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Autor: Jiron M., Paola

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Unravelling Invisible Inequalities in the City through Urban Daily Mobility. The Case of Santiago de Chile¹

Paola Jiron M.*

Research on social exclusion, segregation, fragmentation and concentration of vulnerable groups in urban peripheries in cities both in developed and developing countries has been widespread. In Latin America specifically, important efforts have been made to understand the relation between current development models and urban and housing policies. Chile is one country that has received considerable attention in this area, especially from the rest of the Latin American region and international development agencies.

The study of inequalities in Chilean cities has been generally undertaken in terms of residential segregation, and the causes have mainly been attributed to market liberalisation and neo-liberal reforms (Sabatini, Caceres et al., 2001), particularly as regards land use and housing. Over the past decade, Chilean urban and housing interventions, have, for the most part, been vastly documented (Ducci, 1997; Held, 2000; Gilbert, 2002; Jiron, 2004; MINVU, 2004; Sepulveda, 2005; Sugranyes, 2005) often with negative analysis regarding housing policy privileging quantitative priorities over residential quality, leading to agglomeration of vulnerable groups, poor housing location choice and indebtedness of groups under the poverty line, amongst others. Yet the “Chilean model” has been continuously emulated throughout the region. Although the criticism has somehow been accepted by national and local authorities, solutions are slow to implement and inequalities persist, hence making the latter a complex and increasingly invisible phenomenon to understand. The causes of urban inequalities are multidimensional, and hard to identify, particularly in the context of complex urban systems and progressively mobile and dynamic urban realities. Furthermore, these inequalities become more and more invisible as they cannot be easily observed by traditional urban analysis and thus become harder to incorporate into urban policy and interventions.

This paper argues that daily mobility analysis of urban dwellers can complement the study of urban segregation to understand the increasingly complex and invisible forms of urban inequality in cities like Santiago de Chile. It also argues that urban daily mobility practices can enlarge or confine place making, which can

* Paola Jiron M., London School of Economics and Political Science/ Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo, Universidad de Chile, London School of Economics, E-mail: p.a.jiron@lse.ac.uk, Telephone Number: +447968449245, Fax Number: +44-2079557412, Address: Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, United Kingdom.

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have an important impact on urban inequality. With this in mind, the paper starts by discussing the way in which inequality is understood and spatialised, principally in the case of Latin American cities, and Santiago de Chile in particular. It then describes how urban daily mobility analysis can help to understand new forms of urban inequality. Finally, through the analysis of daily mobility routines² in this city, it provides examples of the ways in which unequal social conditions generate differentiated mobility and create fixed and mobile place confinement.

So close and yet so far ...
Urban daily mobility: another manifestation
of urban inequality

1 Urban inequality in Latin American cities

The well-known social differences in Latin American cities, which have sharpened over the past few decades, have often been reflected in their spatial configuration (Prevot-Schapira, 2001; Sabatini et al., 2001; Kztzman, 2003). Since the 1960s, the concept of “marginalisation” became a popular way of explaining the great unevenness in life conditions due mainly to the fast pace of the urbanisation process in Latin America. Though much criticised, most of the studies in the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s emphasised such categories. In the late 1980s, when the fight against poverty became an objective in the official discourse, more explicit urban poverty studies emerged, leaving the structuralist and societal view of marginalisation to a more individual or collective consumption of goods approach (Sabatini et al., 2001; Schteingart, 2001). The concept most recently and broadly applied to understand the spatialisation of inequality is social segregation and more explicitly residential segregation.

Most studies of Latin American cities have usually conflated the notion of segregation with those of inequality, poverty, fragmentation, polarisation and exclusion. According to Sabatini et al. (2001) the study of urban inequality in Latin America has been random and 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 Rodriguez et al. (2004) research has been scarce, fragmentary and incomparable among countries.

In Chile et al. (2001) suggest looking at segregation in socio-economic terms by looking at the residential location of people from different income groups. Although this type of segregation has been the most studied one in Latin America,

² Derived from PhD research carried out in 2005–2006 in Santiago de Chile using an ethnographic approach to apprehend urban daily mobility practices.

residential segregation could also be analysed in terms of residential location of religious, ethnic, age or gender groups³. 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 including public space, schooling or employment also exist. 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 and it thus requires further analysis.

According to Young, 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” (Young, 2002, 196). 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, Canada, or the various Chinatowns or Little Italies in many cities in the world.

Going beyond residential patterns analysis is relevant essentially in relation to the solutions that complementary diagnoses could provide. Although inequalities exist in Latin American cities, little has been researched in terms of finding structures, instruments and mechanisms for unification, integration, or to decrease segregation, if at all possible. 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. In Chile, suggestions for improving residential segregation include: increase spatial dispersion of poverty through housing; increase in spatial dispersion of higher income groups through housing; reduction of social homogeneity in city through mixed zoning; land speculation control (Sabatini et al., 2001), all these to reach the aim of integration.

