**People with Disabilities: Rhythms of Life, Social Spatialisations, Desires and Barriers.
El Codito Experience**

By

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Abstract

The present qualitative study sought to identify and comprehensively explore the interactions, the identification of rhythms, barriers, limitations, desires and interests of PWD in the production of their social spatialisation in the El Codito sector. By using some Participatory Action Research tools the study describes the marginalized situation of PWD in El Codito sector, Bogotá, Colombia. As a place on the margin (Shields, 1991) El Codito sector allow the identification of a double marginalization suffered by PWD: a marginalization by being habitants of El Codito and by being PWD. Discussions on the virtual and social spatialisations are presented in this study to refer to the exclusionary situation of disability in a low income community such as El Codito sector. The objectives of this study were to identify how PWD interact in their social spatialisation according to their rhythms of life; characterize and identify the elements that PWD distinguish about their social spatialisation; and recognize the limitations and barriers of PWD in their social spatialisations.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Juan David Guevara. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "People with disabilities: rhythms of life and social spatialisations. El Codito experience", No. Pro00038002, June 03, 2013. No part of this thesis has been previously published.

To the memory of M and to the future with T

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Disability in Colombia

In the locality of Usaquén[1] lives Joseph, a wheelchair user. He deals every day with different barriers, especially with the lack of accessible sidewalks for 'rolling' his wheelchair. The Colombian sidewalks are difficult to walk on and roll on because of the presence of peddlers, permanent garbage bags, stray dogs and lack of maintenance. For wheelchair users there are not accessible ramps the get to the sidewalks. Due to the lack of having accessible paths for 'walking' Joseph has to use the streets for moving from one place to another. Thus Joseph has to share the street with motorcycles, cars, buses and trucks, putting his life in constant danger: "One day I was going to buy the daily groceries and I had to dodge a hole in the street and while doing this I fell down on the street. I almost lost my wheelchair because of trying to avoid the hole. People that were passing by helped me to get up and sit on the wheelchair. I almost got killed" (Aguilera, 2014).

Julie is a 22 year old woman who also lives in Usaquén and has verbal limitations (Learning disability). She uses sign language to communicate. She has encountered limitations and barriers throughout her life by the lack of people who use sign language. Even at home her family has encountered some barriers due to the progress she had at the school and the words she learnt there. Her father created a software program called "Hablando con Julis" (Talking to Julie in English) to help Julie to communicate. The software works through images that allow Julie or any user to tell stories without the need to know sign language (Delgado, 2014).

MIRA is a political party that has three representatives in the Colombian Congress. MIRA has its electoral base and followers in the Ministerial Church of International Jesus Christ. The leader of the church is the mother of a senator of the MIRA party. The leader of the Church has declared that PWD (she made the reference to a person with a physical

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[1] Bogotá is divided in 20 localities. Usaquén is one of the 20 localities. The subsequent territorial division of Bogotá, after the localities, is the Unity of Zonal Planning (UPZ in Spanish). El Codito sector is located in the UPZ 9 Verbenal. The UPZ 9 of Verbenal is composed by 22 neighborhoods and 18 of them integrate El Codito sector.

limitation) cannot predicate or have a leading role at the Church because they do not have the God's gift of the word. In other words she infers that PWD do not have the capacities needed to be a Pastor or Minister.

These realities are presented to exemplify the different situations PWD, their caregivers and families encounter daily in the Colombian society. According to the 2005 census made by the Colombian state agency of statistics (DANE)[2] around two and a half million people live with disabilities (DANE, 2005). In Bogotá, 331,301 people reported having a disability, a small number for the almost 7 million people that lived in Bogotá in 2005 (DANE, 2005). Some newspaper articles report that in Colombia there are 3 million people with a disability. According to the National Register for Location and Characterization of People with Disability (RLCPD in Spanish) in Colombia there are 857,132 people registered with disability; in Bogotá this register includes 189,177 PWD (DANE, 2010). As one can observe Colombia does not have a proper statistical system to provide accurate information about the Colombian population. For that reason the statistics on disability do not match the real numbers that one can find around the country. This is due to the geographic isolation, lack of accessibility, lack of proper registration systems and the low health services coverage provided by the State hospitals and clinics.

The WHO estimates that more than a billion people live with a disability. This number represents 15% of the world's population (WHO, 2011). According to this percentage the total population with a disability in Colombia by the year 2014 would be around 7 million people.

Considerable progress has been made in terms of increasing individual and community capacities to engage PWD in social, economic and political life. The rise of the social model of disability and the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF), a classification proposed by the WHO are examples of the global transformations that disability has had through the decades (WHO, 2002).

The significant change derived from the 2002 version of the ICF, plus other processes and changes, such as the emergence of the social model of disability, has

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[2] In spanish: Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística-DANE

impacted the view of disability in many spheres. The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability provides another significant perspective on the global understanding of disability. The purpose of the Convention "is to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and to promote respect for their inherent dignity" (UN, 2006).

In this way a more comprehensive understanding of disability is introduced with the terminology of the ICF, and the rights and conceptualization of disability that seek the increased social and political participation for PWD. The barriers and facilitators that PWD experience in their everyday social interactions are a crucial aspect of what may restrict or promote participation.

Despite these transformations and the Colombian commitment with up-to-date understanding of disability (Colombia ratified the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability in the year 2011), the lived experience of PWD in Colombia still lacks the legal transformations in the society. The challenges preventing this shift in status for PWD are not only related to the lack of services in general and access to the few services that do exist, they are also related to social, environmental, political and attitudinal barriers/limitations that restrict personal development and social and civic participation (Harding & Sibley, 2010).

Legal development and political factors
The recognition of rights and mechanisms provided by the Constitution of 1991 gave to Colombian society new opportunities for inclusion and new forms of social and civic participation. Also the promotion of processes of participation in which citizens could propose, plan, approve, execute and control State activity marked a new relationship between State and citizens. Article 47 of the Political Constitution of Colombia mandates the protection of persons with physical, sensorial and psychological limitations; and Article 68 obligates to the State to take responsibility for the education of people with exceptional capacities and for people with physical and mental limitations.

