

HOME-WORK-HOME COMMUTES: UNDERSTANDING URBAN MOBILITY AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN PERIPHERAL AREAS OF SÃO PAULO AND DOURADOS

Percursos casa-trabalho-casa: compreendendo a mobilidade urbana e o direito à cidade em áreas periféricas de São Paulo e Dourados

Trayectos casa-trabajo-casa: Comprendiendo la Movilidad Urbana y el Derecho a la Ciudad en las áreas periféricas de São Paulo y Dourados



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ABSTRACT

The urban daily life in peripheral areas goes beyond simple commutes between home and work. It requires a deep understanding of the interactions between inhabitants and urban life, recognizing mobility as a fundamental right. The aim of this text is to comprehend the urban daily life of residents in peripheral areas by analyzing the home-work-home routes and understanding how these commutes are connected to urban mobility and the right to the city. The analysis encompasses the dimension of mobility and the socio-spatial condition of residents in peripheral areas in the São Paulo metropolis (Cidade Tiradentes) and the medium-sized city of Dourados, in Mato Grosso do Sul. We seek to understand urban mobility through various modes of transportation, highlighting how the experience of moving around the city is permeated by different forms of appropriation, revealing aspects of socio-spatial fragmentation. Thus, by analyzing the home-work-home routes, we are not merely mapping physical routes, but uncovering the intricate relationships between mobility, urban space, and socio-spatial condition. Through this broad and sensitive perspective, we aim to envision paths to a fairer city, where the right to move freely is truly guaranteed to all its inhabitants.

Keywords: Socio-spatial fragmentation; Urban mobility; urban journeys; Cidade Tiradentes; Dourados.

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RESUMO

O cotidiano urbano nas áreas periféricas vai além de simples deslocamentos entre casa e trabalho. Requer uma compreensão profunda das interações entre os habitantes e a vida urbana, reconhecendo a mobilidade como um direito fundamental. O objetivo deste texto é compreender o cotidiano urbano dos moradores de áreas periféricas, analisando os percursos casa-trabalho-casa e entendendo como esses deslocamentos estão conectados à mobilidade urbana e ao acesso ao direito à cidade. A análise perpassa pela dimensão da mobilidade e da condição socioespacial das/os moradoras/es em áreas periféricas na metrópole de São Paulo (Cidade Tiradentes) e na cidade média de Dourados, em Mato Grosso do Sul. Buscamos compreender a mobilidade urbana por vários modais, apontando como a experiência de ir e vir na cidade é permeada por diferentes formas de apropriação, revelando aspectos da fragmentação socioespacial. Assim, ao analisarmos os percursos casa-trabalho-casa, não estamos apenas mapeando trajetos físicos, mas sim desvendando as intrincadas relações entre mobilidade, espaço urbano e condição socioespacial. Por meio desse olhar amplo e sensível que buscamos vislumbrar caminhos para uma cidade mais justa, onde o direito de ir e vir seja verdadeiramente garantido a todos os seus habitantes.

Palavras-chave: Fragmentação socioespacial; Mobilidade urbana; Percursos urbanos; Cidade Tiradentes; Dourados.

RESUMEN

El cotidiano urbano en las áreas periféricas va más allá de los simples desplazamientos entre casa y trabajo. Requiere una comprensión profunda de las interacciones entre los habitantes y la vida urbana, reconociendo la movilidad como un derecho fundamental. El objetivo de este texto es comprender la vida cotidiana urbana de los residentes de las áreas periféricas, analizando los trayectos casa-trabajo-casa y entendiendo cómo estos desplazamientos están conectados a la movilidad urbana y al acceso al derecho a la ciudad. El análisis abarca la dimensión de la movilidad y la condición socioespacial de los/las residentes en áreas periféricas en la metrópolis de São Paulo (Cidade Tiradentes) y en la ciudad mediana de Dourados, en Mato Grosso do Sul. Buscamos comprender la movilidad urbana a través de varios modos de transporte, señalando cómo la experiencia de ir y venir en la ciudad está impregnada por diferentes formas de apropiación, revelando aspectos de la fragmentación socioespacial. Así, al analizar los trayectos casa-trabajo-casa, no estamos solo mapeando rutas físicas, sino desentrañando las intrincadas relaciones entre movilidad, espacio urbano y condición socioespacial. A través de esta perspectiva amplia y sensible, buscamos vislumbrar caminos hacia una ciudad más justa, donde el derecho a ir y venir sea verdaderamente garantizado para todos sus habitantes.

Palabras clave: Fragmentación socioespacial; Movilidad urbana; Trayectos urbanos; Cidade Tiradentes; Dourados.

1 INTRODUCTION

We start from the statement that, in Brazilian cities, there has been a transition movement from the center-periphery logic to the fragmented socio-spatial logic (Sposito and Sposito, 2020). The fragmented city is lived in pieces, in its parts, whose complexity encompasses the social, economic and cultural dimensions, all of which result in distinct

spatialities. This phenomenon is also intrinsically linked to issues related to urban infrastructure and physical-natural elements.

When thinking about the fragmented city and the right to the city, this situation becomes even more complex because it elevates the condition of the urban fabric to the implications in the daily lives of the subjects. If this is a trend in the way cities are produced in contemporary urbanization, on the other hand, to understand everyday life is to apprehend not only the material basis by which the city has been constituted, but also in the theoretical field, the socio-spatial dimension through which the relationship between inequalities and differentiation appears as means of understanding the ways of living the city.

Addressing the notion of the right to the city, studied by Lefebvre (2001), the idea of ensuring accessibility to a variety of resources immediately arises as an opportunity to fully enjoy urban life. Within the possibilities of accessibility, essential elements for people's lives stand out, such as basic sanitation, adequate housing, educational opportunities, health services, workplaces, public spaces, cultural expressions, and residents' participation in decisions about the direction and use of public resources.

In addition, the notion also encompasses the promotion of gender equality and social justice. The right to the city seeks to overcome the barriers and restrictions of the urban, with the aim of ensuring access to urban space for all individuals. However, the search for the right to the city is further complicated by the process of fragmentation. In this sense, there are several elements that affect the availability of fundamental services, with those linked to mobility being an important aspect.

According to the points presented here, we seek to understand the urban daily life of residents of the peripheral areas of Cidade Tiradentes, in the city of São Paulo, and Dourados, in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, through the analysis of the home-work-home routes, as well as to explore how these displacements are connected to urban mobility and the right to the city.

