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INVISIBLE WALKS
Women's experiences of everyday
journeys in Santiago, Chile

Dissertation submitted for the degree of MPlan City Planning

By

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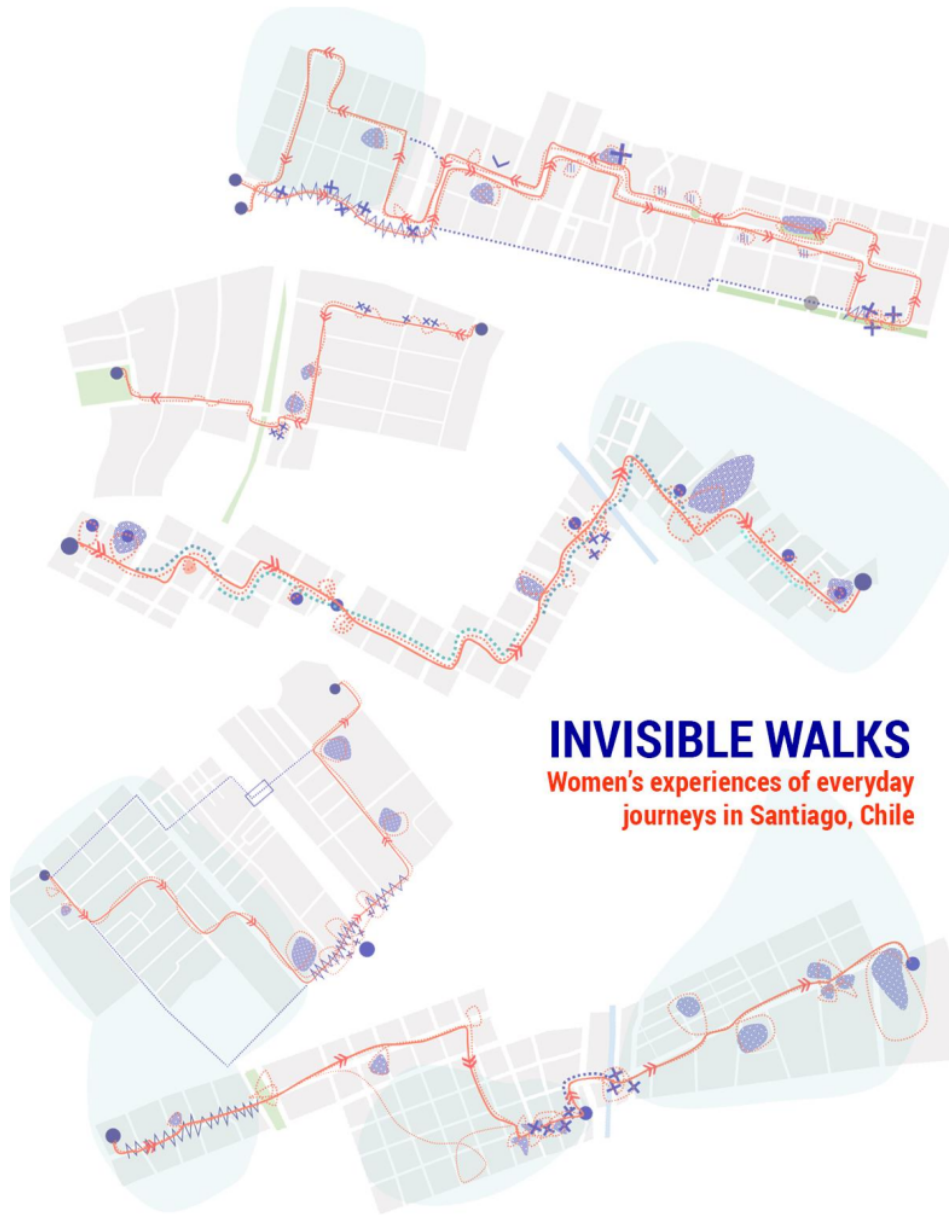
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I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

Nicole Pumarino Orbeta

16 July 2020

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For this research, the 16 women who participated and shared with me their everyday walks were essential. Thanks to all of them for showing me a new perspective of my home city.

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ABSTRACT

This research examines women's everyday walking experiences in the city of Santiago, Chile. It was developed from a feminist and phenomenological perspective taking 'the route as a line', empirically addressing the Chilean case with data gathered from 16 women through field-diaries and shared walks. By considering walking as a lived experience, the research explores the shape and configuration of different walking lines focusing on rhythm, gender-social interactions, and the built environment, as well as the correlation between them.

In the growing context of pedestrian urban projects, walking as a research topic, and the feminist city claims, this descriptive study contributes to address walking practices to the academic literature and to broaden the view of decision-makers when designing urban spaces at every scale. Inquiring into the walking practices from a gendered and experiential perspective brings to light how intertwined are personal backgrounds, everyday routines, spatial and temporal aspects as well as the social interactions that occur in the walk. The indivisible walking line that all these components shape, gives an account of how women adjust their pace and transgress the normative to meet their or other's needs, how they assign meaning and emotions to different stretches of their journey and how their identity is constituted in the public space.

LIST OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION
Women's urban walking as an invisible practice 7

LITERATURE REVIEW
An account of women, everyday life and walking practices 11

 Women's everyday life 11

 Everyday walks 13

 Components of everyday walking practices 14

 a. Rhythms 15

 b. Gender-social interactions 16

 c. Built Environment 17

 Summary of literature review 19

METHODOLOGY 21

 Intellectual foundations: feminist and Phenomenological 21

 Research design 22

 a. Case-study: Santiago 22

 b. Research Methods 23

 c. Sample Selection and participants 25

 d. Analysis 29

 Limitations to the research 29

 Ethical concerns 30

CASE-STUDY
Santiago from a gendered and mobility perspective 32

ANALYSIS
Gender perspectives of an ordinary walk 34

 The walk as a line – complex narratives of women's walks 34

 Unravelling the line – the walking journeys through different components 41

 1. Rhythms 41

 2. Gender-social interactions 44

 a. Interdependency 44

 b. Walking with dependants 45

 c. Care for others 46

 d. Fear and boldness 48

 3. Built environment 50

 a. Place-character 51

 b. Pavements and the right to walk 52

CONCLUSION
A line of meanings, restrictions and negotiations that creates women's identity 55

REFERENCES	57
APPENDIX A	61
RESEARCH ETHICS [Information sheet / consent forms / risk assessment]	
APPENDIX B	90
WALKING NARRATIVES	

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Synthesis of Literature Review	20
Table 2. Synthesis of Research Design	23
Table 3. Women participating in the research	27
Figure 1: Map of the participants' everyday walk in Santiago	28
Figure 2: Ximena's walking line	35
Figure 3: Andrea's walking line	36
Figure 4. Rosa and Martha's walking line	38
Figure 5. Camila's walking line	40
Figure 6. Landscape changes in Fortunata's walk	42
Figure 7. Pilar's walking route	49
Figure 8. Villa Portales and Valeria's neighbourhood	51
Figure 9. Andrea and Li's pavements	53

INTRODUCTION

Women's urban walking as an invisible practice

In the growing context of walking as a research topic on one side, and the feminist urban claims on the other, this study examines the everyday walking experiences of women in the city of Santiago, Chile. Through a phenomenological and qualitative approach, the present research aims to explore the walking lines of different women, focusing on their interaction with the urban context.

Over time, walking has been studied from different disciplinary perspectives; on the one hand as part of the discourse for more sustainable and healthier cities, and on the other, as a social lived experience and corporal practice of everyday life (Kärrholm, Johansson, Lindelöv, & Ferreira, 2014). Despite being a simple act, walking is both a way of being (Ingold, 2007), moving and of sensing places (Matos Wunderlich, 2008). The practice of urban walking, as a continuous experience through the city, can give an account of temporal, social, and spatial relationships between a person and the urban environment.

Gender perspectives in urban studies has been historically overlooked with feminist urban theorists arguing that there is a fundamental gender bias in the planning and urban design practice (Fainstein & Servon, 2005; Greed, 1994; Little, Peake, & Richardson, 1988) which needs to be reversed. Although gender studies have significantly gained relevance in the last years, and feminist groups across the globe have begun to claim their space in the different social, economic, and cultural dimensions, urban policies in many countries, including Chile, still lack a consideration for an gender perspective.

This research contributes to the urban walking stream of research precisely from a gender perspective. Studying a socio-spatial practice from an individual's experiences in everyday life, allow us to illustrate a different version of the city, addressing new layers to the urban field, and showing a city made of emotions, memories, and subjectivities (Tironi, 2018). Walking, as an everyday practice that takes places in the public space, can contribute to exploring the multiplicity of spatial practices that illuminate gendered experiences (Beebeejaun, 2016).

Walking as widespread and heterogeneous practice

Even though walking has historically been the dominant mode of transportation in Santiago, especially for women, it is only in the last recent years that urban practice in Chile has gained public and policy interest due to its environmental, urban and health benefits. Likewise, many

citizen organisations¹ have begun to reclaim the street space making visible non-motorised modes of transportation. While this is a positive shift, walking is still mostly regarded as a mode of transportation, as a “homogeneous and largely self-evident means of getting from one place to another” (Middleton, 2010, p. 576), thus ignoring its experiential dimension and the diversity of meanings that a journey can have for different groups or individuals (Middleton, 2010).

From an experiential approach, researchers from across the globe including Chile have provided evidence on the complexity, diversity and uniqueness of the walking experience and have emphasised the need for more qualitative research to reveal the heterogeneity of said practice. Walking has been studied as a social activity of encounters with others (Ingold & Lee, 2008), as a way of being in a place (Edensor, 2010; Matos Wunderlich, 2008), or as a practice for shaping individual and collective identities (Middleton, 2016). In Chile, this line of research towards walking has received considerable attention in the past 20 years, also approaching the topic from different perspectives and disciplines (Adame, 2018; Figueroa & Forray-Claps, 2015; Guimpert & Hurtubia, 2018; Herrmann-Lunecke & Mora, 2017; Martínez, 2018; Tironi & Mora, 2018). In addition, research studies on experiential mobility in Chile have regarded everyday journeys and personal experiences as key factors (Imilan, Jirón, & Iturra, 2015; Jirón, 2007; Jirón & Gómez, 2018), illustrating the multiple dimensions of a journey.

Women and the right to appear

On March 8th, 2020, more than 1 million² women *walked* together through Alameda avenue in the city centre of Santiago³. Women of all ages and backgrounds were exercising their ‘right to appear’, showing “they are still here and still there; they persist” (Butler, 2015, p. 25). Women are becoming visible, demanding recognition, value, freedom, and a life worth living for (Butler, 2015).

Although women have always *been*, they have historically been ‘the Other’, contrary to what men are (De Beauvoir, 1949). Different feminist waves, movements and theorists have made progress in claiming women’s space and in showing that there is nothing natural about being a woman. In fact, gender is a social construct of associations and stereotypes, based on actual or perceived differences between men, women, and other genders (Fainstein & Servon, 2005, p. 3). As De Beauvoir (1949) explained, “One is not born, but rather becomes a woman” (p.273).

¹ *Muévete, Peatonos Furiosos, Ciudad Viva, La Reconquista Peatonal*, among others.

² The official number of participants was subject of discussion; *Carabineros de Chile* (police) gave an official figure of 150,000 women, whereas numbers from the ‘National Feminist Coordinator’, organiser of the event, were more than 2 million. The technical estimations based on photographs assure that it was more than 1 million.

³ Also called *Av. Libertador Bernardo O’Higgins*, is the main historical avenue of the city centre and serves as the main hub for downtown Santiago.

This construction is fluid, changes over time and between the different cultural, religious, historical, and ideological backgrounds (Fainstein & Servon, 2005). In fact, the social category of 'women' is not unique; intersections between gender, class, race, and social backgrounds are essential in understanding different female perspectives. Even though there are common traits shared among groups, there are multiple and diverse groups of women with particular and distinct experiences (Vaiou, 1992).

Appearing together in public space is not insignificant. Cities, in the way we know them, especially Santiago, have historically had a 'universal tone', assuming a male subject and understanding the city under simplistic and binary categories as work/home, public/private, productive/reproductive (Fainstein & Servon, 2005; Greed, 1994; Vaiou, 1992). Gender studies on everyday life have been relevant to illustrate a more complex understanding of the city and social life, giving an account of women's activities and how gender relations have expression in urban environments (Little et al., 1988).

Investigating women's everyday walking practices

Walking is an embodied and assembled practice (Kärrholm et al., 2014) determined by the rhythm, the body, and the urban environment (in its spatial and social components). Taking Ingold's phenomenological work (2007; 2015), this research will consider *a walk as a line* that evolves and transforms while the body moves forward at a specific pace, interacting with places, people and non-humans, generating ephemeral, multiple, and complex relations.

Reading the city⁴ from the walking experiences⁵ and a gendered⁶ perspective focused on women, the main research question of this study is: **how do women experience everyday walking journeys in Santiago, Chile?** The main purpose of the research is to illustrate women's everyday walks in Santiago from the temporal, social, and spatial dimension, showing their interactions during the walk.

Three secondary questions help to define better the scope of the research: **how do rhythms express walking practices? How does gender shape walking experiences? And how do built environments influence the walking experience?** The main objectives are: (i) to describe

⁴ The city in this research is considered as "an amalgam of often disjointed processes and social heterogeneity, a place of near and far connections, a concatenation of rhythms; always edging in new directions" (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 8).

⁵ Experience is a subjective category, "it comprises the mental and emotional response of individuals or groups of them to many interrelated events or to repetitions of the same kind of event" (Vaiou, 1992, p. 248).

⁶ This research will use 'gender' to show women's perspectives while acknowledging that gender goes beyond the binary division between men and women and includes other gender variances that would be valuable to incorporate in future research.

women's experience of walking in Santiago; (ii) to illustrate the different rhythms that interplay in a walk; (iii) to identify situations in which gender shapes the relationship between women's walking experiences; and (iv) to describe the relation between walking practices and urban design components.

The qualitative research was performed with data gathered through shared walks and walking-diaries from 16 women with different profiles, walking purposes, and areas of Santiago. This in-depth approach allowed for the collection and later analysis of walking practices from diverse and subjective experiences, thus enriching the existing literature with empirical data.

The research aims to make an empirical contribution to the urban walking stream of research from a gender perspective. Specifically, it will discuss the Chilean case-study with the existing body of literature addressing the understanding of women's everyday practices in Santiago. Finally, regarding policy-making, this research addresses the different modes of walking, hence encouraging a better-informed planning practice, thus changing the assumption that a walk is a neutral and flat line; a homogeneous means of transport (Middleton, 2010). In fact, many different interactions happen during the journey that should be considered in the urban design process but this requires a change in the image of the walker from the flaneur to a caring and working woman that moves forward in a constant state of alert, looking for her own space.

LITERATURE REVIEW

An account of women, everyday life and walking practices

Women's everyday walking experiences are framed within the studies of gender in the urban field, everyday life, and walking. All these topics have large bodies of research and can be addressed from different perspectives.

A large amount of work has shown that the experience, use, and conceptualisation of public space is different between women and men (McDowell, 1983), and that this can also vary across places, social or personal contexts. Traditionally, the production of the space has had a clear sexist bias; public spaces have not been planned based on women's lives but rather from men's perspective (Little et al., 1988; Rayaprol, 2016). The feminist criticism has identified a variety of spatial problems as a consequence of the male vision and decision over the city: women suffer disadvantages and, despite the social, economic or cultural differences among them, they also experiment many other shared problems in their everyday lives (Greed, 1994). These gendered constraints in cities are described by Lauren Elkin (2016) as "invisible boundaries" (p.286). In this line then, urban environments become places where gender relations and identities are being shaped and negotiated while navigating them, generating a constant tension between meeting expectations and transgressing practices.

This literature review will address walking as a gender-specific experience. Following the line of research of the 'new mobilities paradigm' developed by Sheller and Urry (2006), it will focus on what happens between point A and B during daily journeys. The following sections will address the topics of everyday life focusing on women, walking experiences as a complex and interrelated practice, and lastly, it will unravel the walking literature from three specific components: rhythms, gendered-social interactions and the built environment.

Women's everyday lives

Everyday practices have been largely theorised, and two main authors will be discussed in this section. The empirical work of Vaiou (2009; 2006) and Jirón (2015; 2007; 2018) will help illustrate how women perform everyday practices in public spaces, how these are in turn shaped by the environment or how they transgress it.

Lefebvre (2014), provided one of the main theoretical foundations of everyday life an expression of the interrelationship of all aspects of life; it is an authentic experience, socially and bodily engaged (Beebeejaun, 2016). The repetition and the ordinariness of events is crucial in his approach because even those 'out of the ordinary' pleasures and moments are part of the

everydayness as they exist to compensate for the monotony. Through the everyday life, Lefebvre makes a critique of the capitalist system, seeing it as alienating but also a site for transformation. In his last work, Lefebvre (2004) brings his understanding of everyday life in the analysis of rhythms, showing that the interrelation of space and time can enable a different insight of the production of space.

De Certeau's work (1984) addresses everyday walking as a practice through which the person, following a particular logic, appropriates the city and updates the space by multiplying its possibilities, challenging the given restrictive spatial order. Thus, every individual's walking practice is a way of emancipation from the imposed order, transforming the city into a site for political action. De Certeau puts forward the idea that micro-actions are a different way to experiment urban life but also have the power to re-configure the city by its users. This perspective allows for the unveiling of those apparently irrelevant or unnoticed interactions that occur while walking, emphasising that everyday practices are the basis for social life. His work has been criticised for having a positivistic view in assuming that by navigating through the streets, individuals "frame their walking practices in such a politicised way" (Middleton, 2011b, p. 94) questioning whether everyone practices their daily lives in such terms.

Empirical work has been developed around gender and everyday life by Dina Vaiou (2009; 2006) at the neighbourhood scale. Her work addresses different female perspectives, taking their experiences, meanings, and practices as constitutive elements of urban life. Vaiou and Lykogianni (2006) explore how women's practices are defined by gendered structures and social relations and how they reproduce or transform these relations and structures. They evidence that women face constraints and make a radical choice to engage in neighbourhood life and perform family duties. Transgressions are possible by using public space for activities associated with the private realm, hence developing an alternative understanding of the mutual constitution of urban space and gender relations.

The binary opposition of the private versus the public space, as well as the practices associated with each space, has been one of the most important feminist criticism (Jarvis, Kantor, & Cloke, 2009; Vaiou, 1992; Vaiou & Kalandides, 2009). The study of women's lives has demonstrated that this opposition is not representative of the way they live as, in fact, binaries associate women with monofunctional tasks. Everyday practices do not necessarily fall into one category: childcare, social life, paid work, and household work constantly intersect and are done in both private and public spaces. Research on everyday life provides evidence of this complexity and secures a link between these binary categories (Jarvis et al., 2009), at the same time as it

promotes the understanding of places in a different way and reveals how environments can create, reproduce, or reflect gender relations.

In Chile, a line of research in everyday mobility practices addressing gender perspectives has been led by Paola Jirón. Research in everyday mobilities illustrate this interrelation of tasks, and how a transport system that is unresponsive to their needs can generate gender differences which are visible in the spatial, organisational, temporal, corporal, and socio-cultural dimensions (Jirón, 2018).

Women are still predominantly the ones responsible for childcare, shopping, and home-making, although the majority of women also work outside home too. (...) a woman may set off from home, stop off at the childminder, then the school, get to work, and return via the school gates, shops and childminder, resulting in complex trip chaining. (Greed, 2008, pp. 244-245)

From an ethnographic approach, Jirón (2007) delves into the experiences of everyday mobility by demonstrating that they are not homogeneous between men and women, or even between women themselves, and argues that restricted mobility can produce gender inequalities. The way mobility and public spaces are configured has consequences for women; "the everyday approach is useful for addressing gender differences as it attempts to reveal aspects of life that remain hidden by abstract quantitative analysis or by qualitative perspectives that attempt to probe into broader understandings of reality" (Jirón, 2018, p. 76). Jirón has expanded the urban everyday life research from the neighbourhood scale to mobility practices.

Everyday life puts together social, spatial, and temporal dimensions; it has an important role in illustrating the overlooked ordinary or invisible practices as well as strategies and tactics performed by women to negotiate identities, solve daily routines, or be included in the public realm. "It is within the everyday that a complex set of spaces, feelings of belonging, and rights to the city can emerge or be challenged" (Beebeejaun, 2016, p. 328).

Everyday walk

Walking practices from its experiential approach and considering its multiple dimensions have also been addressed by Ingold and Lee (2008). Their work compiles diversity of walking practices from an ethnographic perspective, including the body and its movements, perception and senses, knowledge, feelings and thoughts, and relationships between humans and non-humans. They describe a walk as a conversation or as a written text, implying movement and where each step is both past and future life making an indivisible connection. Ingold and Lee stress it is a "profoundly social activity: that in their timings, rhythms and inflections, the feet

respond as much as does the voice to the presence and activity of others. Social relations, we maintain, are not enacted in situ but are paced out along the ground" (p.1). Kärholm et al. (2014) describe the walking practice "as a social, situated and highly negotiated activity, coexists [sic] with urban life and its plethora of bodies, objects, movements and activities".

Jennie Middleton has addressed everyday walking experiences through empirical work in London. Urban walking is analysed from different dimensions and their interrelation, arguing it is a co-produced practice occurring through social and material interactions. In her work, she gives attention to "how forms of habitual performance, such as practical knowledge and embodied habits and routines, assist in engaging with everyday urban movements" (Middleton, 2011a, p. 2857). The explored dimensions address multiple forms of temporality and spatiality, proposing that rhythm is a useful means to engage with time, space and identity in an urban walk (Middleton, 2009). A second approach is from embodied, material, and technological relations and their meanings emphasising that styles of urban walking are intimately linked to bodily senses (Middleton, 2010). From everyday life, she illustrates the complexity of the walking journey, showing how habits, routines, and people's choices in sequentially events (Middleton, 2011a). Walking also expresses the socialites of everyday life; the social interactions with strangers and the relationship between the walk and the urban space are essential in shaping walkers' identities and in engaging with everyday politics and the right to the city (Middleton, 2016).

