient and uninterrupted journeys, also tunneling themselves through the city. 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, allowing for access to new and different activities, relations, places, or objects in the city.

Every time people change their presence, be it physically, 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.

Moreover, 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 2003). 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 Freudendal-Pedersen (2007) has argued, it is not certain whether increased mobility effectively increases freedom,

as increased mobility and the possibility of mobility might also overburden individuals in contemporary living. Perhaps it is the multiplicity of simultaneous travels that makes the “mobility turn”¹ have so many implications and makes us question the way space is experienced and analyzed and the consequences of this experience.

The consequences of mobility are here presented in terms of the possibility of restriction or expansion to places or as *mobile place confinement* or *enlargement*. *Mobile place confinement* refers to the limitations individuals face to signify places while moving, whereas *mobile place enlargement* refers to the possibility to create, signify, or access places while moving or through mobility. Mobile place confinement and enlargement depend on the type of mobility within the city. This paper argues that although the possibility for expanding places by daily mobility exists, increasingly urban experiences in cities like Santiago de Chile involve a simultaneous tunneling or confining effect, reducing the possibilities of encounter and interaction, which are the essence of urban experience.

In the context of urban daily mobility practices, this paper explains how these practices expand the notions of fixed to mobile borders. Using an ethnographic approach to urban daily mobility practices in Santiago de Chile, this paper discusses how mobility relates to place making and to urban inequality and then analyzes the way place enlargement and confinement occur. These issues are particularly spatial and provide a better understanding of how mobility impacts urban inequality in cities like Santiago today, and highlight the relevance of creating mobile borders as new spaces of socialization today.

Mobile Place Confinement and Enlargement

Mobility characterizes 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 traveling 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 traveling and improving connections by making it more efficient. 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 (Jiron 2008).

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 (Jiron 2008). 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” (Augé 1995), that is spaces of institutions “formed in relation to certain ends (transport, transit,

¹The “mobility turn” in social sciences (Cresswell 2006; Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 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).

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 (Augé 1995). Relph, on the other hand, points to such places as strip malls, new towns, international architecture style, and tourist landscapes, among others, as a way to evoke the way in which placelessness occurs in contemporary times (in Agnew 2005). However, ‘‘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, socialization, and recreation. These experiences tend to have consequences, leading to the possibility of broadening or enlarging places, restricting or confining them along the way.

In *The Weight of the World*, Bourdieu (1999) identified confined places as those spaces where people with financial, cultural, and social capital tend to self-segregate, while those with scarce resources are confined to places they often do not choose. Under the mobility lens, a double sort of exclusion can be detected for those with limited capital: spatial fixation in vulnerable areas combined with limited urban access possibilities. 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’’ (Kenyon 2006: 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 people can circulate and socialize. Visually it can be imagined as a city made up of horizontal-like tunnels, with increasingly less vertical or diagonal intersections.

The boundaries referred to here may involve physical obstacles, including visible natural or man-made walls or infrastructure that limits access. However, these obstacles may also be economic, social, or cultural and may act as impediments to spatial access in a city. 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) of exclusion. Borders, on the other hand, may be understood as permeable physical, social, economic, or cultural separations, which have the possibility of being transgressed and overcome. Borders are constantly in question; incessant struggles may cause them to be persistently shifting, transforming. This transformation creates the possibility of eliminating, diminishing, or reinforcing them even further. This possibility is particularly sensitive under mobility practices.

In her book *Borderlands/La Frontera*, Anzaldúa (2007) 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, being ‘‘border people’’ involves knowing where you come from to choose and select to integrate, assimilate, or be border people or isolationist; an ‘‘elective’’ form of belonging in Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst (2005) terms. Borders can split or fragment people, but they can also join them, and people can become bridges or connectors themselves. These people-bridges can connect people from one world to the next and generate access to other worlds. The space of a border can be uncomfortable because it is a space of transformation; it can be a space of conflict or uneasiness, a space of encounter and negotiation with the other. As such, they can become spaces of meaning and significance, or places.