There are a several Laws, regulations and policies that regulate the topic of disability. In Colombia the Laws 115 and 361 regulate the access to education and the

social inclusion of PWD. The CONPES[3] 2761 of 1995 proposes a policy to prevent and promote the access to health services for people with disabilities. Law 324 of 1996 seeks to improve the lived situation of deaf people (Molina, 2010).

The year 2013 was very important for PWD in Colombia due to the enactment of the law that established normative tools to guarantee the exercise of the rights of PWD[4]. The law seeks to provide a normative framework for the fulfilment of the compromises that the Colombian State has accepted when it ratified the Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities[5].

The law aims to establish:

- responsibilities for the State and the society to provide social inclusion and the elimination of social limitations;
- the establishment of legal tools for guarantying the effective exercise of the rights of PWD;
- the legal mandate of the right of access to rehabilitation services, access to health services, access to differentiated educational services;
- the right to work, to transportation and access to information and communication systems; the mandate to guarantee accessibility for PWD to any public space or building;
- the right to the expression of their culture, to leisure, recreation and sport, and to participate as citizens in the political sphere.

The situation for PWD has been changed in legal terms but not in societal reality. In fact there are more programs and public policies that use a care or charity approach. This is in contrast to a differential approach (e.g. A human rights approach) in which differences are respected and policies for positive discrimination are established (Baquero, 2009). The situation is that the changes in the Law do not necessarily affect a change in the social order. So the existence of a Law does not signify a change in the perspectives on, opinions

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[3] National Council for Economic and Social Policy (CONPES)

[4] Law 1618 of 2013

[5] According to the Convention the State compromises are related to: ensure and promote the realization of all human, economic, social and cultural rights and freedoms for all PWD; and to develop and implement the legislation and policies for applying the Convention (United Nations Organizations-UN, 2006).

about, treatments of and interactions with PWD. One explanation of the situation of PWD is related to the limitations and ambiguities of participatory democracy, another explanation is related to the social representations and personal attitudes and opinions (what people think or perceive) of disability.

It is well known that accessibility is one of the main elements in the exclusionary situation of PWD (Hurtado, Aguilar, Mora, Sandoval, Peña y León, 2012). The lack of access to public spaces generates a disappearance of the bodies, opinions and interests of PWD. There are some elements of participatory democracy that can reduce the invisible situation of PWD in the public sphere through the use of the internet. However deliberation and discussion can be deteriorate when online tools are used for consultation using online tools because online participation is mainly for consulting (closed questions) and not for deliberating (open questions).

The ambiguity of participatory democracy is also observed in the role of the State in public spaces. The State determines the agenda for the discussion and deliberation of the topics in these spaces which generates a dependency on the State and the exclusion of other themes that matter to the citizens. If the topic is not a priority for the State it will not be considered when defining public policy.

The negative attitudes provoked by social representations could also lead to exclusion and marginalization. Notions of normality are in opposition to abnormality (ableism), and thus contribute to low tolerance of diversity, feelings of fear, shame and rejection. In some cases, as in Colombia, religious notions (perceptions of disability as a punishment for sin) determine the role of PWD in social life (Erickson, 2011). Gomez (2010) reports that four of ten PWD consider that their families have negative attitudes towards them while two of ten PWD think that their friends and acquaintances have negative attitudes towards their disability.

General overview of employment, education and health situation and other challenges for PWD

A report made by the Foundation Saldarriaga Concha (2012) establishes that 61% of the population in Colombia does not have any income for living. Fifteen point five % of PWD in the productive age range have a job but the majority of them do not receive the minimal legal wage.

The lack of economic resources is a barrier for PWD. According to a study by Hurtado (et. al., 2012) the socio-economic factor (employment, income, working conditions, access to public services, etc.) is relevant for the social inclusion of PWD. Most of the time PWD have informal jobs that do not allow them to receive the minimum legal wage, and this situation can be aggravated if the person with a disability is a care provider of another person such as a child or a senior. Hurtado (et.al., 2012) identified that 60% of the participants in her study have responsibility for a child.

Education panorama
According to Molina (2010) 33.3% of PWD in the 2005 census do not have any educational level, i.e. They have never been in an elementary school and 29.1% of PWD have dropped out the primary school. Gómez (2010) cites similar numbers reporting that 32% of PWD have not had any type of education and 30% of them have not completed primary school.

Access to health services
Twenty seven percent of PWD are not affiliated with any health services subsidized or contributed[6] (Gómez, 2010). The WHO estimates that less than 5% of PWD in developing countries have access to rehabilitation services (WHO, 2001). In Colombia 85% of PWD do not have access to rehabilitation services (Gómez, 2010). According to Gomez(2010) three of ten PWD cannot work due to the type of disability, however they do not receive any compensating pension or income. As Lugo and Seijas argue "Despite the abundant legislation for PWD, their educational, labor and health services conditions are less favorable than the ones of the general population" (2012, 164).

Other challenges for PWD
There are still other great challenges for PWD. These challenges include: stigma associated with the perception of others, especially because of the strong representations around the "abnormal body" (Goffman, 1986; Hughes, 2012). The term Ableism serves to exemplify how stigma and marginalization is presented in contemporary societies. The term ableism

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[6] In Colombia there are two health services: the subsidized that is for people in the strata 1 or 2 and have low score in the SISBEN (a socio-economic survey that classifies the population with more unsatisfied needs); the contributed that is for the employed population that is obligated to pay a percentage of its salary for health and pension.

refers to the inability or unwillingness to accept difference regarding the existence of other bodies such as the disabled body. Ableism is "a network of beliefs, processes and practices that produces a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as perfect, species-typical and therefore essential and fully human" (Hughes, 2012: 21). Ableism imposes a specific body, the 'normal' one. All the other bodies that do not fit the rule are excluded and marginalized. The way we talk, the way we walk, the way we see are influenced by ableism.