By unfolding daily routines, Middleton's work offers an alternative understanding of urban walking for policy making, stressing that decisions are not only related to the built environment and health factors as is frequently considered, but rather to a series of complex relations of different walking components or dimensions. Walking as a social and spatial everyday practice "becomes a series of acts full of meaning that destabilise the unified vision of place that emerges through planning visions" (Beebejaun, 2016, p. 326).

In Chile, everyday walking has been addressed by Soledad Martínez (2018) with a focus on urban inequalities on everyday urban walking. The work explores the similarities and differences of the walking practices in relation to the socio-spatial urban inequalities in Santiago. The research illustrates the diversity of experiences as well as the unequal distribution of the socio-spatial conditions of places in Santiago.

Components of everyday walking practices

Different empirical works on walking practices or gendered public space have addressed diverse perspectives to understand its multiple dimensions. Among many, walking can be

understood based on its rhythms, as a gendered-social practice, and in its relationship to the built environment.

a. Rhythms

Rhythm is the interrelation of space and time, "everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 25). Although urban policies have mostly addressed the walking time from the perspective of speed and efficiency, the approach from rhythms has also been useful to explore how different temporalities and spatialities interrelate to each other while people walk (Middleton, 2009).

Filipa Matos Wunderlich (2008, 2013) has explored rhythms as a means for sensing places. Walking rhythms are both a mode of perceiving and living in urban places, as well as a mode for intervention of the urban space itself (Matos Wunderlich, 2008). Places have a particular rhythm defined by spatial and social attributes expressing a sense of time (Matos Wunderlich, 2013). Place-temporality is expressed through four processes, namely: place-rhythms, place-temporal performance, place-tonality and sense of time. They refer to the spatial dimension, the structure of temporality and its sensual and affective expression (Matos Wunderlich, 2013). The rhythm of a walk is set by internal and external rhythms, generating a relationship with places that continually affect each other. Her work on walking rhythms distinguishes between three modes of everyday walking which are different in purpose, pace, and rhythm, producing a different relationship with the urban space (Matos Wunderlich, 2008).

Edensor's work (2010), addresses mobile places by identifying ways in which different walking rhythms intersect with other temporalities and spaces (p.69). In his argument, the character of a place is determined by the rhythms that occur in them and walking is part of them. Some characteristics of the urban walk as the speed, pace, and the periodicity of a journey "produce a stretched out, linear apprehension of place shaped by the form of a footpath or a pavement" (Edensor, 2010, p. 70). Following this idea of generating mobile places through rhythm, Jirón (2010) analyses the everyday generation of mobile places in Santiago. Everyday mobility, through repetition and other's rhythms, creates meaningful places different for each traveller (Jirón, 2010). 'Mobile moments', can create meanings depending on the places they pass through, thus illustrating that spaces are not something given but emerge from practices, recognising individual agency in the construction of space (Imilan et al., 2015).

Focusing on the person, Middleton (2009) argues that the multiple temporalities and spatialities emerge and shape pedestrian movements, making their identities visible. The article addresses time as a relational concept, illustrating that rhythm could be a lens for measuring experience;

in fact, walkers do not have a linear understanding of time but rather base it on their experiences on foot (Middleton, 2009).

Walking as a social practice, is learned ; the body is adapted to walk in conventional ways, and although this is a kind of dressage of the experience, it can provide "moments of eurhythm to emerge, wherein the body is open to external stimuli and thoughts may turn to fantasy and conjecture" (Edensor, 2010, p. 72). Thus, walking rhythms generate thinking rhythms, "the passage through a landscape echoes or stimulates the passage through a series of thoughts" (Solnit, 2001, p. 5).

b. Gendered social practices

While walking, social interactions and encounters of different nature occur. This review will focus on the gender perspective of this social dimension using research on public space and mobility. An extensive body of research has shown that traditional roles assigned to women in the private space as motherhood and homemakers, and family and neighbourhood relationships, are also performed in the public space. These roles are commonly related to the topic of 'ethics of care' (Day, 2000) referring to a type of moral development based on caring as the essential basis for their decisions. Studies have shown how practices of women in the public space take place in regards to others over their personal preferences. This becomes especially important when women are with children as it can influence ordinary decisions as to where to settle in a park to meet diverse preferences (Day, 2000). Even when women are alone in the public space enjoying their leisurely time they respond to the existence of others by adapting their timings, taking advantage of the trip to buy something that is missing, or just by thinking about them (Krenichyn, 2004; Scraton & Watson, 1998). Caring for others also becomes a positive experience as women socialise more and receive support and care, making them feel safer in some places or developing a sense of familiarity (Johnson & Miles, 2014; Krenichyn, 2004).

From mobility studies, Jirón and Gómez (2018) explore the role of interdependency in mobility strategies in metropolitan cities like Santiago. These authors emphasise the importance of caring tasks in women's daily mobility, showing an interdependency between household members and the different strategies of women from different socioeconomic status. This research offers a more complex way to understand the relationship between gender and mobility evidencing how the context influences the relationships, how gender shapes mobility and their points of convergence and mutual interdependence.

One of the main expressions of gender-unequal power relationships in the public space is the perception of fear and security while walking or being in public spaces. This perception has been socially constructed through time -based on external information, family warnings, and the media- thereupon feeding the implicit discourse that women are not safe in the public space and making them believe they need protection (Pain, 1997). Fear and insecurity constrain their use of public spaces for certain activities, restrict behaviours and dress code, and restrict their independent mobility reproducing an image of the public space as dangerous and the private space as safe (Pain, 1997). Although fear is in part a social construction, an empirical research on women's personal security in public transport in Latin American cities shows that the majority of the female users has experienced sexual harassment. Many of these events were experiences in the walking journey to or from public transport (Allen, Pereya, Sagaris, & Cadenas, 2017). Less research has been done on boldness, freedom, or sense of control while walking even when fear exists. Koskela (1997) challenges the view that fearfulness is an essential female quality, by showing the experience of different women that were confident in their relation to their environments. Boldness means standing up to fear, and the work illustrates different types of boldness and bravery as reasoning, gaining courage through awareness, descriptions of being spatially confident and illustrations of social skills. The research shows that women can claim space and learn to be spatially confident.

Social interactions from a gender perspective have expression in this interdependency of mobility, the care for others, the performance of reproductive labour in the public space, and in women's perception of fear and boldness.

c. Built environment

The body of research focused on the spatial dimension of urban walking is extensive and diverse, with the great majority of studies focusing on environmental factors that influence the choice of walking in cities. Since the 1960s, the field of urban design has addressed the close relationship between people and their social activities, within the built environments. Lynch (1960) highlights the importance of people's perception, sense of place, and the mental map of the city. Jacobs (1961) puts forward the idea that streets and sidewalks are essential to promote interactions between strangers when walking and for the perception of safety in the city. At the same time, Gehl (2011) explores the relationship between buildings and the urban form, and social encounters with the sociality of walking, arguing that good pedestrian environments are those which enable a different kind of pedestrian trips.

More recently, the relation between the built environment and walking practices has led to the creation of the concept of *walkability* which has been used in different ways. It can refer to means or conditions for creating walkable spaces, to the outcome on people's behaviour, and as a synonym of better urban places with a multidimensional approach (Forsyth, 2015). Despite the diverse uses of the term and its inherent complexity, most of the research on walkability focuses on using both objective and perceptual measures to assess the quality of the built environment to promote said walkability (Brookfield, 2016; Ewing & Handy, 2009; Macdonald, Szibbo, Eisenstein, & Mozingo, 2017). Different kinds of metrics include basic dimensions as sidewalk access, flow capacity, street connectivity, land-use density and diversity, and complex dimensions related to personal perceptions as safety, comfort, and sense of place (Lo, 2009). In Chile, research on walking practices, and with special emphasis on the built environment, has been led by Geraldine Herrmann-Lunecke (2016; 2017; 2020) focusing on the characteristics of the built environment to promote walking practices.

From a different approach, and combining built environment and socioeconomic variables, Guimpert and Hurtubia (2018) studied the subjective definition of the 'Perceived Walking Neighbourhood' for the case of Santiago. They studied how different social and spatial variables of the built environment have an impact on the definition of a subjective walking neighbourhood.

Despite the diversity of studies on spatial components to promote walking, many of them have the risk of falling into deterministic approaches due to their methodologies as "many urban design theories implicitly assume physical features will make people want to walk" (Forsyth, 2015, p. 280), hence believing that the built environment can determine social interactions, neglecting the experiential dimension and the multiplicity of relations in walking practices (Middleton, 2010). It has been widely demonstrated and discussed that spatial environmental factors are only one dimension of the walking experience, but they are in turn very relevant to enable interactions or facilitate such walks. A different perspective of the spatial dimension of walking has been addressed by Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Renia Ehrenfeuch (2009), focusing on the sidewalk in the US. In their study these authors show a historical perspective of the social, economic, and political dimension of the sidewalk by stating that they are complex infrastructure where conflict, negotiation and power are expressed.

In Chile, two interesting works have combined spatial components with women's experience. Figueroa and Forray-Claps (2015) addressed the relationship between the built environment of a traditional working-class neighbourhood with the perception of women who must walk through the area as a consequence of care labour. The research shows how the

neighbourhood's urban design, which intended to generate spaces of appropriation and meeting, has turned out to be a double-edged sword for women's journeys due to the insecurity caused by fragmented streets (Figueroa & Forray-Claps, 2015). In the same line but focused on the physical space for walking, Acoyani Adame (2018) analyses the different experiences of everyday mobility on women who live in the periphery and the central area of Santiago. Her research compares the walking experiences in two areas of the city and examines whether or not the urban space considers the gender perspective by measuring 12 qualities related to safety. The contribution of this research is to emphasise on those urban qualities or elements that are essential for achieving an inclusive city from a gender perspective.

From the spatial dimension, most of the research has focused on the influence of the built environment on walking experiences with different approaches. An important line of research has contributed to measuring and assessing spatial qualities to create more walkable environments. Others have focused on the consequences that the built environment has over women's walking experiences. Additionally, another relevant research focus has been placed into analysing the history of sidewalks as a spatial element with social and economic implications.

Summary of the literature review

In the previously discussed literature review, five main topics were examined; everyday life, walking practices, rhythms, gendered social practices, and built environment. From each of them, some key concepts arise which will be used to discuss everyday women's walking experiences in Santiago in this paper. Table 1 below synthetises the main topics.

Table 1. Synthesis of Literature Review

	Main topic	Sub-topics	Main Authors
WALKING AS A LIVED EXPERIENCE Social, embodied, and assembled practice	EVERYDAY LIFE	REPETITION-ROUTINE	Lefebvre; De Certeau
		ORDINARY	Lefebvre
		TACTICS- TRANSGRESSIONS	De Certeau; Vaiou & Kalandides; Vaiou & Lykogianni
	WALKING	EVERYDAY WALKING	Ingold and Lee; Middleton; Martínez.
	RHYTHMS	RHYTHMICITY	Lefebvre; Wunderlich.
		SENSE OF PLACE	Wunderlich; Edensor; Jirón; Imilan et al.
		OWN PACE -OWN SPACE	Wunderlich
	GENDER	INTERDEPENDENCY	Jirón & Gómez;
		REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR	Day; Jirón;
		CARE FOR OTHERS	Day; Krenichyn; Scraton & Watson; Johnson & Miles
		FEAR AND BOLDNESS	Pain; Koskela; Allen
	BUILT ENVIRONMENT	PAVEMENT-SPATIAL ELEMENTS	Adame; Herrmn; Lo; Forsyth, Ewing & Hardy; Brokfield; Mcdonald et al.; Loukaitou & Ehrenfeucht
PLACE-CHARACTER		Figueroa & Forray; Guimpert & Hurtubia	

Source: Author

Methodology

The following section outlines the methodology used in the current research study for exploring women's experiences in everyday walking journeys in Santiago. The research is descriptive and qualitative in nature and it was developed through a phenomenological, feminist, and empirical approach. Data collection was gathered from 16 female participants from different areas of Santiago. The methods to collect information were a field diary and shared walks.

The first section will address the feminist and phenomenological intellectual foundations, while the second will explain the research design, including case-study, methods for gathering information, participants, and empirical approach and methods for analysis. The third section describes the limitations of the research, and the last section lists the ethical considerations of the study.

Intellectual foundations: feminist and phenomenological

The research follows a feminist line of enquiry by complying with different feminist approaches in its methodology. Firstly, it uses a standpoint methodology, as it sees women as agents of knowledge produced by grounded experience; "[w]omen's experiences become resources for social analysis, and it is women who should be able to reveal what women's experiences really are" (Rayaprol, 2016, p. 372). The origin of this methodology is on feminist Standpoint Theory which aims to look at constraints women suffer due to "assumptions and practices of dominant institutions, including research disciplines" (Harding, 2014, p. 51). Secondly, following this standpoint implies that knowledge will come from subjectivity and experience, which is seen as a valid approach for the emergence of new visions (Little et al., 1988). Thirdly, this research follows the feminist concept of intersectionality which means that identities and experiences among women are diverse and depend on class, race, and cultural backgrounds; therefore, knowledge is not regarded as universal but rather as contextual. Lastly, working with everyday practices is an essential way of accounting for women's experiences and making visible what has been commonly ignored, opposite to the traditional and isolated categories when studying social life.

The phenomenological approach is based on the indivisible connection between a person and space (Seamon, 2000). Consequently, the walk is understood as a line that refers to its continuity and the possibility of leaving traces as a result of the multiple relations that occur in the act. The walking line has been understood more as a dotted line composed of points (places) and lines to connect those places (Ingold, 2007), without focusing on the said

stretches. The act of a body moving forward at a specific pace involves multiple relations with the city which may happen simultaneously or sequentially. These interactions modify the experience, hence every walk is a different line, and the line itself is not homogenous or stable but rather a transformative phenomenon. Walking is conceived as "a mutable, embodied, materially heterogeneous and distributed activity" (Kärrholm et al., 2014, p. 22), generating ongoing relations between interior and exterior actors or stimulations, triggering different walking assemblages, making multiple choices, and constantly modifying the experience (Kärrholm et al., 2014).

Research design

a. Case-study: Santiago

This research was developed through a case-study which made it possible to have a more in-depth analysis of female walking experiences. Although the single-case study has been subject to methodological criticism in generating scientific value (Flyvbjerg, 2016), having a single case allows for context-dependent knowledge to occur. This phenomenological research, based on descriptions of experiences, assumes a bias and a subjective point of view from its beginning which is supported by feminist theory. Having a case-study will diversify knowledge regarding walking experiences addressing a "nuanced view of reality" which is also important (Flyvbjerg, 2016, p. 6).

More than testing a hypothesis, the case of Santiago will contribute to empirically illustrate the existent literature. By accounting the experience of female walkers, the case will show the relationship between walking practices with everyday life, rhythm, gendered social interactions, and the built environment.

The study was conducted in Santiago, Chile's capital city, with a population of over 7 million inhabitants. In Santiago, walking is, and has historically been, the dominant transport mode, with more than a third of the daily journeys of the city being made on foot (SECTRA, 2012). Furthermore, this practice is especially dominant among women (Sagaris & Tiznado-Aitken, 2020). Despite the significant number of trips on foot, planning policies have been car-oriented (Herrmann-Lunecke et al., 2020). However, in the last few years, walking has become a relevant topic for urban policies, yet urban design processes have overlooked the diversity of people, walks, and experiences. Therefore, contributing with different experiences of everyday walking is relevant in the growing context of non-motorised urban projects.

b. Research Methods

To illustrate women's experience in daily walks the research methods must include a qualitative approach enabling descriptive narratives. From the phenomenological perspective, the methods should provide an account of the relationship between the person and their environment, thus "describ[ing] the meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon" (Creswell, 2007, p. 57).

The methods defined to collect data were two: a field diary through which each woman could describe two walking journeys, and shared walks between the researcher and each of the participants during one of their daily journeys. The following sections will explain how each method was developed. Table 2 below shows, in a more direct and structured way, the relationship between the research questions, the methods, and the analysis.

Table 2. Synthesis of Research Design

Main objective	Sub-questions	Main category	M1. Field diary	M2. Shared walks	Analysis
THE WALK AS A LINE Illustrate women's everyday walks in Santiago, identifying the interrelation of different components of the experience		EVERYDAY LIFE	Sec1. General Information about the journey	Phenomenological approach, social, spatial, and temporal relations. Direct observation + conversations about the walk, other walks, and their everyday life	REPETITION-ROUTINE
					ORDINARY
					TACTICS-TRANSGRESSIONS
					EVERYDAY WALKING
	How do rhythms express walking practices?	RHYTHMS	Sec2. Time-space transformations on the walk		RHYTHMICITY
	How does gender shape walking experiences?	GENDER	Sec3. Description with guiding questions on urban environment, social interactions, feelings, and thoughts.		SENSE OF PLACE
	How do built environments influence the walking experience?	BUILT ENVIRONMENT			OWN PACE -OWN SPACE
					INTERDEPENDENCY
					REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR
					CARE FOR OTHERS
					FEAR AND BOLDNESS
					SIDEWALK, SPATIAL ELEMENTS
					PLACE-CHARACTER

Source: Author

Field diary

The field diary consisted of a pocket-size notebook designed to write down two journeys on foot women made in the days before the shared walk. The decision regarding these two journeys was made in consideration of the one-week time they had to fill in the diary entry. The diary had different sections, the first one being about general information of the participant's daily activity

and motivations in order to characterise the journey itself. The second section enquired on the stages and transformations of said journey, as to identify the different experiences of a walk and the moments of change. The last section asked for a narrative of the walk using some general guidance questions geared by the components of the walk as identified in the literature review.

Even though the field-diary could provide incomplete information or become a forced activity for the walker, which could potentially transform their experiences (Latham, 2003), the diary also offers significant advantages. Firstly, it provides a detailed journey account (Latham, 2003). Secondly, it allows to obtain information of other daily walks through an ethnographic work, without the presence of the researcher, which in this case was important due to time constraints. Thirdly, it eliminates possible strong observer effects of the researcher (Zimmerman & Wieder, 1977). Lastly, it makes the participant consider and be aware of her own routine and ordinary events surrounding it (Latham, 2003), which in this case was useful as a preparation for the shared walk.

Shared walks

The second method consisted of a shared walk between the participant and the researcher on a daily journey each woman did. Time and place were agreed during the initial first meeting, the researcher met up with each participant at the starting point and asked them to narrate the journey as they went along, including anything they found relevant during the walk. Some specific questions were asked by the researcher to cover different topics of the experience. The conversation was voice-recorded, and some photographs were taken by the researcher of the relevant issues mentioned and discussed.

Shared walks constitute a phenomenological research tool as it is possible to directly observe the relations and influences between the person and the place (Kusenbach, 2003). Talking and walking offer two essential features for the purposes of this research; first, moving makes it easier to come with thoughts (Solnit, 2001). And second, it allows us to explore, in the field, the relationship between people and places by directly observing the influence of place on social constructions. This is the main difference with interviews as it allows the researcher to look at the relational perspectives between their narratives, body, place and time (Anderson, 2004), and examine their experiences, interpretations and practices within the environment (Carpiano, 2009).

The shared walks were the main method used in the research, mainly as a consequence of the amount of information gathered. The field diaries contribute to complement the narratives of

the shared walks with other journeys, addressing topics that may have not been otherwise present in the shared walks. They also provide a more insightful perspective of thoughts and feelings.

c. Sample selection and participants

Following the intersectional feminist approach, this research aimed to illustrate diverse walking experiences, to understand their own relations, and to identify common factors between different walks. Therefore, the selection of the participants was done considering a combination of three general criteria that allowed the categorisation of women under different situations:

- (i) *Women's profiles*: it looked for women in different stages of their life, defined through a mix of factors related with: (i) age, (ii) whether they were students, workers, non-workers or retired, and (iii) their household role: if they had children and live under a family structure, if they were single, or if they had finished their parenting role. No children under 18 years old were included as participants in this research to isolate any ethical concern.
- (ii) *Character of the journey*: considered different purposes and the duration of the journey which required at least a 20-minute walk to allow for the richness of the walk to be fully reported. The requirement was established on time rather than distance because the focus of the research is not on the length or distance covered, but rather on what they do and perceive. From start to finish, the journeys had to be only on foot so as not to mix the experiences with other modes of transportation which bring about new dimensions.
- (iii) *Cover different areas of the city*: as Santiago is a very uneven city in terms of socioeconomic divisions, with evident spatial differences, participants were expected to come from different areas of the city so as not to concentrate the experiences on one type of urban environment.

The sample of participants sought to find women unknown to the researcher as knowing personal details could unconsciously influence some observations, phenomenological relations, or conclusions. The search for participants was done through an open call on social networks (WhatsApp, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook) during one week. The method and time for reaching out to participants responded to the limited period that the researcher had to do all the fieldwork, which was exactly one month. Intentionally, the invitation to participate was broad as many walks could be subject of research and there was no time to make a targeted search for specific profiles, characters, or areas of the city.

The call consisted of an announcement that explained the context and topic of the research, declared it was looking for women who make walking journeys with any purpose, and established the main requirements to participate. Finally, the announcement made a general description of what their participation would mean to the research and asked those who were interested to contact the researcher by email.

The announcement was shared 245 times on Twitter, and around 35 women from diverse backgrounds sent an email expressing their interest to participate. The selection was made by trying to choose the most diverse cases as possible among all of them. With each participant, there was an exchange of emails asking general data in an attempt to try to classify them according to the established criteria. It also contained more precise information about the research, explaining every step. The final selection included 16 women between the ages of 23 and 71, walking through 12 different *comunas*⁷ of the city, with ten different purposes, and walking on average from 20 minutes to two hours. Out of the sample, 14 women were selected from the call on social media, participant number 15 was contacted via phone, and participant number 16 was the walking companion of one of them who wrote an email to participate as well.