The text is divided into four parts: 1. Understand the contemporary city in the context of the proposal of socio-spatial fragmentation, exploring the socio-spatial dimension as the prism through which being a woman or a man implies different ways of living, learning and facing the city; 2. Analyze and present the methodology of urban routes and how, through it, we can approach the various ways of apprehending the empirical dimension through which we understand the spatiality of the city's inhabitants, including the spatial characterization. 3. Present the urban areas studied. 4. To examine the comments, interpretations and considerations of women and men in their daily lives, from leaving home

to work and returning, aiming to contemplate the different experiences in relation to urban routes in the context of gender, socio-spatial dimension and peripheral and class conditions, providing interpretations and contributions to the reflection on urban mobility.

2 SOCIO-SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION: LIVING THE CITY IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Berth (2023) argues that cities are influenced by a variety of discourses that shape society, including libertarian or oppressive, progressive or conservative ideologies. These discourses contribute to the structure and spatial divisions of cities. Historically, urban studies have prioritized class over other aspects such as gender and race. However, understanding urban life requires going beyond these binary limitations, considering the intersections between gender, class, race, and space. Urban fragmentation results from social crisis, manifesting itself as violence, prejudice, exclusion, and death, although it affects different groups in different ways.

We will focus on the daily lives of women and men who live and work in the city with a strong emphasis on the peripheral condition that is carried by the bodies of these women and men, their narratives, their ways of understanding when experiencing the urban space. Our goal, encouraged by Federici (2019, p. 28), is to bring to the debate the spatiality of women, structured in a hidden history within the process of territorial and sexual division of labor. Hence, we also aim to read the differences in relation to the daily experiences of men in the city. To reveal peripheralization is to meet a finding of the author when she highlights the invisibility of the trajectories of these hidden divisions in the process of understanding history and the capitalist city, and this extrapolates the notion of a physical periphery to a socio-spatial periphery present as a synthesis in the elaboration of the spatiality of women and men.

In the context of the division of labor and urban space, women face restrictions and denials that reflect a society based on expropriation and spoliation. Male hegemony has promoted a pattern that results in distancing, erasure, and curtailment of women's right to live *the* and *in* the city. These dynamics are reinforced by gender intersections, perpetuating the idea of the periphery, especially in a socio-spatially fragmented city. Women's mobility and work are particularly affected, limiting their sociability and their exercise of citizenship. The female body is fundamental in this analysis, being compared by Federici to the factory for male wage workers, as a terrain of exploitation and resistance, used for the reproduction and accumulation of labor. In his words, Federici (2019, p. 34) pointed out that,

In capitalist society, the body is to women what the factory is to male wage workers: the main terrain of their exploitation and resistance, to the same extent that the female body has been appropriated by the state and men, forced to function as a means for the reproduction and accumulation of labor.

In the contemporary city, from the passage from the center-periphery paradigm to a condition of socio-spatial fragmentation, it becomes more relevant to understand, from the dimension of the body, the forms of intersection given by the materialization of the "peripheral" notion more as a representation than as a configurational aspect of the urban fabric. The periphery of the contemporary city is a fact in transformation, so much that it has become the locus of the reproduction of a segment that seeks to escape from the city, reproducing spaces common to its segments and forms of life, almost with a complete character of homogeneity in a simulated process of sociability protected by walls, gates, cameras and landscaping, streets with which we do not recognize ourselves in the field of sociability. On the other hand, the periphery of the absence of almost everything is also filled by the forms of life that are established there in their daily lives. Clearly, they are produced from the perspective of the capitalist reproduction of the land, access to which derives from the "if" it is possible to access the house and the possibility of coming and going. We are, therefore, revealing a city hidden by bodies and daily lives erased by the socioeconomic, socio-spatial condition and the territorial and sexual division of labor, due to the forms of life.

Polysemy as a definition of the possibilities of being different and of the choices being possible reaches not only a peripheral cutting. Being peripheral goes beyond where we live. Therefore, it is a meeting point in what our body represents: of the social segments that we carry in the prints of our clothes, of the leisure that is reserved in the city, of the gender represented in our habits, gestures and forms, of sexuality, of the color of the skin that represents where we come from and where we want to go to a society of racial dispossession (Berth, 2023).

In the contemporary context of the produced city in the face of the process of socio-spatial fragmentation, we seek to highlight the movement of bodies through space and how they carry the notion of periphery in themselves. From the common sense understanding of a space of absences, we aim to highlight the expressions of socio-spatial differentiation through the category 'subject'. The 'peripheral subject' (he and she) is the one whose relationship with the urban space is fragmented. The pieces that fall to it in the territorial division of labor also condition the forms of spatialization. In the fragmented city, there are

many possibilities for socio-spatial interaction, but so are the forms of denial, non-acceptance, impediments in coming-and-going. And if we recognize that the production of the city is guided by the hegemony of real estate agents who will direct and separate homogeneous areas thought of in the urban plan according to social segmentation, it is possible to verify that this process is imposed by normative actions in the context of the diversity of what it is to be someone-peripheral.

Mobility plays a crucial role in shaping socio-spatial fragmentation. Its incompleteness in everyday life permeates the lives of city dwellers. This concerns the various ways in which people move around in a given space; for example, a neighborhood or a city. Mobility is closely linked to urban planning policies and the infrastructure of cities, encompassing a wide range of travel types and different modes of transport. In this way, mobility plays a fundamental role in urban life and daily practices (Silva, Teixeira, and Sposito, 2021; Sposito, Teixeira and Silva, 2022). In addition, depending on each mobility condition, there may be numerous patterns of use and occupation of space according to people's displacements, social position, class, gender, age, among other factors (Sposito, Teixeira and Silva, 2022). The fundamental objective of promoting mobility is to contribute to the accessibility of population to places for labor, consumption and leisure, a condition that is also intrinsically linked to the principles of the right to the city.

In everyday mobility, infrastructures linked to mobility and accessibility configure the planned environment, establishing connections with the main strategies for organizing urban space, as stated by Legroux (2021). Cities in Brazil face challenges related to urban planning, and mobility is an issue of particular concern due to the need for updated public policies for adequate and integrated planning in the field of mobility, housing, work and leisure. This ends up aggravating disparities in access to transportation and to the various locations in the city, strengthening existing inequalities (Albergaria, 2021).

The capitalism, structuring, conditioning and permeating model is the means and result of urban spaces, exerts influence on policies related to mobility by promoting the formation of selective displacement barriers. These barriers segregate individuals into categories such as "women" and "men" (Decothé e Cruz, 2021, p. 129). As a result, mobility regulation is not uniform across all urban areas. This leads to a variation in the control of mobility in different sectors of the city, shaped by the intersection between social stratum, gender, and ethnic origin. In other words, Cresswell (2009) proposes that mobility should not only be understood as a physical action, but permeated by meanings and practices, thus encompassing a political and social dimension. Various forms of mobility are generated

within social contexts which, in turn, contribute to their configuration. Mobility is a resource that is accessed in a varied way by each individual, depending on factors such as gender, professional occupation and reason for being in the city (Cresswell, 2009).