Other challenges for PWD are related to disrupted social relations and social isolation (Goffman, 1986). These include feelings associated with the condition of disability such as avoidance, fear, anxiety, fatigue and depression. In this sense the "abject" becomes real for PWD, defining not only their exclusion and marginalization but also their misrecognition as social and political subjects (Sharkey & Shields, 2008). For example, PWD using Assistive Technology-AT[7] (such as a wheelchair or a walker) encounter the reality of exclusion, marginalization and abject citizenship when they encounter barriers such as:

- Others making false assumptions about their cognitive abilities,
- Disrespectful behaviors
- Difficulties in accessing services,
- Having the authorship of their message questioned because of their use of communication assistants and others

(Augmentative Communication Community Partnerships Canada, 2010).

El Codito sector

El Codito is a sector of 17 neighborhoods. The legal authorities recognize some of the neighborhoods, and some others are not recognized. The sector is located in the mountains of Bogotá. This mountainous location shapes El Codito's physical environment in a way that makes it very difficult to travel and access the community. The situation is even more difficult for PWD and their families because it is very difficult for them to leave their

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[7] Assistive Technology is defined as any item, piece of equipment or product system that seeks to improve, increase and maintain social capabilities of PWD (Cook & Hussey, 2008). AT allows PWD to interact and interrelate socially. It is in turn an opportunity for PWD to generate interactions with other persons, which brings more autonomy, functionality and independence to daily life.

homes, leaving them both physically and socially isolated. While no official statistics are available, the community of El Codito is believed to have a high population of PWD. According to the opinion of several community leaders and inhabitants of El Codito and from my experience working in El Codito there is a large population that prefers to be in their houses instead of going out. Indeed the conditions of the sector produce this kind of self-isolation. (Mendoza & Guevara, 2012).

El Codito as a place in the spatialisations of PWD determines much of the interactions that PWD have. A violent history, unsolved historical problems and the lack of attention and investment of the State are elements that shape the physical form and the representations of El Codito.

The El Codito sector has a population of 32,000. Using the WHO percentage of PWD of 15%, the El Codito sector may have 4800 PWD. This number may be larger because 80% of PWD live in developing countries (World Health Organization, 2005). Due to the social conflict, the political crisis and the armed conflict the number of PWD, especially persons with physical limitations are likely to be higher than the official numbers and the percentage estimated by the WHO.

I joined the Interdisciplinary Team of Studies in Local Development (ID Team) from Rosario University in 2009. The ID Team is an initiative of the University of Rosario, created in 2009. It promotes the interdisciplinary study of local development in under-resourced communities through Rosario faculties and researchers. In 2009 the ID Team was working in El Codito. As coordinator of field projects in the El Codito sector, I was interested in understanding the situation of PWD in this under-resourced community and the implications of the presence of disability on their social and civic participation.

In August 2011, a University of Alberta research team visited the El Codito sector to begin preliminary discussions about the possibility of developing a project with PWD to address their limited access to health information and limited social interaction. The project was called El Enlace and used Information and Communication (ICT) technologies as a means for decreasing social isolation and overcoming lack of health information. For the purpose of that project, a group of PWD was assembled to allow them to have an increase

in social interactions and reduce their social isolation. The study that is presented here included some participants that were part of the El Enlace project. Some other participants joined the group in the year 2012 from a UR project on citizens' abilities to make the situation of PWD visible.

If one understands that PWD are considered a marginalized population, providing opportunities for meaningful interactions and understanding of their own perceptions, experiences and needs becomes critical. Specifically, the barriers may be defined in terms of attitudes and interactions with researchers, practitioners, public policy makers and the society in general.

The importance of this research lies in the need to understand how PWD comprehend social spatialisation and how their inclusion in society can be achieved. This research must take into account the physical nature of a particular territory and the desires, ideas, limitations, barriers, expectations and interests of PWD.

Spatializing disability. A different approach to understand the marginalization of PWD in El Codito sector

Having this general overview of the situation of PWD in Colombia and understanding that El Codito is a place at the margin[8], a spatial analysis is proposed to understand the social spatialisations of PWD and the way they are left at the margins of society.

Studying El Codito (as in any other territory) allows location of the spatialisations of PWD in a site that is being produced through time and by different actors. People in El Codito refer to the city of Bogotá as a different spatial order, they usually conceive El Codito as their own unique place: the place where their extended family resides[9], where their friends live, where they buy the groceries, where their children study and in many situations where they work. For some inhabitants El Codito is a little village where they can live life.

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[8] See chapter 5. Placing the spatialisations of PWD

[9] The family members that are beyond the wife/husband and children, e.g. parents, siblings, uncles, aunts, etc.

By spatializing the disability the researcher must be inserted in the place where disability is being produced. A deep comprehension of El Codito is required to unveil the significant elements that produce isolation, exclusion and marginalization of PWD. An analysis of the spatialisations of PWD requires a material comprehension of their lived experiences, the understanding of the differences in their bodies and the consequences for interaction with others that are embedded in those differences. The bodies of PWD matter, they matter in the sense that their corporeality is produced by and through the limits of what they can and cannot do. So the spatialisations of PWD are always embodied one.

Purpose & Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to identify and comprehensively explore the interactions, the identification of rhythms, barriers, limitations, desires and interests of PWD in the production of their social spatialisation in the El Codito sector.

Research questions

1. How do PWD in El Codito interact in their social spatialisations?
2. What are the rhythms of everyday life of PWD in El Codito?
3. What are the barriers and limitations for PWD in El Codito in their social spatialisations?
4. What are the interests and desires of PWD in El Codito in their social spatialisations?

The Thesis

The Thesis is divided into eight chapters. The first chapter is this introduction; the second chapter presents a literature review on social space and disability, the emphasis is on Lefebvre's theory of social space and the studies that are related to disability; the third chapter describes the method, data collection and analysis used; the fourth chapter presents the theoretical framework of the social spatialisations related to disability; the fifth chapter locates the spatialisations of PWD by the identification of spaces/places where PWD interact; the sixth chapter generates a rhythmanalysis of PWD as a proposal for understanding the production of space and the relationship between the bodies and times of PWD; the chapter on the tangible and the intangible presents virtual elements of the

spatialisations of PWD, focusing on limitations, feelings and desires; and the last chapter provides a conclusion.