As mentioned before, place making can occur in fixed spaces and also on the spaces traveled on, by or within. Those spaces encountered in mobility (buses,

Metros, cars, or bicycles) become *mobile places*;² whereas those spaces people signify while moving about, along or through (markets, train stations, bus stops, petrol stations, plazas, or malls) become *transient places*. These are places of socialization, intimacy, evasion, reflection, encounter, negotiation, and ultimately transformation.³ These mobile places are not permanent and occur as a sort of event, an event of place (Massey 2007).

The multiplicity of changes in space and time in terms of 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 possesses a challenge as to how encounters with others (or things) will take place (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 Anzaldúa. It is during these place events that actual processes of subtle negotiation take place, persistently modifying the borders that confine or enlarge places. This generates the possibility of *mobile place confinement*, the restriction or limitation of individuals to mobile place-making or *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 this overlap, that is, strategies to avoid others. Some strategies are subtle and perhaps unconscious and may be seen as tactics in De Certeau (1986) way and may be manifested on ways of coping or transgressing, depending on the situation. For example, on public transport, people are required to see, smell, listen, and touch one another; for many; this is an uncomfortable experience and if the possibility for eliminating it from their daily routine exists, they are likely to adopt it, for instance, by using the car. For others, public transport may be an opportunity to expand their place event possibilities even if this occurs in a minimal way; encountering other people, places, and objects becomes relevant in their lives. Yet for others, the spaces of struggle, resistance, negotiation, or encounter may not necessarily be in mobility, but the home or work.

Most daily mobility experiences leave some form of trace behind, making it part of urban experiences. The most interesting experiences 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 occurs depend on what is made of the event of places. Knowing that the experiences 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 mobile borders can be expanded.

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 organizational, physical, temporal, financial skills, and technological

²For examples, on the collective appropriation of spaces of transition (on a bus or a boat) in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil see Anderson and de Paula 2006.

³For further detail see Jirón (2007).

barriers. Among the most common difficulties to access places involve traveling with children, feeling out of place, insecurity, traffic, or feeling incarcerated. As will be seen in the next section, some people submerge themselves in the barriers, thus confining themselves, while others devise strategies to enlarge their places, thus creating new forms of access.

The following section is based on ethnographic work that examined urban daily mobility experiences of selected residents of three different income neighborhoods in Santiago de Chile. Different income groups were relevant to research, as most studies that 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, a relational approach was developed, in which the traveling experiences of individuals living in different income neighborhoods, but located relatively close to each other, were compared.

The research was broadly designed in three stages over the course of 7 months: initial discussion, shadowing, and follow-up discussions.⁴ The initial interviews involved discussing issues regarding who they were, where they came from, how they came to live in their current neighborhood, their daily routines, and their journeys for which we used maps of the city and time budgets to trace these and talk about them. The second stage involved shadowing them on a regular weekday. Participants were shadowed during a whole weekday for a period of over 2 months. These journeys were photographed, while travelers' discussions were made as to why and what they saw. Time and location were recorded during the journeys to geo-reference the trajectories. 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. 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.

The following excerpts are part of broader results of this research and aim at reflecting the varying difficulties men and women experience while traveling. The selected cases refer to the traveling experiences of Mónica, Claudia, Catalina, Bernardo, Alicia, Julian, María, Ana, Carlos, and Cecilia. Mónica, a 30-year-old mother of two boys, ages 3 and 5, who lives in a middle-income neighborhood. She has decided to stay at home while her children are still young before going back to work. Claudia, who also lives in a middle-income neighborhood, is a 28-year-old dentist, who is currently specializing as an orthodontist, and uses public transport regularly; she does not have children of her own, but empathizes with urban travelers. Catalina, who also lives in a middle-income neighborhood, is a 19-year-old university student who goes to university every day. Bernardo lives in a low-income neighborhood and works in a print shop downtown; he is married to Alicia, who is a housewife, and they have three children, including Julian, who works in a factory and is part of a hip-hop band. María and Ana also live in a low-income neighborhood and both have children; the first has a 7-year-old boy and a 3-year-old girl, while Ana has two teenage daughters. Carlos lives in the middle-high-income neighborhood, works informally selling clothes, and has three children. Finally, Cecilia also lives in the middle-high-income neighborhood, is married, and is about to have a baby; she is an accountant.