However, de-segregating, that is, diminishing the physical distance between different groups, particularly socio-economic groups, and broadening levels of concentration of homogeneous groups, might not necessarily decrease inequality. These interventions might guide diverse income groups living in proximity, but it might not necessarily lead to more egalitarian access to the benefits existing in the city. Policies of integration, whether for racial, socioeconomic, religious or ethnic groups, require careful examination, as the ideals of integration could wrongly focus

3 For an analysis of urban segregation on the youth in Latin American cities see Saravi (2004). Segregación urbana y espacio público: los jóvenes en enclaves de pobreza estructural, *Revista de la CEPAL*, 83: 33–48.

on patterns of group clustering while ignoring more central issues of privilege and disadvantage (Young 2002: 215).

Though segregation in Latin America is a particularly important mechanism in the reproduction of socioeconomic inequalities, inequality is a broader concept, which may lead to segregation. Furthermore, residential segregation 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 enough to understand the whole complexity of urban inequalities, nor is it meant to. Therefore, scale and distance of residential segregation may decrease, for example, by the location of gated communities in areas of predominant low income families residence, but inequality may persist just as strongly in terms of uneven access to urban benefits, disparity in mobility potential (or motility) and differential access to spaces of consumption. This implies that central issues of privilege and disadvantage may not be overcome by proximity in residence, as social distance may remain.

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. This paper mainly looks at inequality of access to activities, relations and places, due in part to people's different social backgrounds and how these conditions lead to very different experiences of the city. These exclusions are not always evident, but they may become visible and accentuated in existing 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 are increasingly shifting and some may be more permeable than others. As will be seen, permeability provides an opportunity in the way inequalities take place in urban areas, particularly through urban daily mobility practices.

2 The city in motion

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the main problems in most analyses of spatialised urban inequality in Latin America are threefold. The first relates to the idea of making inequality equal to residential segregation, when inequality can be

manifested in other ways as in access to education, health, employment, and not be revealed through residential segregation analysis. This does not lessen the importance of segregation analysis, but it does not mean that decreasing urban segregation will eliminate inequality; in fact, it means that inequality might become even blurrier. The second problem relates to the attempts to carry out broad quantitative analysis of segregation in order to measure and compare national and international trends, without attempting to understand the everyday living implications of inequality. The third problem, and the main issue for this paper, is related to the fact that most studies of urban segregation assume the city as static, fixed, without recognising that cities and its dwellers are increasingly mobile and that the mobility or immobility of their daily lives greatly affects their quality of life.

Until recently, mobility in cities had been largely unstudied in the areas of urban geography, urban sociology, or urban studies in general (Hall 2003), and increasingly, studies on the impact of urban daily mobility – that is, the experience of moving about the city on an everyday basis –, have emerged (Sheller, 2003, 1; Jarvis, 2005, 99; Jarvis, 2005, 60; LeBreton, 2005, 97; Savage, 2005, 20; Kaufmann, 2002, 288). Today's concerns are not simply with the trip to and from work, but with the multiple journeys required in order to sustain contemporary lifestyles (Jarvis et al., 2001).

Mobility is absolutely central to determining what contemporary life is like, how it is changing and how it may develop over the next few decades (Urry, 2003a) and it refers to all the ways people relate socially to change of place (Bourdin, 2003), which involves more than the sum of journeys made. 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 travel⁴. However, understanding such connections need not concentrate on the types and forms of transport, as mobility is mostly a means to certain socially patterned activities and not the point of such activities, but on the experience these mobilities generate. Also, while transport research neglects social processes involved in travel and how they affect people's lives, much of social science research has been a-mobile, ignoring the movements people make for work, study, family, leisure and pleasure activities, thus failing to examine how social life presupposes both the actual and imagined movement of peoples from place to place, person to person, event to event (Urry, 2003a). A comprehensive approach to the practices of mobility requires grasping the reality of contemporary movement (Lussault, 2003) and the impact they generate in terms of urban place making, or appropriation and signification of urban space.

Moreover, Scheller and Urry (2003) explain that most theorists agree in seeing inclusion/exclusion as spatially and materially fixed, but neither analyses recognise

⁴ It must be recognised that although transport studies mainly explain personal mobility based on travellers demographic and cost of travel, travel behaviour research has incorporated more complex analysis such as role patterns in household interactions, time budgets, activity planning, lifestyles and more recently size and structures of social networks (Timo, 2006).

how cars and information technology undo all divisions between public and private life through their machinist, mobile hybridities, or how fragmentation occurs in everyday life. Further analysis of mobility can see it either as a way of amalgamating fragmented urban living or dividing it even more. This is because existing inequalities may become exacerbated by mobility when the relation between mobility and inequality is not recognised, and deficient mobility systems (unreliable, inefficient, uncomfortable, unsafe, overcrowded, infrequent) may lead those with the means to use alternative mobilities while those without the means are forced to use only available forms, thus generating more inequalities. Furthermore, 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). Multiple mobilities can generate massive inequalities, especially stemming from the power of “‘cash rich-time poor’ users (Graham) or what Peter Sloterdijk calls the ‘kinetic elite’, 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 inequalities are not only related to access and time, but also to the actual experience of mobility.

This relates to Kaufmann’s distinction between mobility and the potential for mobility or motility, as mobility does not necessarily increase just because there is a greater potential for it, and being able to, does not mean everyone does it, since there is a need for time and money and perhaps reasons to move. It is not clear whether compression of time-space is synonymous with a decrease in certain social constraints that discourage action, thus there is a need to analyse who has access to which relevant technology and the degree of freedom afforded by the usage of this technology (Kaufmann, 2002, 14).