The urban areas studied present several issues and challenges associated with the daily mobility of their inhabitants. The discussion about the routes, as well as about the potentialities and difficulties of circulation faced by the inhabitants of the peripheral neighborhoods of these areas, will be addressed in the following sessions.

3 ACCOMPANIED ROUTES HOME-WORK-HOME

The home-work-home routes aim to recognize in everyday life the spatial practices, motivations and, more specifically, the ways of dealing with mobility in the city carried out by observing, monitoring and recording the way to work (Jesus, Catelan e Calixto, 2022). The analysis of commutes to and from work makes it possible to share people's experiences and understand individuals as a representation of the socio-spatial content in the city (Jesus, Catelan e Calixto, 2022).

Reflecting on the itinerary, it is important to understand the complexity of the observations made during the journey because it is not possible to cover all aspects of daily life, but it is possible to capture a part of life in that instant (Góes *et al.*, 2019). In this sense, it seeks to understand the urban dynamics related to work, as well as the connections that are formed between housing and work. Investigating the journeys of the inhabitants in the city is an approach that aims to explore more than just mobility linked to road and transport infrastructure (Jesus, Catelan e Calixto, 2022).

Considering the importance of the dimension of work in daily life and in people's interaction with the city and the environment around them based on spatial practices, the initiative of the "accompanied home-work-home route" aims to evaluate not only the duration, but the totality of the experience when traveling the route that connects the home to the workplace and back home (Jesus, Catelan e Calixto, 2022). Along the way, it's also important to explore the challenges that arise when walking certain paths. This includes identifying barriers, moments of pause, and restrictions that may occur during the journeys: passing through different locations, changing transportation, waiting in lines, necessary detours, choosing different routes due to insecurity factors, or even opting for shortcuts that offer time and convenience savings (Jesus, Catelan e Calixto, 2022). Thus, the execution of the home-work-home route offers the opportunity to unveil not only the route itself, but

above all allows us to understand the motivation behind the choices made on this route, including schedules, moments, challenges, apprehensions and a variety of interactions that shape the planned day-to-day, the repetitive pattern and the singular element (Olmedo, 2016).

To record and later generate the mapping, the routes are initially recorded in an application that records routes taken through walking, running, cycling or other type of modal (in this case we use the *Strava* application). This information is then transferred to software that allows the map to be drawn up. The procedure did not undergo georeferencing, so Illustrator was adopted, which allows the creation of detailed maps with data on the different stretches made by the city and city dweller who collaborated with our research. In addition, notes are made, audio recording with the authorization of the collaborators during the route. It is relevant to highlight that a set of issues can be addressed during the course, and although the researcher can address previously scripted themes such as information about the conditions and access to housing, daily spatial practices related to leisure, consumption and even work, one cannot lose focus on the improvisation of the issues according to the reactions and interaction of the city dweller (man or woman) during the course.

In addition, each route is carried out only once with each participant generating two routes, to and from home to work. In total, 47 routes were carried out during the research in nine urban areas: Chapecó/SC, Dourados/MS, Ituiutaba/MG, Marabá/PA, Maringá/PR, Mossoró/RN, Presidente Prudente/SP, Ribeirão Preto/SP, in addition to two peripheral areas of the metropolis of São Paulo, the district of Cidade Tiradentes and the district of Pimentas on the outskirts of Guarulhos, conurbated to São Paulo. Among the 47 routes carried out in the respective urban areas, we chose the profiles for analysis based on their routes: two in the district of Cidade Tiradentes in São Paulo and two in the city of Dourados. We emphasize that the analytical perspective is based on the qualitative dimension, so there is no commitment to statistical elaboration regarding the number of city dwellers monitored.

From the analysis of the routes, it is possible to identify the possibilities, difficulties and limitations faced by women and men on their way to and from work. In addition, some differences are mentioned between the commutes to work carried out by women and men living in peripheral areas of cities.

4 THE DISTRICT OF CIDADE TIRADENTES/SP AND THE CITY OF DOURADOS

As previously mentioned, two Brazilian urban areas were selected: the first corresponds to Cidade Tiradentes, a district/neighborhood of the metropolis São Paulo, and Dourados, a middle city in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul.

Cidade Tiradentes is one of the most important peripheral neighborhoods in the city of São Paulo and is home to the largest housing complex in Latin America, consisting of approximately 40 thousand residential units. Most of these units were built during the 1980s by entities such as COHAB (Metropolitan Housing Company of São Paulo), CDHU (Housing and Urban Development Company of the State of São Paulo) and large contractors. The contractors also took advantage of the last significant financing granted by BNH (Banco Nacional da Habitação) before it closes (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2022).

Originally, the neighborhood was planned as an extensive peripheral complex of almost exclusively residential use, in the "dormitory neighborhood" style, intended to house populations affected by public works projects. At the end of the 1970s, the government began the acquisition of land in the region, known as Fazenda Santa Etelvina, which was occupied by eucalyptus trees and parts of the Atlantic Forest. The construction of residential buildings was initiated, altering the landscape and gradually attracting large family groups who were waiting for the opportunity to acquire a home through the housing companies (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2023). Cidade Tiradentes was home to a population of 211,501 inhabitants, according to the 2010 census, concentrated in a single district. Within this total, about 52,875 families reside in the area administered by the Regional Prefecture. Of these families, 8,064 face high levels of vulnerability (Prefeitura de São Paulo, 2022).

Dourados, in turn, is a city with 243,368 inhabitants. Its socio-spatial background has a strong connection with the Terena and Kaiowá indigenous tribes, whose descendants continue to be a significant part of Brazil's indigenous population to the present day (IBGE, 2022). At the end of the nineteenth century, several families migrated to Mato Grosso, whose territory would be divided with the creation of Mato Grosso do Sul only in 1977, coming from states such as Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais and São Paulo, looking for new opportunities in the west of the country. Due to the remarkable advancement in the region and information about the fertility of the soil, more settlers were attracted to explore the vast plantations of native yerba mate. This was driven by Companhia Mate Laranjeira S/A, which had a monopoly on the exploitation of yerba mate in the region between 1882 and 1924. In addition, there was a significant development in cattle raising and because of the

construction of the Northwest Brazil Railroad, implemented between 1904 and 1914 (IBGE, 2022; Prefeitura Municipal de Dourados, 2024).

