The street, children and parents: the views of children from Santiago de Chile

Ana Vergara del Solar, Mauricio Sepúlveda Galeas & Macarena Ibarra Lara

Published online: 21 Jul 2022.

Submit your article to this journal ↗

View related articles ↗

View Crossmark data ↗

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Check for updates

RESEARCH ARTICLE

The street, children and parents: the views of children from Santiago de Chile*

Ana Vergara del Solar[a], Mauricio Sepúlveda Galeas[b] and Macarena Ibarra Lara[b]

[a]Universidad de Santiago, Santiago, Chile; [b]Universidad Diego Portales, Santiago, Chile

ABSTRACT

In this article, we present the partial results of a broader qualitative study carried out in the city of Santiago de Chile between 2016 and early 2020. In particular, we analyse the discourses found in 12 group interviews with Chilean children – aged 10 and 11, and of three socioeconomic strata (upper-middle, middle and low) – about the relationship they establish with the street's space and the negotiations they conduct with their parents about it. The results show that the street evokes a feeling of menace and moral downfall for the children, while parents are called on to play the role of protectors and moralisers. At the same time, the street is signified as a space of relative freedom, of peer sociability and play, to which they insist that parents give them access even though restricted. These results are closely linked to the socio-historical context in which modern childhood is constructed, the more recent media and political inflation of urban insecurity and the objectively hostile nature of urban environments for children.

1. Introduction

In recent decades, the 'confinement' of children (Ariès [1960] 1987) in cities has intensified enormously as a global and Latin American phenomenon, and this has occurred alongside increases in the family-centredness, privatisation and surveillance of daily life (Vergara, Sepúlveda, and Salvo 2019). A feature of children's lives, in various cities, is that they have less and less freedom to walk, ride a bicycle and play in the open air, especially in the street and other public places, although there are differences depending on where they live, the city's characteristics, the age of the children and other aspects (Valentine 2004; Karsten 2005). This trend has emerged in a social setting in which there is growing media and political exaggeration of urban insecurity, even though the phenomena in question are real.

In large Latin American cities, such as Santiago de Chile,[1] these latter phenomena include conditions that are inimical for urban life in general and for children in particular.[2] Such trends include an increase in traffic congestion, the erosion of community spaces, an abandonment of state urban planning and an upsurge in various forms of social and police violence (CAF 2011; Villalta, Castillo, and Torres 2016; Rettberg 2020).

In addition, Santiago's marked urban segregation involves highly unequal access to services and recreational spaces in terms of class, gender, age, and ethnicity (Hidalgo 2004; Luneke 2018; Rodríguez and Winchester 2001; Consejo Nacional de Infancia 2016). This has been accompanied by an

expansion of the urban radius, the appearance of gated communities or condominiums in traditionally poor municipalities (Márquez 2003; Sabatini and Salcedo 2007) and the consolidation of extensive areas of social housing on the city's periphery (Hidalgo 2004; Sugranyez and Rodríguez 2005).

Although children have an intrinsic right to urban space (Porter, Spark, and de Kleyn 2020), their perspectives as actors are scarcely present in research and public policy; they are probably still the group whose voice is least heard in the discussion of city-related projects (Harden et al. 2013). Common conceptions of children as vulnerable, incapable, or undisciplined lead to their status as a marginal group in the city (Harden 2000; Porter, Spark, and de Kleyn 2020).

Childhood studies and the geography of childhood have contributed to broadening our understanding of child mobility and confinement. They have examined the spatial meanings and practices that children generate as participants in complex and heterogeneous intergenerational negotiations that take place in particular socio-historical and cultural contexts (Barker 2003; Harden 2000; Harden et al. 2013; Van der Burgt 2013). Adopting this approach in the present study, we investigate how Santiago children perceive the street as a social and material space. We also examine the meanings the children weave around the restrictions their parents impose on their spatial mobility outside the home, as well as around the freedoms their parents do facilitate, aspects that have been little investigated in the Chilean and Latin American literature on the subject. The study shows how nuanced children's discourses are on the subject, as well as the contradictory demands placed on parents and children. Rather than finding themselves in a simple confrontation, they must negotiate to ensure that children are both protected and able to explore the environment around them, as both are fundamental for their present and future lives.

Adopting a social science perspective, the article begins by locating reflections on the street as a space within the socio-historical construction of childhood and the parent–child relationship. Second, the methodology of the study carried out and the meaning it acquires in the study are described. Third, we present our findings on the meanings of the street in the children's discourse, in which the sense of threat and moral downfall coexists with that of freedom and play. Similarly, within the framework of the parent–child relationship, the children's discourse urges parents to adopt a protective and moralising role to counter the threat of the street, while at the same time demanding the freedom to enjoy the possibilities of play and sociability that the street provides. We describe the negotiations that take place on the issue and the framework of care in which such negotiations happen. Finally, we discuss and present our conclusions.

2. The street, children and parents: a view from the social sciences

Historiography, as well as childhood studies and the geography of childhood, have coincided in highlighting the socio-spatial character of the sociohistorical construction of modern childhood in Western societies, and of the parenting norms that have been called on to uphold it. An important aspect of this history is the material and symbolic 'confinement' (Ariès [1960] 1987) that children have experienced, as well as the control over the spatio-temporal aspects of their different daily activities exercised by adults (Karsten 2005; Christensen and O'Brien 2003; Zeiher 2003; James, Jenks, and Prout 1998).

Indeed, an effort to keep children away from the street has affected the place of childhood in the city. The street can be understood as a metaphor for the public world that is outdoors, in the open air (Matthews 2003), and beyond the limits of home and school, environments into which children have been spatially segregated in Western modernity (Hernández 2020). However, there are times when the term 'street' is also used to refer to private places,[3] such as the houses of friends or shopping malls (Shearerand Walters 2015), which have also been seen to be in opposition to those places more commonly associated with children.

In Chilean cities, and especially in Santiago, keeping children off the street became an imperative for the state and other actors from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. This was a time of consolidation for a fledgling republic that had gained independence

from the Spanish crown only a few decades before. In a setting of incipient capitalism and intense rural-urban migration, in addition to cramped housing and miserable living conditions, there were many children in the streets, playing, sleeping and/or doing informal jobs like shoe-shining or newspaper delivery (Salazar and Pinto 2002; Rojas 2010). Unlike labour in factories or mining, which was considered to be a transmitter of 'modern' values that were positive for children, and which only later acquired negative connotations in Chile, the development of street trades was seen as morally degrading for children from early on (Rojas 2010).