Chapter II: Literature review: Social Space and Disabilities

In the subfield of disability geography the social model of disability is considered to be an important framework for understanding how modern societies are disabling People with Disabilities (PWD) (Worth, 2008). A key component of disability geography is that incorporates discussions around bodily differences, individual experiences of impairment and disability in a social context (Worth, 2008). Most of these studies focus on the limitations and barriers for PWD in their physical access to the streets, parks, shops and public spaces. There are other studies that concentrate on the social interactions and the social significance of the bodies of PWD and of the built environment as creators of disability.

This literature review falls into these two streams, adding other elements that must be taken into account when production of space of PWD is being considered. This literature review seeks to present the studies related to social space and disability by focusing on the theory of Henri Lefebvre regarding the production of space.

The literature review is divided into four sections: (1) the production of space of PWD: social spatialisations and their impact on their exclusion and difference; (2) barriers and limitations on the physical space: the natural and the built environment and the influence on social spatialisations; (3) the embodied experience in the social spatialisations of PWD; and (4) an approximation of the Rhythms of PWD.

The production of space of PWD: social spatialisations and their impact on their exclusion and difference

Social space is created and maintained by everyday life experiences and through lifestyle practices. PWD and their embodied experience construct particular lifestyles that challenge social definitions of disability and health (Thibodaux, 2005). Welsby and Horsfall (2011) identified that social-spatial practices illustrate the "illusion of inclusion" of PWD that was

generated after the movement for deinstitutionalization and inclusion in society (Metzel and Walker 2001 in Welsby and Horsfall, 2011: 797).

Everyday practices are key elements in understanding the difference and the exclusion of the production of space of PWD. PWD's spatial practices are related to working to live (in which the practices of exclusion at work are emphasized); consuming as a practice of inclusion; anger as an excluded emotion (PWD cannot socially get angry); the difficulties in maintaining social relationships; and the generation of experiences that challenge institutional and attitudinal stereotypes (Thibodaux, 2005; Welsby and Horsfall, 2011)

Spatial practices are always embodied practices. The situation of dealing with and handling money incorporates a series of possible "disabling scenarios" for people with disabilities. An everyday activity like dealing with and handling money expose some of the challenges and barriers PWD encounter (Schillmeier, 2005: 594). Spatialisations for PWD cannot follow what is expected by society (abled, health and perfect bodies-*Ableism*) and have different actions and behaviors due to the particularities of their bodies and interactions. One example is the way the visually impaired depend on familiar objects to travel, and bumping and touching (tactile sense) are important actions to be taken in their travels. These actions represent counter elements to the way society expects one to walk, and characterizes the way the blind interact with people and the natural and built environment (Anvik, 2009).

The sensorial turn (the inclusion of touching, hearing and smelling as senses that allow PWD to produce space) is a significant characteristic for the production of space of PWD. There is an increasing importance for imagining, creating and engaging the world by using senses other than sight (Harold, 2013). Rodaway (1994: 96 in Harold, 2013) considers that "auditory experience—or sound—plays a key role in anticipation, encounter and memory of places" (864). In this way visually impaired people produce their own space through their bodily/spatial practices, in a way that can be identified in different spatial practices and spaces of representations (Anvik, 2009: 146; Lefebvre, 1991). Through everyday life practices PWD interact through senses other than sight that shape the social space "we construct and live, or, embody" (146). In this way the auditory tactile senses and

the use of assistive technologies are key elements for the social spatialisations of PWD (Anvik, 2009; Harold, 2013). However, the different bodies of some PWD, such as the deaf, require the constant negotiation with the space socially produced through visuo-gestural interactions, (Harold, 2013).

Care is an important element of PWD's spatialisations. Discussions on proximity and distance; caring for and caring about; and the geographies of care and responsibility comprise the interactions of PWD in their social spatialisations. By studying the dynamics of care for PWD Milligan and Wiles (2010) identify landscapes (the home, hospital room, the nursery) that embed different logics and practices of care (institutional, domestic, familial, communal, public, private, voluntary, etc.). In each one of these places of care the body is resignified and the experience of the bodies of PWD are different from typical bodies (Milligan and Wiles, 2010).

Social spatialisations of people with intellectual disabilities (ID) represent the possibility of thinking and placing difference; they embody and represent different minds and bodies. They are the incarnation of the social space as the place of the difference and diversity (spaces of representation) (Masschelein and Verstraete, 2012). However, PWD are labeled as abject so they do not have a place of *belonging* (Hall, 2010).

The exclusion lived by PWD, specifically people with ID, is related to "not be in employment, to be in poor health, to be absent from mainstream social spaces, to experience abuse and neglect, and to sense a devaluing of their lives" (Foundation for People with Learning Disabilities 2001; Hall 2005 In Hall, 2010: 48). This situation of exclusion generates processes that appear to overcome exclusion. However Hall (2010) states that the question that we should ask is what kind of inclusion we want and what it means. Precisely, the idea is to reframe the process of inclusion adding the concept of *belonging* as "perhaps a more useful way of thinking about what people with IDs want from their spaces of support and care, and further, how they can relate to and find a place within wider society" (Hall, 2010: 52).

Thus, the production of space (Lefebvre's trialectic) is also related to self-representations, to have a place in society and to have an identity. Kruse (2002) built his

understanding of the social space of PWD, specifically those of small stature (referred to as "Little people"), by using Lefebvre's trialectic:

> The spatial practice of little people refers to the ways in which they navigate the routes, networks and functionality of public spaces. Representations of space reflect the degree to which little people are perceived to be normal or deviant in public spaces designed by and for people of average height. Sometimes in contrast to representations of space, the spaces of representation of little people reflect their lived experiences in spaces staturized for people of average height (Kruse, 2002: 180).

The dominant representation of space around height determines not only the range of 'normal-ableism' but also who is being included in the social spatialisations. For Kruse (2002) the self-valuation of little people as normal or special in a positive way and the use of cyberspace challenge the representations of space. Thus spaces of representation resists and re-signifies the ideas around little people through the generation of a virtual community and the engagement of little people scenarios as the Little People of America (LPA) (Kruse, 2002). The exclusion lived by PWD and their social and spatial marginalization is well documented in Hall's article called *Social geographies of learning disability: narratives of exclusion and inclusion* (2004) by PWD's expression of feeling "out of place" when encounters with others occur, e.g. cafés, pubs or public transport. They also refer to the production of marginalization through the non-verbal: feelings, looks, behaviors, rudeness and bullying (Hall, 2004).