On December 20, 1935, the municipality of Dourados was created from areas dismembered from the municipality of Ponta Porã, through Decree No. 30 of the then Governor of the State, Mr. Mário Corrêa da Costa (IBGE, 2022; Prefeitura Municipal de Dourados, 2024). The Dourados Agricultural Colony was established in 1943, occupying an area of 50,000 hectares that had been set aside in 1923 for colonization purposes. This colony became part of Dourados after the latter's elevation to the category of municipality in 1935. The region attracted many Brazilian migrants and foreign immigrants, especially Japanese, who were mainly engaged in coffee cultivation (IBGE, 2022; Prefeitura Municipal de Dourados, 2024).

Thus, the text addresses the analysis of the daily mobility of males and females living in peripheral regions of different urban areas, considering their varied origins and circumstances. This makes it possible to understand the dynamics of mobility in these places, in addition to allowing the comparison between similar and particular elements of the cases.

5 THE DAILY COMMUTES OF CITY DWELLERS (WOMEN AND MEN) LIVING IN PERIPHERAL AREAS

In this section, we seek to understand the daily dynamics of mobility and accessibility of city dwellers in the aforementioned urban areas. We start with the description and comparison of the profiles of Cidade Tiradentes.

In Cidade Tiradentes we follow Luíza, an 18-year-old black woman with a look out of the conventional standard because she has many tattoos and piercings, which for her is part of her way of being. Luíza works in a candy shop and earns 800 reais a month, makes a journey of approximately two hours from home and to work and back to it, in addition to attending the undergraduate course in History started remotely during the period of the COVID-19 pandemic. The route was held on May 16, 2022. Along the way, she reported having experienced cases of harassment on public transport, on the street and in the supermarket. She said she always has a pocket knife with her for self-protection given the times she has noticed the harassment and also the route she takes when she leaves the house even before the sun rises. Luíza walks about 20 minutes from the house to the bus stop, takes another 40 minutes by bus to the Terminal in the Itaquera district, where she

takes the subway and travels 40 minutes to República station and, from there, another five minutes walking to the California gallery, in downtown São Paulo, where the confectionery in which she works is located.

The detailed account of Luíza's morning routine offers a complex and revealing overview of the daily experiences of a young woman living in Cidade Tiradentes, a peripheral neighborhood of São Paulo. Their journey, made up of several sections of commuting, reveals not only the dynamics of urban life, but also the challenges faced by those living on the margins of urban centers.

The first excerpt, which describes the journey from home to the bus stop, highlights the socioeconomic and safety context of the neighborhood. The presence of activities related to the drug trade suggests not only the vulnerability of the environment, but also the need for adaptation and precaution on the part of residents, as well as discreet monitoring to avoid confrontations with authorities.

During the bus ride to the Itaquera Terminal, Luíza shares her personal experiences, revealing her resilience when facing challenges such as harassment on public transportation and the high cost of basic issues, such as rescheduling exams at college. The mention of carrying a pocket knife for self-defense sheds light on the feeling of insecurity that permeates her routine, reflecting a common reality to many inhabitants of peripheral urban areas.

Upon entering the subway, Luíza reveals her commitment to social ascension through education, studying History at a higher education institution in the central region of the city. However, the lack of knowledge about more accessible higher education alternatives, close to her residence, suggests a disparity in information and educational opportunities between different areas of the city.

Finally, the excerpt that describes her workplace highlights the harshness of her work routine, contrasting with the creative efficiency of the newsstand owner in solving an everyday problem with simplicity. The scene of the hanging lighter, indicating an improvised solution to a recurring challenge, resonates as a metaphor for the adaptability and resilience required of those living in urban peripheries.

Her return route, at 7 p.m., follows the same route. The difference is that, on the way back, Luíza is calmer about the weather, but we realize that she is always attentive to what is going on or is around her. She smokes before entering the subway station and, in our conversation, points out *"I don't live in the city. I know practically nothing. Just the center itself."* It is a fact that her day-to-day to work, with a lot of time in commuting, leaves little

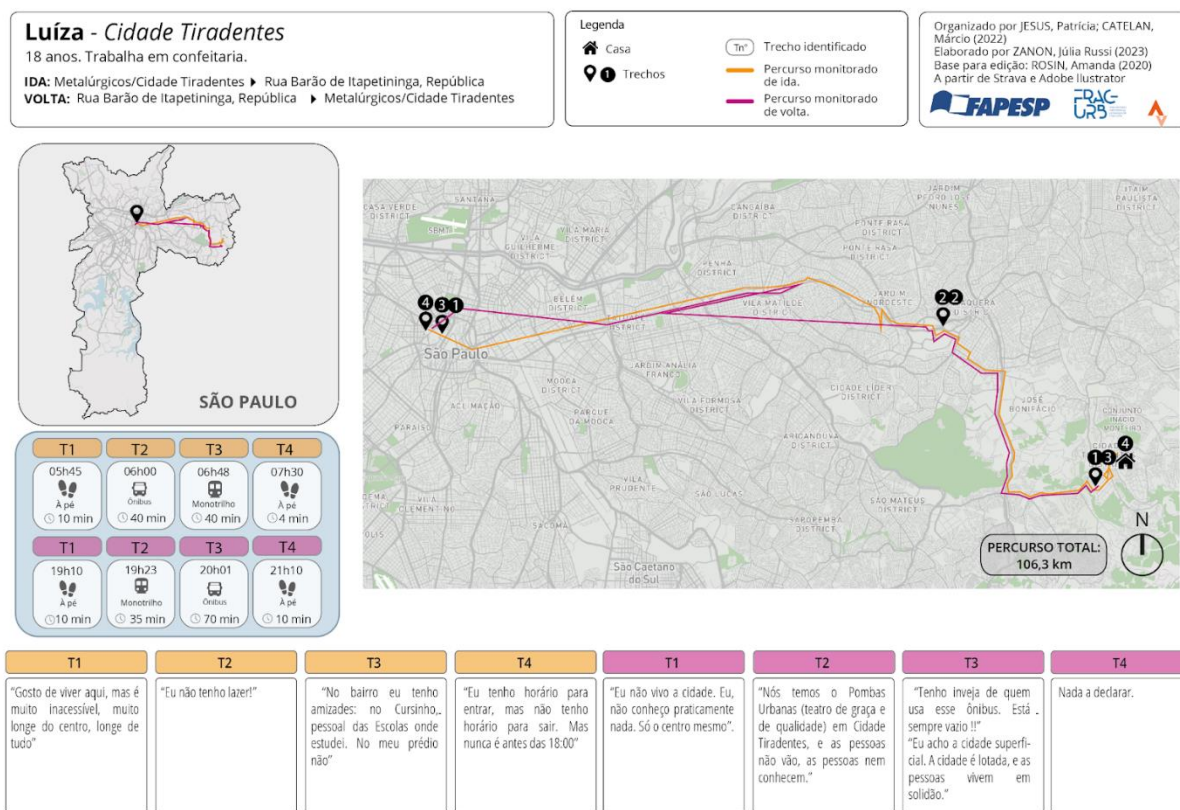
time for other activities such as leisure. We can see more details about Luíza's journey and mobility experiences in figure 01.