Consequently, in Santiago and other Latin American cities, taking children off the street was represented as an achievement that would allow children to enjoy a true and civilised childhood, as in European countries (Llobet and Vergara 2023), in contrast to the children 'without a childhood', that were typical of underdeveloped countries (Liebel 2016). In this way, the 'salvationist' imperative (García Méndez 1991) of Latin American states gained prominence, based on the hygienist and eugenic approaches dominant at the time. Under the prism just described, the Chilean state rehearsed a series of different measures such as the creation of juvenile police and courts,[4] the moralisation of family life, the prohibition of vagrancy and street trades, and the slow but steady development of a public school. It is no coincidence, then, that much of the literature exploring the link between children and the street, in Chile and Latin America, has referred in the past to the figure of the 'street child' or the child as being 'in a street situation', and continues to do so. This expression is a reference to those children who break through the confines of family and school, around whom an enormous socio-legal and police apparatus for the 'protection' of minors was built (García Méndez 1991). This apparatus continues to operate in Chile and Latin America, despite the legal and cultural changes that have occurred.

The Latin American literature in the field of childhood highlights how much more diverse the experiences of children in our countries have been than the modern European model of childhood might suppose, including the spatial segregation that accompanies that model (Alcubierre and Sosenski 2018; Llobet and Vergara 2023). While that is true, the modern model of childhood may operate against the current of some specific historical phenomena without thereby ceasing to influence them, since the model functions as a hegemonic category rather as an import that is merely passively adopted (Hall 1987; Llobet and Vergara 2023). Thus, this model has been a determining influence in our countries. It has obscured the heterogeneity of the phenomena and resistance to 'modern' transformations, while producing some subjects and realities that can be categorised as 'modern' and 'normal', and others – such as childhoods linked to the street – that are seen as uncivilised or abnormal (Llobet and Vergara 2023; Hernández 2020). The case of European countries was quite similar (Cunningham 1998, Lavallette and Cunningham 2002), where attachment to a model of protected childhood – driven by the illusion that only a single childhood existed – was not an immediate process but also involved multiple time scales.

In contemporary contexts, many of these representations are still current and have even intensified. Parents perceive their children as beings 'at risk', that is, innocent, vulnerable and threatened in public spaces by adults, other children or young people. This is evident in new parental cultures that incorporate growing requirements for protection, 'monitoring' and vigilance (Fairchloth 2014; Blackford 2004). Thus, the responsibility to protect children falls on them, as parents, based on a growing 'parental determinism' (Furedi 2008) and as part of the processes of familiarisation and individualisation of responsibility for managing social risks, which is also expressed on the spatial plane (Pain 2006; Romero Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009; Kullman 2010).

Thus, the cultural and legal norms governing 'good' parenting often lead parents to place significant restrictions on their children's spatial activities (Valentine 1996; Fairchloth 2014) and, in particular, on what has been referred to in the literature as their 'independent mobility'. This concept was introduced by Hillman, John, and Whitelegg (1990) in accounting for a decrease in children's use of public spaces and in the movement of English children without being accompanied by adults, especially parents (Karsten 2005; Christensen 2008).

In the wake of this study, much research has been carried out, mainly in European countries, exploring different factors that affect children's independent mobility, such as sociodemographic aspects of children and their parents, aspects of the subjectivities of both actors and neighbourhood and urban infrastructure conditions (Kullman 2010, Christensen and O'Brien 2003, Tyagi and Raheja 2021, Romero Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009, Brown et al. 2008, Morais and Uchôa 2021).

It must be noted, however, that the concept of independent mobility has been variously critiqued. Criticisms include, for example, the scant emphasis given to relationships between peers, and the little attention paid to virtual forms of mobility (Cortés-Morales 2020), The concept also fails to take into account forms of social control exercised by adults that go beyond direct physical presence (Romero Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009; James 2013); reveals a linear and individualistic notion of human development; and a binarism based on the contrast between dependence and independence. Such a binary approach fails to appreciate the fluid, hybrid, multiple and complex forms of interdependence that characterise our socio-spatial life and how children and adults relate to one another in this regard (Romero Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009, Nansen et al. 2015, Cortés-Morales 2020).

Moreover, in childhood studies and the geography of childhood, an overemphasis placed on the restrictive role of parents has received a critical response (Joelsson 2019). It has been observed, for example, that parents are also key facilitators of children's mobility, by allowing and enabling it (Romero Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009). Parents, at the same time, offer not only restrictions but also 'mobility permits' to their children (Joelsson 2019). A binarism that categorises parents as either controllers or enhancers has also been criticised, since most parents bring both aspects into play (Backett-Milburn and Harden 2004; Van der Burgt 2015; Joelsson 2019). Based on a study in South Africa, meanwhile, Benwell (2013) insists that it is essential not to see parents and children as inevitably opposed or in conflict over restrictions on their mobility outside the home, since both parties often coincide in their perceptions, and children value certain precautions taken by parents that affect their movement on the street. Similarly, Gülgönen and Corona (2015) show that children in Mexico City do not feel comfortable walking alone on the street, referring to its dangerousness.

What is more, despite the restrictions, children develop various strategies to access and creatively appropriate the space of the street. This has been explored in various studies and emphasised in particular by research on 'street children' in Latin America and other regions of the global south. For these children, the development of knowhow and a command over space is a fundamental part of their strategies for survival, as is the development of affection and cooperation in their relationships with peers, which are vital for them (Murrieta 2010; Saucedo and Taracena 2011; Gadd 2019; Van Buggenhout 2020).

Although in more restricted ways than in the past, the street continues to be a place where children interact with peers, experience moments temporarily freed from parental intervention, and learn games and social roles different from those upheld at home (Morgade, Poveda, and González-Patiño 2014; Morais and Uchôa 2021). In a study carried out in Santiago with children from different social strata, for example, the children were observed to positively value public spaces such as soccer fields, squares and parks. They stressed the possibilities of play and closeness to nature, their peers and their relatives, that such spaces made possible (Consejo Nacional de Infancia 2016). Indeed, children dwell on activities such as going out shopping alone or going out in the company of friends as high-value events which validate and legitimise them with their peers and parents and give them a more active role in the relations they have established with the adult world.