Marginalization also includes the dominance of the able culture (Ableism) that generates feelings of frustration that pressures PWD to not engage in the social life and to stay at home (Hall, 2010; Harold, 2013). Following Sibley (1995 In Hall, 2010) the social and spatial exclusion of PWD can be related to feelings of anxiety, nervousness or fear regarding these groups and their bodies/minds. PWD can be associated with fear or 'repulsion', generated by individual and collective notions of 'otherness' by non-disabled people. Kristeva's term of 'abjection' serves to describe how people's sense of the self is menaced and threatened as something or someone "out of place and so produce a desire to be distanced from or even to 'expel the abject'" (Hall, 2010: 52).

One situation that produces this anxiety is the 'visual silence' in the space that does not offer an accessible and inclusive situation for persons with hearing limitations. The

visual silence or the lack of visual signs seems "unnatural, oppressive, fearful and isolating" for a deaf person (Harold, 2013: 857).

An inclusive society implies an understanding of what it means to be in the presence of others, to live our own lives in the presence of others, and to re-constitute the social space (resignification and redefinition of meanings, rules and practices) (Masschelein and Verstraete, 2012). Having an inclusive society requires the inclusion of others such as PWD and the conceptualization of space opposing the idea of Castell's spaceless space that aims to establish a space without boundaries, differences and any kind of binarism (abled/disabled; masculine/feminine; black/white, etc.) (Masschelein and Verstraete, 2012).

Inclusionary spatialisations must take into account arts and environmental projects that develop a sense of *belonging* and inclusion among PWD (Hall, 2010)[10] and the making of "safe spaces" for PWD as a way to avoid the marginality and exclusionary elements of society (Hall, 2014) The social production of otherness that incorporates the difference rather than excludes it creates a "place for being" for PWD (Touati and Conrath 1983, 10 in Masschelein and Verstraete, 2012: 1197).

Barriers and limitations on the physical space: the built environment and the influence on social spatialisations

Several studies analyze physical space and its influence on the identity, culture, education and social interaction of PWD. PWD are socially and symbolically marginalized through built environments and social conventions that exclude them from community life. This marginalization has a large impact on the identity of PWD and the processes of socialization that characterize their social life (Gibson, Young, Upshur, and McKeever. 2007). The built environment tends to marginalize PWD by restricting their mobility and access, by designing and building constructions without the participation (consultation) of PWD and by generating spaces that produce feelings of discomfort, intimidation and inferiority for PWD (Imrie and Kumar, 1998).

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[10] *Belonging* in Hall's terms, is more than being included, is to feel attached and valued, to feel that one has a lieu in the world and "to have a sense of insiderness and proximity to 'majority' of people, activities, network and spaces"(Hall, 2010: 56).

Accessibility, space structure and decoration of spaces[11] require more negotiations and considerable amounts of resources to be effective and inclusive physical spaces. Some authors with ID report a sense of exclusion, "of being (and being perceived as) 'out of place' in mainstream space" (Davidson, 2010: 306), due to the rules, discourses and practices in social spatialisations that do not take into account the disabled body (Davidson, 2010; Miller, 2003; Talay-Ongan & Wood, 2000).

The most frequent physical barriers for PWD are related to the physical mobility and the places that sometimes are inaccessible (e.g. lack of ramps, elevators). Unknown places and the removal from well-known environments (places and settings that they have already occupied, produced and walked) and the lack of access to support mechanisms like places to get food and medical supplies are also problematic for them (Hall and Healey, 2005; Imrie and Kumar, 1998).

In studies of geography, the home contains an inherent ambiguity in which the utopian autonomy of this private space is being deteriorated by "the exclusion of undesired social and natural elements" (Kalka, 2004 In Varley, 2008: 48-50). Crabtree (2006: 717 In Varley, 2008) calls for the "disintegration of the myth of the autonomous citizen living in a private house"(49-50). In this sense the home (as built environment and socially produced) loses the ideal imagery of being a place of safety, autonomy and freedom and becomes part of the social and political dynamic. The home as a place is also significant due to the hostility of the built environment and the lack of accessibility of public spaces for PWD (Imrie and Kumar, 1998).

To understand the situation of PWD in their homes, Imrie (2004) decomposes the home as an idealized space and incorporates the critiques of feminist writers that aim to resignify the home as a place of captivity or fear (Allan, 1985; McDowell, 1983; Goldsack, 1999). The personal experiences of PWD posit the home as a place for care and leisure but also of isolation and incarceration (Imrie, 2004).

Even in a high degree of social isolation, the homes of PWD do not avoid the existence of the other. PWD are in constant interaction with caretakers and family members

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[11] Decoration of space is the way the physical space is arranged, painted and decorated

creating relationships, memories and experiences; but at the same time the interaction and production of the built environment possibilities the construction of the self and the identity (Varley, 2008; Kruse, 2002).

The embodied experience at home generates a kind of corporeality in the understanding of how domestic spaces must be designed. It is very common to observe in the domestic place a lack of designs for a wheelchair user. There are only designs for people that can stand up, so there is no recognition of different bodies. In this way there are places and objects at home that cannot be used due to the impossibility of reaching and accessing them, especially for people with physical limitations (Imrie, 2004).

In this way the social interactions of PWD are limited due to the need for a high level of involvement by their friends in their mobilization, as well as the lack of access to adaptations at the home and the need to re-order their friends' homes according to the characteristics of their bodies. This situation results in PWD becoming 'home-bound': a situation of self- incarceration and marginalization that forms their everydayness (Imrie, 2004).

Self-incarceration at home is also problematic due to the need for domestic help. The home appears to decrease in its characteristic of being a place of independence and instead requires the need for assistance, provoking a decrease in the personal privacy PWD may want and need. Needing assistance at home generates little control of the presence of strangers in their homes and situations that make them feel insecure and vulnerable (Imrie, 2004).