The report provides a detailed view of the routine of Luíza, a young woman who faces a series of challenges and peculiarities on her way between work and her home in Cidade Tiradentes on a daily basis. Luíza's journey reveals the complexities of the public transport system in a city like São Paulo, where commuting can become a real marathon. The journey of more than two hours between Rua Barão de Itapetininga and Cidade Tiradentes illustrates not only the geographical extension of the city, but also the socioeconomic inequalities that permeate different areas through which Luíza passes. She travels 106.3 km to and from work, with repetition of stretches in both directions, but it takes longer to return home due to the dense flow of people. Luíza highlights the exhaustion after long working hours, the need to sleep on public transport and even the possibility of missing the clock due to fatigue. These situations highlight the precarious working conditions and the lack of adequate infrastructure to ensure a safe and comfortable commute.

The narrative also addresses the cultural life of Luíza, who finds in the *punk* scene a space for expression and resistance. The periodic meetings in Vale do Anhangabaú, Brás and Avenida Paulista serve as moments of sociability and exchange of experiences for young people who share the same ideals and interests. The mention of Luíza's former participation in a *punk* band called "Abortados do Sistema" reveals not only her affinity for music and the counterculture, but also her willingness to challenge social norms and conventions. The fact that she rehearsed alongside an evangelical church, facing police pressure, evidences the resistance and persistence of this group in maintaining their practices and cultural identity.

The COVID-19 pandemic is also mentioned in Luíza's report, highlighting its effects on cultural activities and the daily lives of young people. The interruption of meetings and conversation circles due to health restrictions represents not only a loss of spaces for sociability, but also an emotional impact for those who found in these activities a means of connection and belonging.

Figure 01 – Guided by Luíza's home-work-home, Cidade Tiradentes - São Paulo.



Source: Data from the FragUrb thematic project (2022).

Luíza's account of her journey offers a unique perspective on urban life in São Paulo, highlighting the challenges faced by individuals who move between different social and cultural spaces on a daily basis. Her life trajectory, as a woman who lives in a distant periphery neighborhood and crosses the city to work in another peripheral area of the metropolis, reveals not only the difficulties and adversities, but also the resilience and creativity necessary to face these challenges and build a dignified life amidst the complexities of the metropolis. When she chooses the monorail over the subway, for example, she points out that her choice has to do with the nature of the modal, which is generally not as crowded as the subway, and also because of the view of the city, since the monorail runs on rails suspended by an elevated structure allowing an extensive view of the city. Luíza's analysis of daily life offers a broad view of the experiences and challenges faced by residents of peripheral areas, highlighting issues of security, access to education, and precarious work. Her urban journey reflects not only her individual experience, but also the structural inequalities that shape life in big cities.

We also follow Igor, a 49-year-old white man who works as a driver at a private university in downtown São Paulo. Igor is also a resident of Cidade Tiradentes, married and

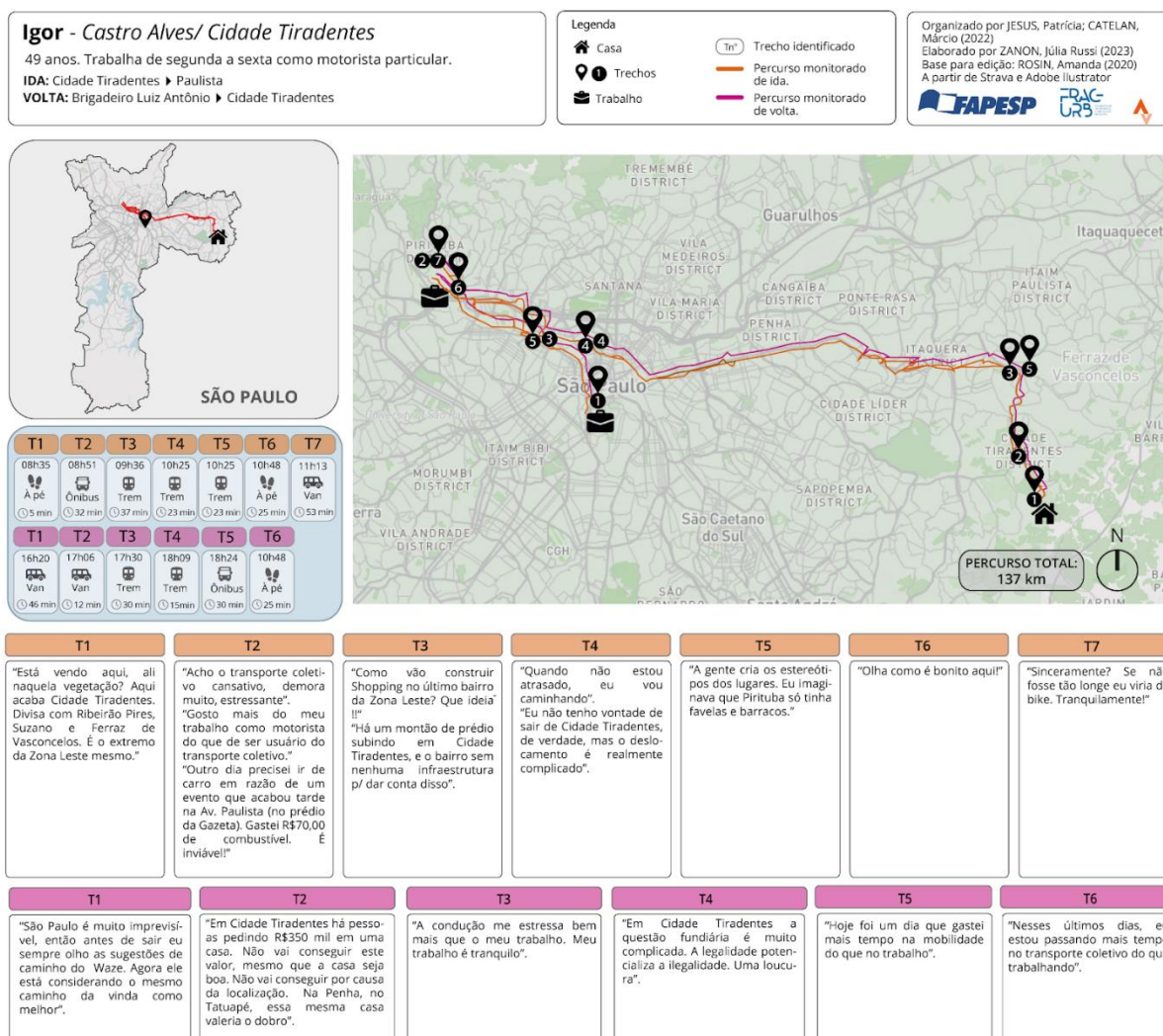
father of two children. He has a house in a neighborhood close to his work, but prefers to live in Cidade Tiradentes because of his family, who help with the support network for her children's daily lives. His route was carried out on May 17, 2022, is complex and takes more than three hours with various modes.