3. Methodology

Theoretically and methodologically, the study places emphasis on the nature of children's utterances as social discourses, in preference to an approach that dwells on their spontaneity, romanticises, or devalues them. The study was based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough

2003), according to which discourses are understood to be trans individual manifestations, whose profoundly social character arises from the fact that they respond to historical and contextual phenomena which are embodied in a broad and complex set of social practices.

The information was produced through triangular group interviews involving three people (children or adults), in addition to a male or female interviewer (Conde, 2008). These interviews were non-directive in nature, in order to facilitate the emergence of the children's discourses according to the modes, sequences and categories they themselves chose, in addition to minimising the power imbalance between them and the adult researchers. Twenty-four interviews were conducted, of which we will consider 12 in this article, which are those that correspond to the children. Protocols of informed assent for children and informed consent for their parents were included, dealing with issues such as confidentiality and the use and protection of the data.

The selection of the subjects was intentional. It included children, 10 or 11 years of age, from the city of Santiago, Chile's capital, who were reached through their schools. Gender selection was based on the participants' self-definition. The AIM index (AIM, 2019), which defines seven strata, was used for their socioeconomic classification. For the upper-middle group (C1a), which accounts for 10.2% of Santiago households, this index is based on an average monthly family income of US$ 4034, among other aspects considered. The middle-level group (C2), which accounts for 13.9% of Santiago households, has an average monthly family income of US$ 2011 The average monthly family of the low group (D), which makes up 29.9% of Santiago households, is US$ 859.

Urban neighbourhood and type of school reflect a highly segmented city and educational system. Children from the upper-middle stratum attended a fee-paying private school in a well-to-do district of Santiago. Middle-stratum children attended a subsidised private school in a neighbourhood that was also predominantly middle stratum, and those from the low stratum attended a municipal public school in an impoverished municipality. The interviews were conducted in the children's schools. This form of recruitment did not allow access to out-of-school children, although primary school enrolment rates in Chile are high (91.4% of children aged 6–13 years, in 2017) (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social 2022).

In the analytical process, we sought to understand the work of 'qualification' undertaken by the subjects around the signifiers (such as naming, evaluation, causal attribution, and others), and to identify some of the linguistic resources used to confer legitimacy on the representations, when this was relevant to their interpretation (Fairclough 2001; Martin 2003). In this article, for a deeper exploration of the results, we deal, with limited exceptions, with the modalities of qualification, and the common discursive features. Differences between socioeconomic groups and gender differences will be analysed in later publications.

When quoting the children's utterances, their socioeconomic status and gender are specified unless this data has already been given in the preceding text. The children are assigned numbers to identify and distinguish between them.

4. Results

4.1. The degradation of the street and the appeal to the protective and moralising role of parents

When they talk about the street, the children's discourse is conservative. They compare a past when things 'were as they should be' with a present that is out of control and increasingly dangerous. The street is shown to be on a path of accelerated degradation, in which threats of traffic accidents or other types of accident, criminal actions and the consumption in public of alcohol or drugs increase every day. Children see themselves as the most likely victims of these situations, which is part of a broader social imaginary on the subject.

In this scenario, spaces such as squares or parks where they could play and maintain contact and relationship with other children, are signified as spaces that have been progressively 'taken over' or

invaded by criminals or addicts, While perceiving phenomena that are objective and real, they simultaneously echo the discourse of citizen insecurity widespread in the press and on social networks (Isla 2017). In contrast, children see their home as a safe haven, and withdrawal as an inevitable strategy.

Far from abstract, the threats of the street are embodied in concrete situations and figures. One of the latter is the *flaite,* an everyday term used in Santiago to refer to low-stratum young men, in which aspects of class, gender and age intersect and to whom criminal behaviour and drug and alcohol use are attributed. *Flaites* are, primarily, the 'invaders' of neighbourhoods perceived as once calm and orderly. This perception is expressed in all strata and especially in the discourse of middle-stratum boys:

> Now it's full of *flaites* there and more where we always go, because when we're playing tennis with my cousin who is grown up, when there are … I don't know, *flaites* sitting in the street, my cousin immediately stops to look and says to me: "OK, let's go back *(into the house)*" (…) For example, we are kids, we don't like to get into this kind of drugs because afterwards we are going to be doing that … what's it called? … we are going to start getting more … addicted (Boy N° 2, middle-stratum).

Although it is not a recent phenomenon, in Chile and other countries, use of the notion of 'contagion' has become increasingly common as a preferred metaphor to refer to all types of threat, whether international terrorism, poverty, immigration, global financial crises, antisocial behaviour and other possible 'contagions' related to sexuality and morality. There is no doubt that this notion has operated as a normative underpinning for thoughts about otherness, by configuring some people as 'Others' that require control and intervention (Douglas 1973). For Sibley (1995), the formation of rigid distinctions between the reference group and those on the outside reflects an intolerance of ambiguity and the need to protect an inwardness perceived as weak in the face of the threat of the other. Hence, children's discourses about the street as a social space subscribe – and in many cases are subordinated – to certain conventions and normative patterns derived from what recent authors have called the 'politics of contagion' (Bashford and Hooker 2001).

At the same time and borrowing a category that Martínez and Palacios (1996) collected from the lower strata, but which crosses the whole of Chilean society, the image of the *flaite* conjures up an 'indecent' poverty in which dishonour, dishonesty, intemperance and inconsequence are assumed to prevail. In contrast, 'decent' poverty is shown to be governed by a moral code based on values and an ethic of deferral and curbed impulses. The presence of members of the former category inspires mistrust and reluctance to interact and share the same space with them, in order to avoid getting 'stained' by their immorality.

From the children's perspective, faced with these growing threats of the street, their parents act to reduce the risks by restricting permission to go out, especially at night, or directly protecting them by accompanying them. At the same time, children perceive their parents' restrictions as an expression of their love and their desire to protect them from the surrounding dangers:

> *(Since they stole my cell-phone in the street)* my mum *(told me)* "No, you can't ever go out alone again". So, she is my mum and she protects me, apart from which no one would like to lose a child, even if you have three or four, no one would like that! (…) So lots of things go through my head, lots *(thinking)* Oh, she's such a pain, such a pain, I hate her! Then I feel bad about what I thought because I know that she is my mum and I am not better than her, she has to look after me and I have to do what she says (Girl N° 1, upper-middle stratum).