Thorn, Pittman, Myers and Slaughter (2009) relate the physical disposition of certain places with the opportunities for PWD to be part of community activities. To achieve community involvement the authors indicate the importance of spaces of learning, a staff culture of teaching, the will for improving the capabilities of PWD in a social context and the generation of a chain of learning events that potentiate these capabilities and the increasing of their social opportunities, e.g. "a community integrated activity that included going to the bank (money management), then going to a restaurant (dining skills), and then shopping at a local store (social skills)" (Thorn, Pittman, Myers and Slaughter,

2009: 902). A possible explanation of the complexity of providing physical spaces for PWD are the implications and costs for speed[12], time and space needed in capitalist societies that differ from speed, time and space of PWD (Hansen and Philo, 2006)

There is a relative agreement in the studies reviewed about the importance of contextual factors (natural and built environment, social and political participation, family and community contexts, etc.) and the definition of physical spaces, more significantly the definition of space in the relationship between education, training and rehabilitation processes and practices of social inclusion (Hall, 2010; Smith-Osborne, 2009). Education can be a milieu for generating rehabilitation processes. The attainment of the process of inclusion and rehabilitation does not depend only on one factor but it is due to a multidimensional set of factors, in which economic, social and political elements are included. This is what the author of the paper calls the socio ecological framework (Smith-Osborne, 2009).

Public policy is one element of the socio ecological framework (Smith-Osborne, 2009). Through the concepts of *spatialising* (the dialectical process of producing the space) and the *rationalization* (the imposition of the rational discourse as a paradigm for any educational process), Alessio (2012) criticizes the public policy on education in Italy because there are individuals who cannot be integrated under these principles. Some disabilities (intellectual and learning/cognitive) do not fit into the rational dimension of human existence, so by promoting rational learning processes those who cannot fit are being excluded. For Alessio (2012) the built environment determines the attitudes of teachers and students. The existence of 'special schools' as places for 'special people' become places of segregation for abnormals. They are also places for practicing control and discipline for managing different bodies with different logics and rhythms.

Gleeson (2001) proposes a theoretical framework for advancing the understanding of the production of accessible spaces (representations of space), based on the 'reflexive modernisation' Ulrich Beck. Gleeson identifies three forms of what he calls 'disability discrimination':

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[12] See Chapter 6 on Rhythmanalysis and Virilio proposal on time and space.

"(1) physical barriers to movement for disabled people, including broken surfaces on thoroughfares (streets, guttering, paving) which reduce or annul the effectiveness of mobility aids (such as wheelchairs, walking frames); (2) building architecture that excludes the entry of anyone unable to use stairs and hand-opened doors; and(3) public transport modes which assume that passengers have a common level of ambulant" (Gleeson, 2001: 256).

Moreover, the combination of poverty, inaccessibility and inappropriate accommodation produces marginalization for PWD relative to the urban social life. Gleeson (2001) proposes a production of the space of the city that reduces the social and environmental risks of PWD in what Beck (1998 in Gleeson 2001) calls the 'city of And': a city where cosmopolitanism is placed or located at the centre of values and practices (the co-existence of social differences without exclusion); the construction of hospitable spaces that eliminate the architecture of apartheid (built environments that secure the productive elites and the productive bodies); and the establishment of constant re-thinking and discussion to redefine public spaces (Gleeson, 2001).

Davidson's paper consolidates recommendations for overcoming barriers that promote the socio-spatial inclusion of PWD. Singer (2003 in Davidson, 2010) emphasizes the need to have an open-mind when the design of environments are defined in terms of having a disposition to include different bodies and make the arrangements needed for them. This open-minded vision allows the insertion of different perspectives of the world (such as PWD's view) and helps to decrease what he calls the violations of human rights that PWD have sustained. In light of this situation, Davidson (2010) proposes accommodations and changes in the way social space is produced that can be undertaken with relative ease, e.g.

- toning down 'toxic' stimuli-such as fluorescent lights-and redesigning physical spaces;

- reorganizing the shared 'furniture' of physical space instead of changing bodies and behaviors that are different;

- slowing down conversations and physical contact;

- controlling the background noise, especially at private places;

- reducing the unpredictable interactions (Davidson, 2010).

The embodied experience in the social spatialisations of PWD

The body is the "medium for having a world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1962: 146 in Antonieti, 2012: 365). It is what permits us to go to and through places (Antonieti, 2012). The concept of treating the body as a problematic concept is important in that it diminishes the uses and understanding of the body solely from a medical perspective (medical model). Hall (2000) considers that the body must be understood from a socio-biological scope which encloses a historical, political and cultural significances and influences. Thus, the concept of the body of PWD is presented by "the body as changeable," referring to the possibility of varying the physiology of the biological body through technology such as a person with artificial legs; and "the ideal body" that relates to the body made through aesthetic surgeries and to the cultural idealization of seeking to maintain the young abled-body that maintains the idea of the neutral body: "not looking disabled, queer, fat, ugly, ethnic or raced" (Peuravaara, 2013: 413), in other words the ideal body refers to the concept of *ableism*.

The term *ableism* is an imposition by the process of civilizing of the non-disabled body's modernity that seeks to cure, to correct or to kill the different body. It refers to the impossibility of recognizing the degrees of vulnerability and difference that people have regarding the existence of other bodies such as the disabled body (Hughes, 2012). *Ableism* is "a network of beliefs, processes and practices that produce a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as perfect, species-typical and therefore essential and fully human" (Hughes, 2012: 21). In fact it is through *ableism* that terms such as the normal body are constituted and transitorily fixed in the social discourses. This situation has impacted PWD's lives by the generation of disgust of PWD due to the comparison of bodies (abled and disabled).

In this sense the abled body (*ableism*) is the perfect body, the body we all want to have. It is "an invulnerable ideal of being manifest in the imaginary of 'modernist ontology, epistemology and ethics' as something 'secure, distinct, closed and autonomous' (Shildrick, 2002: 51 In Hughes, 2012: 22). In contrast the disabled body incarnates both impairment and disability. Hall (2000) establishes that impairment is the experience of a different condition that is not socially produced but it has some characteristics related to fatigue,

pain, depression and chronic illness. Disability is socially produced and is presented via social life. Thus the body is conceived "as social and social processes as part of the body or embodied" (Hall, 2000: 26). In this way the body of PWD can never be the abled body due to the tendency to be unruly (impairment) and by the social concept that it encloses.