An initial meeting took place with each of the participants as a kind of informal interview, in which the researcher provided more information about the research and the methods, gave them the consent form, and the field-diary, and coordinated the shared walk for the week after depending on their routines and availability. Table 3 below summarises the participants' general information.

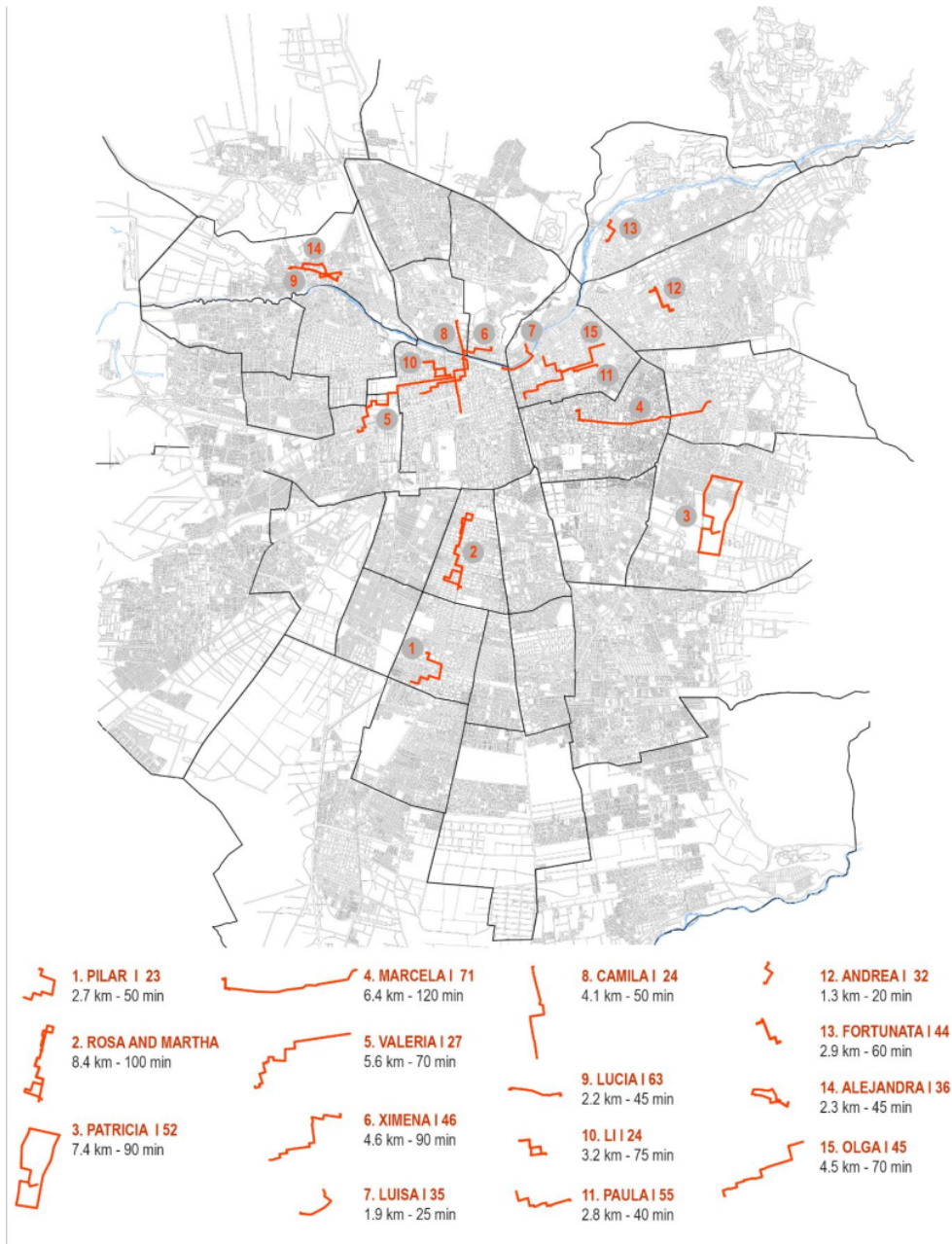
⁷ Political and administrative-territorial units, similar to a council in the UK.

Table 3. Women participating in the research

WOMEN'S PROFILE			CHARACTER OF THE JOURNEY		AREA OF THE CITY
NAME	AGE	DEPENDENTS	PURPOSE	DURATION APPROX	COMUNA
Pilar	23	Living with parents	To visit a friend	00:50	<i>La Cisterna</i>
Rosa & Martha	45	Children	As physical exercise	01:40	<i>San Miguel</i>
Patricia	52	Children	Recreative	01:30	<i>Peñalolén</i>
Marcela	71	Retired	To massages	02:00	<i>La Reina, Ñuñoa</i>
Valeria	27	Living with parents	From work	01:10	<i>Santiago</i>
Ximena	48	Children	To pick someone up	01:30	<i>Santiago, Recoleta</i>
Luisa	35	Living alone	For work	00:25	<i>Providencia, Santiago</i>
Camila	24	Living alone	To work	00:50	<i>Santiago, Independencia</i>
Lucía	63	Retired	Back from sports	00:45	<i>Renca</i>
Li	24	Living alone	To the market	01:15	<i>Santiago</i>
Paula	55	Living with adult daughter	From work	00:40	<i>Providencia</i>
Andrea	32	Children	Recreative	00:20	<i>Vitacura</i>
Fortunata	44	Children	Shopping	01:00	<i>Las Condes</i>
Alejandra	36	Children	To the market	00:45	<i>Renca</i>
Olga	45	Living alone	From work	01:10	<i>Las Condes, Providencia</i>

Source: Author

Figure 1: Map of the participants' everyday walk in Santiago



Source: Author

d. Analysis

The analysis was done from an empirical approach, through systematically decoding the information gathered from the field-diaries and the shared walks, using the programme Nvivo which enables to label such information. The main categories for the analysis come from the objectives of the research as well as the literature review. Each of these categories has subcategories based on the different topics covered in the literature review as it was summarised on Table 2. Once all the data was classified, two main analyses were done in order to answer the research questions.

To account for women's daily walking experiences showing the different components that interplay in the walk, the analysis was done per walk by looking at how the different components came about in each case. This allowed for the identification of places in which they had specific memories, feelings, or thoughts, where their rhythms changed, how they interacted with someone, and how gender issues emerged. The narratives of the walk were temporarily distributed along a schematic drawing, revealing the connections in specific moments between the different categories and also illustrating the sequential relationship between topics. This analytical line of enquiry envisioned and considered the walk as a line.

A second analysis was done for the three main components of the walk considered in this research: rhythm, gender-social interactions and built environment. In this case all the existing labelled information for a component (from diaries and walks) were put together to identify similarities and differences between the experiences and to answer each of the questions.

Limitations to the research

This research has some limitations regarding the case-study, the fieldwork, and the method. While this study was being conducted, the Chilean socio-political context experienced a significant shift. A social uprising began on October 18th2019, demanding dramatic changes to the national, political and economic system. The unrest consisting of mass protests in different parts of Santiago and other cities of Chile that lasted for more than five months (until the sanitary crisis of Covid-19), had -and perhaps still has- a remarkable impact; the urban landscape changed in almost every neighbourhood of the city, and so did the social dynamics. Many walking journeys were modified; some people started walking or increased their distances, others modified their routes, and most of them reshaped meanings and perceptions of the city under the new socio-political context. These impacts were inevitably present in the diaries and the shared walks. Some of these changes are included in this work as fieldwork has evidenced that they are inseparable from everyday life and experiences in Santiago. While they



- (iii) *The participants: female walkers.* This research involved female participants in the collection of data. The study did not include special category data as racial origin, political opinions, religious beliefs, or personal health that could be associated with ethical risks. The investigation is focused on socio-spatial relations while walking. Every participant was well-informed about the research and the implications in the initial meeting, and all of them signed an informed consent form in Spanish (Appendix A). In this form, they were asked to provide a pseudonym if they did not want to be identified by their name in the investigation.

CASE-STUDY

Santiago from a gendered and mobility perspective

experiences a large number of daily journeys and commuting trips in different travel modes. Despite the diversity of the travelling patterns, walking is the main mode of transportation as 34.4% of the daily journeys in the city are made on foot (, 2012), and they would account for 58.3% if walking distances to public transport hubs were considered. This practice is especially dominant in the lower and middle-income class and among women (Sagaris & Tiznado-Aitken, 2020). Regardless of the transportation mode, journeys with specific purposes related to care are mainly done by women, like collecting or dropping someone off, shopping, visiting someone, health appointments, and other general services. In fact, 46.6% of all trips made in the Metropolitan Region are 'care trips', out of which 30.6% are made by women and only 16% by men (Sagaris & Tiznado-Aitken, 2020).

Santiago is a very uneven city as it evidences a high degree of socio-economic inequality that is expressed in the quality of the urban environment itself. This is partly due to the fragmented administration of the city; Santiago is divided into 34 , with an independent budget and political agenda. Inequalities are also evident in the modes of transportation, as despite its predominance, investment in walking infrastructure received less than 3% of transport investment between 2010 and 2016 (Sagaris & Tiznado-Aitken, 2020). This in turn has led to a car-oriented development and landscape, with one-third of the pavement in poor conditions (Herrmann-Lunecke et al., 2020).

In the last decade, regional and national policies have turned their attention to 'active mobility'. In addition to its health and environmental benefits, walking is considered to be an essential activity to promote lively and sociable urban spaces at a human scale, to tackle the lack of vibrancy and to promote equity. Thus, the National Policy of Urban Development (, 2014) included walking as a relevant practice in an effort to achieve environmental balance in mobility. More recently, the Regional Government has been developing the Regional Policy of Active and Sustainable Mobility (, 2019) with one of its main objectives being to regain pedestrian control.

In practice, different initiatives to improve urban standards for pedestrians and cyclists have emerged. In 2016, together with Gehl architects, the Regional Government analysed specific areas of the city aiming at making pedestrian needs visible and to promote the transformation of streets into more humane spaces (, 2016). Despite the progress that has been made in

accounting for the relevance of pedestrian mobility, the discussion still focuses on general concepts and in meeting basic spatial standards, with less effort being made in trying to understand the different practices, experiences, and needs of those who walk the city. In the

ANALYSIS

Gender perspectives of an ordinary walk

The following chapter discusses the findings from data gathered from the field diaries and shared walks. It will firstly address female walking practices from Ingold's perspective of 'the route as a line', illustrating the complexity of the walking practices. Secondly, the section will unravel the line by discussing and illustrating walking experiences in line with the academic literature for three different components: rhythms, gender-social perspectives, and the built environment. The different experiences will emphasise the different ways women 'adjust' their walks. These adaptations could be interpreted following De Certeau's (1984) definition of tactics; however, most of them are unconsciously performed even in those cases where they somehow disrupt or transgress the normative practices.

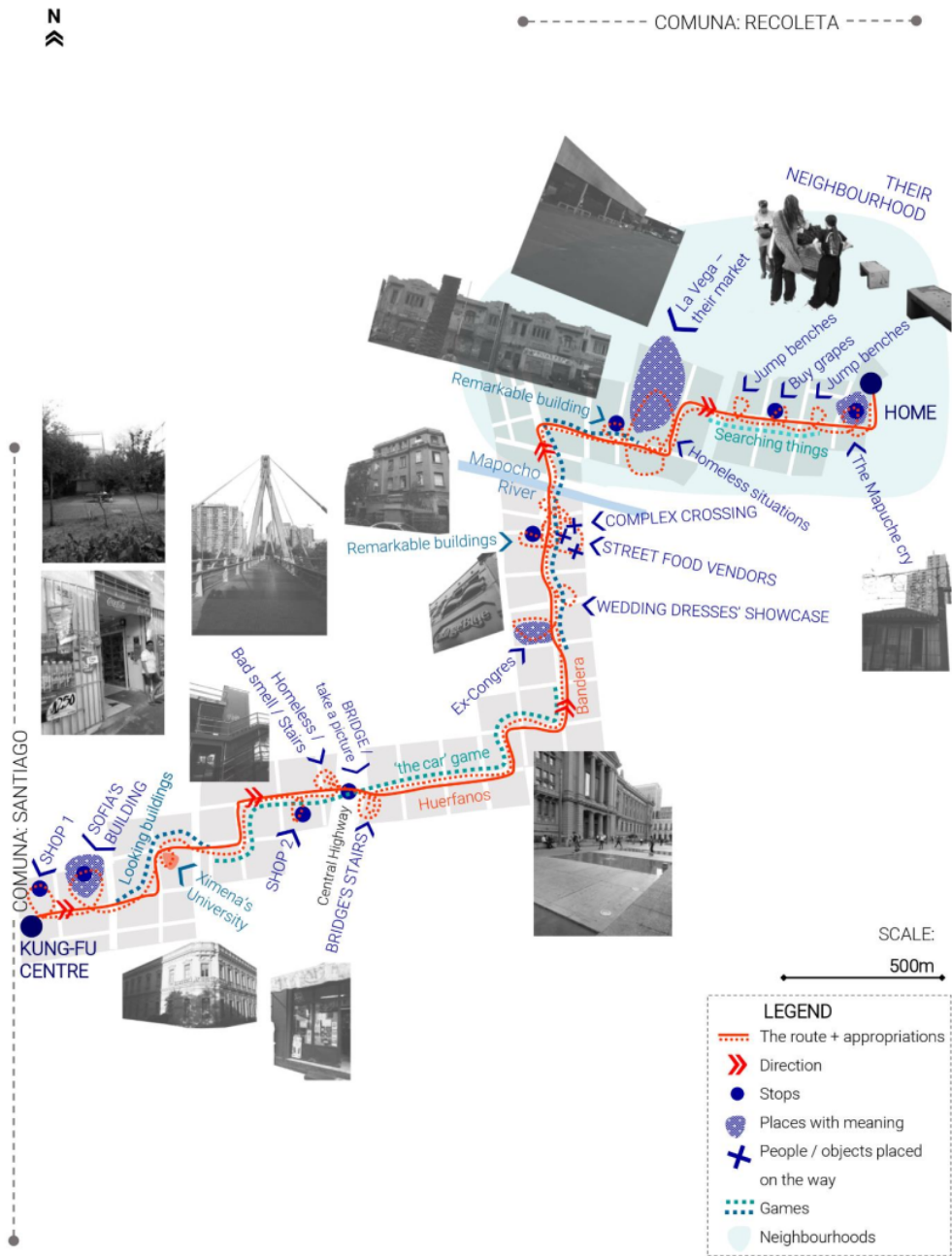
The walk as a line – complex narratives of women's walks

A walk, understood as a sequence of events or closely intertwined decisions, creates a continuous line that is difficult to interrupt. Ingold and Lee (2008) write, "the ways along which we walk are those along which we live" (p.1) arguing that every walk is strongly related to personal issues and everyday life. Here, the personal routines and lifestyles, the ordinariness, and the repetition emerge as invisible components that shape the line through personal decisions. But this line is even more complex as different external factors such as spatial, temporal, and social interrelate in specific points, modifying the experiences and, in some cases, updating it. The line then is not straight as it is commonly envisioned but it is rather a winding and tangled line that creates meanings, memories and emotional connections.

In this research it was found that the shape of the walking lines is strongly influenced by women's everyday life, by gendered issues, by their knowledge of places and by the meanings and emotions they have created with places through interactions with space, time and social encounters.

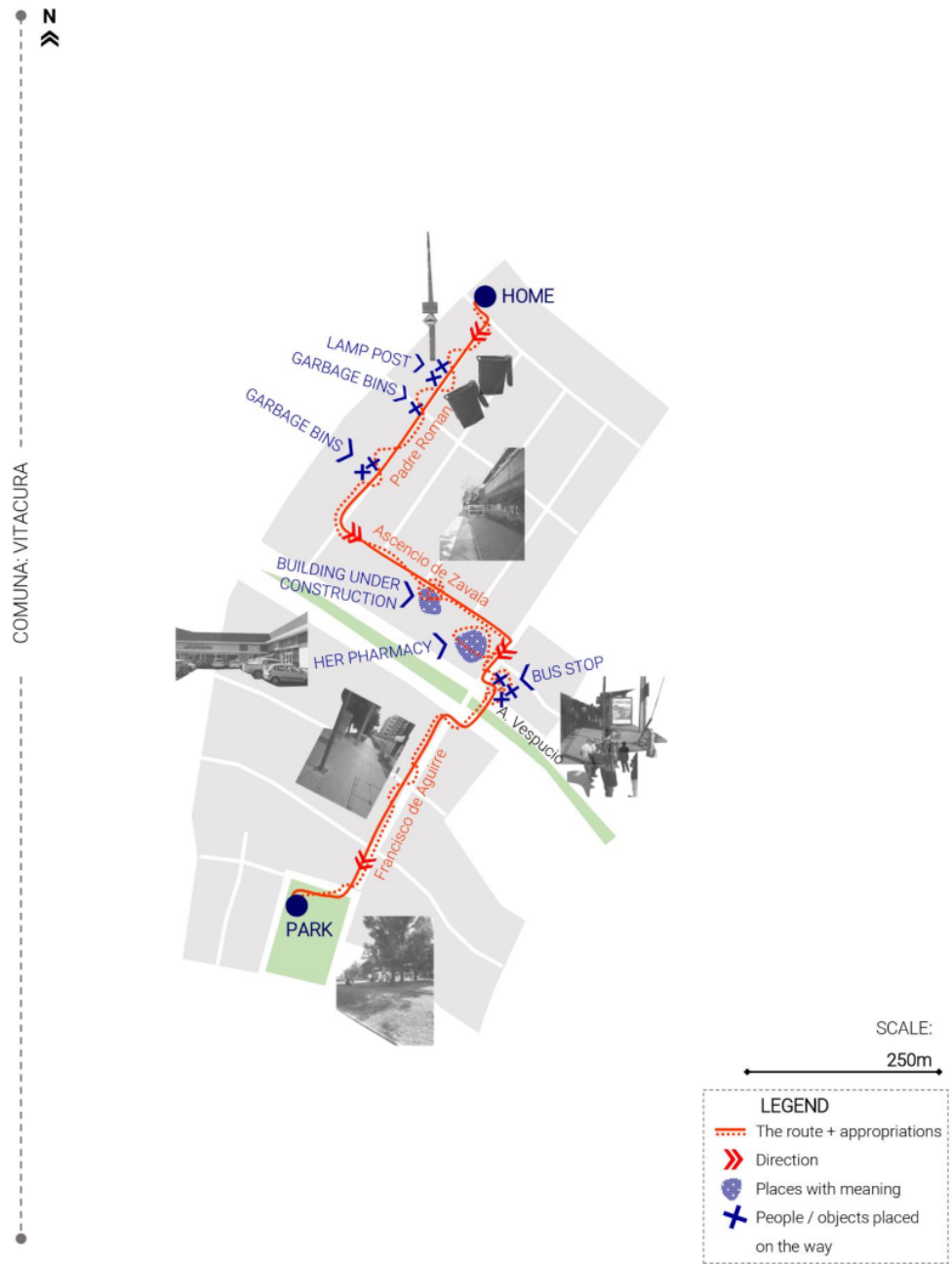
The walk can be described through the map of streets and places a walker goes through as a tourist map, but it can also be sketched according to distinct relationships that emerge during the practice. The line drawn in figures 2, 3, 4 and 5 are an attempt to give an account of the experience, showing how different elements interrelate in unique ways. Their narratives can be found in Appendix B of this work.

Figure 2. Ximena's walking line



Source: Author

Figure 3. Andrea's walking line



Source: Author

Two brief narratives will be used to exemplify a stretch of the walk as a line. In these illustrations, the first case stresses the importance of everyday life and caring labour in the walking practices, while the second focuses on the rhythms, the influences and meanings of the built environment.

Repetition as knowledge: caring as a determining factor

Rosa and Martha are sisters-in-law and they decided to walk 5km three times a week to encourage and help 'J', Martha's 11-year-old son, to exercise and lose weight. The walk has a recreational and fitness aim involving three people and it is performed in the *comuna* where Martha lives because Rosa has fewer household responsibilities and more time to travel. The route has changed along the months; in the area⁸ Martha lives, not all the neighbourhoods have the same levels of security and spatial quality, so their firsts walks were an exploration of the different areas in order to find the best one for them. When they found the area, at the beginning they walked through the *Great Avenue* which has underground stations, bus stops, and plenty of formal/informal shops along the way. For the three of them, it was difficult to maintain speed and to talk while walking on a busy street, so they decided to change the route to more quiet residential streets parallel to this main avenue.

In this case it is interesting to see how the recreational purpose of the walk plays an important role as they can choose where to go, but the places need to meet specific requirements: pavements with enough space to allow for a fast pace, a conversation, and a pleasant environment. The repetition of the walk allowed them to gain knowledge of the area and find the best route for them. Additionally, as a non-compulsory and exercise walk, they can decide if and when they do the walk. In this summer period the main constraint are the high temperatures clashing with the demands of household work.

For us to walk it has to be around 9pm and at that hour... already at that hour you have to do... not so much because of the darkness, but rather at that hour you have to make dinner, if one is late then it is 12 at night, and you have not yet bathed, nor gone to bed...

During their walk, they jump into different conversations set by their personal lives, but always aware of J's presence, his safety and enjoyment: "one gets distracted with him because we have to pay attention to him crossing the road/street and all that". Walking with a dependant shapes their experience, their conversations and, in some cases, their route.