For their part, low-stratum girls configure a moralising discourse, actually urging their parents to restrict ventures from the home as well as to 'educate' girls properly to safeguard their sexual reputation, as well as to hold them responsible for the consequences of their lapses in this respect, an expression of the growing parental determinism (Furedi 2008) mentioned above.

> Girl N°1:   My mum's mother didn't teach her well … she let her go out, but my mum wasn't one of those who wanted to be out on the street … Her youngest daughter *(my grandmother's)* is fifteen, Evelyn, who is the only aunt I have, and they let her do whatever she wants. They let her go out with her skirt *(short)* more or less anywhere, knowing that there are bad *gallos* (guys) in the street.

Girl N°2: Yes, I saw her, you could see her panties …
Girl N°1: And they let her put on makeup and everything … They let her dye her hair. They let her go out at any time of night, I think that is wrong …
Girl N°2: They don't educate her well …

At the same time, these meanings are consistent with a culture, that for all the awareness it has gained of sexual violence against women, continues to emphasise the importance of girls' control of their sexual reputation. In Santiago, as in other cities, the perceived dangers of the street are more sexualised for girls than for boys (Harden 2000). Girls, especially those from the lower strata, have acute fears of kidnap, rape, and/or trafficking (Porter, Spark, and de Kleyn 2020).

Despite the felt desire for protection, it must be borne in mind that the antithesis constructed between the street as a threat and the home as a haven is not a stable binarism, but rather a labile one, and this instability is addressed in the same discourses. Thus, children are depicted as exposed to violence in different spaces including the home, and the binary division between adult/protector and. adult/assailant is weakened as a result. As a middle-stratum girl (N°1) pointed out: 'There are fathers who abuse. There are some who beat them (*their children*). And sometimes, (*there is*) sexual abuse of children (*on their part*)'. Thus, for the children interviewed, parents do not appear solely as protective figures but can also personify perpetrators of violence or sexual abuse. Fears of the outside world, then, do not necessarily eclipse children's perception of the problem of abuse within the family, as often happens in the adult world (Pain 2006).

4.2. The street as a space of freedom and the negotiation of permission to go out

The polysemy of children's discourses also implies that the home appears not only as a refuge, but also as a space colonised by boredom and lack of stimuli, apart from adult surveillance, as well as heaped with demands, duties and responsibilities. The street, in contrast, features in their discourse as a space for greater freedom, the development of autonomy, and possibilities for play and sociability among peers which is free from adult surveillance, at least temporarily. Going out into the street, then, is conceived as an experience of liberation, relaxation and recovery from the constriction of the home.

There is also an awareness in the children's discourse that the restrictions do not depend exclusively on their parents' will, but on conditions over which the latter do not have full control. Recognising this, children express a desire for change in the social conditions in which they and their parents live, so that the temporary 'liberation' that access to the street provides can be exercised safely:

> (*My wish is*) to go out and play peacefully. Not to go out in fear they are going to kidnap you. Without the fear, for example, that parents are always looking at you … that one can play freely, be happy, play freely, without anyone looking at you, things like that … (Boy N°. 2, middle stratum).

In the above quotation, moreover, the alternation between first-person speech with the use of a generic pronoun ('one') – 'that *one* can play freely' – and the second person – 'are looking at *you*', 'without anyone looking at *you*' – suggests an allusion to group talk that is situated on a more abstract level. That is, the child speaking configures himself as a referent of what children in general want and do not want from their parents and from society, enhancing the sense of their group identification as children.

In addition, the children's discourse tells of negotiation practices with parents in which both actors' wariness over the risks of the environment is balanced against the greater degrees of autonomy that children may experience. In this context, the trust that parents can place in them is again a relevant factor, as well as the sincerity with which the children communicate their plans, so that parents can feel reassured.

> Sometimes I get bored at home and that's why I ask my mum for permission to go out to the street for a while, to join up with my friends and everything … And with my friends, my mum knows that I play and everything, and it doesn't bother her because I'm enjoying myself and everything … Apart from that she trusts me, because I tell her things, I tell her what's going on, and everything (Girl N° 2, low stratum).

At the same time, the parents appear in the children's discourse to be accompanying and encouraging them in a maturation process, in which the possibility of going out alone is treated as a milestone, as well as being a learning process. This maturation is conceived, by some children, as an internally driven process, which the parents 'allow to express itself', while in others, it is presented as a change in the accumulated expectations of the parent–child relationship. In this case, it operates as an adult demand that falls on the child to 'become more mature', even if he or she doesn't yet feel able to manage it.

> Boy N°1:   My parents are already letting me grow up. They are telling me to go by myself, that if I have something to do, to let them know first. But they are letting me mature.
> Boy No°.3:   As for me, they tell me to become more mature, to go out with friends, without my parents and all that, but I don't like it because I'm still unsure of myself. I always like to be with my parents (upper-middle stratum).

As in the scenario described, the subject of permissions to go out appears in all strata as the expression of daily negotiations held between parents and children.

> Permissions, permissions, it is a very, very, very strong word in my family (…) For example, only on Friday we are going to go home with my sister alone. My sister is already in eighth (*grade, primary education*). The permission is to go alone walking from school to home, which is about half an hour's walk … I have to cross several traffic lights, so my mum is very strict with that permission. Another permission is to go to parties alone. Not parties with classmates, some parties, for example, with my sister and her friends, I don't know … like there are things that the older ones start to do … they start smoking, things like that … there are some who … (Girl N°1, upper-middle stratum).

In the quotation above, it can be seen that the girl is aware that in these permissions, her mother has to balance the feeling of threat due to the traffic and the consumption practices of her older daughter's peers, with the need to grant the girl progressively more autonomy. Her older sister's presence, moreover, makes it easier to gain permission in the case of returning home from school, but in the other case, at parties with older children, it seems to be a disadvantage due to the almost unmentionable presence of 'grown-up things'.