The study of the body of PWD is also related to phenomena of transcendence (a process that describes how social and cultural practices transform the body and its form (labour body)) to emotional experiences and to embodiment (as an infinite process of constant negotiations of meaning and materiality related to the physical, the mind, power and sexuality) (Hall, 2000).

Marginalization is also an embodied situation. The embodied marginalization is produced by social interactions (processes of socialization) and the social structure, and it is internalized by perceptual elements, dispositions and self-understandings that define the habitus of PWD. Gibson, Young, Upshur, and McKeever (2007) point out that the embodied marginalization can be seen in the "resignation and low expectations manifested in the participants' accounts and the conveyance of how they experienced marginalization as both 'normal' and troubling" (514).

Through an exploration of the experience of the 'impaired body' in non-disabled spaces Hansen and Phillo (2007) point out that the spaces for PWD are provisional. The provisional spaces are understood as spaces where PWD inhabit, occupy and produce but under the permission of behaving, acting and performing as a non-disabled body would: "They are indeed only there 'on approval" (Hansen and Philo, 2007: 500). The provisional spaces are similar to the idea of legitimate spaces that PWD are allowed to inhabit (Imrie and Kumar, 1998).

The embodied experience of disability while using assistive technologies (AT) such as ventilators and power wheelchairs also exemplify the situation of marginalization lived by PDW. The "techno-body-subjects in situ" is a result of the different spatialisations produced by different bodies such as the bodies of PWD and the exclusionary situations they encounter daily (Gibson, Upshur, Young and McKeever, 2007a).

On the same line, there are also studies that show the consequences of the medical

model in which the disabled body must be fixed so they (the disabled bodies) can be part of the society of abled bodies. Hughes (2002) points out the importance of the degrees of 'ablebodiedness' being accepted for society in general, those are the degrees of being able to talk, walk, move, listen, and interact following the parameters of abled bodies. In fact from a poststructuralist perspective Hughes (2002) critiques the idea of the non-disabled body as 'normal' while other bodies are taken as 'non-normal'.

Rhythms of PWD

In the literature reviewed there were no studies found that relate disability with Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis, however there are some studies that tangentially refer to these two concepts. PWD are marginalized not only because of the space planned by technicians and public planners (representations of space), but also because of the hostility, suspicion and the different ways of spacing and timing in the workplace, homeplace and public spaces by the ableism culture or non-disabled body (Hansen and Philo, 2007).

Rhythms of PWD bodies are related to the strategies for saving personal energy that is a fundamental part of their daily routines. Their bodies get tired very often and cannot complete daily routines as non-disabled bodies can (Imrie, 2004). The relationship between bodies and space can be seen in the way some PWD produce their social spatialisations by engaging the physical environment through other senses in addition to the tactile. Anvik (2009) suggests that odors and hearing are also characteristics for the production of space of PWD and allow the understanding of the rhythms of the body in this production. The ways of appropriating and producing space are related to the ways one relates in the social space. The relationship with space through other senses different than sight incorporates new rhythms of producing and relating to the space. It is not the same rhythm and pace of walking that a blind person has from someone without any visual limitation. In that way a different body will determine a different approximation, appropriation and relation with the space.

A different body will require a different constitution of time. A simple activity such as taking a shower or ordering money can be a very frustrating and anxious activity. It is argued that ordering money (obtaining money from an ATM and ordering the bills according to their value and form) in a social context produces feelings of anxiety and

discomfort to PWD by not being able to keep the pace imposed by 'abled bodies'. The social order imposes a meaning and understandings of the time in which an activity must be follow certain rules of time, e.g. time spent parking a car, time expended for getting up or down on a bus, pace by walking on the street, labor tasks, writing an email, etc. Those who cannot follow the social rules of time are excluded or marginalized to the private spaces. Values such as the rapid flowing, velocity and effectiveness are privileged in the public spaces in modern societies (Schillmeier, 2005; Hall and Healey, 2005).

For people with intellectual disabilities their way of thinking is usually excluded from the social mainstream; however this different way of thinking and reasoning (in a slower way) offers a possibility to create new views, processes of learning and ways of grasping the social reality. Slowing down may signify a way of being different, of producing new spaces and times and the way out of the impositions of the social structure (Masschelein and Verstraete, 2012).

Conclusion

The present study falls into disability geography studies. The significant importance of this study is the contribution to the understanding of disability in a marginalized place such as the El Codito sector.

In the production of space of PWD there are studies related to the different spatialisations of PWD and their production of space; the importance of the presence of the others in social spatialisations; the identification of meaningful places such as the home in the spatialisations of PWD; and the different limitations and barriers in the everyday life of PWD.

A compilation of studies referring to the physical space (built environment) as marginalizing of PWD was presented in this chapter. Those studies mainly refer to the physical barriers that PWD face daily in private and public spaces; problematic elements such as accessibility, arrangements of space and space structure are presented by different authors.

The production of space is always an embodied experience; regarding this there are studies that relate space and PWD's bodies as a unique experience that must be highlighted. Concepts related to the exclusionary situation lived by PWD are presented such as ableism and ablebodiedness in relation to the identification of social spatialisations of PWD.

This study also contributes to the understanding of exclusion of PWD by the discussion on rhythms. Even though there are not studies found that relate Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis to disability a contribution to disability geography is made by the inclusion of these topics in this thesis.

Chapter III: Methods

Participatory Action Research-PAR

The method utilized in this project is participatory-action research (PAR). Several perspectives of PAR have been defined and incorporated into social studies research. Differences exist among the participatory research traditions that have led to PAR in Northern and Southern countries. Both traditions attribute a central role to knowledge created through action and their realization of the limited possibilities of having an objective observation of the reality (Wilmsen, 2008). However, the southern and northern traditions differ in that the southern PAR approach challenges existing power relations in the generation of knowledge and in the political and economic system of distribution (Wilmsen, 2008; Stoecker, 2004).