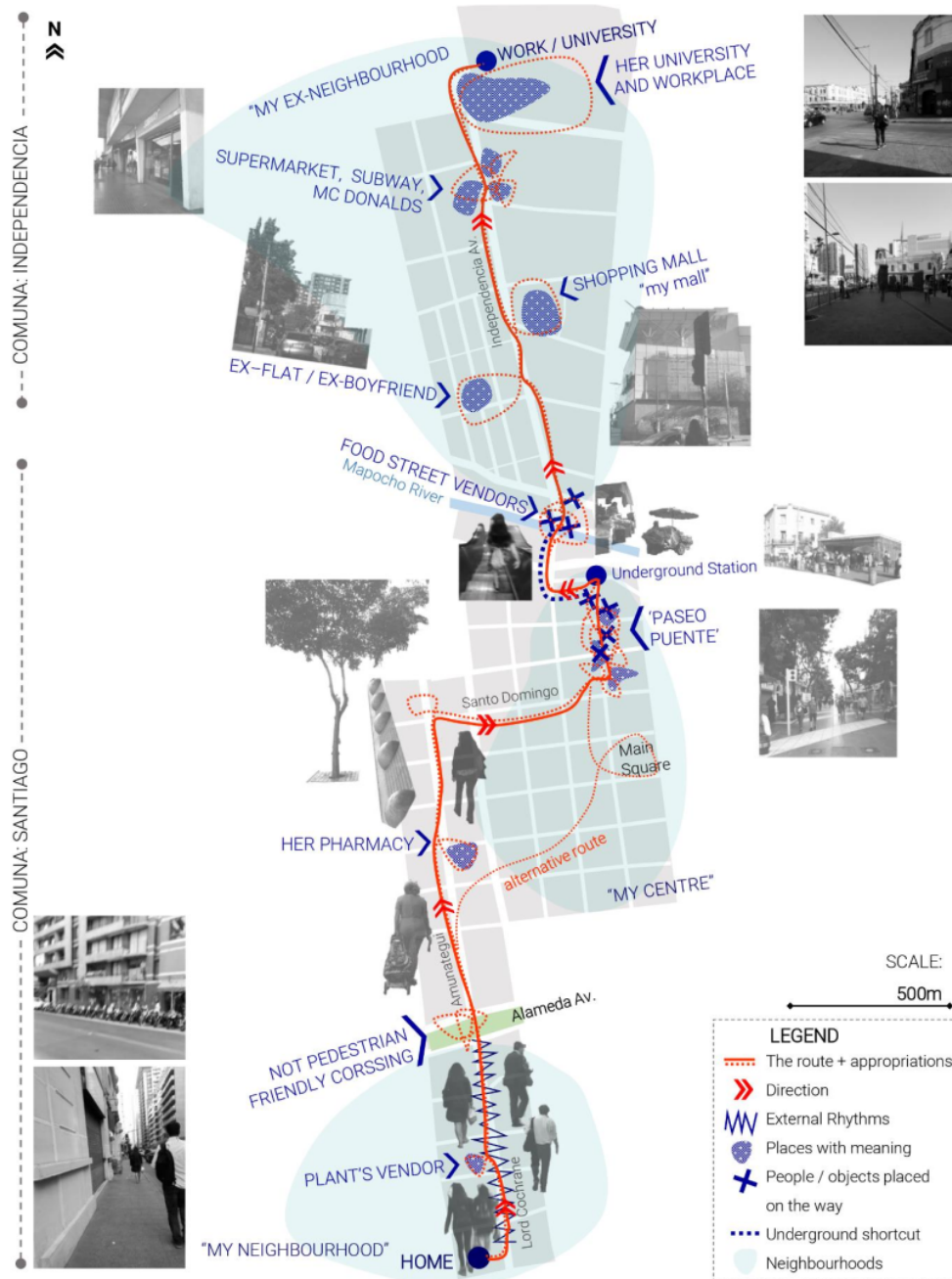
⁸ The *comuna* of San Miguel, has neighbourhoods with great socio-economic differences, therefore with very diverse spatial qualities.

INVISIBLE WALKS

Camila walks to work every day; her route is characterised by a constant tension between external and internal rhythms, and by the meanings of the different places she passes through. For the first part of her journey, there are many people in a hurry walking through the narrow pavement, thus external rhythms are impossible to avoid. She joins this hurried flow and adjusts her pace until she reaches a street with more space to walk on her own rhythm. She describes herself as a 'hurry-upper', always developing tactic moves, negotiating space, in order to reach her pace and comfort. Camila overtakes people on the pavement, avoiding busy streets full of people and pigeons, in search for more shady streets and always listening to music to block external noise.

The criteria to decide the route changes when she gets to a shopping pedestrian street *Paseo Puente*. In this place, despite the great number of people, shops, and stimuli, she likes it and recognises it as "my centre". This is the place where she attends to most of her personal needs, and so, while walking, she takes the opportunity to look at everything that could be useful later on. At this point in the walk, she trades off her rhythm for being in a place she enjoys. At the end there is an underground station with an underpass pedestrian path she uses as a shortcut to avoid a complex crossing, "there are too many buses, too many things to handle at once". Her decision considers safety and speed, "it is much safer, faster and direct. I don't have to wait around...". This shows an attempt to regain her own pace, putting in place all the possible tactics at hand. In the past few months, going through underground infrastructure without using it also has a political meaning, as the price rise of the metro fare triggered the social uprising back in October 2019. This was the only case in which tactics were performed in the political way De Certeau argues, as a conscious and purposeful act.

Figure 5. Camila's walking line



Source: Author

The two examples discussed how everyday life structures, repetition and spatial knowledge, gender issues, rhythms and places shape the walking experience. They also illustrate how women perform in this constant tension between searching for comfort while negotiating on the one hand, and adapting themselves to existing situations on the other. This defines the walks as transformative experiences, "constantly shifting and unfolding nature of wayfinding on foot" (Middleton, 2009, p. 1959).

Unravelling the line – the walking journeys through different components

This section will explore different perspectives of the walks, considering the three main components previously discussed in the literature review, namely, rhythms, gender-social relations, and the built environment. Although each section focuses on each of them separately, they must be understood as contextually situated, constantly interrelating to one another. Consequently, and through specific standpoints, they illustrate, in a fragmentary way, the complexity of the walking practice

1. Rhythms: influence of rhythmicity in walking experiences

The daily walking practice embodies complex time-space relations; female walkers are influenced by external rhythms, from strangers and rhythmical events, while they constantly seek for their own pace. Intersecting temporal and spatial dimensions produces a sense of place. These different time-space relations will be presented below.

Fortunata does her weekly walks to do the necessary shopping for her house. The places where she buys are located in a main avenue but her route there is along 'slow' streets (Matos Wunderlich, 2013). The quiet residential character allows her to have her own rhythm and walk while admiring the urban landscape. This changes abruptly when she meets the main avenue with more people, high-rise buildings with commercial ground floors, and a busier traffic flow. She narrates how the experience changes for her,

at this point it is hard for me to concentrate on admiring the landscape because there is more noise, more cars, there are more obstacles. I see those little concrete things over there and for me, they are already an obstacle, so I have to pay extra attention not to stumble. Sometimes there are too many people and I prefer to give way to others instead of bumping onto one of those things!

Her response to that situation is to stop, to give way, and to walk slower in favour of being more aware of the different stimuli.

Figure 6. Landscape changes in Fortunata's walk

Source: Author

Valeria likes to walk straight, fast, vigorously and with impetus, but it is difficult to do it on the pavement she walks through because it is narrow and she needs to share the space with families, mothers with strollers, and bicycles. In this part of the walk, she compromises her own rhythm in favour of other stimuli. She could have chosen another pavement with more space, but avoiding the sun at this time of the year is her priority. Following external rhythms demand special attention and implicit negotiations for the use of space and time women tend to put in place when considering their own pace.

When they can maintain their own pace, a different connection emerges with regard to internal

Internal and external rhythms while walking produce a sense of place that emerges from sensual and affective appreciations (Matos Wunderlich, 2013). This can be related to a particular place or across a more extended space, generating a mobile sense of place (Edensor, 2010). Rhythm and repetition allow them to sense places in personal ways, assigning meanings or memories to places, sometimes created a long time ago by walking or being in those places.

Once a week, Marcela walks two hours to a massage centre. The first part of the walk is the neighbourhood she has lived in for 40 years and where she knows what is going on at all times. Even though she has clearly appropriated the area, it is the second part of the walk where more senses emerge; from the avenue we walk through it is possible to see the building where she lived during her first years of marriage and where she raised her children. The avenue is full of places she used to go in those times; her children's school, the stationery bookshop, the supermarket, the sewing shop, and so on. More than pointing out the places, she narrated different stories of her past life. The journey ends by a third neighbourhood, the one she lived in her youth before getting married. At that point, we passed through her family house, the hospital she used to work at, and the local café she went with boyfriends. The walk becomes a kind of revision of her whole life where she can connect with old stories and keep giving meaning to places while she passes by.

When places are part of everydayness, meanings are constantly changing and updating. In the last part of Camila's walking journey, she passes through the neighbourhood she used to live with her ex-boyfriend. She explains that the first months after they broke up, she could not even see the neighbourhood. The shopping mall was a symbolic icon of their relationship, but she explains that as time went by, and as she walked past it everyday, she could see it as one of many memories of the area.

Luisa makes a journey two or three times a week that goes by *Plaza Italia* -the epicentre of the demonstrations during the social uprising. Four months after October, it is still possible to find people striking, especially on Fridays. As for thousands of people, the place acquired a new meaning for Luisa, with the area even informally yet significantly changing its name to its now popular *Plaza Dignidad*⁹. Crossing the square now feels different, "crossing *Plaza Dignidad* reminds me that we must remain mobilised, that we pay a high price for dead people, and that we must not give up. It is always an emotional walk".

⁹ 'Dignity Square' was the new name given by the citizens since the demands of the uprising are associated with having a dignified life, with access to health, education and retirement provided by the state.

Walking rhythms, depending on their mode, can give way to personal connection and to sensing places. Rhythms are not flat during a walk; women walk at a very different pace depending on the places they walk through, their company or their time constraints. While they move forward, they sense places and assign meaning to them, generating a much more complex time-space relationship. Thus, women and places are constantly influencing each other through rhythmicity. The rhythm of the walk enables the female walker to be in touch with the spatial environment, strengthening their relation, creating a sense of belonging

things. Interdependency becomes a phenomenon of daily experience and clearly determines the organisation and practices of people, modifying their behaviour, modes, and extent of mobility (Jirón & Gómez, 2018, p. 57).

b. Walking with dependants

The walking experiences of the participants that usually walk with dependants, Ximena, Andrea, Alejandra, Fortunata, Rosa, and Martha, show different perspectives on how walking is an act between the private and the public realm. In fact, many caregiving tasks which were traditionally associated with the private space are performed in public space, which in turn emphasises many gender issues. In this research, such acts are carried out by women, but they could be experienced by anyone who performs caring tasks in public space.

Walking with dependants is a different experience; they make more stops, women have to be aware of the crossings, space, the strangers, and unexpected events. For Rosa and Martha, walking with J demands new stops; they stop by a park to encourage J's socialisation, he asks to stop to make exercise with the outdoor gym equipment, but what he really does is look at the other kids. "He doesn't go over and play with them, but he just stays there".

While he stays there, they walk around the park and talk. They do not like to leave him alone because you can smell cannabis around the park and they feel it is dangerous as in Venezuela, their home country, it is a sign of risk and lack of safety, "We are still weary of it, don't trust it. We don't like this drug thing here. Over there [Venezuela] it is not so visible. Those who do drugs are not visible because they go to jail".

Fortunata uses the walks with her son to have a chat and educate him, especially on how to navigate the streets. On their way to school they have to deal with many office workers on a scooter on the pavement, and she teaches him to move away and give them space, "because they can hardly stop, and you can stop easier, then you avoid an accident". These learning situations go beyond their walk together, like when Fortunata is alone, and even though she does not like to wait or stop anywhere, she respects traffic lights conscientiously to give an example to others,

because sometimes, we are waiting and he sees there are people crossing with a red light, so he once said to me: but mom, you told me we can't do that, so I tell him we shouldn't do that and he then asks why are they doing it then? And I tell him because they didn't have a mother to teach them we shouldn't do that.

Ximena takes advantage of the built environment to teach new things to L. She carries with her an architectural guide with remarkable old buildings in their route. The moments for observing, recognising, and searching for a building are also moments for stopping and seeing other 'ordinary' things around it. While they walk, they look for the buildings so that L can learn the different architectural styles.

(...) so then L is learning this kinds of things, like which modifications were made to them [buildings], and suddenly we walk past one and I say 'look at that decor, does it look familiar?' Because we are operating by this book, so then if we see something kind of art deco it's like 'oh yeah, it has that kind of language'...

On the way, L and Ximena have different games that keep them busy and entertained; one of them being the 'car game', by which they imagine they are in a car with L driving and Ximena as the co-driver. Although it seems simple, the game has some difficulties; the co-driver must always keep up with the driver without changing sides, and there are some streets that 'the car' cannot go through. "Well, the games we play tend to condition some parts of the route, for example, when we 'drive', we can't go into any buildings".

Playing the car game defines the walk in a particular way, L as 'a driver' assumes the leading role, she evaluates the route according to her new mobility status, and she constantly gives her mother instructions about her position.

During the journey, children also interact with people or animals in the neighbourhoods. Very frequently, Andrea and Alejandra stop with their babies to see a dog, a cat, or a bird. In some cases, they can generate emotional relations with familiar animals around the neighbourhood.

Most of the described interactions address complexity in the traditional conceptualisation of walking practices. They show how reproductive tasks are developed in the public space, rendering the division between public and private space impossible (Vaiou & Kalandides, 2009). Women walk differently when they are with dependants; they stop, adapt their rhythms, their attention focus changes, they are more aware of children's safety, comfort and enjoyment. They use the urban environment and different situations as a resource to play games and teach their children new things.

c. Care for others

Regardless of the age, household structure or working situation, the female walkers think of others while they walk, and the caring dimension is present even when they walk alone. On the way back home from gym classes, Lucía stops by the bakery to buy what she needs for the day,

after which she walks quite loaded, carrying her gym bag, bread and tomatoes. She says that she is doing "well" and justifies the weight and discomfort by saying, "when you are married, you already have other responsibilities". While she walks, she is constantly thinking of others, "I think about organising things at home, about my husband's lunch. Maybe some errands I need to run. I think about my children, (...) On my way I also pray for humanity, for justice".

For Paula, there is no fixed route; she makes variations depending on the needs of her family, which means making a detour from her favourite route through small streets, to one of the main avenues just to stop at the bakery or the supermarket. She does not eat bread; this is a stop she exclusively makes to attend her family needs.

Walking with partners might change the routes: Alejandra explains that she sometimes walks through places she would not have chosen otherwise only to fulfil the preferences of her partner. "We go back through the handcraft market, I don't like that route, I don't buy anything, and I find everything expensive, but my partner likes it".

In other cases, walking allows them to spend time with others, as in Ximena and L's case, but for Paula and Li with their partners,

most of my walks are a stroll rather than a necessity, and that is why during the weekends, when I have more time, is when I most walk. Saturday market walks are generally slow, with lots of conversation, at times a bit later, depending on my hangover from Friday night, but I always like to go, despite the heat and the (...). Besides, it is always nice to walk in the shade with an ice-cream and a good conversation or gossip about the party on Friday. (Li).

Caring for others not only lies at the core of the family units but it also reinforces neighbourhood and community relationships. Marcela, Patricia, Alejandra and Lucía go waving at people they know on their way and exchange a few words to find out how they are, without stopping but slowing down the pace. The different encounters can significantly modify the time of the walk, on Alejandra's journey, we met five different neighbours. She is constantly aware of them, but it takes time to acknowledge these relationships, even during brief encounters, "I pay attention to the people I cross by; today, I didn't meet anyone I knew, which made my journey shorter".

In Lucía's case, in her role as a neighbourhood and community leader she has met many of her neighbours already. For years she has worked hard to make different urban improvements on her semi-private street, she also has a very active participation at the senior municipal club, making her know many of the people she meets on her way.

Regardless of the place, female walkers are constantly observing and are aware of others, even of those they do not know. In different ways, one of the situations that makes them more aware of their environment are the street vendors; they are located in various areas of the city that intersect with the female walkers. As many of them are immigrants with informal work, Rosa and Martha are continually trying to identify those who are Venezuelan. They observe, listen and argue: "That one over there is one of us (...) most of them are Venezuelans. Almost all of them".

The illegal situation of streets vendors makes them even more visible; Ximena and Li are always observing the tactics they use to get away from the police. For Camila, this situation is frightening; right by the corner she frequently walks by there are multiple food vendors frying food, and in the afternoons, at its busiest time, Camila is terrified that people are going to get burned with the frying oil, so she uses to walk by as fast as possible. "Because I've seen it, the cops come and they have to run away [to avoid being caught], and so I'm terrified they might drop the boiling oil".

Care for others is present in walks made by women of all ages and profiles. It is also evident when they walk with company or on their own, and in their relationship with known and unknown people. These experiences show how women prioritise caring for others, privileging other people's needs and preferences rather than caring for themselves (Day, 2000), resulting in implicit adaptations being made. But caring during the walks is also an opportunity to spend time together and to socialise with neighbours.

d. Fear and boldness

Perception of fear and *en route* decisions vary greatly depending on age, place, and time of the day. In this research, women did not feel threatened or unsafe in their everyday walks, or at least they did not mention it. This is not necessarily because there is no danger but rather because women plan and decide their routes under safety criteria, incorporating restrictions to their mental map. They are used to having areas or hours where they cannot walk through feeling safe, so they just do not do it, illustrating how fear of violence exerts control over women's decisions and use of space (Pain, 1997). This happens almost unconsciously; Pilar walks to her friend's house making a C-shaped route (fig.5), even though she could walk straight from point A to point B shortening her route, and only when she was asked why she explained,

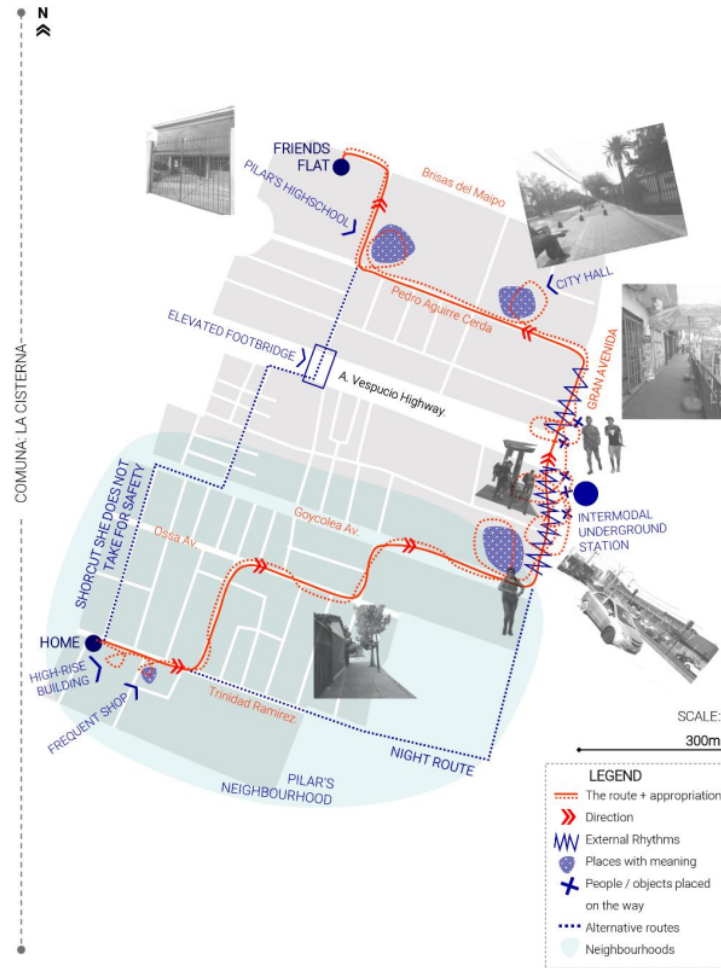
crossing Vespuccio near where my house is... yes, we could have done that but: first, you have to go through a pobla¹⁰, a real pobla where they sell drugs the whole thing. It

¹⁰*Pobla* is the abbreviation of '*población*' which are traditionally deprived neighbourhoods or run-down areas, sometimes with a history of struggling for the right to housing.

is dangerous like if you are mugged, you know? In La Cisterna¹¹ there is prostitution by Vespucio too, especially in this part, so it is not really a nice place to walk by as a woman.

She says that things have happened to her; she has been assaulted, sexually harassed, "so it's not comfortable. Besides, you have to cross a footbridge, so you reach the top of the stairs gasping for air. So I avoid it, I know it's a longer route but..."

Figure 7. Pilar's walking route



Source: Author

A similar decision is made by Rosa and Martha at a specific point of their journey, as on their way they take a detour to cross *Departamental Avenue* instead of going straight, "you can cross

¹¹ Middle-income *comuna*, with low-incomes neighbourhoods

INVISIBLE WALKS

their vision of the city, and second, related to functionality, how the pavement as the space to walk, determines the experience.

a. Place-character

The spatial qualities of places are essential in defining its character. While walking, in addition to the sense of place that they create through sensory interactions and emotional relations, they create an image of the city. Valeria exemplifies this with *Villa Portales*, a modernist-style housing complex where she sometimes walks through. She explains that the configuration of space has consequences in how the place is socially configured, arguing *Villa Portales* was thought to promote social life. The contrast (fig.6) between this complex and the neighbourhood she lives in is impressive, both were middle-class neighbourhoods, but her area has been significantly modified by high-rise and density buildings focused on profitability that have negatively impacted the area.

Figure 8. Villa Portales and Valeria's neighbourhood



Source: Author

Repeating the routes for years makes them witnesses of this urban transformation. Olga has observed the significant urban renovation that has taken place in the area where buildings are now replacing houses;

and over there, there must have been 2 houses, with a big garden, but they build these gigantic shopping malls that I absolutely hate. And what's so impressive about building a vertical square like that anyway?