Moreover, in the analysis of exclusion and social segregation, the work of Pierre Bourdieu in *The Weight of the World* (Bourdieu, 1999) 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 *misère 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 and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1999; Castro and Lindbladh, 2004, 261). It can be argued that this situation does not apply only to cities in developed countries but also to many cities in developing countries, in a more dramatic yet silent manner. Dramatic because of the existing inequalities in these countries, and because it appears that a double type of exclusion occurs, that of being spatially confined in the periphery, with agglomerated vulnerability, and that of having very limited possibilities to access the

benefits of the city through urban mobility, making people live in parallel cities, overlapping but never meeting, without needing to either. This overlap creates the possibility of avoidance and ignoring the mobility conditions by those using cars for instance, as the use of cars makes drivers and passengers invisible to others and car drivers and passengers use different circuits than public users.

This relates to Kaufmann's notion of reversibility, referring to the impact mobility has on actors' identities, that is, the traces left behind by the mobility experience. Reversibility is a social experience that can be cancelled, meaning that most reversible mobilities cannot be remembered and journeys are almost automatic. Irreversibility on the other hand, is a total social experience, an experience to which one is obliged to be faithful (Kaufmann, 2002, 26) like that of forced migrants whose indelible travelling experience lives with them. According to Kaufmann, some say that mutual engagement will end in the growth of reversibility, seeing mobility as a form of escape; for others reversibility of mobility produces new fixities that actors are more and more reluctant to disengage themselves from; while others see reversibilisation of some forms of mobility as the sign of the advent of a reflexive society, with the capacity to analyse the consequences of what is happening while it is happening. This notion is particularly appropriate to understand mobile place making as the possibility of confining or expanding places while on the move.

If place is understood as mobile, uprooted and dynamic and given also that place is made and remade on a daily basis (Cresswell, 2002), *place confinement*, or the restriction or limitation of individuals to place making in a city due to physical, social, economic, cultural or other boundaries appears relevant to incorporate in a study of urban daily mobility. This is because there is a need to clarify whether despite the high levels of mobility in urban areas, the point of departure (including physical, social, economic conditions) contribute to the perpetuation of existing inequalities, thus confining places along the daily journeys or, whether places are liberated or enlarged in the experience of being mobile in the city. Mobile place confinement occurs when, although people are highly mobile, travelling for many hours during the day, the monotonous and difficult experience leads for them to "miss" the city in a tunnel like manner, oblivious of the surroundings. Mobile place autonomy or enlargement refers to the way places are expanded during or by the journey, accessing new and different places or encountering others, thus opening possibilities in the process. The following section briefly describes this possibility.

3 Differential mobility and its consequences ...

Mobilities are very different (Adey, 2006) and they are experienced in diverse forms depending on gender, age, socioeconomic background, ethnicity, religion, etc. To exemplify how differentiated daily mobility enlarges or restricts access to the city,

this section, based on broader research, analyses the daily mobility experience of 12 families⁵ from three different income groups living in a delimited, mixed income sector on the South-eastern district of Santiago (See Map 1, Santiago de Chile, La Florida).

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 understanding the experience of mobility, mobile place making and the generation of inequality through mobile practices, following a period dedicated to obtaining access and generating trust among the members of the 12 families, a three stage process was undertaken with the selected households, including the adults and young family members travelling independently. The first stage involved in depth interviews with each member 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. In the second stage, the researcher joined the research participants in their daily weekday journeys; from the time they left the house in the morning until their days were over in the evening, as a shadow of their moves. These journeys were complemented in a third stage with interviews, mental maps, and, in some cases, group discussion to gather more detailed explanation of the experiences and the possibility of triangulating the information. Using time-space mapping, photography and narrative as a way of representing these experiences, greatly contribute to understanding the complexity of urban daily mobile routines in the city of Santiago, and their social, economic, cultural and physical implications (Jiron, forthcoming, 131).

The selected families represent three specific neighbourhoods, these were chosen for their proximity to each other and their location in a transitional area of the city: a sector undergoing rapid physical, economic and social change. Over the past 30 years, the district of La Florida has evolved from a poor, estate housing area of the Santiago, to an increasingly gentrified one, where low-income groups live next to middle-income families. Yet, regardless of the physical proximity among the different income neighbourhoods, there are physical, social, economic and cultural boundaries that prevent them from experiencing the city in a similar manner. Therefore, because in Chile, housing typology, cost and size can be closely associated with households' income, the selected neighbourhoods represent low, lower middle, and middle income groups, for the purpose of comparison.

A closer look at the experience of mobility can help to unveil specific forms of inequality that prevail and are manifested in the differentiated experiences during this practice. Inequalities are related to frustrated access to resources, markets or institutions, consequently the options people have in their daily practices are crucial to understanding how inequalities are experienced. In this research, inequality of

5 The names of the interviewees have been modified to maintain anonymity.

access is, based on Cass et al, (2005) who have translated social-spatial exclusion into 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 et al. 2005). Using this, this section analyses how individuals’ experience access to practices, relations as well as places – place access being an important aspect in socio-spatial exclusion. For this paper, access to practices is analysed using the practices of going to work and study; access to relations is seen through access to immediate family relations; finally access to places is seen analysing immobility.