Igor is talkative, which has allowed him to address many topics in his long career. He leaves home on foot at 8:35 a.m. to the bus stop, but first he leaves his children at his mother-in-law's house where they will take the school van. Igor takes the bus at 8:50 a.m. at the so-called old terminal in Cidade Tiradentes and goes by train to Guaianazes station, a stretch that takes 40 minutes. From Guaianazes station he goes to Luz station, taking 30 minutes, and from there he goes, still by train, to Barra Funda station, in just over 20 minutes, where he takes another train and travels another 20 minutes to Piqueri station. From this station, he walks to the garage of the van he drives from the university where he works. After taking the van, he travels another stretch of approximately 50 minutes.

The route described offers a unique window into Igor's life and routine, highlighting his organization and adaptability in the face of circumstances. The analysis of this journey reveals not only Igor's physical journey, but also important aspects of his personality, values, and social relationships. The initial excerpt highlights the importance of punctuality for Igor, although there is a slip in the communication of the exact time of the meeting, he is forewarned, always ensuring a margin of safety for unforeseen events. This behavior reveals his responsibility and commitment, traits that seem to permeate him throughout the journey.

On the bus, we observed Igor's communicative profile, his enthusiasm for sharing experiences and interacting with others. The train ride provides a space for Igor to share life stories, highlighting his wealth of experiences and his involvement in social projects. The moment of waiting at Estação da Luz highlights Igor's ability to plan and optimize his time, seeking strategies to make his journey more efficient. His consideration of the possibility of moving reflects his commitment to work-life balance, weighing the pros and cons of each decision.

Figure 02 – Guided tour home-work-home of Igor, Cidade Tiradentes - São Paulo .



Fonte: Data from the FragUrb thematic Project (2022).

As he walks to the van garage, Igor shows his disposition and his attention to detail in the urban environment. His discussion of social projects reveals his connection to social causes and his desire to promote positive change in his community. Finally, the outcome on Avenida Paulista highlights Igor's adaptability in his work environment, his concern for the safety of students, and his ability to find practical solutions to everyday challenges. Igor's journey transcends mere physical displacement, offering valuable insights into his personality, values, and social commitments, evidencing his ability to adapt in the face of adversity.

As we can see, Igor's path is diverse both in sections and modes. His communicative personality allows him to address various topics along the routes, talk about politics, about the city, about his daily life, but at no time is he concerned with insecurity or any kind of fear with mobility in the city of São Paulo. As he is a driver, he reports that he likes it more when

he is driving than when he is in public transport, which he considers to be tiring given the waiting time between modes. Figure 2 provides a more in-depth view of Igor's story and journey.

In the city of Dourados, we accompanied Sara, 23 years old, and Rogério, 19 years old. Sara is a trans woman, lives alone in Altos do Indaiá and works at the Citizen Service Center. The route was completed on December 14, 2021, and the trip to work is divided into three sections. The first stretch was carried out on foot and started at 5:40 a.m., during this first moment she mentioned issues about her daily mobility such as the use of bicycles, walking, safety and sociability in public transport.

Regarding her mobility, Sara highlights: *"To go downtown and to other places in the city, I'm very deprived of mobility, it ends up being far away."* When asked about the use of the bicycle, she points out: *"I also use it, not so much to work, but to go to other places, because I use the bus card to do the internship, I can't use it several times a day, so if I need to go to a pharmacy or market I go by bike"*. Regarding mobility on foot, Sara points out that, on the days when she applies hormones, she avoids walking because of the side effects of the treatment.

On the issue of safety, Sara mentions that she tries to be as safe as possible and that she tries not to deviate or take other paths so as not to pass through the city center, she considers herself a beautiful person, she seeks to be in the spaces she wants and highlights that this visibility gives her a certain security and can inhibit some people who could do her some harm. In addition, she points out that she tries to walk in busy places. Regarding sociability in public transport, Sara says that she has not made friends, but that she has talked to other women who work in the Florida neighborhood while waiting for the bus at the terminal.

The second stretch was carried out by bus, started at 5:58 a.m. and lasted approximately 15 minutes, at the end of the journey a user asked Sara where they were, she said that the girl is a friend who talks sometimes. On the third and final stretch of the walk, which lasted 5 minutes, Sara mentioned the interactions she has with other people.

The journey back home from Sara starts at 12:25. In the section made on foot, the collaborator mentions that she usually passes through this route by bus. For her, returning home by bus is easier, except on rainy days, like today, when she had to take the bus at the University Hospital, but it passed on the street. She expresses her lack of confidence in the bus service on rainy days, as there are times when the vehicle does not pass through the

muddy street. So, to leave, she always chooses to walk to the transshipment, which is the terminal.

During this excerpt, she reports other situations about safety in her travels, *"here (near a hotel), because there are usually some guys who are doing something in this hotel, or anyway, then they usually mess around", "inside the bus it's not something frequent, which I don't have any reports on, but on the street it's different"*.