Paula walks in the same *comuna* as Olga, and she is also impressed by how the urban renovation process has impacted the area. Like Olga, she identifies those houses that will be soon replaced by high-rise buildings by assessing the level of deterioration of a house. As she walks, she observes the diversity of the buildings and the coexistence between old houses, new buildings and services. She thinks diversity makes the walk friendlier as it 'gives your eyes a

treat'. It is not only about land use but also about spatial configuration in her neighbourhood, you can find unfenced front gardens which in her view, generate a better integration of the private and public spaces. Even though she is positive about the urban transformation, she is worried about how the city is overloaded,

this is like transforming, changing a house where a family once lived to something where, I don't know, 20 or 30 families live now, so that concerns me, how a city get more and more overloaded and crowded.

On a smaller spatial-scale, Paula, as well as Fortunata, Rosa walk looking at all the flowers, plants and trees of the streets and houses on the way. It has a different meaning for each of them: Paula uses them to learn about plants, by seeing the environmental conditions of a plant in the street she knows, thinking whether or not she could have one in her balcony. Fortunata observes the seasonal change reflected on the trees, giving her a notion of the passing of time.

It is a kinder way for you to feel the seasonality, to feel that time is passing, but not in a stressful way (...) it is a more organic way to understand that time is passing by and that soon the season will change.

For Rosa the trees she finds on the street makes them think of her home country; they are impressed to find plum trees in the middle of the street when in Venezuela they are costly fruits.

The spatial dimension has an important influence on constituting the character of places and creating an image of the city. The spatial qualities they value are not the same for all of them even though there are some common; it depends on their type of walks, their background, and personal preferences. This is an invitation to resignify the spatial configuration of the city beyond basic standards or formula, understanding it as a series of elements that are important for some people, that have personal meanings.

b. Pavements and the right to walk

The pavement, as shared and functional space, is a place for negotiating exclusion and inequalities; it becomes a site where domain is expressed and where transgressions are practised (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Spatial quality is essential in order to enable or restrict its use or certain interactions, especially when women walk with someone or something. Andrea explains that she crosses in the middle, "as a very bad pedestrian" and then she continues along the road instead of going on the pavement. Pavements are narrow, interrupted by lamp posts, or garbage bins, making it impossible to walk with a stroller (fig.7). She navigates between the road and the pavement, improvising depending on the flow of cars,

the possibility to walk safely, or the existing dropped kerbs to cross the street. "I've had ladies yelling at me like three times already: don't walk with your baby on the road!".

Li goes to the market every weekend with her girlfriend, and if they need to buy many things they take a shopping trolley each. On their way, she describes how they manage to walk together, "in some parts, we went in a single file to be able to walk on the pavement, and on some other occasions, we went onto the road to let someone go through" (fig.7).

Figure 9. Andrea and Li's pavements



Source: Author

When Fortunata takes her child to school, she has to walk through a narrow and busy pavement, making that part of the walk uncomfortable and stressing, forcing her to develop tactics to walk together.

There is a moment when I have to hold him right behind me, I mean, I never let go of his hand, I just walk in front of him, because there is a bus stop and so our time always coincides with rush hour and I see a group of people walking towards us, you can see it in their faces they are all in a hurry and they won't be aware of the presence of a young child, so I opt for holding him behind me.

All these different tactics that women use to walk illustrate how the pavement is a space of limitations, they evidence that cities have not been thought for pedestrians, or care chores generally associated with women. In Chile, the minimum standard width for a pavement is 1.2 metres; yet in many cases, they do not even exist, or they are not paved, they have obstructions of many different kinds, they are built by different stakeholders, constituting a non-unitary space

(Herrmann-Lunecke, 2016). This accounts for a city designed and planned to privilege the automobile.

The built environment is important in women's walks in many ways; firstly, as a functional infrastructure that can enable or constrain a walk. Secondly, the spatial qualities of the environment have an impact on how pleasurable the walk is. These two criteria are aligned with the walkability approach. Besides, the built environment is related to both, the personal meaning and the configuration of the character of a place.

CONCLUSIONS

A line of meanings, restrictions and negotiations that creates women's identity

By considering walking as a lived experience, this research explored the shape and configuration of everyday walking lines of different women in Santiago, focusing on rhythm, gender-social interactions, and the built environment, as well as the correlation between them. The research was developed from a feminist and phenomenological perspective, empirically addressing the Chilean case with data gathered from 16 women through field-diaries and shared walks. It contributes to academic research on walking from a situated and gender perspective, and to broadening the view when designing spaces.

This research aimed to address different female walking experiences to show its diversity and to identify structural common factors. Researching women from everyday practices was also an embodied and lived experience for the researcher. Her perspective is not definitive, as many other interpretations of the same walks could be made, and other dimensions addressed as women's bodies or the socio-political context. Regarding women's walking experiences, it would be interesting to study walks in more depth from an intersectional perspective, taking as a base point the influence of personal in the walking experiences. This research considered intersectionality to address diversity but did not delve into it to explain certain practices. Additionally, different perspectives need to be included, considering all genders and not only women.

Inquiring into how women experience everyday walking journeys, and how rhythms, gender relations and the built environment influence or express the practice, the research brings to light a range of issues that should be considered in the planning and urban design.

Women's daily walking practices are diverse between them and on their own routes. **Each walk can be understood as a unique line.** The line exemplifies the continuity of the experiences and

Women do not have one walking route but many; they walk through neighbourhoods, making variations *en route*. **The journey is a line that adapts** to the environment, to external stimuli, to personal moods, and to the needs of others. The walking practice gives an account of the constant negotiation women make in the public space, by adjusting their routes and transgressing the expected behaviour. While navigating the streets, negotiations occur in micro-actions sometimes invisible for externals and most of the time unconscious for the female walkers. They are expressed in decisions, thoughts, acts of moving to a side of the pavement to let someone go through, the gesture of holding their child's hand to cross safely, and so on. Women create a mental map of their walking possibilities to make the experiences pleasant that naturally incorporates all their constraints.

When Leslie Kern (2020) thought of moving from a city to a small town, she realised **how bound up the city was with her personal identity** (p.19). In this study, Andrea describes herself as a 'bad pedestrian' for walking with a stroller on the road instead of a narrow and interrupted pavement. We have become accustomed to those invisible boundaries, those unnoticed barriers that determine our walks through the city. While walking, women adapt, negotiate, transgress, and reclaim a city made for men. Space is not neutral, it expresses a type of city, it has personal and social meanings. Public space is essential for women's identity, and it can be re-envisioned taking in consideration their experiences so that streets belong to women.

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APPENDIX A RESEARCH ETHICS

1. Information and informed consent sheet (English and Spanish version) p.62
2. Participants' signed consent sheets p.68
3. Risk assessment form (copy submitted in Spetember 2019) p.84

Information and consent form *[English version]*

Project Title

Researcher Nicole Pumarino Orbeta

Introduction

You are being invited to take part in a research project being undertaken by a Masters student from the Bartlett School of Planning, University College London (UCL).

Before you decide whether or not to participate it is important for you to understand why the research is being conducted and what participation will involve. Please read the following information carefully, feel free to discuss it with others if you wish, or ask the researcher for clarification or further information. Please take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Why is this research being conducted?

Despite the fact that walking is the dominant mode of transportation in Santiago and that walkers are mainly women, we know little on how they perceive and experience the city. The aim of this project is to understand how the experience of walking is transformed as we move forward through the city identifying all those socio-spatial ephemeral interactions that happen in the journey.

Why am I being invited to take part?

You are being invited to take part as a female walker of Santiago. The diversity of journeys, ages and areas of the city is essential to illustrate the variety of experiences. Additionally, your perception and interpretation of what happens in the journey and in the city you walk through, will contribute to incorporate different perspectives to the research.

Do I have to participate?

Participation is entirely voluntary. If you do choose to participate and then change your mind, you may withdraw from the research at any time with no consequences and without having to give a reason.

What will happen if I choose to take part?

If you do choose to participate, you will be invited to complete a walking diary and make a shared walk on a journey you frequently take with the researcher, to explore

the issues highlighted above. Both the walking diary and the shared walk will be delivered or conducted at a

mutually agreed location. The duration of the walk will depend on the route you take and will be audio recorded (and transcribed at a later date). The walk will be also complemented with some photos taken by the researcher.

What are the advantages of taking part?

There are no immediate benefits for participating in this project and no financial incentive or reward is offered, however it is hoped that this project will inform the diversity of women walking experiences to the field of Urban Design.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part?

We anticipate no significant disadvantages associated with taking part in this project. If you experience any unexpected adverse consequences as a result of taking part in the project you are encouraged to contact the researcher as soon as possible using the contact details on page 2 of this information and consent sheet.

If I choose to take part, what will happen to the data?

The information gathered in the diary and the recorded walk will be presented using your first name and age or a suitable pseudonym if you prefer (e.g. Maria, 36). A record of participant identities and any notes will be kept separately and securely from the anonymised data.

The data will be only used for the purposes of this research and relevant outputs and will not be shared with any third party. The anonymised data may be utilised in the written dissertation produced at the end of this project, and this dissertation may then be made publicly available via the University Library's Open Access Portal, however no identifiable or commercial sensitive information will be accessible in this way.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

It is anticipated that the data collected in this project will be included in the dissertation produced at the end of this project, submitted for the award of a Masters degree at University College London (UCL). You will not be personally identified in any of the outputs from this work, and attributions and quotations will be anonymised. If you would like to receive an electronic copy of any outputs stemming from this project please ask the contact below who will be happy to provide this.

Contact Details – Concerns and/or complaints

If you would like more information or have any questions or concerns about any aspect of this research project or your participation please contact the MSc student contact the student in the first instance, then escalate to the supervisor.

Primary contact	Nicole Pumarino Orbeta
Role	MSc student
Email	nicolepumarino@gmail.com

Supervisor	Filipa Wunderlich
Role	MSc dissertation supervisor
Email	f.wunderlich@ucl.ac.uk
Telephone	



INFORMACIÓN Y FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO [Spanish versión]

Título del proyecto: Experiencias cotidianas de mujeres caminantes en la ciudad de Santiago

Investigadora: Nicole Pumarino Orbeta

Introducción

Estás siendo invitada a participar en un proyecto de investigación de una estudiante de magister de la Escuela de Planificación de la Bartlett, de la University College London (UCL).

Antes de decidir si quieres o no participar es importante que entiendas por qué se realiza esta investigación y que involucrará tu participación. Por favor lee cuidadosamente la información presentada a continuación, y siéntete libre de discutir con otros si quieres o no participar o pregúntale a la investigadora para tener más claridad o información acerca de la investigación. Por favor tomate tu tiempo para decidir si quieres participar o no.

¿Por qué se realiza esta investigación?

A pesar de que la caminata es el modo más preponderante de transporte en Santiago y que las caminantes son mayoritariamente mujeres, sabemos poco acerca de cómo ellas la perciben y experimentan en la ciudad. El objetivo de esta investigación es comprender cómo es la experiencia de las mujeres al caminar por la ciudad y cómo esta se transforma a medida que avanzamos por distintos espacios, identificando aquellas interacciones efímeras, sociales o espaciales, que ocurren en el trayecto.

¿Por qué estoy siendo invitada a participar?

Estás siendo invitada a formar parte de esta investigación porque eres una mujer que camina por la ciudad de Santiago. La diversidad de trayectos, edades y sectores de la ciudad es esencial para mostrar la variedad de que experiencias que existen. Además, tu percepción e interpretación de lo que ocurre en el trayecto que realices y la ciudad por la que caminas va a contribuir a incorporar diferentes perspectivas a la investigación.

¿Estoy obligada a participar?

La participación es completamente voluntaria. Si eliges participar y luego cambias de parecer, podrás retirarte de la investigación en cualquier momento sin generar ninguna consecuencia y sin necesidad de dar explicaciones.

¿Qué ocurrirá si elijo participar?

Si eliges participar, serás invitada a rellenar un diario de caminatas y realizar una caminata acompañada junto con la investigadora del proyecto en una ruta que realices frecuentemente para explorar los temas identificados anteriormente. Tanto el diario como la caminata serán entregados y desarrollados en una ubicación acordada. La duración de la caminata dependerá de la ruta que tú hagas y será grabada (solo audio) y se transcribirá posteriormente. La caminata también se complementará de fotos que tome la investigadora.

¿Cuáles son las ventajas de participar?

No hay beneficios inmediatos de participar en este proyecto y tampoco hay incentivos financieros, sin embargo se espera que este proyecto sirva para informar a la disciplina del diseño urbano sobre la diversidad de experiencias que tienen las mujeres que caminan.

¿Cuáles son las posibles desventajas de participar?

No se anticipan desventajas significativas asociadas a participar en este proyecto. Si experimentas alguna consecuencia adversa como resultado de participar en este proyecto te incitamos a que contactes a la investigadora lo antes posible usando los detalles de contacto de la página 2 de esta información.

Si elijo participar, ¿qué va a ocurrir con mis datos?

La información que se recolecte en el diario y en la caminata grabada, será utilizada usando tu primer nombre y edad o si prefieres y lo indicas en el consentimiento, con un pseudónimo que te (ej. María, 36). Un registro de las identidades y del material completo se mantendrá separado de los datos anónimos.

Los datos solamente serán utilizados para el propósito de esta investigación y los resultados no serán compartidos con ningún tercero. Los datos recolectados, identificados solo mediante nombre de pila o pseudónimo, podrán ser utilizados en escrito final de este trabajo y este será público con acceso abierto a través en la biblioteca de la

universidad, sin embargo, ninguna información que te identifique o que sea comercial será accesible.

¿Qué ocurrirá con los resultados de este proyecto de investigación?

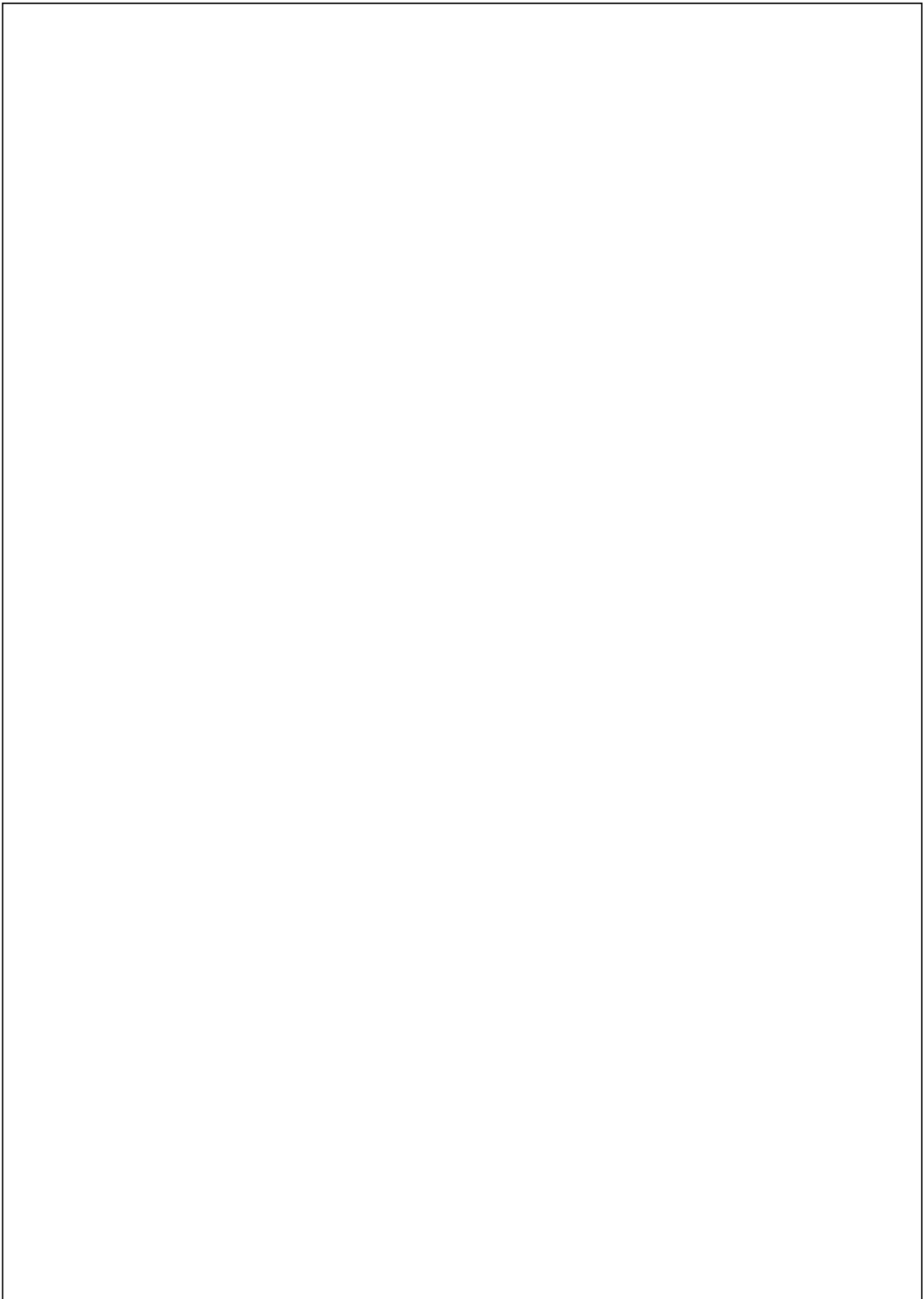
Se anticipa que los datos recolectados en este proyecto serán incluidos en la investigación para obtener el grado de Magister en UCL. No serás personalmente identificada (nombre y apellido) en ninguno de los resultados de este trabajo y las citas textuales se incluirán de la manera en que se explicó. Si quieres recibir una copia electrónica de los resultados de este proyecto por favor indícalo más abajo y estaremos felices de hacértela llegar.

Datos de contacto – Preocupaciones reclamos

Si quieres más información o tienes preguntas o preocupaciones sobre aspectos de esta investigación o tu participación, por favor contacta a la investigadora (estudiante de magister) en primera instancia, luego escala a su supervisora.

Contacto principal: Nicole Pumarino Orbeta
Rol: Estudiante de magister
Email nicolepumarino@gmail.com

Supervisora Filipa Wunderlich
Rol Supervisora de tesis de magister
Email f.wunderlich@ucl.ac.uk



CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del proyecto:

Experiencias cotidianas de mujeres caminantes en la ciudad de Santiago

Si estás de acuerdo con participar, por favor complete este formulario de consentimiento poniendo un ticket en los recuadros para reconocer las siguientes declaraciones y firma con tu nombre al final de la página.

Por favor entrega esta hoja a la investigadora que realizó la caminata. Ella también podrá explicar este formulario si lo requieres.

1.	He leído y entendido la información proveída	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2.	Estoy de acuerdo con participar en la investigación y con participar de las actividades requeridas descritas en la hoja informativa.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
3.	Entiendo que mi participación es completamente voluntaria.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4.	Entiendo que me puedo retirar en cualquier momento sin dar explicaciones y sin consecuencias.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
5.	Estoy de acuerdo con que se grabe la caminata.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
6.	Entiendo que puedo ver una copia de la transcripción de la grabación y acordar cualquier ajuste con la investigadora.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
7.	Entiendo que la intención es que la información recolectada sea utilizada con mi primer nombre o un pseudónimo que yo elija.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
8.	Entiendo que el resultado de este proyecto estará en el repositorio de UCL con acceso abierto como se describe en la hoja informativa pero que los datos entregados por las participantes serán utilizados bajo un nombre o pseudónimo.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
9.	Entiendo que puedo contactar a la estudiante que me acompañó en la caminata en cualquier momento usando el correo electrónico o a su supervisora si ella no respondiera, la información de ambas está en la hoja informativa.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: <u>Fortonata</u>	

Evelyn Córdova V.

Nombre participante:



Firma:

30/12/19

Fecha:

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

Fecha:

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del proyecto:

Experiencias cotidianas de mujeres caminantes en la ciudad de Santiago

Si estás de acuerdo con participar, por favor complete este formulario de consentimiento poniendo un ticket en los recuadros para reconocer las siguientes declaraciones y firma con tu nombre al final de la página.

Por favor entrega esta hoja a la investigadora que realizó la caminata. Ella también podrá explicar este formulario si lo requieres.

1.	He leído y entendido la información proveída	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2.	Estoy de acuerdo con participar en la investigación y con participar de las actividades requeridas descritas en la hoja informativa.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Entiendo que mi participación es completamente voluntaria.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: _____	

PATRICIA ANDRADE

Nombre participante:

Patricia Andrade

Firma:

Fecha:

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

Fecha:

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del proyecto:


Experiencias cotidianas de mujeres caminantes en la ciudad de Santiago

Si estás de acuerdo con participar, por favor complete este formulario de consentimiento poniendo un ticket en los recuadros para reconocer las siguientes declaraciones y firma con tu nombre al final de la página.

Por favor entrega esta hoja a la investigadora que realizó la caminata. Ella también podrá explicar este formulario si lo requieres.