4 Access to practices: “wasted time” versus practices of co-presence through virtual mobility

Access to the practice of going to work has varied implications in terms of the experience of inequality, where sometimes, social relations are the major barrier generating such unevenness, while at other times existing inequalities are complemented by physical, socio-economic or cultural boundaries which make this practice specially inequality prone. Within the many daily routines that people carry out in their everyday life, the practice of going to work is particularly mobility sensitive, and this practice greatly varies among income groups, yet gender differences cut across income differences. Both the cash rich-time poor middle income groups and the cash poor-time rich lower income groups have difficult journeys, however, the first do by car and the second use public transport. The first two cases describe the mobility experience of two members of families living in the lower income neighbourhood.

Bernardo is 40 years old; he’s married to Alicia and they have 3 children, two 19 year old twins and one 7 year old boy called Mario. He works in a print shop, close to downtown, where he’s been working for the past 8 years. Every morning he gets up at 6:00 and leaves his house by 6:30 to catch his bus at the bus terminal close to home, at the beginning of the route. Since he’s one of the first ones on the bus he manages to get a seat, and begins a ride that he actually enjoys. Soon, his friend Monica, gets on the bus, and they talk all the way to work, about their friends, their family, their jobs, other passengers, life... He nods and waves to many passengers as they go by. The ride is not an easy one, it’s overcrowded, people look tired, and chances of pick pocketing are high. It lasts over an hour, and he makes it to work before 8:00 and stays in until about 18:00, without stepping out of the print shop all day. He says “the hardest thing of the journey back is getting on the bus, I have to walk about 20 minutes each day, to catch it a bit emptier, sometimes I ride hanging out of the door, in winter I even get a

little bit wet!” (Bernardo). He says he wouldn’t change his job to one closer to home, he doesn’t really mind the time spent travelling.

Bernardo does not get involved in any of the reproductive roles at home, Alicia sorts that part out of their lives and he provides her a monthly amount that she has to see through the month. He spends most of his free time playing guitar and going out with friends, that is also why the bus ride is not a problem for him, as it is another way of socialising for him.

Marta, is 24 years old; she’s married to Ernesto and they have a 7 year old daughter called Patricia and they also live in the poorer neighbourhood. She works cleaning and cooking in a house in one of the richest and most exclusive neighbourhoods in Santiago: La Dehesa. Every morning she gets up around 6:30 and gets her daughter ready for school. At 7:30 they walk through a park, empty lots, a pedestrian bridge and a shantytown, to get to school before 8:00. She then walks down the main road to catch the first of two buses that take her to work. Because of the time, the bus is already too full. She walks past her stop to one further down the street to make sure the bus driver stops to let her in. Once the overcrowded bus arrives, pushing and shoving, she gets on it. It’s hard to see inside, let alone outside, the bus is absolutely crammed, and as she manages to move further in, the inside passengers appear. “It’s mainly nanas⁶ 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 of the ride, and manages a seat a few blocks away from her stop. She gets off before her stop to be able to catch the next bus “or else the bus is so full, it won’t stop for me”. She rides for another 45 minutes until she arrives to a different Santiago, a clean, green and peopleless one. All in all, the trip lasts almost two hours. 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”. For her, the time on the bus is wasted time, dead time; she can’t sleep, can’t read, and can’t look outside. Her husband worries: “my wife has a difficult journey... and when she gets home she’s tired, everyday something hurts, her feet, her head, a leg, an arm, a hand, it’s as though the tiredness just takes over her body” (Ernesto). She’s now struggling between her job and Patricia, who doesn’t have anyone to pick her up after school. At times Ernesto does it, when he works night shifts, other times a neighbour takes care of her, but they have to pay for it. She’s thinking of quitting her job.

6 Chilean slang for domestic helpers.

She'd like to find another one closer to home to avoid travelling for 4 hours everyday and spend that time with her daughter ...

Marta hesitates 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. Four hours on the bus are too long and too difficult, but no matter what, even if she does get a job close by, there still wont be anyone to pick up Patricia from school.

Both experiences differ, regardless of using the same mode. The first is more comfortable, because he can leave early in the morning, thus it is a more positive experience. The difference is that Bernardo can leave earlier, although his boy is just as young as Marta's little girl. His wife Alicia gets him ready for school whereas in Marta's case, she's the one in charge. He is naturally a friendly person and enjoys the trip. However, unequal gender roles make the daily experience differ, making it much harder for mothers or single parents with young children.

5 Access to activities for the future: aspirations and ambitions. "I want my kid to do better than me, to be more than me" (Francisco)

Wanting to do better in life is a shared aspiration. When asked about what they aspire to in the future, most parents mention their children's success: "that they become more than me" (Ana). Although the road to a better future is difficult for all, regardless of income, the difficulty of accessing opportunities vary among various income groups, particularly for the young but also in terms of gender.