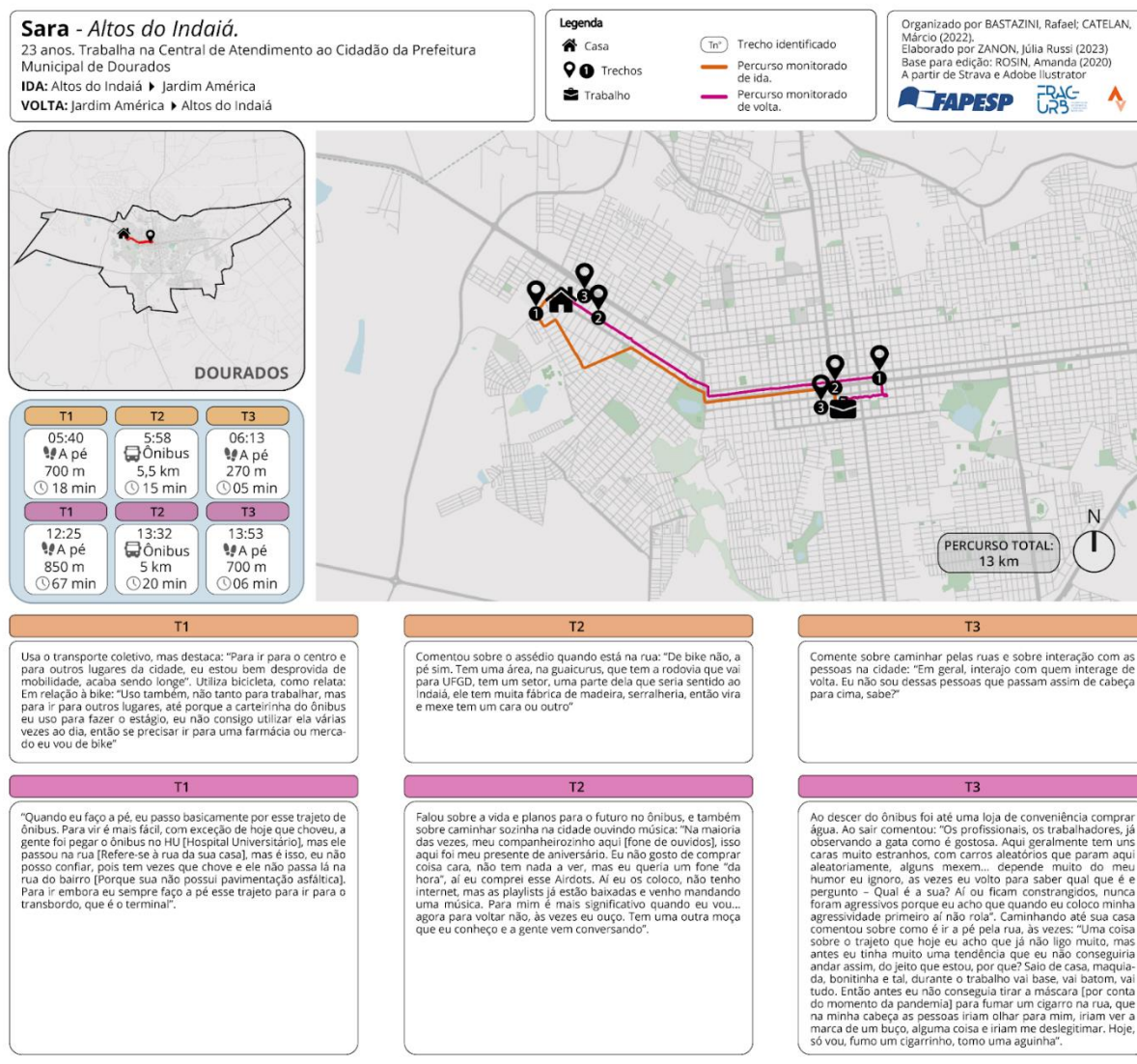
About her experience as a trans woman, she highlighted that she does not stop going to places for this reason. In relation to the difficulties of the work, she points out that, *"But even that, the fact of taking the bus was an achievement because at the beginning of my internship I didn't even have the transportation voucher, so I think that, for a couple of months, I either came or left on foot. Today, walking is sporadic."* In addition, she says she would rather wait an hour for the next bus than leave on foot. Additionally, she compares the transportation of Dourados with Limeira (the city where she lived), emphasizing that the latter has more options for public transportation.

The penultimate stretch of Sara's route is done by bus and the last one is a 7-minute walk. This route is interesting to deepen the understanding of how individuals manifest sensations and perceive the urban space in different ways. Even the moments of pause in the journey can be investigated, due to the long waits at the bus terminal. This is a particular example of the journey of a woman who uses walking and public transport to get around, going further by exploring other approaches by sharing her own experiences.

On the other hand, we have the case of Rogério, a resident of the Bororó Village, an indigenous reserve in Dourados, who works at the Conti Beer factory. Regarding the location of his house within the reserve, the employee commented that it is about 15 minutes from the entrance. In addition, he pointed out that he started working as a mechanic at the age of 15. The route was held on December 17, 2021.

Rogério uses his bicycle to commute to work. His route is divided into two sections, the first started at 5:55 a.m. and ended at 6:40 a.m., lasting 45 minutes. About his commute along the highway, Rogério pointed out that he has seen some accidents. In addition, he commented that it is difficult to ride a bicycle in some parts of the indigenous reserve, especially when it rains because there is a lot of mud on the roads. Regarding the construction and presence of gated communities, he said that, *"It made it easier for me, because before it was a dirt road and when it rained we couldn't cross it (BR, a movemented road)"*.

Figure 03 – Accompanied route home-work-home of Sara, Altos do Indaiá - Dourados.



Fonte: Data from the FragUrb thematic project (2021).

During the tour, when asked if he goes to the center or stays more in the reserve, the employee comments: "Guy, it depends, because I work from Monday to Monday sometimes, when it's very busy. So, when there's some time left, we come. Usually once a month, not for work, but for sightseeing." About the route he takes on these occasions, he pointed out that, "I go straight up here and fall there in the square, in the market, in the mall". At the same time, he reports that he did not go to the shopping center often and that the people in the indigenous reserve do not usually go to this place, that this is not something common. He said he usually goes more to the central square and its surroundings. He also