1.	He leído y entendido la información proveída	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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9.	Entiendo que puedo contactar a la estudiante que me acompañó en la caminata en cualquier momento usando el correo electrónico o a su supervisora si ella no respondiera, la información de ambas está en la hoja informativa.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: <u>MARCELA MOYA PIÑA</u>	

MARCELA MOYA
Nombre participante:


Firma:

Fecha:

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

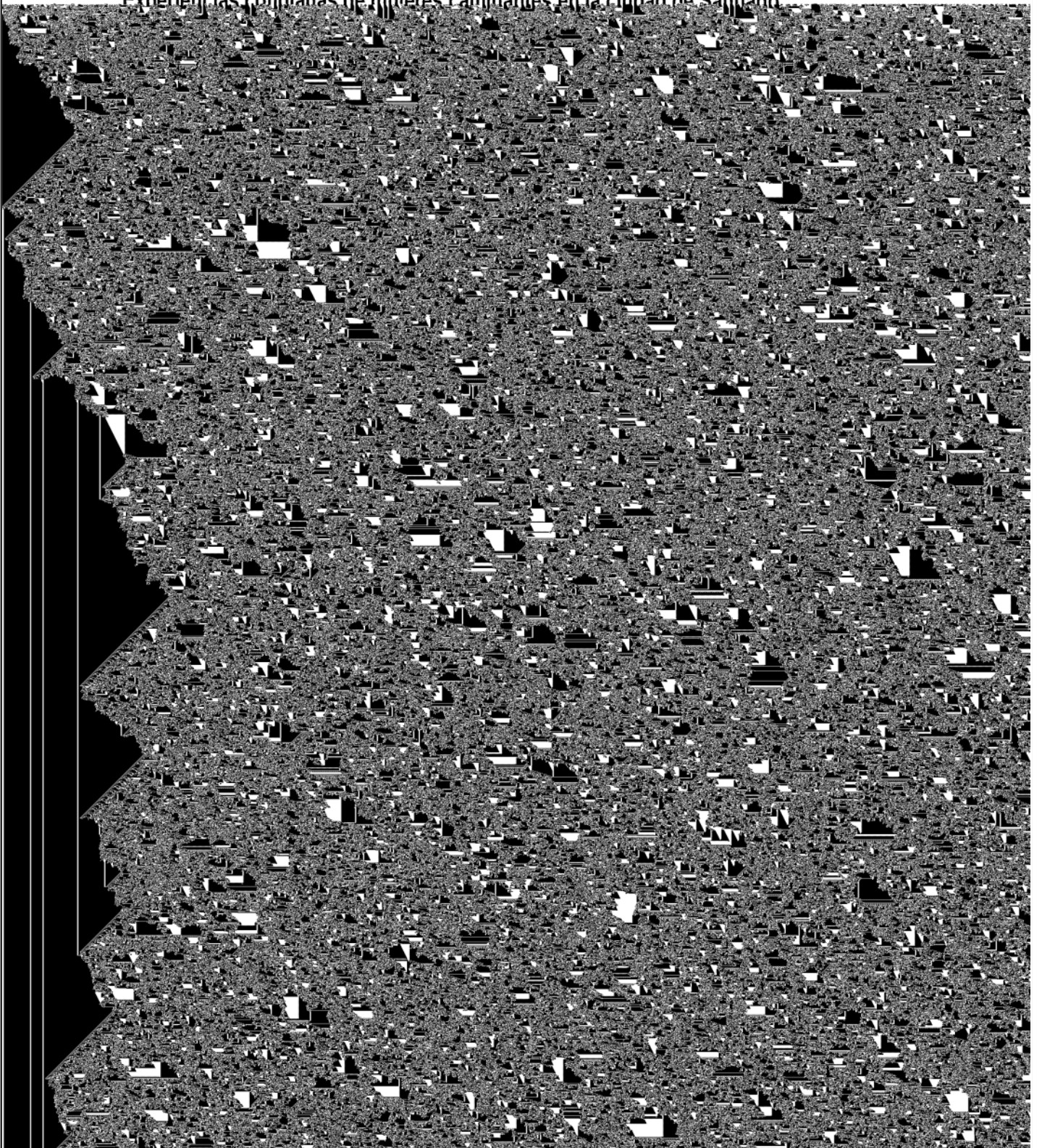
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CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del proyecto:

Experiencias cotidianas de mujeres caminantes en la ciudad de Santiago



CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

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10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: _____	

Nombre participante:

Paula Fernández

Firma:



Fecha:

30/12/2019

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

Fecha:

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del proyecto:

Experiencias cotidianas de mujeres caminantes en la ciudad de Santiago

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10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: _____	

Luisa Espinoza
Nombre participante:

Luisa Espinoza
Firma:

3/01/2020.
Fecha:

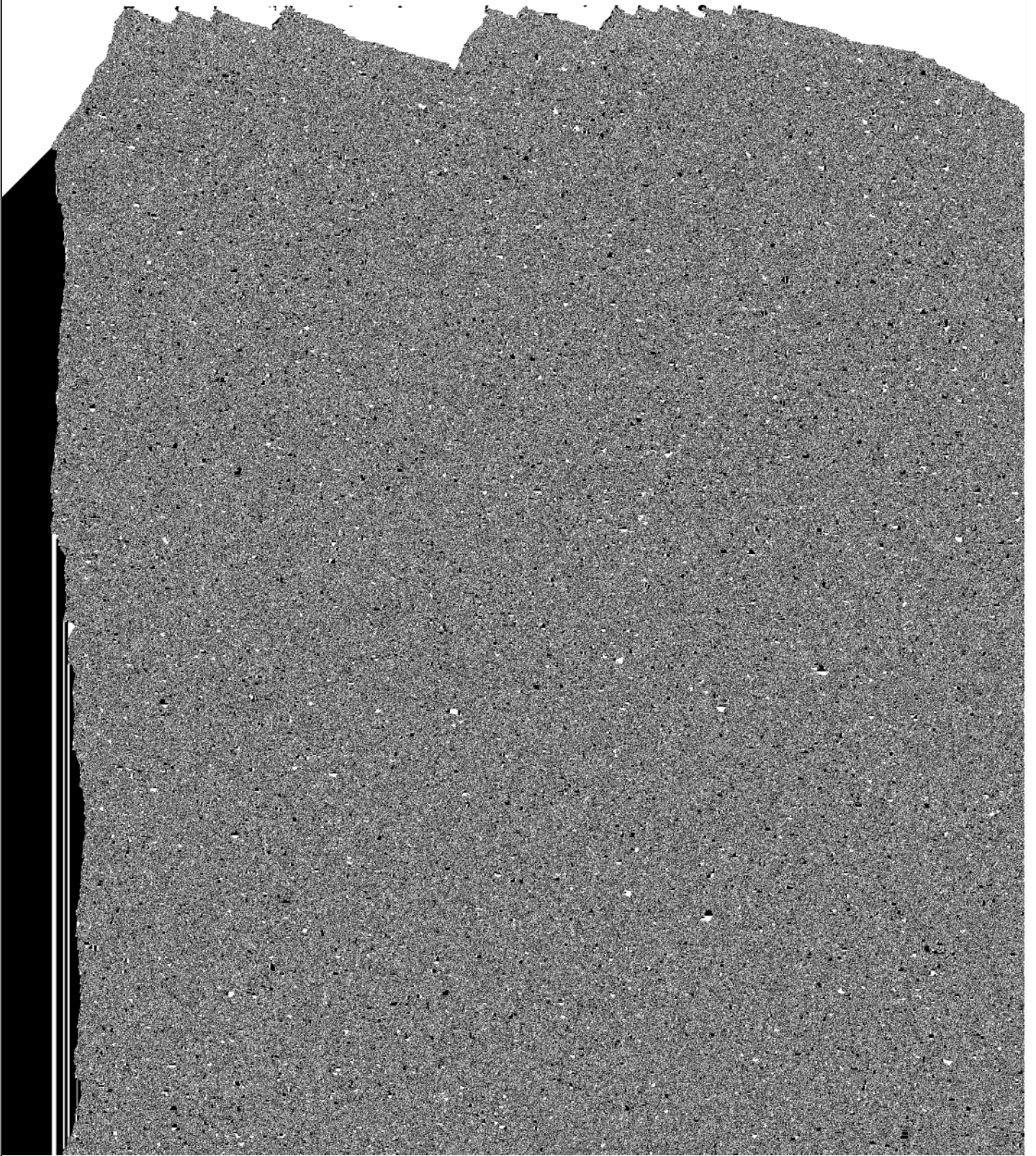
Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

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CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del proyecto:



CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del proyecto:

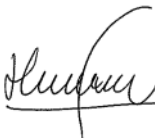
Experiencias cotidianas de mujeres caminantes en la ciudad de Santiago

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Por favor entrega esta hoja a la investigadora que realizó la caminata. Ella también podrá explicar este formulario si lo requieres.

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3.	Entiendo que mi participación es completamente voluntaria.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: <u>Camila</u>	

Nombre participante: *Camila Espinoza*

Firma: 

Fecha: *30/12/19*

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

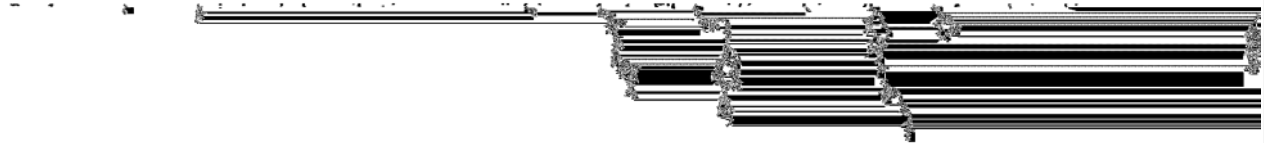
Fecha:

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

Título del proyecto:

Experiencias cotidianas de mujeres caminantes en la ciudad de Santiago

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2.	Estoy de acuerdo con participar en la investigación y con participar de las actividades requeridas descritas en la hoja informativa.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
3.	Entiendo que mi participación es completamente voluntaria.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
4.	Entiendo que me puedo retirar en cualquier momento sin dar explicaciones y sin consecuencias.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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7.	Entiendo que la intención es que la información recolectada sea utilizada con mi primer nombre o un pseudónimo que yo elija.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
8.	Entiendo que el resultado de este proyecto estará en el repositorio de UCL con acceso abierto como se describe en la hoja informativa pero que los datos entregados por las participantes serán utilizados bajo un nombre o pseudónimo.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
9.	Entiendo que puedo contactar a la estudiante que me acompañó en la caminata en cualquier momento usando el correo electrónico o a su supervisora si ella no respondiera, la información de ambas está en la hoja informativa.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: <u>Pilar</u>	

Nombre participante: Pilar Contreras Gutiérrez Firma:  Fecha:

Nombre investigadora: Firma: Fecha:

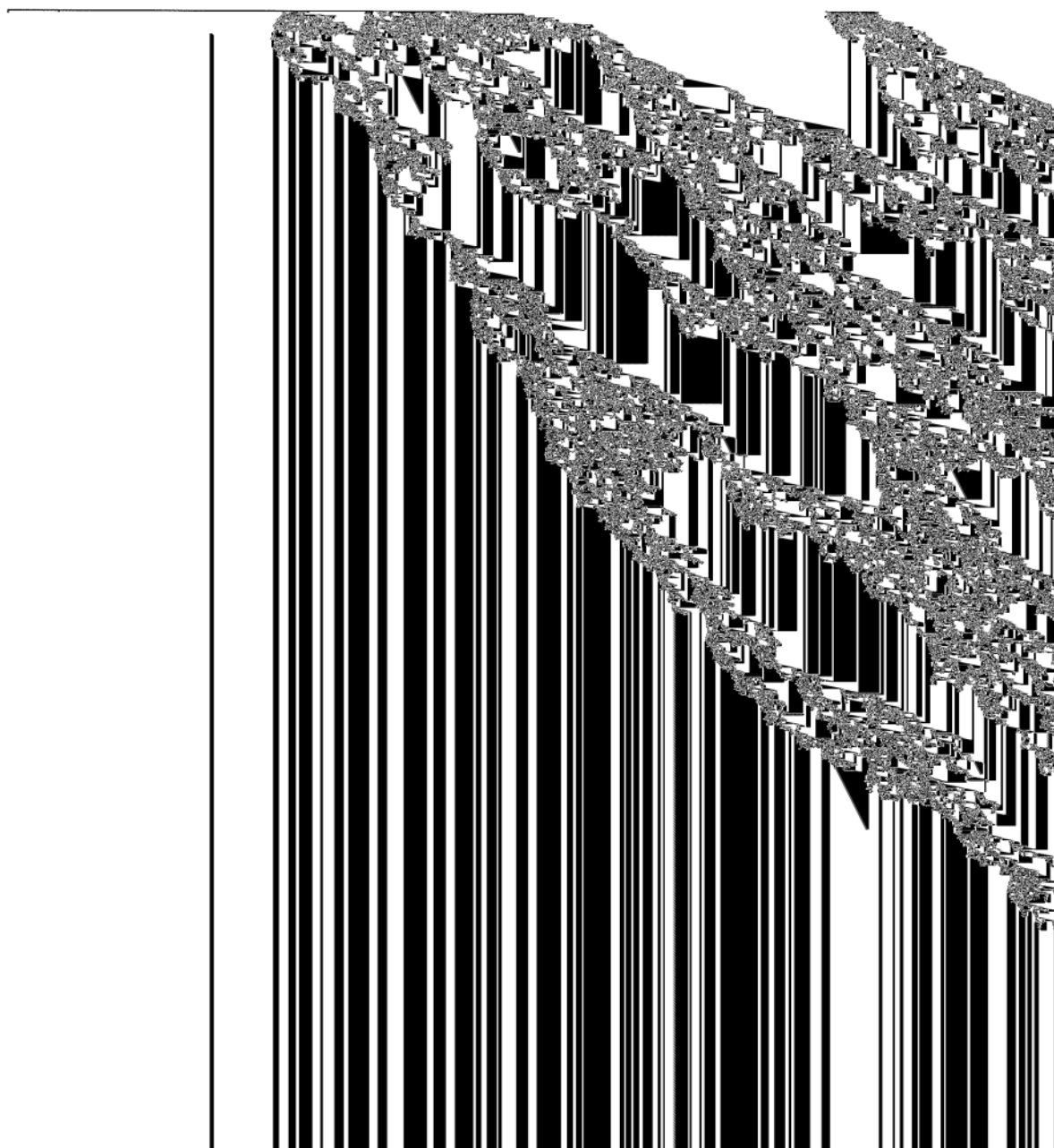
CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

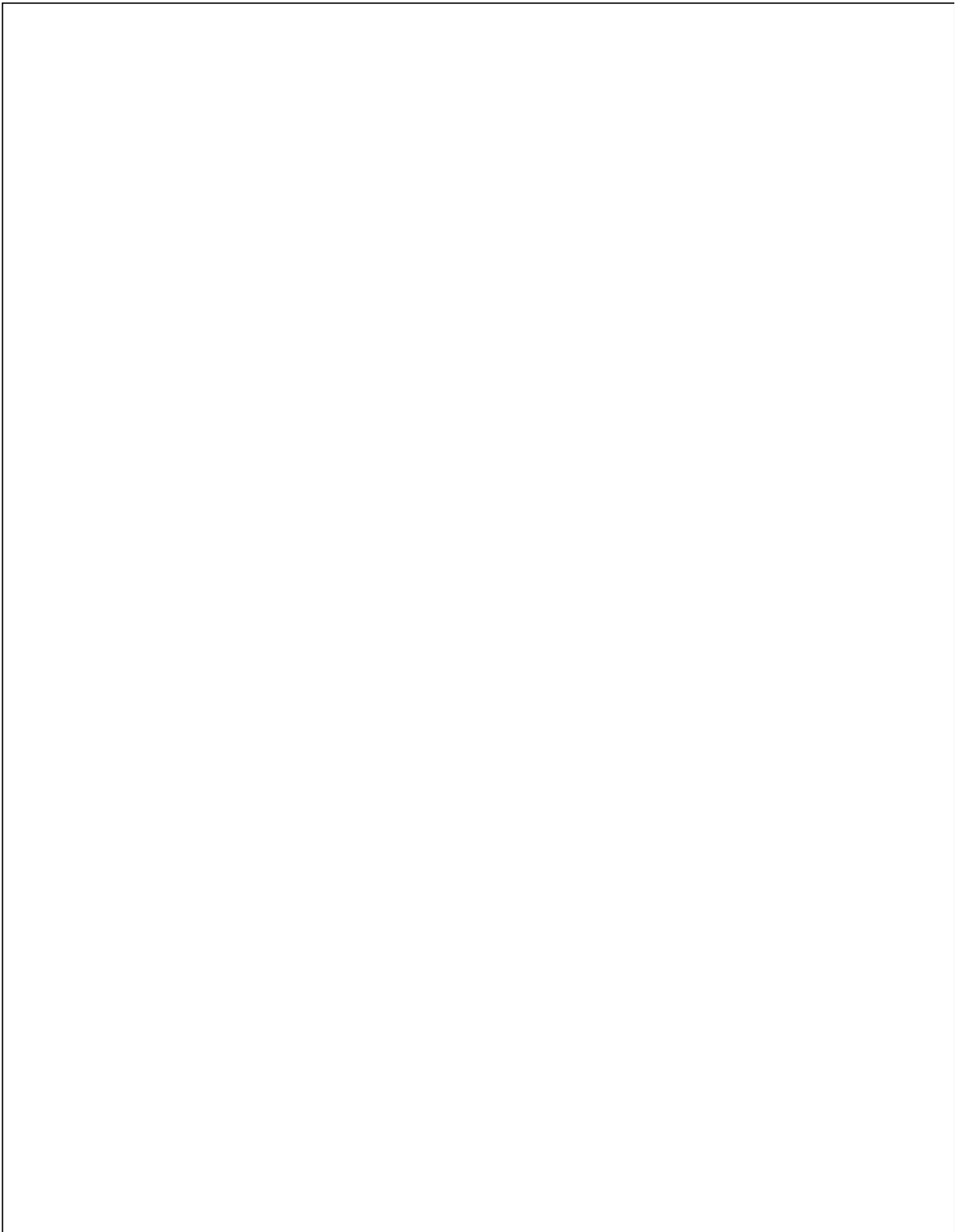
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10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: _____	

Nombre participante: *Li Nérez Capriles*

Firma: *Li Nérez Capriles*

Fecha: 03/01/2020

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

Fecha:

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

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10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: <hr/>	

Nombre participante: *Andrea Elton*

Firma: *[Firma manuscrita]*

Fecha: *20/01/2020*

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

Fecha:

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10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: _____	

Nombre participante:

Rosa María Peña A.

Firma:



Fecha:

15/01/2020

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:

Fecha:

CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO

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10.	En la investigación quisiera ser identificada bajo el siguiente nombre o pseudónimo: _____	

Nombre participante:
MARIA MARTHA
ESCALONATI

Nombre investigadora:

Firma:


Firma:

Fecha:
15-01-2020

Fecha:

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM FIELD / LOCATION WORK



The Approved Code of Practice - Management of Fieldwork should be referred to when completing this form
<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/estates/safetynet/guidance/fieldwork/acop.pdf>

DEPARTMENT/SECTION SCHOOL OF PLANNING

LOCATION(S) SANTIAGO, CHILE

PERSONS COVERED BY THE RISK ASSESSMENT Nicole Pumarino (researcher) and 12 female participants.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF FIELDWORK The fieldwork will consist in one or two shared walking between the researcher and each participants in their neighbourhood during their daily life routines. The shared walks will be no longer than 30 minutes and will be carried out during the day. Every walk will involve discussing about the experience, taking notes and pictures.

Consider, in turn, each hazard (white on black). If **NO** hazard exists select **NO** and move to next hazard section. If a hazard does exist select **YES** and assess the risks that could arise from that hazard in the risk assessment box.

Where risks are identified that are not adequately controlled they must be brought to the attention of your Departmental Management who should put temporary control measures in place or stop the work. Detail such risks in the final section.

ENVIRONMENT

e.g. location, climate, terrain, neighbourhood, in outside organizations, pollution, animals.

The environment always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this hazard

Examples of risk: adverse weather, illness, hypothermia, assault, getting lost.
Is the risk high / medium / low ?

YES / Low. Some neighbourhoods could be unsafe to be walking in a slow pace, distracted with the discussion of the research and carrying photo cameras or smart phones to register the experience.

CONTROL MEASURES

Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- work abroad incorporates Foreign Office advice
- participants have been trained and given all necessary information
- only accredited centres are used for rural field work
- participants will wear appropriate clothing and footwear for the specified environment
- trained leaders accompany the trip
- refuge is available
- work in outside organisations is subject to their having satisfactory H&S procedures in place
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

Ask to a third person to monitor the shared walking. Also making the walks during the day with more people around and appropriate light will help to diminish the risk.

EMERGENCIES

e.g. fire, accidents

Where emergencies may arise use space below to identify and assess any risks

Examples of risk: loss of property, loss of life

NO

CONTROL MEASURES

Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- participants have registered with LOCATE at <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/>
- fire fighting equipment is carried on the trip and participants know how to use it
- contact numbers for emergency services are known to all participants
- participants have means of contacting emergency services
- participants have been trained and given all necessary information
- a plan for rescue has been formulated, all parties understand the procedure
- the plan for rescue /emergency has a reciprocal element
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EQUIPMENT**Is equipment used?****No****If 'No' move to next hazard
If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks***e.g. clothing, outboard motors.*

Examples of risk: inappropriate, failure, insufficient training to use or repair, injury. Is the risk high / medium / low ?

CONTROL MEASURES**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

- the departmental written Arrangement for equipment is followed
- participants have been provided with any necessary equipment appropriate for the work
- all equipment has been inspected, before issue, by a competent person
- all users have been advised of correct use
- special equipment is only issued to persons trained in its use by a competent person
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

LONE WORKING**Is lone working a possibility?****Yes****If 'No' move to next hazard
If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks***e.g. alone or in isolation lone interviews.*

Examples of risk: difficult to summon help. Is the risk high / medium / low?

The shared walks (which includes interviewing the participants) are originally done alone, this risk can be reduced by asking a third person to be there or by reporting someone the timings and locations of the interview and so she or he can be alert during that period and make sure I get back home without problems.

CONTROL MEASURES**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

- the departmental written Arrangement for lone/out of hours working for field work is followed
- lone or isolated working is not allowed
- location, route and expected time of return of lone workers is logged daily before work commences
- all workers have the means of raising an alarm in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare, whistle
- all workers are fully familiar with emergency procedures
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

ILL HEALTH

e.g. accident, illness, personal attack, special personal considerations or vulnerabilities.

The possibility of ill health always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this Hazard.