Catalina is 19 and lives in the lower middle-income neighbourhood; she managed to get a bank loan to go to university to study design, with her father as a bank guarantor. She knows she is having the opportunity of her lifetime, and she is making the best of it. Every evening, before going to bed, she prepares her bags for the next day, which starts around 8:00 am. She walks for about twenty minutes to catch the bus, this is the fastest and most direct route she has found as she noticed that "the earlier I get up, the later I arrive, because of traffic and the queues" She also saves money, as she only pays \$240⁷ daily on the bus. She struggles to catch the bus, as many go by before she actually gets on one. Bus drivers do not like students; they pay for half price and take up extra room with their bulky bags. Hers is no exception, and she feels uncomfortable with it, but has to take all these materials to school. The ride to school takes about half an hour, all of it standing and balancing along the way, getting pushed, shoved, squished,

7 Approximately 24p.

fondled, stepped on, stared and yelled at. By the time she gets off, she's already exhausted. But going there is not half as bad as coming back, the same pushing and shoving, but the experience worsens as she tries to get off, the bus driver does not stop for her, and she has to get off two stops later, after getting through the mass of people. She feels embarrassed, scared and frustrated. She then walks home, the walk is up hill, but she takes the same amount of time because she walks fast, it's dark already and the streets are scary for her, she's terrified of stray dogs, and they are all over. She gets home around 19:00. She carries out this routine three times a week, the rest she stays home studying.

Being a student in Santiago is known for being a difficult experience and the times, modes and destinations matter, especially when gender implications are concerned.

Rodrigo is also 19, lives in the lower income neighbourhood, and wants to be a builder to have better opportunities in life. His father Bernardo works in a printing shop and his mother stays at home, working occasionally sewing clothes, so they cannot help him out with money, but he works in a construction site as a plot outliner and parallel to this, studies at night in an institute downtown. His days start at 6:45 and he walks to work, for about half an hour because there is no public transport there. He works there until 18:00 but has to make it to the Institute by 19:20. He quickly showers and sets off. He takes a colectivo⁸ to the Metro, which takes him downtown. All in all, it takes him over an hour to get there. The ride is difficult as at that time, traffic going to the Metro is heavy and the Metro itself is full. The most difficult moments are when he has to change lines. He makes it just in time, a few minutes late, but others are also late. Classes finish at 11:30, and the Metro does not run anymore, so he has to take a bus back. His bus does not come often, but at least it's only one bus. By the time he catches it, it is midnight, and by the time he gets home, it's about 1:00. Daily he spends about \$1,500⁹. He's exhausted and his mother leaves some food for him. He eats and goes to sleep, to get up at 6:45 again, and repeat the same routine five days a week.

Ana is 35, she's married to Andres, they have two daughters and they live in the lower income neighbourhood. They both work, he works at a construction site not far from their house, about half an hour walk. She works on

8 A type of taxi that follows specific routes, they charge fixed rates according to the distance travelled. They start the trip once the minimum number of passengers is seated. Their routes start at colectivo stands or metro stations, but stop wherever requested.

9 Approximately £1.5.

the other side of town as a house cleaner. They did not finish high school, and last year they did 7th and 8th grade but found it very difficult because of the times. They felt like studying because they couldn't help the girls in school, they still cannot but maybe when they finish 9th and 10th... The year is just starting and they are about to decide whether to continue or not. Everyday she gets up at 6:30 to get her kids ready for school and prepare the house. At 7:30 she leaves with both girls to see them off to school, but the teenager is getting rebellious and prefers to go to school with her girlfriends. The youngest goes to school close to home, so they walk for about 15 minutes through the park, the empty lots and shanty houses to get to the school. Then she takes the bus until it reaches downtown, to take a second bus that takes her to the rich neighbourhoods in Santiago. The whole journey lasts about two hours, and she stands for most of it. She works until 18:00 and takes the same route back. She's tired and often manages to get a seat coming back on the first bus, not on the second. By the time she's close to the Institute, it's past 7:30, and classes start from 19:00 to 21:00, five nights a week. She sees she won't be able to do it, she needs to get home to be with her daughters, she's exhausted and hungry and decides to just go home.

These experiences of mobility differ, first of all, age makes moving more difficult, not only because the public transport system is difficult, but because the older they get, the more likely they are to have more responsibilities, basically in terms of children and household, making it harder to manage. Moreover, there are gender differences as well, Catalina finds it very difficult travelling on the bus, because of the treatment from the driver but also because she does not feel safe travelling on her own, she would never travel at night, unlike Rodrigo, who feels no threat, and travelling at midnight is not a problem for him. Income does make a difference as in the case of Catalina she can be a full time student, with the struggle from her family, and she can limit her travelling to and from school, whereas Rodrigo cannot expect any support from his parents, they just cannot afford it, so he has to work and study, thus having to move around and organise his itinerary better.

6 Access to relations: no means or no time

Within their quotidian activities, people develop different types of relations, this section focuses on those that enhance leisure time, particularly those relations with immediate family.

Access to immediate family here is related mainly to those members of the household. However, although people live under the same roof, given the rush of daily activities, the possibility of intersecting and actually accessing these relations becomes difficult; talking, laughing, sharing, spending time together becomes an-

other task or reduced to what people do when the rest of their daily activities are fulfilled.