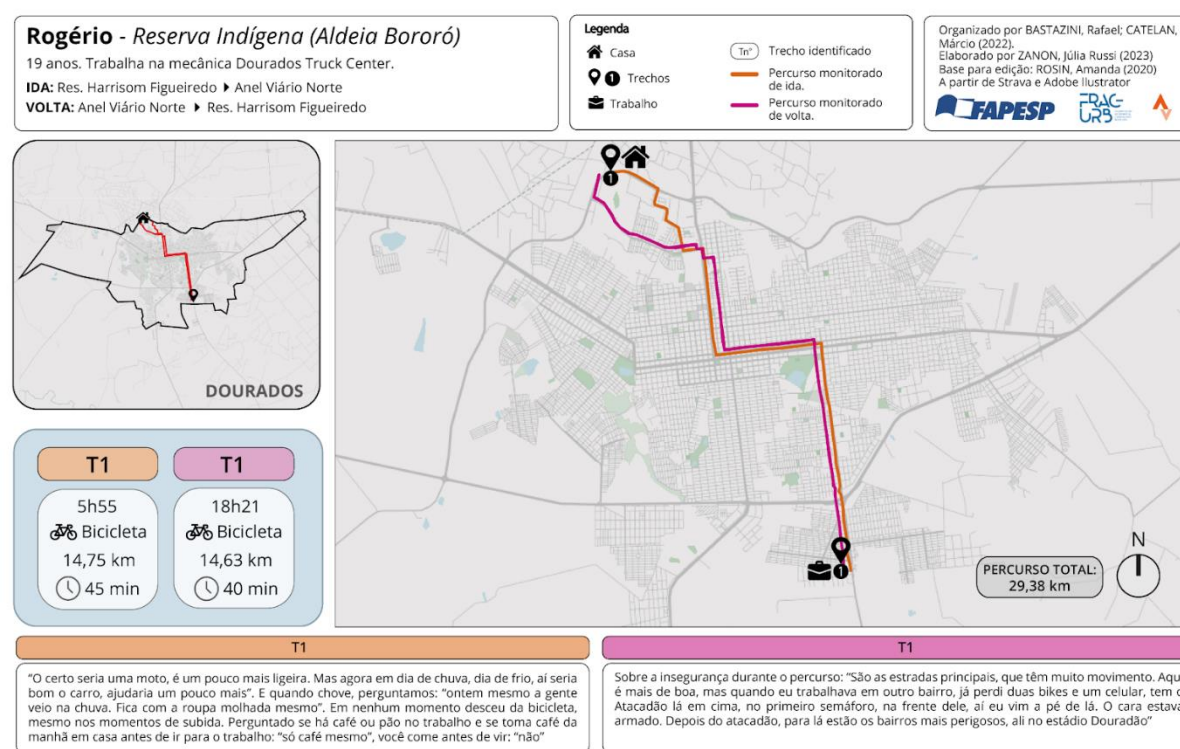
commented that the common leisure activity in the reserve is football games, *"only football games, that's what has more"*.

Regarding the modes of transport used by the residents of the indigenous reserve, Rogério points out that the most common is the use of bicycles and that few people have a car or motorcycle. He also said that he would like to have a motorcycle to make it easier to commute to work, but that on cold and rainy days it would be better to have a car. Still during the outward journey, the employee pointed out that there is no exact time to leave work *"yesterday we left work at 8:30 p.m., today we don't know what time we will leave"*.

The journey back home began at 6:21 p.m., the employee's brother was also on a bicycle and accompanied the route back to the reserve. During the ride, the tire of Rogério's brother's bike went flat and he had to go on the back of the employee, towing the bike. When the traffic got too heavy and tight, his brother got off his bike so he could get past the cars, joining again further ahead after the "obstacles"; *"He's going to go through the traffic light and then he's going to go up."* On a slightly steeper climb, they got off their bikes and walked on foot. In the areas with the most traffic, Rogério points to the main roads as the most dangerous, due to the intense movement. He shares personal experiences, mentioning that when he worked in another neighborhood, he had two bicycles and a cell phone stolen. He highlights a specific point, near *Atacadão*, where he was the victim of armed robbery. From there he describes the region beyond *Atacadão* as being where the most dangerous neighborhoods are located, particularly mentioning the *Douradão* stadium (soccer stadium) as a risk area.

On the way back, the dialogue was somewhat restricted due to the problem with the bike's tire, which required frequent stops and careful maneuvers to avoid further damage. This situation highlighted the vulnerability of cyclists to unforeseen events, which can turn an already exhausting journey into an even more difficult experience. Although the flat tire is an occasional incident, it shows the problems in completing the route.

Figure 04 – Accompanied route home-work-home of Rogério, Aldeia Bororó - Dourados.



Source: Data from the FragUrb thematic project (2021).

This journey reveals the complexity and challenges of mobility faced on a daily basis. When passing through areas of enclosed residential spaces, cyclists encounter quiet streets but with little infrastructure for bicycles, forcing a cautious pedaling. On the city's main thoroughfares, heavy traffic and the lack of bike lanes increase the risk of accidents, requiring constant attention and increasing physical and mental exhaustion. The highways, in turn, represent the apex of the challenge, with vehicles.

CONCLUSIONS

The urban dynamics in Brazilian cities are undergoing a transformation, abandoning the traditional division between center and periphery and entering a fragmented reality. In this context of the fragmentation process, the disparities, inequalities and everyday challenges related to mobility and the right to the city become increasingly complex.

By analyzing the profiles of people in their commute to work in Cidade Tiradentes and Dourados, the problems of accessibility and mobility that arise for various reasons are evident. Both Luísa and Igor face issues common to large metropolises, such as

considerable distances and long journeys on different means of public transport. In addition, Luísa faces harassment during her route, while Igor has to leave early to take the children to his mother-in-law's house, a responsibility socially attributed to women.

In Dourados, Sara, a student, and Rogério, a factory worker, deal with a precarious socioeconomic situation. Sara shares her experiences as a trans woman, highlighting her attempts to navigate urban space despite socioeconomic limitations. On the other hand, Rogério relies on his bicycle to get to work and downtown. The difficulties of commuting are evident in their reports, showing that accessibility and mobility barriers contribute to a restricted experience of the city.

In both cases, the experiences of these people reflect the accessibility and mobility barriers that many inhabitants of urban peripheries face, showing how these challenges can restrict their experiences and opportunities within the city. When comparing the profiles of Luísa, Igor, Sara and Rogério in terms of mobility, experiences of commuting and perceptions of safety and sociability, it is notable that there are significant differences between men and women in their urban experiences.

Women like Luisa and Sara share similar concerns about safety during their commutes. Both face harassment situations and adopt self-protection strategies, such as avoiding certain areas of the city to feel safer. However, their mobility experiences are influenced by additional factors such as geographic location and the availability of public transportation. While Luísa faces long daily commutes in the city of São Paulo, Sara faces mobility restrictions due to the distance to the city center and the scarcity of public transportation, which impacts her daily activities.

On the other hand, men like Igor and Rogério seem to face different challenges regarding mobility and safety. Igor, as a driver, has a more work-focused commuting experience. Meanwhile, Rogério relies mainly on his bicycle to get around an indigenous reserve, facing challenges related to the precariousness of road infrastructure and safety concerns in certain areas of the city. Their mobility is more limited to their community and surrounding areas.

These gender disparities in mobility and safety experiences reflect not only the differences in daily routines, but also the social and cultural dynamics present in the cities in which they live. While men like Igor and Rogério seem to enjoy greater freedom of movement and fewer safety concerns during their commutes, women like Luísa and Sara face additional challenges that limit their mobility and require specific coping strategies.

The four profiles discussed here reveal, for various reasons, the restrictions and difficulties that prevent a full experience of the city. The conclusions drawn from the studied routes clearly demonstrate that men are less concerned with security issues and that efficient mobility is an important part of the search for the full exercise of the right to the city.

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