Permission to go out into the street, likewise, is conceived by children, and surely by parents too, as a reward-punishment. It keeps children concerned about obtaining something that they prize, such as a cell phone, a video game console or a computer – the technological version of such reward-punishments – and is weighed against what parents value: school performance and doing domestic duties. As a middle-stratum girl states:

> My dad sometimes scares me and tells me he is going to take something away from me, like my phone … that's what scares me the most, apart from not being allowed to go out into the street (…) Once they told me I wasn't going to be able to go outside anymore. And a week passed, and I went out, but because of my marks (*school grades)* my dad sometimes gets angry (*and he doesn't let me go ou*t) (Girl N° 1).

Furthermore, the children interviewed understand that permission to go out on the street depends on fulfilling their academic and domestic responsibilities, as we can see in the following quote:

> The conditions that I have (*to be able to go out)* are to leave the room tidy, but since I don't go into my room it is always tidy, so I only ask them for permission. Because the only thing that (*my mother*) asks me is: "Do you have homework"? "No" (*I tell her*), "Do you have a test?", "No" (*I also tell her*) "Do you have to read the book?" … If I say yes, (*she tells me*) "Read the book for a while and then go (*out on the street*)" (Boy N° 3, middle stratum).

In addition, in the quotation above an implicit recognition can be seen of the mother's authority to define criteria for permissions, while the child shows a relational knowledge that allows him to

anticipate her reactions in the play between academic duties and authorisation, and in the sequence and content in which the negotiations are expressed.

> I have to do things first. For example, first I have to make my room, my bed, everything. Organise and do homework. It is typical for me to say: "Mum, I am going to my friends' place", and she is like (*answers me*): "Did you do your things?", and I reply: "No, mum, best I don't go", things like that … (Boy N° 3, middle stratum).

In this case, Boy No. 3's status as a competent social actor may also involve rejecting the conditions set for obtaining permission. Thus, what Goffman (2001) would call the 'social definition of the situation' comes into play, in this case, a definition that initially differs between the child and the mother. The child approaches her simply to inform her of his decision to go out on the street, while the mother redefines the situation as something that involves obtaining parental permission beforehand, and, therefore, adult competence to establish conditions for obtaining it. Faced with this redefinition, there is no denial of adult authority as such on the part of the child, but an exercise of agency in which he chooses to 'sacrifice' obtaining permission by not accepting the conditions established to gain it. In other words, despite appearing to be a form of disobedience, the truth is that the child is moving within the coordinates established by the mother, not so much as an individual person, but as the occupant

of a social position defined by age and family relationships. It is interesting that the final decision, in this case, falls to the child and not to the mother – there is a power play in which both appear to have room to influence and manage. According to Punch (2000, 50), children 'negotiate ways to assert control over their social world, especially their use of time and space which is largely restricted by adults'. Moreover, we see in this way how, from the perspective of the children interviewed, their parents are not only located as actors inside the home, but as gatekeepers between the home and the street, regulating exits from the home, the step to the street and the activities that their children will engage in.

5. Concluding remarks

In the study carried out, we investigated, first, the meanings of the street for the children interviewed. We observed that their discourses, on the one hand, were underpinned by conservative viewpoints and the optic of contagion. Thus, although the speech acts seem unique and original at the moment of enunciation, in reality, they take the form of authorised repetitions, quotations that must be understood in the context in which they are produced. For this reason, the children's perspectives are not surprising given the scenario of media exaggeration, moral panic and policies to address urban insecurity prevalent in recent decades. In particular, the appearance of the figure of the *flaite* as a territorial invader and contaminator of family and neighbourhood life can be understood within the context of a nation that has one of the world's highest levels of class inequality (World Bank Group 2018), expressed in Santiago in extreme urban segregation by class. Class and age-related segregation are linked, with the result that, in Chile and other Latin American countries, the street is conceived as an ambience that negates childhood itself or is a place hostile to ways of doing childhood that are understood as substantial and normal. Moreover, in the case of girls, and especially lower-stratum girls, fear of sexual assault in the street is one manifestation of a public space that segregates by gender as well as by age and social class.

Given the above, we must be careful not to think of children's fears as imaginary or merely subjective, nor should we underrate children as competent and rational social actors. The truth is that there is an important objective dimension to consider (Christensen and Romero Mikkelsen 2008; Pain 2006), and both children and adults perceive it: cities and streets are not designed for children and are hostile to them, Santiago being no exception. Nor is this a case of children who are intrinsically vulnerable to the dangers of the street for reasons of age or maturity, but of environments that are in themselves aggressive. Thus, the subjects of our study cannot be seen as the bearers

of the relations of inequality and humiliation in which they find themselves historically situated. This objective dimension is part of the context of everyday life for some Santiago children, and this reality finds its way into their discourse. Therefore, these results are not about the speech of children in general, in an abstract or collective sense, but rather of particular children who are located in territorial and historical scenarios that are specific and subject to change.

At the same time, however intense this negative view of the street, it should not hide the fact that the meanings that children deploy are neither monolithic nor simple to define. The street also appears in their discourses as a place where life is produced and not only taken away, and what is produced is important to them: relaxation, fun, play, sociality, autonomy and self-knowledge. However much they are depicted as confined to home and school, they show themselves to one another as participating in scenarios that extend beyond the limits of such spaces. The street, then, is presented as at once feared and desired, and children manifest themselves as capable 'spatial agents' who actively invent spatialities with awareness and intention (Barker 2003; Porter, Spark, and de Kleyn 2020; Templeton 2020).

The second question we asked ourselves in the study was how the children gave meaning to the processes of negotiation with parents to gain access to the street. We observed that these negotiations are understood and anticipated by the children as part of the everyday relationship established with their parents. The children consider that permission to go out, alone or with friends or siblings, belongs within the framework of relations of authority and care. They understand that parents must take precautions while generating the conditions for their children gain knowhow through progressive experience of the street and public spaces.

Likewise, the children's discourse was ethical in that it challenged parents to impose restrictions on access to the street under certain conditions. Authority, in this case, is not exercised as an end in itself in the children's eyes but is regulated by the exercise of care. Responses from the parents must differ according to the situation, the environment, the possible dangers, the expected gains and learning involved, the age of the children, and other aspects. In exercising this care, Santiago parents find themselves quite alone and isolated, given a state that has washed its hands of social welfare and a city 'that provides no care' (Jirón 2020), if care means being conceived and planned in order to provide such welfare to its inhabitants.