Those interviewed in the lower income neighbourhood, do not seem to have time or money for spending time with the members of the household outside the house, and when sharing time and space at home, they are usually attending household chores or watching TV. Sometimes they go to the park close by, and rarely to other places in the city, unless it's part of their shopping activities, as it means spending money.

For Francisco, "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 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 washing during the week, but can't do everything, sometimes we go to the park, to play, specially in the summer, in winter we mainly stay in" (Francisco).

Going out with the family implies spending money and so people tend to avoid it. "I'd like to go to the big parks, but I just don't feel like going to *Cerro San Cristobal*¹⁰ or *Santa Lucia*¹¹, but 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 necessary stuff" (Bernardo).

"When we go shopping we use it as a trip as well, we go out, look around, if we have money left we get something to eat at *Los Pollitos Dicen*¹², but we always eat something we tighten ourselves a bit, for an ice cream in the Plaza. Kids love it. If not, we go to see a sister that lives close the *Plaza de Armas*¹³. When we go out with the kids they are always asking for stuff, a drink something, but we can't afford it all the time" (Maria).

"I don't go out much, sometimes we go to the 14th ¹⁴ with my wife, I go with her to pay the bills, we might have a beer, talk, but it's always the 14th ... or to *Parque O'higgins*¹⁵, we make barbecues, or eat Chinese, different things depends on the money we have or the time" (Ernesto). "If we could, I'd like to go outside of Santiago, not

10 A landmark in Santiago, major tourist attraction point.

11 A landmark in Santiago, a smaller hill than San Cristobal.

12 Fast food chain selling roasted chicken.

13 Central civic centre.

14 One of the main avenues in Santiago running north to south is Avenida Vicuna Mackenna, it starts downtown, in the centre of the city and is numbered by 35 stops until its end at the southern end of Santiago, the closest stop to this neighbourhood is 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, there are major health centres, where doctors offices are concentrated along with major office buildings and the district council offices.

15 Santiago's main park, has place for picnic and barbecues and a major entertainment park.

here, to the Buin Zoo, maybe next month, or to *El Cajon del Maipo*¹⁶, people say it's like the country, but we don't have a car so we have to go by bus, *colectivo*, there are buses leaving the Central Station. We've also been to *Campo Lindo*, it's close by, we can walk there it's a 15 minute walk, we go in the morning and come back by 7:00 in the afternoon, there are pools, we make a barbecue, jump in the pool, it's fun to relax... We don't go dancing, almost never, Patricia is too young, maybe if she was older, but my wife doesn't like parties, I like them" (Ernesto).

For those in the middle-income neighbourhood, access to immediate family revolves around finding time to spend time together. Mostly, they stay at home but have more opportunities to share when they go out. Because time is the major issue they may opt for going out of town, or out for lunch or an activity that will group them. The relationship between couples is important to look at, as they are aware of the little time they have together, not as parents but as partners.

"As a family we go out on Saturdays for lunch, not every Saturday but at least once a month. As couple we have our Friday activity with the community, 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*¹⁷, play the dating game, a lot. We might go to Buenos Aires now, he won these tickets, last year we went to Buenos Aires to celebrate our anniversary, so we try to have activities alone, no just family" (Carmen). "There's an Italian restaurant we love, then sometimes we go around Plaza Brasil¹⁸, a nice neighbourhood, nice architecture, good restaurants" (Felipe). "We try to dedicate the weekends to the kids, even if we don't go out much... The other day we went 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)

7 Access to places: Life is happening elsewhere. The experience of incarceration

In relation to the previous section about limited access to leisure time, daily mobility can be seen as a major dimension of social exclusion in cities. Some people move freely and easily from where they live, others just stay; those with moving capacity also become inaccessible to whoever is, unlike them, confined to space. Although lower income groups mention feeling and being incarcerated, middle income groups do not describe this, except for the elderly:

Carmen is a housewife living in the middle-income neighbourhood. She's 39, has two kids, a teenage girl and a 9-year-old boy. She gets up early

16 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.

17 Chilean slang for going out together.

18 A neighbourhood close to downtown, known for bohemian night life.

to see her husband ready for work, then her kids ready for school. She has managed to get a little business running by making lunches for other kids at school, it's not much money but she says every little helps. She drives her kids to a private school nearby, it takes her about 5 minutes but it's uphill she says, and too lonely for the kids to do the trip on their own. When she gets back home she goes back to bed. Around 9:30, she starts getting her house ready. Goes to see her mom, takes her to her doctor's appointment. On the way back, she goes to the "feria"¹⁹. Carmen drives to the supermarket once a week as well as to the "feria" where there is a man who helps her carry the wheelie basket around and then unloads it in the car. She gets home and quickly gets lunch prepared for her husband who comes home around 13:00. After lunch, she gets ready for her yoga class with friends, at a centre nearby once a week. After yoga she stops to buy bread, and goes to pick her kids up at school. She then starts dinner and prepares for her husband to come home at 7:00, every night.

Isabel is 80 years old. 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. Isabel cannot see very well, and has a hard time getting around herself. 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.