Place Confinement When Traveling with Children

In Santiago, traveling 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 traveling with children. Thus, generally

⁴For detail of the methodology used see Jirón (2010).

people with babies and children avoid experiencing such difficult times, like Mónica, who lives in Jardín Alto⁵ and has two small children.

I avoid taking the bus with the kids because of the sudden breaks, I can't go out with the buggy, even on the new big buses, the "cuncunas."⁶ They are not as good as they 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.... 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'll stop, paying, the little kid that falls over.... I simply avoid it. I don't travel with kids unless strictly necessary. (Mónica)

Mónica prefers to drive when she needs to travel with the children; otherwise she prefers to stay at home. However, many women assume the risk of taking children along, despite all the difficulties of doing so. University student Claudia says, "I saw a lady in Irarrazabal⁷ 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 is sympathetic with mothers traveling with children, "those poor women... they leave really early. In winter it's worse, they leave with their little babies wrapped up in shawls, 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 traveling difficulties from public transport means, people cope with traveling with children.

However, the problem is not just that buses do not respond; the location of services and infrastructure also makes mobility experiences especially cumbersome for some, as Claudia explains:

A lady at work lives in Cerro Navia⁸ and has a baby. Three months after having the baby, she went back to work and had to take the baby by bus to Mapocho,⁹ then take another bus to El Salto,¹⁰ 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 avoid taking 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)

The combination of inadequate transport systems, dispersed location of services and fixed daily activities, limit the options available for women (or men) with children. They resolve this problematic combination by simplifying traveling modes, thus solutions include not using the services or walking when destinations are close by, thus reducing the time and space scope of movement. Another option is to organize the use of public transport around times when

⁵Selected lower-middle-income neighborhood.

⁶Caterpillar, referring to the new bendy buses, which are being incorporated into the new Transantiago system.

⁷Major avenue in Santiago.

⁸A north-western district of Santiago.

⁹A downtown area of Santiago.

¹⁰A northern area of Santiago.

they are less crowded, thus restricting the places, times, and distances they have to go to and often forgoing employment possibilities. Alternatively, those with means make use of cars or taxis, avoiding contact with others and make their journeys easier. However, one of the most common strategies, particularly for lower income women, is immobility or simply not going out unless strictly necessary, thus confining themselves to their neighborhoods.

Feeling Out of Place

Restriction to certain places has much to do with the sense of belonging and feeling familiar or similar to others. Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst (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 does not only relate to fixed community according to the authors, but is more fluid and places become sites for performing identities. Thus, people feel they belong when they are similar or have things to share, and feel attracted to each other. When the contrary occurs, and difference is seen as problematic; interest of seeing each other is minimal, as is the case of a 19-year-old university student Catalina:

There are places in the city that I don't go to not because they're dangerous, but because they're too “cuico.”¹¹ It's not a matter of not being able to get there but the place just doesn't attract me, I rarely go to posh places, why would I go to Vitacura¹² or Lo Barnechea?¹³ 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)

A similar situation occurs to Bernardo and Alicia, from the lower income neighborhood, who skip places according to class identity, because they feel that they do not belong there and because they are not accessible.

I don't know Providencia¹⁴ or La Reina.¹⁵ In my old job, I used to go by on the bus, but why go to those neighborhoods? 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)

Part of the consequences of the extreme segregation in cities like Santiago includes the discomfort of not belonging, of encountering people different to oneself is common. This discomfort is often confused with security issues and solved by erecting fences, living in exclusive areas and procuring more and better security systems. Seldom are these issues dealt with by negotiating difference. Often ideals of integration are recommended as ways in which inequality will decrease whereby through residential proximity or mixed communities in terms of tenure or income, social integration might take place (Sabatini and Salcedo 2005). However, social integration rarely occurs, as people tend to find ways to avoid each other and develop different circuits. This 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 space

¹¹Chilean slang for posh.

¹²High-income district located in the north-eastern part of Santiago.

¹³Idem.

¹⁴Idem.

¹⁵Idem.

and negotiate it with others. This does not mean that it is easy or automatic, but in a subtle way, it does present itself as a possibility of place expansion even if somewhat resisted.

The Tunnel Effect

Another situation that requires previous negotiation and restricts access to certain mobile places involves issues of security and fear. Using public transport, particularly buses, is perceived as dangerous by some, particularly women. It implies that, in most cases, women are restricted by what they can bring on their journey, who they travel with, the time they travel at, or seat location on the bus, like María.