Examples of risk: injury, asthma, allergies. Is the risk high / medium / low?

NO

CONTROL MEASURES

Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- an appropriate number of trained first-aiders and first aid kits are present on the field trip
- all participants have had the necessary inoculations/ carry appropriate prophylactics
- participants have been advised of the physical demands of the trip and are deemed to be physically suited
- participants have been adequate advice on harmful plants, animals and substances they may encounter
- participants who require medication have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

TRANSPORT

e.g. hired vehicles

Will transport be required

NO	X
YES	

Move to next hazard

Use space below to identify and assess any risks

Examples of risk: accidents arising from lack of maintenance, suitability or training
Is the risk high / medium / low?

CONTROL MEASURES

Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- only public transport will be used
- the vehicle will be hired from a reputable supplier
- transport must be properly maintained in compliance with relevant national regulations
- drivers comply with UCL Policy on Drivers http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hr/docs/college_drivers.php
- drivers have been trained and hold the appropriate licence
- there will be more than one driver to prevent driver/operator fatigue, and there will be adequate rest periods
- sufficient spare parts carried to meet foreseeable emergencies
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC

e.g. interviews, observing

Will people be dealing with public

Yes

If 'No' move to next hazard

If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks

Examples of risk: personal attack, causing offence, being misinterpreted. Is the risk high / medium / low?

Low

CONTROL MEASURES

Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- all participants are trained in interviewing techniques
- interviews are contracted out to a third party
- advice and support from local groups has been sought
- participants do not wear clothes that might cause offence or attract unwanted attention
- interviews are conducted at neutral locations or where neither party could be at risk
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

WORKING ON OR NEAR WATER**Will people work on or near water?**

No

**If 'No' move to next hazard
If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks***e.g. rivers, marshland, sea.*

Examples of risk: drowning, malaria, hepatitis A, parasites. Is the risk high / medium / low?

CONTROL MEASURES**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

- lone working on or near water will not be allowed
- coastguard information is understood; all work takes place outside those times when tides could prove a threat
- all participants are competent swimmers
- participants always wear adequate protective equipment, e.g. buoyancy aids, wellingtons
- boat is operated by a competent person
- all boats are equipped with an alternative means of propulsion e.g. oars
- participants have received any appropriate inoculations
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

MANUAL HANDLING (MH)**Do MH activities take place?**

No

**If 'No' move to next hazard
If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks***e.g. lifting, carrying, moving large or heavy equipment, physical unsuitability for the task.*

Examples of risk: strain, cuts, broken bones. Is the risk high / medium / low?

CONTROL MEASURES**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

- the departmental written Arrangement for MH is followed
- the supervisor has attended a MH risk assessment course
- all tasks are within reasonable limits, persons physically unsuited to the MH task are prohibited from such activities
- all persons performing MH tasks are adequately trained
- equipment components will be assembled on site
- any MH task outside the competence of staff will be done by contractors
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

SUBSTANCES

Will participants work with substances

No

If 'No' move to next hazard
If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks*e.g. plants, chemical, biohazard, waste*

Examples of risk: ill health - poisoning, infection, illness, burns, cuts. Is the risk high / medium / low?

CONTROL MEASURES

Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- the departmental written Arrangements for dealing with hazardous substances and waste are followed
- all participants are given information, training and protective equipment for hazardous substances they may encounter
- participants who have allergies have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
- waste is disposed of in a responsible manner
- suitable containers are provided for hazardous waste
- OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

OTHER HAZARDS

Have you identified any other hazards?

No

If 'No' move to next section
If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks*i.e. any other hazards must be noted and assessed here.*

Hazard:

Risk: is the risk

CONTROL MEASURES

Give details of control measures in place to control the identified risks

Have you identified any risks that are not adequately controlled?

NO

Move to Declaration

YES

Use space below to identify the risk and what action was taken

Is this project subject to the UCL requirements on the ethics of Non-NHS Human Research?

No

If yes, please state your Project ID Number

For more information, please refer to: <http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/>**DECLARATION**

The work will be reassessed whenever there is a significant change and at least annually. Those participating in the work have read the assessment.

Select the appropriate statement:

- I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that there is no significant residual risk
- I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that the risk will be controlled by the method(s) listed above

NAME OF SUPERVISOR

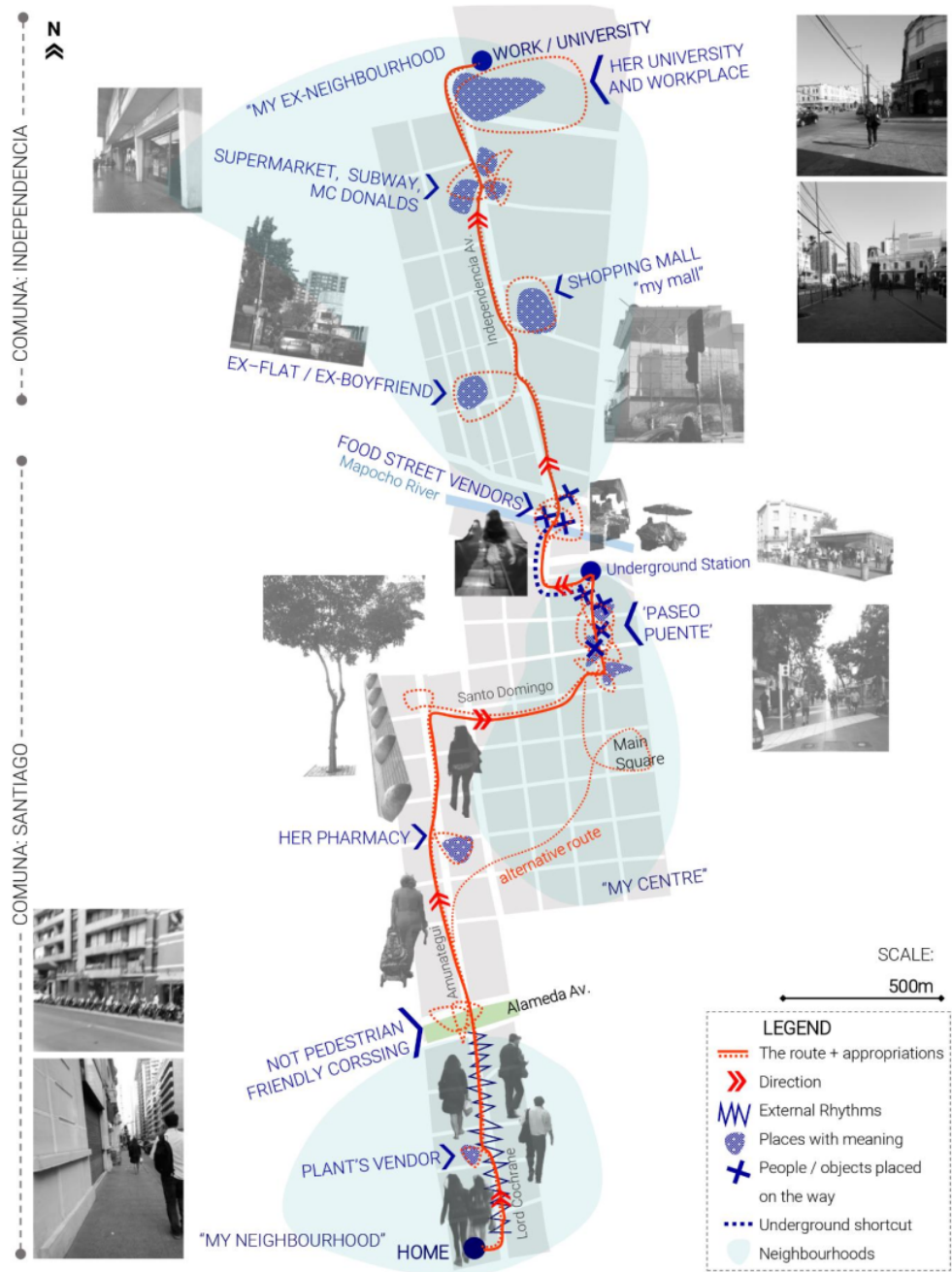
**** SUPERVISOR APPROVAL TO BE CONFIRMED VIA E-MAIL ****

APPENDIX B
WALKING NARRATIVES

1. Camila's walking journey	p.91
2. Andrea's walking journey	p.94
3. Ximena's walking journey	p.97
4. Rosa and Martha's walking journey	p.101

CAMILA (24 years old)

JOURNEY: From home to work / 8:00 am / 4.1km / 50 min



Source: Author

Going out and getting to know the neighbourhood [Lord Cochrane st.]

Camila has made the walking route between her flat and the University -where she studied and now works- for 4 months. She started making it since the social outburst, when the subway stopped working, and she realised that she could get on foot to her job. The first time she walked, the journey was to get home from the University precisely the 18th October.

In the first part of the journey she takes Lord Cochrane st. When she leaves in the morning, she becomes part of the great mass of people who walk along the narrow paths of the street towards the Alameda. "People are in a great hurry because they are all kind of late, they come to drop off the children at school nearby."

Camila knows her neighbourhood well enough to know that on Mondays a guy locates outside a nearby building to sell plants. "Every time I pass by and it's Monday and the guy is there, I always go in a hurry or I forget that the guy is there (...) and I say nooo the plants!".

Crossing the Alameda

After a 4-block walk, we reached the Alameda, Santiago's main artery. The flow of vehicles is high, and the main buildings of the city are located around it. Camila explains that she does not like "spaces these big, busy streets are not very pedestrian-friendly".

She associates this street with those in the wealthy communes where

the traffic lights are slow, the streets are giant (...) there are a lot of highways in the middle that you can't cross, so in order to be able to move around it is not very fluid, but here [the centre of the city] you can go through the small streets...

Since the social uprising the 'Alameda' also has a new meaning, since it was an important place of demonstrations, "The fact that it's not cut is a sign of 'normality' to me that I don't want it to come".

Walking (and living) alone [Amunategui st.]

When Camila walks alone, she says she is "hurry-upper" and moves forward without stopping, overtaking everyone. She likes to walk at this hour, because later she is more scared, in contrast, early in the morning there are more people around and she likes looking at them, especially on the route to the University, where she is not in such a hurry. Sometimes she makes variations on the route but in these times avoiding the sun is her priority even though it is early and not so hot. In other cases, she gets distracted she makes a mistake and has to re-arrange the route.

Generally, she walks listening to music, she bought good headphones so that noise does not affect her, especially that of the motorcycles that pass through this street [Amunategui], at this time and that stress her out.

On the route she usually tries to avoid the Main Square because of the amount of people and the pigeons of the place. "I hate them, I hate them because they don't run. When I was little I couldn't even get close to a pigeon and now they don't even run."

Not being from Santiago [Santo Domingo]

As we turn into Santo Domingo Street we passed outside a 'Chile Atiende', a service she remembers using once. Camila takes advantage of looking at places that might be useful to her as she walks, that's why she doesn't like to move around in the underground, because she can't see, "I wouldn't know Santiago, I wouldn't know where to go or how to get to the places". Camila arrived to Santiago in 2014 to study, from there on she has lived in many different places, at the beginning in a pension almost in front of the university "it helped me not to be worried about getting lost in Santiago but only to explore", and stepwise, as she got to know the city, she moved further. When she changed a little further she began to explore more, the transition helped her "to give little baby steps" in her knowledge of the city.

My center [Paseo Puente]

'Paseo Puente' is a place that Camila frequents a lot, as well as 'Paseo Ahumada', both are commercial pedestrian streets in the centre of the city. She describes it as "my centre" or "my core", anything she needs to buy she can do it here. She likes it because she finds everything, unlike where she lives which does not have much commerce.

Using the Metro [Metro Cal y Canto]

At the end of 'Paseo Puente' we get into the metro station through the stairs even though we are not going to take the metro, the change in temperature is evident in summer and in winter, Camila says that "it's a bit of a shock. In the winter too. In the winter I'm very warm, so as I'm walking, I get warm and I come here, and I want to get undressed". Camila uses the metro as a shortcut to avoid a complex crossing "there are many buses, many issues to cross, so I find that it is much safer, faster and direct I don't have to be waiting...".

She takes up all the possible strategies to move faster. She thinks it is cool to use the metro infrastructure but without getting into the it, especially now that the metro has taken on a new meaning for Camila and many others.

It's pure usury, because I find it too expensive, you spend too much money in one day to go and come back and the quality of traveling, squeezed like a sardine, and coming back the same way, no one even assure you any guarantee because, no one will answer you if something is stolen...

We left the station through what was her metro entrance when she lived in Independencia and crossed the bridge to her university neighbourhood, where she lived for several years.

The usual neighbourhood [Av. Independencia]

The intersection to Independencia Avenue is something that Camila used to hate when she lived in the neighbourhood, in the corner we stand to wait to cross there are a lot of food vendors frying food and in the afternoons when the area is crowded Camila was scared that people would get burned with the oil so she used to pass by as fast as possible. "Because I've seen, that the cops arrive and they have to run away, then I'm terrified that the boiling oil will fall".

Once we cross over, we walked along the eastern pavement even though she likes the west side more, "it's wider, more beautiful but now the sun is coming". Camila has been witness of the urban transformations that have occurred in the neighbourhood, the improvement works of the avenue and its facades, the construction of new apartment towers.

In the third block by Independencia Avenue Camila shows me the building where she lived until a few months ago with her ex-boyfriend.

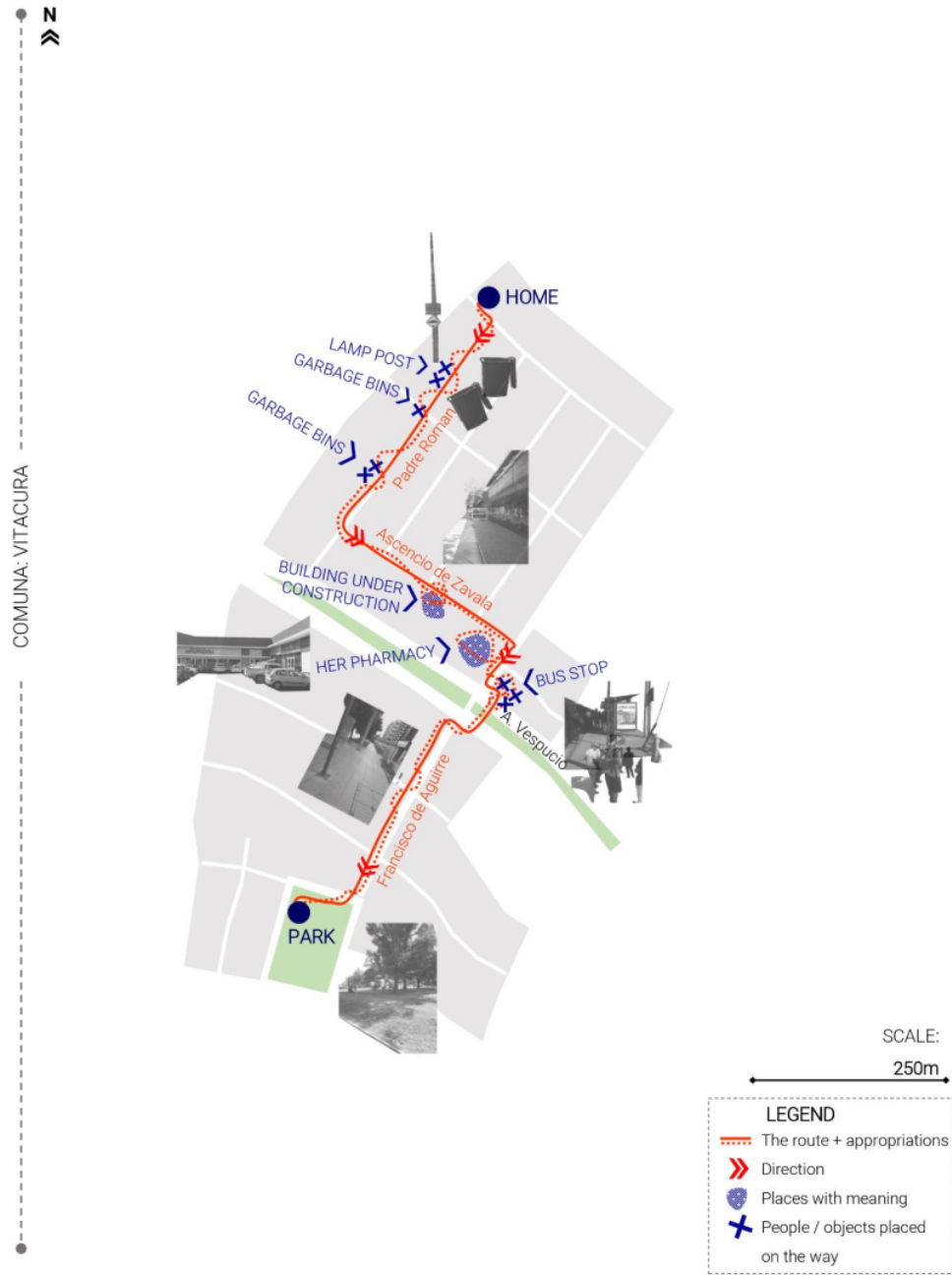
At the beginning when I came here in September or August... I couldn't even see this neighbourhood, because it reminded me of my ex... but now it doesn't, I don't know, I feel like it's an episode in my life that I see separately. For example, the shopping mall was very much associated to my ex because we went there a lot, when it was new, we always went to the mall to look, it was our plan.

She still uses the shopping mall for some things, is the one she goes when she needs something that is only in a place like that, it seems to her "super big and beautiful". In the last blocks of the journey, Camila perfectly recognises the transformations and places, they are part of her university life.

And here, this used to be an 'Ekono' and it was like the supermarket I used to go to when I lived nearby, so I shopped small purchases (...) These buildings already existed when I got here, that one over there, the white one with red, that one was there too, but they were like the only ones. (...) And in that Mc Donald's we used to eat a lot when we were at Uni, and as it is open 24 hours, we used to line up with the cars and buy like a car. (...) To this Subway I came a lot.

ANDREA (32 years old)

JOURNEY: From home to the park / 5:30 pm / 1.3km / 20 min



Source: Author

Walking with a stroller

Andrea started to do this route since L was born, "at the beginning I felt choked and I wanted to leave the house during my maternity leave, then I started to do this journey". The route goes from her house to a nearby park where she takes L to play in the stroller, L loves to go out in the stroller, she relaxes. Most of the times they do it in the afternoon, because of L's routine and because "it's less hot at this time", in fact the house is hotter and even though the day of our walk L had fever, Andrea decided to take her anyway because "inside the house it's hotter, it's desperate".

Being a 'bad' pedestrian [Padre Roman]

When we left her house, we crossed her street to take 'Padre Roman' St., Andrea explains that she crosses in the middle, "being a very bad pedestrian" and then she goes along the road instead of going on the pavement. The pavements are narrow, interrupted by lampposts, some days with garbage bins making it impossible to walk with a stroller. Even though the street is residential, and it has fences distributed to slow down car and give her more security, sometimes the cars go by fast, so Andrea navigates between the road and the pavement depending on the flow of cars and the possibilities of walking safely or the existing dropped kerbs to cross the street. "I've had ladies yelling at me like 3 times already: don't walk with your baby in the road!"

Walking with L in a stroller [Ascencio de Zavala]

Walking with L in a stroller has given Andrea new perspectives on the streets,

I used to look at the pavement because I work with people who use wheelchairs, I kind of had it on my chip. But now I realise that places I would never have imagined were badly made, are hard to walk along. And like, the pavement is uneven and the pavements are too narrow.

It is difficult for Andrea to walk on the pavements of her neighbourhood with friends who also have babies, one has to go in front and the other in the back because there is no space enough for two strollers. The neighbourhood has some buildings under construction and that make the pavements "inhospitable" and noisy, when she remembers that there is a construction, she tries to change the route to avoid the noise, especially when L is sleeping. Sometimes, when L cries Andrea has to stop to settle her down, give her the pacifier or water, in other cases, they stop to see a dog from a neighbourhood house.

Almost halfway down the road there is a pharmacy, sometimes Andrea stop there on her way to the park when she needs to buy something.

The Vespuccio crossing

On the route we must cross Vespuccio, an avenue where an underground highway project is being built and which has been under construction for about a year. Crossing it is the worst part of the journey, firstly because to get to the crossing she has to go through a bus stop where many people are waiting for the bus, especially at the time they go to the park which is a rush hour. Andrea has to go along through the people kindly asking them to move so that she can pass. The second thing is that the crossing itself is very long in distance and the traffic lights are too short for pedestrian and too long for cars,

to cross is unpleasant because that traffic light is very slow and you're like in the middle of Vespuccio because when it's our turn to cross, the light turns red immediately. (...) Staying in the middle is the worst, it's full of dirt or cement, there's no shade and the cars generate more heat.

Favourite street [Francisco de Aguirre]

Once crossed Vespuccio A., Andrea crosses to the north side of Francisco de Aguirre st.

I always cross here at this time because it's very shady, it's better to go this way, and also this path, this is a good one (...) here two strollers can go together and it's windy, I think it's my favourite part of the road, there are more trees.