For lower income groups, the causes of immobility are monetary, time related, as well as linked to gender responsibilities. Some women do not go out much because of their husbands and children.

These restrictions have specific consequences in terms of exclusion, feeling trapped, tired and frustrated.

Alicia is 39, she's married to Bernardo and they have three kids, but she's mainly concerned about the youngest 7-year-old Mario. She is trying to set up a sewing business, but does not have many clients yet. Once a month she goes downtown to buy material, but mostly she stays at home, taking care of the house and family and sewing, she does not go out except for minor shopping close by. She's having a hard time realising that "life is happening outside" and she cannot do anything about it. She knows she could get a job, her husband has no say in it, but she's afraid of leaving her 8 years old son alone. She feels responsible and trapped. She wants to be there for Mario

19 Fruit and vegetable market.

when he gets home from school, fears older kids or older men molesting him. She does not have many friends either and staying at home has become a torture over the past few years, with the music blasting 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 gets "to vent out more, she doesn't, 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" (Bernardo); "I also have the Toby Club, with a group of neighbours we get together every once in a while and drink outside, she doesn't go out" (Bernardo).

However while on the move, incarceration can also be experienced. Although urban labourers cross the city twice daily at least, the awareness of the city can be minimal, especially for lower income groups. Often though the same route is taken daily, passengers barely know where they are, the names of the streets, or what lies outside the bus. Marta for instance, although she has been taking the same bus twice a day, at least three times a week, for the past four years, doesn't know the name of the streets or the actual route; "It's such a routine, everyday, it's boring" she says. When riding the bus, they don't look outside, "I know the scenery already, it's ugly and boring, what's the purpose of watching, I'd rather chat or sleep" (Bernardo).

A different situation happens for those riding the Metro. Both Roberto and Claudia ride the Metro everyday, there is one section of it that travels above ground for about 7 stations. Both of them manage to recall the names of the streets, factories, institutions, and overall icons of the journey. They point out to new buildings, the jail, and the parks that they find interesting. For them seeing the snow-capped mountain is a beautiful everyday scenery. The cleanliness of the metro and the decoration inside make it attractive, "my favourite station is the one with the palm trees, you know, the one where the tiles on the wall make the shapes of very tall palm trees..." (Isabel). They value the Metro, and complain about the publicity overload, which ruins the aesthetic. Roberto's journey to the airport lasts about two hours everyday, yet for him, this is "his" time, his time to think, to unwind and plan the day, or go over it. Ana Maria eavesdrops on other people's conversations, and daydreams; she looks forward to her time in the Metro.

For the lower income group the feeling of close or far depends on the mode and duration of the journey but also on the convenience of travelling. To the richer areas of town, they just don't go, there's no need to, they say, "and to go to these places you have to spend money, and we don't have that" (Francisco). When asked what places they imagine, or where they would like to go to, it's usually green areas, places where they can have barbecues and the children play. The middle-income

group usually mentions that if they had more time, they would most likely spend it at home, as they are all over the city all the time.

8 Conclusions

This paper discusses three main ideas: firstly, that the study of inequality in Latin American cities needs to go beyond the analysis of residential segregation; that the practices of urban daily mobility reflect differentiated experiences due to existing social inequalities; and that inadequate access to mobility systems can also exacerbate urban inequality. From this analysis two main discussions can be expanded: that motility analysis, or the potential for mobility, is a valuable way of unveiling existing inequalities; and that reversibility in mobility is a useful concept for a further analysis of mobile place making. Finally, the results presented in this paper can shed some light in the way urban and transport policies can use the analyses of urban daily mobility to promote equity in urban areas.

In the Latin American context, residential segregation is an important way in which inequalities are spatialised. However, making inequality equal to residential segregation can be problematic, as segregation can be a result of other processes, including real estate development, and inequality can be manifested in other ways as in access to education, health, employment, and not be revealed through residential segregation analysis. This does not lessen the importance of segregation analysis, but it does not mean that decreasing urban segregation will eliminate inequality; in fact, it means that inequality might become even blurrier. The idea of fixed enclaves of inequality requires reconsideration, particularly in the context of increased urban mobility potential, and dynamic urban systems, which make the analysis of inequality more complex, as its causalities are multidimensional and its manifestation harder to detect. This requires more detailed analyses of the way people experience everyday mobility and the differentiated experiences these generate.

Unequal social relations like that of gender, socio-economic conditions and age generate differentiated experiences, where for some the travelling experiences become difficult and limited. In the case of gender, which cut across income groups, women whose role is divided between reproductive and productive chores require multitasking and experiment a difficult travelling experience. The chores of taking care of children, maintaining the household and purchasing the goods for family consumption are shared with employment to complement family income. Because the household chores are not shared with other household members, women's travel experience starts later in the day, after the chores are accomplished. Furthermore, women's experiences are limited due to safety reasons, inhibiting them from using public transport at certain times due to possible dangers of being alone at night. Income inequality makes the experience of the city very different allowing for more

possibilities when the means are available. Income provides the possibility of having a car, mobile phones and to avoid the use of public transport. The experiences for the various income groups are difficult, particularly when time is also scarce. Moreover, older members of society, be it women or men, poorer or richer, also present deficiencies in travel experience. The lack of recognition of the elderlies' specific needs, generates difficult travelling experience, restricting both time and space of moving but also the activities they are able to perform due to their conditions of poor eyesight, slowness of movement, difficulty in access to staircases and long walks, difficulty to adapt to changes.