Permission to go out on the street was also mediated by the opposites of work/play and duty/pleasure in that going out on the street became a reward, for use by parents to encourage children's compliance with domestic and school responsibilities. It is striking that, in this respect, going out on the street functioned in a similar way to permission to use new communication and information technologies. Such devices have been home-oriented in nature and are described as activities more typical of the new generations of children who have grown up more inside than outside the home.

The research has drawn attention to the relational nature of children's links with the street and has highlighted the mediating role of parents in this respect. The study has also shown the complexity and polysemy of children's discourses on the children-parents-street triad, as well as the negotiations that take place in this regard. In these discourses, an intense fear of the street coexists with the attraction it exerts, as well as a need to put into practice, as a child or a parent, the children's autonomy as an expanding existential possibility. At the same time, the study has shown that the street is a central aspect in shaping discourses about childhood and modernity, in a post-colonial scenario that always appears to be threatened by underdevelopment and incivility. In this scenario, children and adults also configure images of the savage and disruptive other that seem to embody these threats, while articulating particular positions of class, gender and age.

We must remember that these results are from qualitative and intensive small-scale research, and for this reason we do not claim to make any immediate or linear generalisation from them. However, we believe that they can contribute to the understanding of children's discourses about their everyday life, their relationship with their urban environment and also with their parents. We hope that they will stimulate the development of research that can go more deeply into the findings or

extend them to other areas. For example, it would be interesting if future research could consider other cities in Chile, children of different ages, rural environments or other settings.

In turn, the discourse perspective enabled us to explore the nuances of the children's speech in its character as a sociohistorical practice. This approach could be enriched if accompanied by an ethnographic design that allowed us to observe other aspects of the spatial practices of children from Santiago and other cities in Chile, taking into consideration material and temporal dimensions in a broad sense.

On a final point, the results of this article emerged from a study carried out immediately prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Long-lasting or intermittent lockdowns in many countries of the world have intensified the confinement of children and the impossibility of having 'adult-free' spaces and moments. In Chile, this deepened confinement has been reinforced by the socio-political crisis that followed the so-called 'social outbreak' of October 2019, which began before the pandemic. Among the many changes that have accompanied the crisis are various alterations in the meanings and uses of street space, for children, youth and adults. The pandemic, for example, has led to the street being perceived as dangerous in a new sense of the politics of contagion: that of the fear of acquiring Covid-19. The virus is seen as likely to be transmitted by those 'others' who appear irresponsible, from a health point of view, in contrast to 'we' who take responsibility for prevention measures and the consequences of our actions (Vergara et al. 2023). At the same time, the social outbreak encouraged the appropriation of the street space as a place of protest based on playful and artistic expressions, especially in the case of young people. These changes could be a topic for research once the previous conditions of free movement are re-established.

Notes

1. Santiago is the capital of Chile and has more than 7 million inhabitants; other Latin American capitals, such as Mexico City and Sao Paulo, are among the most populated in the world, with figures approaching 22 million people.
2. It is estimated that, between 2017 and 2021, 61 children were killed by stray bullets in Santiago de Chile (Project for Resolution 1731 of 12/10/2021, Chamber of Deputies of Chile).
3. The public nature of a place can be defined not only in terms of ownership, but also its accessibility and the social interaction it enables. In practice, when using these criteria, it is observed that there are continuing difficulties in categorising different places according to these factors (Scott and Walters, 2015).
4. That is, 'street children' or children who were part of the ambivalent binomial 'abandoned child-delinquent child' (García Méndez 1991) that justified state action. Although, strictly speaking, the category 'minor' can be applied to any person who has not reached the age of majority, in Latin America it has been applied, in practice, to children from the lowest strata. As Carli (2002) points out, the category of 'minor' acquires an extra meaning when it refers to situations of child poverty, abandonment or child marginality.

Disclosure statement

Funding

References

AIM (Asociación de Investigadores de Mercado). 2019. *Actualización clasificación GSE AIM y Manual de aplicación Chile 2019.* https://www.aimchile.cl/gse-de-chile/.

Alcubierre, Beatriz, and Susana Sosenski. 2018. "Espacios y cultura material para la infancia en América Latina (siglos XIX y XX). Introducción." *Secuencia (Mexico City, Mexico)* . Edición Especial : 6–14. http://secuencia.mora.edu.mx/index.php/Secuencia/article/view/1656.

Ariès, Philippe. (1960) 1987. *El niño y la vida familiar en el antiguo régimen*. Madrid: Taurus.

Backett-Milburn, Kathryn, and Jeni Harden. 2004. "How Children and Their Families Construct and Negotiate Risk, Safety and Danger." *Childhood (Copenhagen, Denmark)* 11 (4): 429–447.

Barker, John. 2003. "Passengers or Political Actors? Children's Participation in Transport Policy and the Micro Political Geographies of the Family." *Space and Polity* 7 (2): 135–151.

Bashford, Alison, and Claire Hooker. 2001. "Introduction: Contagion, Modernity and Posmodernity." In *Contagion. Historical and Cultural Studies*, edited by Alison Bashford, and Claire Hooker, 1–12. London: Routledge.

Benwell, Matthew C. 2013. "Rethinking Conceptualisations of Adult-Imposed Restriction and Children's Experiences of Autonomy in Outdoor Space." *Children's Geographies* 11 (1): 28–43.

Blackford, Holly. 2004. "Playground Panopticism: Ring-Around-the-Children, a Pocketful of Women." *Childhood (Copenhagen, Denmark)* 11 (2): 227–249.

Brown, Belinda, Roger Mackett, Yi Gong, Kay Kitazawa, and James Paskins. 2008. "Gender Differences in Children's Pathways to Independent Mobility." *Children's Geographies* 6 (4): 385–401.

CAF. 2011. *Desarrollo urbano y movilidad en América Latina*. http://scioteca.caf.com/handle/123456789/419.

Carli, Sandra. 2002. *Niñez, pedagogía y política. Transformaciones de los discursos acerca de la infancia en la historia de la educación argentina entre 1880 y 1955*. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila.

Christensen, Pia. 2008. "Place, Space and Knowledge. Children in the Village and the City." In *Transforming Learning in Schools and Communities: The Remaking of Education for a Cosmopolitan Society*, edited by Bob Lingard, Jon Nixon, and Stewart Ranson, 69–84. New York: Continuum.