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. (María)

The high chances of being pick-pocketed imply that people carry very few elements on their journeys, for fear of having them stolen, like Ana, who comes from a lower income neighborhood:

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 get very full, then 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.... 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.... 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, jewelry. I never wear jewelry 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)

For Ana, this situation generates mobile place confinement, as she does not have other choices of transport due to her destination 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 traveling when it is not strictly necessary. She is restricted in terms of routes, modes, and travel times, as because of fear, people tend to look the other way, avoiding conflict, as though they were not there.

Some women feel threatened on *colectivos*,¹⁶ or at *colectivo* stands, particularly at night. Like 80-year-old Isabel for whom modal change is 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.

¹⁶A shared-fare taxi.

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 at 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 while 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. (Isabel)

Thus, Isabel's traveling experience is limited, yet she finds a way to make it a place enlargement experience.

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.

The difficulty faced by the elderly through the journey is seldom recognized in urban interventions. The hardships do not only refer to having a seat on the bus or Metro, but it also relates to the chain of activities that make up 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 visibility of signs, bus stops without seats or shelter, poor lighting, bus steps, metro stairs; but it also involves temporal and organizational restrictions. For many, these travel barriers leave them confined to fixed spaces, limiting their outings, 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 neighbor. He says, "She could walk, but it's not safe, we don't want her to, for the risk it means. It's only about two kilometres, but it's very lonely around there, there is nothing, just the school and horses. Too many kids have been burgled, 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, one of their neighbors takes Andrea to school. Car-pooling is thus common practice and also extends place enlargement possibilities.

The city becomes restricted in specific ways for specific people, creating 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. These are spaces of homogeneity, not necessarily of integration, but often of isolation. 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 in a more sophisticated tunnel, like using the car, becomes available for those with means and extra flexibility.

Place Confinement in the Car: Skipping Town

The stress of dealing with traffic makes people organize 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 traffic, 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 of traffic, it's horrible, whereas when we leave at 6:15 or 6:20 it flows easily, we go straight" (Sandra).

Some people seek 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 Alto¹⁷ because the drive is long and I don't have to stop so much, it's straight.... When I drive, I usually concentrate on the cars crossing 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).

The case of Cecilia presents skipping the city as a mobility strategy.

I move a lot, I sometimes go to my parents' for lunch, go to Sodimac,¹⁸ I go here and there, and on the way back I sometimes stop by Roberto's parents place. As I don't have a fixed time to go in and out of work, some times I come home later, when there is less 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 then 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 kids have all gone into school after 8:30 and I'm fine.... After 8:30, when kids go into school, there is still a lot of traffic, after 9:00 there is no one.... 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)

Those with the possibility of skipping the city are mainly middle- and high-income residents. Car availability and job flexibility allow them to choose to skip the city. Lower income residents, 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 just come back exhausted, and the bus is heavier then, even if it is just a little bit later, and in winter too, with the construction men. On the way there it's mainly women, on the way back later on 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 stop before the construction workers get there. (Ana)

By skipping town, tunnels differentiated by income are created. Not only is the city extremely segregated two dimensionally, but when looking at it under a mobility lens, a third dimension of inequality and division appears. Separate route, modes, means, times, places, companions, and queues begin to appear, unveiling a double form of exclusion: a fixed and a mobile one. However, fixed or mobile exclusion also unveils new possibilities of extending while moving.

The Mobile Experience of Incarceration or Expanding Places on the Move

Daily mobility is a major dimension of social exclusion, as through mobility people become disconnected, isolated, divided, fragmented, or confined. Some people move freely and easily from where they live, while others simply stay. This situation is enhanced when confinement takes place in both fixed and mobile places. Those with greater motility (capacity to move) (Kaufmann, Bergman, and Joye 2004) 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

¹⁷Southern district in Santiago.

¹⁸A DIY chain store.

to take care of the house and children. These restrictions have specific consequences in terms of exclusion, feeling trapped, tired, and frustrated. Alicia, for instance, does not have many friends and staying at home has become a torture over the past few years, with music blasting from neighbors' 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).