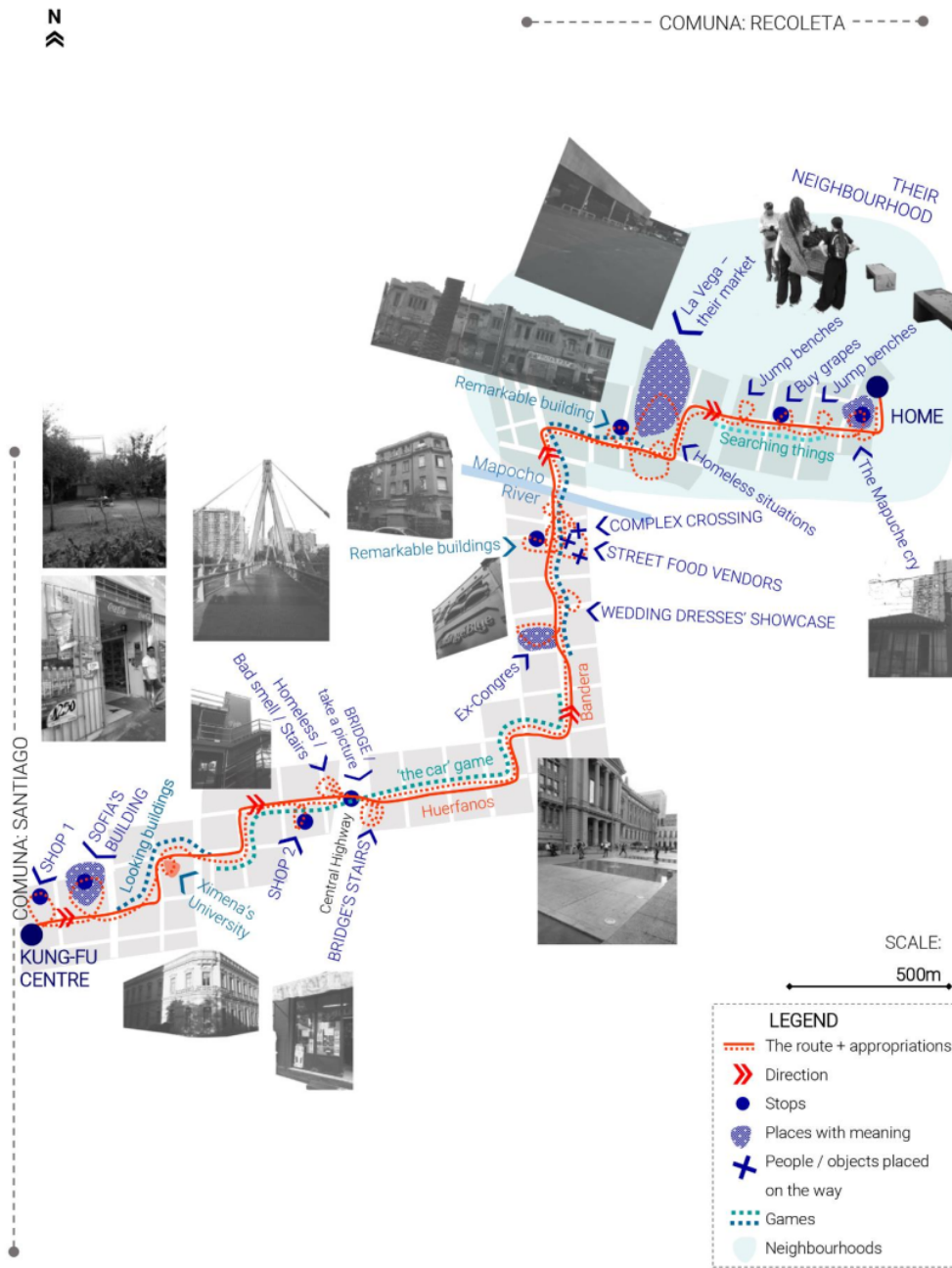
The Park

The park we arrive at is big and has leafy trees, Andrea prefers this park over other she has nearby because it has swings and many children, and L can only swing at her age and likes to see the other children, Andrea takes her there to socialise, to look at them. This park is fresher and bigger than others nearby, and on the way there, "there are more things", compared to the route to another similar park "is emptier or with more cars". This park is also in front of the house where her grandmother used to live, "I spent all my childhood here, it was just crossing the street (...) maybe this place brings me back many memories."

The park is far enough from Andrea's home that she does not know anyone there, in the smaller square that is near her house she recognises more neighbours. This place changed significantly during the social outburst, she started seeing more dads and moms in the park with their children instead of nannies because people used to work until earlier. Some days Andrea went with her husband as well.

XIMENA (48 years old)

JOURNEY: From Kung-Fu Centre to home / 7:00 pm / 4.6km / 90 min



L's route.

L, Ximena's 8 years old daughter, started doing this journey with her father twice a week to go and get back from Kung-Fu classes since the social outburst began, as a result of the closure of the underground station they used to get there. They started walking about an hour and a half each way to get there from home and then back.

Ximena, in order to spend more time with L, started to alternate the care labour with her partner. When she joined, the route was already decided by L and her father following certain logics: taking the most direct route, without making unnecessary detours, "avoiding the sun", and trying to connect with the two bridges that they had to cross on the way. Variations are determined by how the "environment" is regarding the demonstrations and barricades, if they have to make "a link with something else" like shopping, or by the games they play during the walk. They try to choose streets with old houses, trees, shade, and few cars. Sometimes both are distracted by conversation and they have to re-arrange the route.

Interactions [Moneda]

The first stop on the route is the store in front of the Kung-fu centre to buy donuts. There, L negotiates with her mother what to buy her ("cookies and donuts? Chocolate too?") and pays the man in the store. At the end of our first block of the walk, a car stops to ask us for a street. On the way we pass through Sofia's house, L's friend from Kung-Fu who lives in a four-story building with interior patios that can be seen from the street. When we pass by there are children playing and L stops to see if Sofia is there. She calls out her name and Sofia answer and comes to us to start a chat on the reasons she did not go to class.

Looking at buildings [Maturana + Agustina St.]

On the way, L and Ximena have games and conversations that are different from those they have when they also walk with B, L's 4 years old sister. Ximena carries with her a book about architecture which contains some of the old buildings on their route. While they walk, they look for the buildings so that L can learn the different architectural styles.

(...) so L is learning that kind of things, as well as what modifications were made to them, and suddenly we pass by one and I say, look and this decoration, does it look familiar? Because we're operating based on the book, so if we see something kind of art deco it's like oh yeah look, it's got this like spatial language...

The search for a building while they walk is mixed with the stories that Ximena tells L about her university life, since one of the remarkable buildings we passed by was her University. The moments of observing, recognising, and searching for a building are also moments of stopping and looking other things around.

The car game

Sometimes they play the car game while they walk, it consists of imagining that they are in a car in which L drives and Ximena is a co-driver. Although it seems simple, the game has some difficulties, the co-driver must always keep up with the driver without changing sides and there are some streets that "the car" cannot pass through.

During our walk we play car game, L drives and we go in the back like a taxi. I just have to try to always be behind her and Ximena not to get ahead. The car is not just any car, it is L's favourite: a white Volkswagen Tiwo 4x4, the same one they rented for a trip they made during the summer. Playing the car game makes L assume a particular role, she evaluates the route according to our new status as drivers and constantly gives us instructions about our location, interrupting our conversations.

X: L go ahead

L: Yeah, but what about the car?

X: This car is magic, it gets skinny.

L: No, it's not a magic car. It's a Volkswagen Tiwo 4x4

X: Okay, but stop being Volskagen when you have to go ahead L because going behind..

Huerfanos' pedestrian bridge

Before getting to the first bridge of our route, we stop at a second shop to buy chocolate, Ximena likes it that way: stopping to buy in different places. She tells L to go alone to buy, we wait for her outside and meanwhile she takes advantage to say that she does not like the bridge very much, she finds it deserted and the stairs are not very comfortable, she details that there is a person who is always sleeping on the staircase, she jokes with L about the guy but causes her some anxiety to pass by. They could take another bridge but this one is pedestrian and it is elevated. The rest are at street level "and it feels like you're taking longer because you have to pass the street, the highway, the other street, and instead here it's like you're going up the stairs and you are already in the centre of the city."

When we started to go upstairs of the bridge, Ximena commented that the smell "it's not very fragrant". Once up the bridge the scenery changes, she explains that environmentally this bridge is better than all the others and that it is only the stairs the bad part. Ximena likes that sometimes there are young people having picnics and drinking beer. In the middle of the bridge we make a detention, L poses for picture taken by Ximena. It is part of L's routine during the walk, both her mum and dad always takes her a photo in the same place that is sent by WhatsApp to the parent that is at home to inform them of the state of progress of the route, "then on the other side they know where you are", they use it as a strategy of care and security, in times of the outburst, when they began to do the route they also shared the location to be able to track them in case of anything happened.

Searching for something to find [Compania]

Ximena has several strategies for walking with her daughters, she carries all kinds of implements that appear along the way according to their needs: snacks (grapes), water in a bottle, a sun hat, a trigger that allows them to spray water in their faces in times of extreme heat and a wet towel for face and hands. From time to time Ximena offers grapes.

Another strategy, especially when tiredness appears, is to play to find something. They concentrate on looking at the floor in search of earrings and glass marbles for their collections, or coins. With B they play to find a red car which consists of tapping the other's shoulder and saying "red car" every time someone sees one.

Bandera Street

When we got to Bandera st. the route becomes easier, we just have to go straight until the 'Cal y Canto' bridge. It consists in 6 blocks walk in which they see how the landscape is transformed. A series of remarkable buildings make us discuss the urban qualities and access for all: the exclusivity of the gardens of the Parliament, the urban typology of the new underground station. At the same time, L is distracted by the wedding dresses in a showcase, they tell me about the street vendors of Peruvian food, they already know the tactics the vendors do to get rid of the cops. The last section of the street has several buildings of the architectural guide they are carrying, the choice of the paths at this hour depends on what they want to see and not on the sun. At this point, L gets tired of playing 'the car game' and from now on we can walk freely. They walk around looking at ceramics, curtains, balconies and windows. Bandera is also a street where they have other memories, in the way L remembers the parade in which she participated a year ago.

The end of the street is the 'entrance' to the neighbourhood they use daily for different activities,

and when we walk around the neighbourhood what we're looking for the drawing of a cat that L likes to collect that is everywhere. [L:] It is, an oval body, paws like 6 paws 3 paws for each side or 4 I do not know, and a head, then it looks like a cat.

They're photographing the cats that they found on their different routes with the project of mapping them all.

Cal y Canto Bridge

The crossing to the second bridge is "more chaotic because there is no defined crossing", it is not demarcated, but Ximena already knows that she has 53 seconds to cross two streets. Despite the difficulty of the crossing, they chose this bridge because it is the furthest from 'Plaza Italia', where the demonstrations were concentrated from October. When they arrive at the other side of the bridge a second photo next to a leafy tree marks a new stretch of the route. We passed outside the University pool where Ximena came to swim with B, and outside 'La Tirso' which is the market where Ximena's couple prefer to shop food.

La Vega Central

The hour they pass outside of 'La Vega', one of the largest supply markets in Santiago, is strange, it is already closed but there are still activities around, "is in a transition between the empty and abandoned place that will be in a while and what is left of the people who have been all day". 'La Vega' is surrounded by historic buildings that appear in the architectural guide. We stop, take it out the guide and look in until we find the building that is just in front us and discuss on its modifications. The smell of this sector is unmistakable, "they are smells of Vega, (...) the smell is the same, but the change of space is impressive". At this time, around 'La Vega' there are homeless people and people who do charity: give them food, pray with them, or perform plays in the street. A group of people is playing volleyball without a net, and some children are playing around, there is a lot of life.

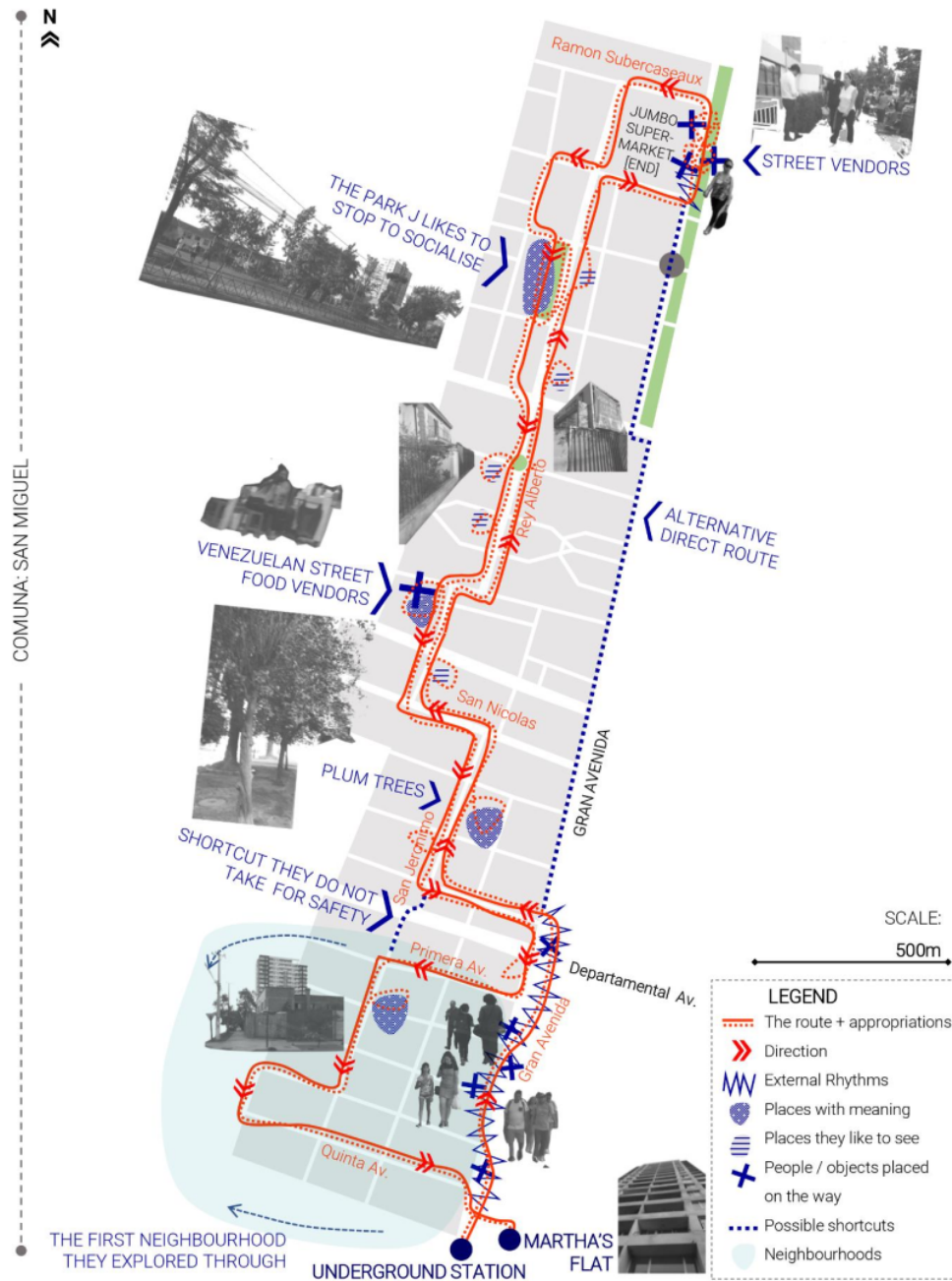
The cool thing about this time of day is that the people don't seem to care about you. The first time I thought, they were going to talk to me, they were going to tell me something and nothing... they are doing their own things.

Last mile: jump, talk, eat, buy, search and shout

In the last stretch of the journey L regains her strength and likes to jump off benches. They stop to buy grapes, they find a 10 peso coin, L falls down but keeps jumping, they tell me about other routines they do in the neighbourhood, Ximena eats grapes, and tell me about the things they have found in the street. We stop in front of a house, behind which is the building where they live, and it is possible to see their apartment on the 19 floor. Ximena tells L to "call", sometimes when L comes with her father, he makes a Mapuche cry and those who are at home come out to the balcony to greet them. Ximena does not do this; she says she doesn't have a very good voice. A guard of the house comes out to ask us if we need anything and that makes us go back on the walk. Around the corner is the entrance to the building and finally, we have arrived.

ROSA Y MARTHA (45 years old)

JOURNEY: Exercise, from home to home / 67:00 pm / 8.4 km / 100 min



Source: Author

The sport walk - the beginning

Rosa and Martha are sisters-in-law, both migrated from Venezuela to Chile. Rosa arrived to Chile 3 years ago and now lives in Ñuñoa with her family and Martha arrived 8 months ago and lives in San Miguel with her family. At the beginning of the summer they set out to walk 5 km at least three times a week, the challenge began to help J, Martha's 11 years old son, lose weight. Thus, the three of them walked for about an hour through different sectors of San Miguel and sometimes through San Cristobal Hill or Ñuñoa. In general, it is Rosa who moves to San Miguel, "I come here more, because Martha is always busy here. So as my children are already grown up... or because her child studies in the afternoon."

Rosa, Martha and J walk in the afternoons when the temperatures drops, these days, due to the high temperatures they have not walked much.

The route begins on 'Gran Avenida' (G.A), at the point of the 'Ciudad del Niño' underground station where Martha lives. They meet at corner of her house and walk north about 6 blocks passing a metro station, crowded of people, street vendors and considerable noise, which makes them difficult to maintain the rhythm, "the closer you are to a metro entrance the more people, then they stay at the bus stops...". As soon as they cross 'Avenida Departamental' they head west to take a route parallel to G.A, through smaller streets with less people and noise, more comfortable and prettier.

The route through the streets

Once we get into the neighbourhood, the landscape changes completely, it becomes much more residential and quiet. "The houses are nice, you know, maintained, clean, some of them are abandoned, but most of them I see that people have a... concern to keep their little house clean, their gardens nice".

The walk they do through the interior of the neighbourhoods instead of the G.A. implies taking different streets, "you have to walk zigzagging because it's not like G.A that's continuous". Anyway, they prefer it, "because that noise, one goes out to clear oneself, to exercise and that noise is terrible".

The small streets make it easy for them to talk while walking; the topics are varied, "to tell you, you saw such news, such a thing. Yes... or... you know what, they called me from over there (...) and this and this happened", but the themes also arise from what they see or hear, in this journey: the sourdough bread, a couple of grandparents, the plum trees, the football game, the artichoke plant. Together they discover the neighbourhood, the sewing workshop, restaurants, "we appreciate all these things".

When they walk with J they do the same route, but the walk is different, "one is distracted by him because we have to be aware if he is going to cross the street, all that". Sometimes he goes protesting because he wants to stay in a park or because he does not like some street. They try to integrate him into the conversations so that he does not get bored, "Then he starts giving his opinion about things and you have to try to follow him". He brings up a lot of interesting topics, about history, religion and sometimes video games. "Since we don't understand that, that's not a topic of conversation, for us. Worse because he starts explaining some things to us and we like... we can't follow the conversation."

Rey Alberto

When we take 'Rey Alberto' st. there are more high-rise buildings, which for Rosa is a sign, "What indicates to me that we are arriving is when the buildings begin to appear". Here they are enjoying the landscape of houses and buildings, "all brand new, nice design", "there are some very nice houses! You know, with a lot of green...", "You never imagine this is here when you're out there on the G.A."

The route they take now is not the same one they took at the beginning, they discovered it as they walked, although they always discarded the eastern sector of San Miguel

*R: we don't like to walk there very much because we already know it and it is ugly (?)
the pavements are narrower, they are dirty, the houses are almost all abandoned,
many workshops, right?*

M: A lot, like industry, not industry, like warehouses.

The conversations that arise bring them constantly to Venezuela, whether to compare differences with Santiago or to remember old stories. They are impressed that here the plum trees are in the streets when in Venezuela they are very expensive fruits, "when you come here and you see that here in the trees... the mangoes there you get them, there are whole trees full of mangoes". They also recognise the street food vendors who are Venezuelan, "That is from our land (...) they are almost all Venezuelan. Almost all of them".

The goal

At the end of Rey Alberto st. they go back to the G.A, to go around a block with a bis supermarket and go back into the interior streets. This sector is sometimes noisy and has a lot of street commerce in front of the supermarket, which makes it difficult to walk in group. This point is halfway through the journey,

M: There are days when the tiredness is terrible. Not today, really. I think that the more we do it, the less we get tired. It's just that there are days when the heat is burning, that you see that we don't even talk and [she gestures like she's breathing fast] and we drink water and drink water. And that's how...

The return

On the way back, we passed a park where they usually stop or leave J.

M: Sometimes J says he wants to do [exercise in the machines], so we go around the park. A: Yeah, sometimes he says he does and what he does is just look at the kids and that... If there are children about his age. He doesn't go over and play with them, but he just stays there.

They don't like to leave him alone because you can smell cannabis "we still don't trust it. We don't like that drug factor. It's not like that there, it's not visible. There, the one who uses cannabis is not visible, because they take them to jail".

When they return to take Rey Alberto st. they already feel that they are returning, Rosa notices the groupings of high-rise buildings that appear from time to time along the route. There is a building that Rosa likes very much and she wants to show me that it is in the neighbourhood where they used to walk at the beginning, to the south of *Departamental Av.*, she proposes to Martha that we pass by.

The 'Departmental' Av. crossing on 'Gran Avenida'

Even though the building we are looking for is a few blocks west of the G.A., we go through the big avenue again to make the crossing of Av. Departamental instead of going straight. "You can cross but there are many men from the street, we say it is safer because there are many people here. (...) There are many, many such groups of drunkards, men and women. Who live on the street."

When we take G.A. the noise comes back and we quickly go back into the neighbourhood, "See, that, here all the time is the sirens, the horns. So, oh, no! Are we going this way?"

Walk looking for the building

Neither Rosa nor Martha remember exactly where the building is and they go along the road discussing how to follow the route.

"A: Here or beyond? That I never remember where the building is.

M: It was the 'Segunda Transversal st.', this is the first.

A: Then we're going that way."

"A: Look, let's go down this street, this way. I don't know why I don't see the building, isn't that it?

A: It has some beams on the outside, which is very strange...

M: What's a three-story?"

As we walk through the streets of this neighbourhood looking for the building, Martha tells me that this is where they walked the first times "We used to walk here, do this circuit and go there". "Maybe it was the first one we got, because looking for the court...". When we return to the G.A we are almost at Martha's house, her building is practically on the corner. Rosa always stays for a while, "I leave when it's dark, depending on what I have to do the next day".