Christensen, Pia, and Margaret O'Brien. 2003. "Children in the City: Introducing new Perspectives." In *Children in the City. Home, Neighbourhood and Community*, edited by Pia Christensen, and Margaret O'Brien, 1–12. London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

Christensen, Pia, and Miguel Romero Mikkelsen. 2008. "Jumping off and Being Careful: Children's Strategies of Risk Management in Everyday Life." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 30 (1): 112–130.

Conde, Fernando. 2008. "Los grupos triangulares como espacios transicionales para la producción discursiva: un estudio sobre la vivienda en Huelva." In *Estrategias y prácticas cualitativas de investigación social*, edited by Angel Gordo López and Araceli Serrano Pascual, 155–188. Madrid: Pearson Educación.

Consejo Nacional de la Infancia. 2016. *Espacios públicos urbanos para niños, niñas y adolescentes*. https://biblioteca.digital.gob.cl/handle/123456789/189.

Cortés-Morales, Susana. 2020. "Bracelets Around Their Wrists, Bracelets Around Their Worlds: Materialities and Mobilities in (Researching) Young Children's Lives." *Children's Geographies* 19 (3): 364–376.

Cunningham, Hugh. 1998. "Histories of Childhood." *The American Historical Review* 103 (4): 1195–1208.

Douglas, Mary. 1973. *Pureza y peligro. Un análisis de los conceptos de contaminación*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.

Fairchloth, Charlotte. 2014. "Intensive Parenting and the Expansion of Parenting." In *Parenting Culture Studies*, edited by Ellie Lee, Jennie Bristow, Charlotte Faircloth, and Jan Macvarish, 25–50. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fairclough, Norman. 2001. "Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research." In *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, edited by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, 121–138. London: Sage.

Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analysing discourse. Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

Furedi, Frank. 2008. *Paranoid Parenting*. London: Continuum Press.

Gadd, Katri J. 2019. "Understanding the Affects in Street Children's Lives in Pelotas, Brazil." *Social & Cultural Geography* 22 (4): 461–479.

García Méndez, Ernesto. 1991. "Niño abandonado, niño delincuente." *Nueva Sociedad* 112: 124–135.

Goffman, Erwing. 2001. *La presentación de la persona en la vida cotidiana*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu.

Gülgönen, Tuline, and Yolanda Corona. 2015. "Children's Perspectives on Their Urban Environment and Their Appropiation of Public Spaces in Mexico City." *Children, Youth and Environments* 25 (2): 208–228.

Hall, Stuart. 1987. Gramsci and Us. *Marxism Today*, June: 16–22.

Harden, Jeni. 2000. "There's no Place Like Home: The Public/Private Distinction in Children's Theorizing of Risk and Safety." *Childhood (Copenhagen, Denmark)* 7 (1): 43–59.

Harden, Jeni, Kathryn Backett-Milburn, Alice MacLean, Sara Cunningham, and Lynn Jamieson. 2013. "Home and Away: Constructing Family and Childhood in the Context of Working Parenthood." *Children's Geographies* 11 (3): 298–310.

Hernández, María Celeste. 2020. "De espacios y tramas: re-pensar la espacialidad infantil." *Desidades* 8 (8): 26–39.

Hidalgo, Rodrigo. 2004. "De los pequeños condominios a la ciudad vallada: las urbanizaciones cerradas y la nueva geografía social en chile de Chile (1990- 1990-2000)." *Eure. Revista Latinoamericana De Estudios Urbano Regionales* 30 (91): 29–52.

Hillman, Mayer, Adams John, and John Whitelegg. 1990. *One False Move: A Study of Children's Independent Mobility*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Isla, Pablo. 2017. "Seguridad ciudadana y discursos de control en Chile. Análisis de las políticas públicas durante los tres primeros gobiernos postdictadura." *Revista Estudios de Políticas Públicas* 3 (1): 40–63.

James, Allison. 2013. *Socialising Children*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

James, Allison, Chris Jenks, and Allan Prout. 1998. *Theorizing Childhood*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jirón, Paola. 2020. "De ciudades que producen a ciudades que cuidan. Los territorios como ejes para abordar la pandemia y la crisis social." *Revista Anales* 17: 73–83.

Joelsson, Tanja. 2019. "'So That we Don't Spoil Them': Understanding Children's Everyday Mobility Through Parents' Affective Practices." *Children's Geographies* 17 (5): 591–602.

Karsten, Lia. 2005. "It all Used to be Better? Different Generations on Continuity and Change in Urban Children's Daily use of Space." *Children's Geographies* 3 (3): 275–290.

Kullman, Kim. 2010. "Transitional Geographies: Making Mobile Children." *Social & Cultural Geography* 11 (8): 829–846.

Lavalette, Michael, and Stephen Cunningham. 2002. "The sociology of childhood." In *Childhood, Welfare and the State*, edited by Barry Goldson, Michel Lavalette, and Kim McKechnie, 9–28. London: Sage.

Liebel, Manfred. 2016. "¿Niños sin Niñez? Contra la conquista poscolonial de las infancias del Sur global." *Millcayac* 3 (5): 245–272. https://revistas.uncu.edu.ar/ojs/index.php/millca-digital/article/view/770.

Llobet, Valeria, and Ana Vergara. 2023. "The heterogeneous temporalities of Latin American 'modern' childhoods". *Third World Thematics*, upcoming.

Luneke, Alejandra. 2018. "Violencia y calidad de vida urbana. La localización de los delitos violentos y el hacer ciudad en Santiago." *PLANEO* 73: 1–14.

Márquez, Francisca. 2003. "Identidad y fronteras urbanas en Santiago de Chile." *Psicologia em Revista* 10 (14): 35–51.

Martín, Luisa. 2003. "El análisis crítico del discurso. Fronteras y exclusión social en los discursos racistas." In *Análisis del discurso. Manual para las ciencias sociales*, edited by Lupiciño Iniguez, 161–196. Barcelona: UOC.

Martínez, Javier, and Margarita Palacios. 1996. *Informe sobre la decencia: la diferenciación estamental de la pobreza y los subsidios públicos*. Santiago: Ediciones Sur.

Matthews, Hugh. 2003. "The Street as a Liminal Space: The Barbed Spaces of Childhood." In *Children in the City. Home, Neighbourhood and Community*, edited by Pia Christensen, and Margaret O'Brien, 101–117. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Ministerio de Desarrollo Social. 2022. *Encuesta Casen 2017*. http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/storage/docs/casen/2017/Resultados_educacion_casen_2017.pdf.