These differentiated experiences are particularly relevant to the way existing systems are adequate for the needs of the population or whether they exacerbate unequal social conditions when the relation between mobility and inequality is not recognised. This is because deficient mobility systems (unreliable, inefficient, uncomfortable, unsafe, overcrowded, infrequent) may lead those with the means to use alternative mobilities while those without the means are forced to use only available forms or to become immobile, thus generating more inequalities. Having a car greatly eases this issue, yet, private motorisation of all urban dwellers, cannot be thought as the only solution to mobility problems. This relates to the public transportation systems, as well as to the technology and infrastructure related to these systems, including bus stops, urban design, modal exchange areas, payment systems, information dissemination, or cost. This also relates to the analysis of transportation as a system, involving analysis of public and private transport together, and the various forms of mobility including walking, bicycling, car pooling, individual cars, *colectivos*, buses, metros, trains, amongst others.

The concept of motility is relevant in this discussion, since decreasing inequality does not necessarily involve increasing mobility, but the potential to mobility. This means that people's individual potential may be improved by acquiring better travelling and organizational skills, improving existing conditions, and by recognising the persistent inequalities. In the case of Latin American cities, it also involves recognising these inequalities and improving motility by improving deficient transport systems, making them more accessible, more comfortable, more reliable and more adequate to the local idiosyncrasies. This involves recognising the way people are currently using transport systems and enhancing them, as opposed to replacing them, with initiatives that allow for the potential of mobile place making.

Reversibility of mobility, that is, the way the experience leaves traces in a person's identity is closely related to the idea of mobile place making. Mobility time is not necessarily dead time for urban residents, for many aspects of the journey leave traces in their identities, and even the most monotonous or routine journeys become spaces of reflection, socialisation, intimacy and encounter. 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 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. This is an area that requires further discussion, but as can be seen, is crucial in improving inequality in the city.

In relation to the above, urban policy requires a more serious consideration of mobility practices as a way of improving urban systems, including transport, but also in the aim of decreasing inequality and promoting equitable cities. The ways urban systems are studied in the Latin American context require revision and complementary studies. Broad quantitative analyses of transport behaviour leave out the everyday experiences of mobility and the daily living implications of inequality. Furthermore, analysing the city as static and fixed requires revision as cities and its dwellers are increasingly mobile, and the mobility or immobility of their daily lives greatly affects their quality of life. The differentiated experience of mobility can shed light first of all on the need for better transport systems, better infrastructure, and improved housing programmes, but also for an access to better working conditions, educational and health services, cultural activities, use of leisure time, the recognition of the informal economy in operation, etc.

This involves recognising that the activities people undertake are multiple, and are usually combined in terms of the type of places people go to and the mode of transport they use to getting there. Moreover, many activities of prime importance in terms of mobility are often understudied, as is shopping, going to doctors, paying bills, visiting friends and family and over all leisure. These also require mobility initiatives, and to be looked at in detail, understanding for instance who does the shopping, what are their shopping times, how is the shopping (in terms of bags, distance, etc.) managed, what are the days, what are the difficulties, how is shopping related to other activities people undertake. This implies that the city needs to adapt itself better to the needs of its population and not necessarily the other way around, as the current juggling is a way of adapting to the city.

Consequently, analysing the practices of urban daily mobility can facilitate the comprehension of contemporary urban living in two ways. Firstly, in practical terms, as an everyday practice, mobility is not a parenthesis in individuals' lives, as it encompasses for many at least two or three hours per day; life does not stop while people are being mobile. As a result, a large part of people's experiences of the city and thus of their urban lives occur while they are travelling through the city. These practices, habits and routine arrangements are both reflexive and recursive within and between spheres of activity and networks of social interaction and knowledge. They are *situated* practices (Jarvis et al., 2001), and as such they have an important role to play in the enlargement or confinement of places, by understanding that mobilities are spatialised and timed in specific contexts. Secondly, in the current

urban scenario of most cities in the world, be it small, intermediate, large cities or metropolises, people's mobility or immobility is increasingly relevant as it is perhaps the most actual way of relating to the city. As a practice, it is constantly changing, due to technological advances, policy modifications and cultural manifestations, but it is also the way contemporary urban dwellers behave, move, shift, discover, stay, meet, encounter. All this occurs while people are being mobile, yet little is known about the implications this has on daily living and on peoples' lives and particularly on whether through this mobility urban inequality is enhanced or diminished.

Understanding the role urban mobility plays in generating of inequality in a Latin American city can forge a better idea of which elements to look at for a better idea of its causes and consequences. The complexity and invisibility of new manifestations of inequality require further analysis in terms of the ways in which people inhabit the city in this mobile context. This could complement residential segregation research. Therefore if peripheral location of housing generates and reinforces urban segregation, mixing populations may not be the only solution, as urban daily mobility can be seen as a possibility of diminishing or increasing it, by opening gateways to new or different possibilities of place making

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