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. Going out is important for many women, having a routine outside their house, making money, 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 for them, a gateway to something different; unfortunately the mobile places they encounter along the way are often restricting and they experience incarceration on the move. Although urban laborers cross the city at least twice daily, their knowledge of it can be minimal, especially for lower income groups because they seldom look outside. Although the same route is taken daily, passengers barely know where they are, the names of the streets, or what lies outside the bus. For instance, Marta has been taking the same route for over 2 years, yet she does not know where she is when asked; she 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. Bernardo mentions, "There's no need to look outside, what for? It's the same ugly streets every day!" Although they cross the city almost daily, they also skip it, completely confined inside the bus.

Younger people face the possibility of moving in a different manner. Access to mobile phones and especially the Internet allow them to coordinate meetings and expand their places on the move. This is the case of 19-year-old Julian. He is Bernardo and Alicia's son and works full time in an artifact assembling company. In his free time he has a hip-hop band called *Secta Imperial*.¹⁹ They make music and perform at gigs around town most weekends, mainly in gyms at different low-income neighborhoods around the city 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 and fans, how he coordinates with them, and how he organizes his time out. Performing at gigs is essential for them, but they take their crowd with them, as they walk from his neighborhood around other housing estates picking up friends along the way and together they go to the various performances in the evening. Most know the circuit and know how it will be organized, 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 time spaces he chooses and his places are physically expanded through the Internet. "We walk there, talking, 'tirando la talla,'²⁰ mocking around, my group and the groupies, we start walking in the afternoon, and we sometimes stay out until 7:00 am the next day. We walk around the neighborhoods we know, and the kids know us already" (Julian). Although they often walk, the physical distance is minimized because walking is a way of socializing and relating with friends and fans. "Some of the neighborhoods 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

¹⁹Imperial Sect.

²⁰Chilean slang meaning joking around, mocking around.

their lack of financial means, for Julian and his friends access 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.

Conclusion

This paper argued that although the possibility for expanding places by daily mobility exists, increasingly urban experiences in cities like Santiago de Chile involve a simultaneous tunneling or confining effect, reducing the possibilities of encounter and interaction, which are the essence of urban experience. This situation is a consequence of uneven spatial relations becoming unveiled during mobility practices when access to places is restricted. Uneven access can lead some to experience mobile place confinement, or the restriction of mobile places in mobility, or place enlargement, an expansion in access to place while on the move. However, the possibility of generating mobile place confinement or mobile place enlargement depends on the types of encounters, interactions, or negotiations that take place during mobility.

Accessing places is a cumbersome task for many and it is clearly uneven according to gender, household responsibilities, and income. Mobility barriers may be physical, but these are also enhanced by temporal, organizational, financial ones that make traveling even more difficult for women with small children or the elderly. Access to places is also restricted by its cost and further restricted when the journey is also difficult in terms of time and organization. Under these conditions, in order to avoid security issues, many opt for specific routes, times, and modes, becoming confined on the move. This situation makes people experience fragmentation in mobility, creating parallel circuits in the city for specific groups, that is, 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. These different circuits can be visually imagined as tunnels being erected throughout the city, running in different directions, times, and speeds.

However, many of the barriers creating place confinement have the possibility of becoming borders, as they may shift and enlarge places in the process. The use of technology like cars, mobile phones, and the Internet can become major tools for connection and breaking down barriers. The Internet and mobile phones are particularly useful, especially for younger people who also have the skills to use them. For some older people, access to these tools is at times conditioned by income and skills, yet for many it still presents a possibility of place expansion.

Mobile places and transient places are introduced as new places of socialization and through them; the possibility to expand places further arises. The places for encountering difference today in Santiago include work, school, metros, buses, hospitals, markets, shopping centers, and not necessarily the neighborhood. People are very connected to other social realities, but this does not always occur in the place of residence, unless virtually from the home. There seems to be a split between the home/neighborhood 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 thus experienced as a bridge that can either exacerbate inequality further or start breaking down barriers and become places to encounter difference or become border places. This is not to be idealized as a form of integration, but as a social space in the city about which little is known. Mobility in these terms becomes not only a practice through which daily living can be observed to

improve transport; it may also be a locus for encounter, conflict, negotiation, and transformation, thus requiring further research as a space of socialization.

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