Morais, Milene, and Patricia Ferreira Uchôa. 2021. Mobilidade e autonomia na vivência de crianças urbanas: uma etnografia do parque público infantil." *Desidades* 30 (9): 85–102.

Morgade, Marta, David Poveda, and Javier González-Patiño. 2014. "Del hogar a la ciudad como camino de ida y vuelta en el desarrollo de la identidad: el caso de las rutinas de la infancia urbana de clase media/alta en Madrid." *Educação & Sociedade* 35 (128): 761–780.

Murrieta, Patricia. 2010. "The Process of Permanence on the Streets: Street Children in Mexico City." *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud* 8 (2): 821–834.

Nansen, Bjorn, Lisa Gibbs, Colin MacDougall, Frank Vetere, Nicola J Ross, and John McKendrick. 2015. "Children's Interdependent Mobility: Compositions, Collaborations And Compromises." *Children's Geographies* 13 (4): 467–481.

Pain, Rachel. 2006. "Paranoid Parenting? Rematerializing Risk and Fear for Children." *Social & Cultural Geography* 7 (2): 221–243.

Porter, Libby, Ceridwen Spark, and Lisa de Kleyn. 2020. "Navigating the Neighbourhood: Gender, Place and Agency in Children's Mobility." *Children's Geographies* 19 (3): 339–350.

Punch, Samantha. 2000. "Children's Strategies for Creating Playspaces. Negotiating Independence in Rural Bolivia." In *Children's Geographies. Playing, Living, Learning*, edited by Sarah L. Holloway, and Gill Valentine, 41–53. London and New York: Routledge.

Rettberg, Angelika. 2020. "Violencia en América Latina hoy: Manifestaciones e Impactos." *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 73: 2–17. http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?pid=S0123-885X2020000300002&script=sci_abstract&tlng=es.

Rodríguez, A., and L. Winchester. 2001. "Santiago de Chile. Metropolización, globalización, desigualdad." *Eure. Revista Latinoamericana De Estudios Urbano Regionales* 27 (80): 121–139.

Rojas, J. 2010. *Historia de la Infancia en el Chile Republicano*. Santiago: JUNJI.

Romero Mikkelsen, Miguel, and Pia Christensen. 2009. "Is Children's Independent Mobility Really Independent? A Study of Children's Mobility Combining Ethnography and GPS/Mobile." *Mobilities* 4 (1): 37–58.

Sabatini, Francisco, and Rodrigo Salcedo. 2007. "Gated Communities and the Poor in Santiago, Chile: Functional and Symbolic Integration in a Context of Aggressive Capitalist Colonization of Lower-Class Areas." *Housing Policy Debate* 18 (3): 577–606.

Salazar, Gabriel, and Julio Pinto. 2002. *Historia contemporánea de Chile. Niñez y juventud*. Santiago: LOM.

Saucedo, Iván, and Bertha Taracena. 2011. "Habitar la calle: pasos hacia una ciudadanía a partir de este espacio." *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud* 1 (9): 269–285.

Shearer, Scott, and Peter Walters. 2015. "Young People's Lived Experience of the 'Street' in North Lakes Master Planned Estate." *Children's Geographies* 13 (5): 604–617.

Sibley, David. 1995. *Geographies of Exclusion. Society and Difference in the West*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sugranyez, Ana, and Alfredo Rodríguez. 2005. "El problema de la vivienda de los "con techo"." In *Los con techo. Un desafío para la política de vivienda social*, edited by Ana Sugranyez, and Alfredo Rodríguez, 59–78. Santiago: Ediciones Sur.

Templeton, T. N. 2020. "'That Street is Taking us to Home': Young Children's Photographs of Public Spaces." *Children's Geographies* 18 (1): 1–15.

Tyagi, Megha, and Gaurav Raheja. 2021. "Children's Independent Mobility Licence and its Association with the Built and Social Environment: A Study Across Neighbourhood Typologies in Kolkata." *Children's Geographies* 19 (6): 717–734.

Valentine, Gill. 1996. "Angels and Devils: Moral Landscapes of Childhood." *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space* 14 (5): 581–599.

Valentine, Gill. 2004. *Public Space and the Culture of Childhood*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Van Buggenhout, Marijke. 2020. "Street Child Spaces: Belonging, Conflict and Resistance in the City of Durban Through the Eyes of Street Youth." *Children's Geographies* 18 (1): 96–109.

Van der Burgt, Danielle. 2013. "Spatial Avoidance or Spatial Confidence? Young People's Agency in the Active Negotiation of Risk and Safety in Public Space." *Children Geographies* 13 (2): 181–195.

Van der Burgt, Danielle. 2015. "Spatial Avoidance or Spatial Confidence? Young People's Agency in the Active Negotiation of Risk and Safety in Public Space." *Children's Geographies* 13 (2): 181–195.

Vergara, Ana, Mauricio Sepúlveda, Juan Pablo Pinilla, Daniela Leyton, Cristian Ortega, and Claudia Calquín. 2023. "Chile: Pandemic, Neoliberal Precarity and Social Outbreak." In *Family Life in the Time of COVID: International Perspectives*, edited by Katherine Twamley, Humera Iqbal, and Charlotte Faircloth. London: UCL Press. upcoming.

Vergara, Ana, Mauricio Sepúlveda, and Irene Salvo. 2019. "Being a Parent and Being a Child in Chile Today: The Relational Construction of Subject Positions in a Neoliberal Context." *Subjectivity* 12: 371–388.

Villalta, Carlos, José Castillo, and Juan A Torres. 2016. *Delitos violentos en ciudades de América Latina Delitos violentos en ciudades de América Latina*. Documento para Discusión N° IDB-DP-474. BID. https://publications.iadb.org/publications/spanish/document/Delitos-violentos-en-ciudades-de-Am%C3%A9rica-Latina.pdf.

World Bank Group. 2018. *Poverty and shared prosperity 2018. Piecing together the poverty puzzle*, https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/30418/9781464813306.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=.

Zeiher, Helga. 2003. "Shaping Daily Life in Urban Environments." In *Children in the City. Home, Neighbourhood and Community*, edited by Pia Christensen, and Margaret O'Brien, 66–81. London: RoutledgeFalmer.