The underlying foundation of this method is that people who are silenced or excluded should be able to express themselves freely and should be encouraged to play a primary role in the transformation of their own reality (Fals Borda, 1991). PAR is presented as a result of the interaction of four vital concepts: consciousness, knowledge creation, participation and action (Fals Borda, 1987; Freire, 1985). These concepts are at the core of the methods used in this thesis.

Consciousness is the process through which people become aware of their reality and the barriers and constraints that reality imposes on them. Therefore, it involves cultural and historical awareness (Freire, 1985). Through consciousness a person understands their own life and its relationship to cultural and social contexts (Kosik, 1976). PAR promotes the understanding that reality can have different explanations, and that people's experiences help to conceive new ways of approaching real life problems.

The process to achieve consciousness cannot be separated from knowledge. PAR redefines "what counts as valid and relevant knowledge" (Koirala-Azad & Fuentes, 2010, p. 2). Knowledge creation demystifies the scholar role of the 'expert' and instead, knowledge is created by the ones who have been abandoned or marginalized (Koirala-Azad and Fuentes, 2010). Scholars become allies of the 'communities' in the process of knowledge creation, which implies accepting the value that lies in everyone's opinion. In

this sense knowledge creation is the result of dialogues between the different stakeholders and builders of reality. This process is legitimate and can lead to processes of transformation (Fals Borda, 1991). The present study established dialogues (dialogue groups) with people with disabilities (PWD) with the goal of making their voices become a way to express their marginalization and their worldview. These voices (PWD voices) lead the process of organizing and analyzing the data that is presented in this Thesis as a way of preserving, presenting and rendering visible their voices, opinions and perspectives of their social world.

Action and participation provide means through which people are empowered. People's power is based on knowledge creation from the base of the social hierarchy to the top and from the periphery to center of the social. "Such power, vested in the people, acquires its own dynamics, and little by little reformulates the rules of the traditional political game, whilst calling for proper ideological definitions"(Fals Borda, 1991:24). This power relies on using action and participation to articulate knowledge for the advancement and transformation of one's reality (Fals Borda, 1987). PAR should be a free space for critical reflection of the inequities of life, as well as a process where social and citizen participation exert their role in the progress of societies (Koirala-Azad and Fuentes, 2010). In other words, PAR allows the researcher to investigate a reality in order to transform it with the people who live that reality (Fals Borda, 1979). Participation and action are fundamental to understanding social spatialisations of PWD in the sense that PWD are the experts of the reality in which marginalization and exclusion take place.

Thick description

Thick description is a kind of ethnography that seeks to identify the meaningful structures of the said and the unsaid, how they are produced, perceived and interpreted in a cultural context. It consists in describing very well a situation being studied– an experience in which the data becomes a construction of others' constructions of their reality (Geertz, 1973).

The thick descriptor must engage the culture in which the study is being conducted so he/she can approach reality in a differently interpreted way. Thus a semiotic approach to culture permits us to gain access to the conceptual world of the reality under study, so the

importance of having conversations and dialogues is critical for producing thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973). And they are possible because culture in its meaning is public and can be understood and described (Geertz, 1973).

Our interpretation of others' reality must be actor-oriented: this means that the participants in a study process give their interpretation of their reality, so the interpretation and description made by the researcher is a second or third interpretation (Geertz, 1973). With thick descriptions we can grasp the real sense of the reality under study, leaving behind the scientific imaginations that draw conclusions about the life of others. A good thick description must attend social actions because through social actions, cultural forms find their articulation (Geertz, 1973). In thick description there is no seeking of coherence due to the difficulties in grasping the social and the cultural elements of any social group (Geertz, 1973).

There are four characteristics of ethnographic thick description: 1) it is interpretive, 2) it focuses the flux of social discourse, 3) it captures the "said" of these discourses, and 4) It is microscopic (Geertz, 1973).

The importance of PAR is to provide the interpretation and description from the people who are living that situation or experience. A combination of thick description with PAR principles results in a study that is rich and close to the reality under scrutiny. This thesis includes this objective by keeping the voices of the participants in the texts presented here.

Sample - The group of PWD:

In qualitative research, sample is defined purposefully (Mayan, 2009). The qualitative researcher should identify appropriate participants that could provide knowledge about the phenomenon under study (Morse, 1998). In PAR, the researcher should be aware that participants are key actors in the study. In that sense the participants should be able to attend the group activities, lead the process or do any other task negotiated during the execution of the project.

Working with a marginalized population incorporates additional difficulties to achieve a participatory process. Marginalized populations in Colombia are used to the

receiving goods and services by social organizations and State institutions that follow the charity model. Additionally the charity model perpetuates passive citizens that wait to satisfy their needs from the charity services of the State, instead of promoting a critical participation in the public sphere and at the State institutions.

The charity model contradicts what a PAR process may seek: the independent and autonomous identification of the elements that generate the exclusion of a particular group and the possibilities of changing those situations. This situation was critical during this study due to the dependent situation of PWD with their caregivers and families; the situation of isolation of PWD; and the lack of opportunities and the lack of experience and skills when they have an opportunity of having a leading role).

I met the group of PWD in August of 2013. Some of the participants I had already met although they did not remember me. The group was formed by the UR and the UofA for participating in a project called El Enlace. The El Enlace project was formulated as a Master's project by a student from Rehabilitation Science. The group was essentially caregivers initially. However in the second semester of the year 2013 the group shifted to work with PWD and caregivers.

The participant group was composed of 15 people including caregivers and PWD. The attendance to the group was irregular by the caregivers but the PWD were really committed to the weekly meetings (dialogue groups). Sometimes the caregivers did not attend the activities. However, two caregivers were actively participating and helping in finding venues for the activities of the project and most of the time they were present at the weekly meetings. It is important to remember that the study was focused on the spatialisations of PWD, so the opinions of the caregivers are not reflected in the data and the chapters that follow.

In the group there were a total of 10 PWD. The PWD that participated in the project have physical disabilities (3 persons), intellectual disability (3 persons), multiple disability (2 persons), one person with hearing limitations and one with visual limitations. The persons with intellectual disability have mild disability, which did not restrict them from participating in the discussions and dialogues.

The small number is due to the necessity for dialogue and discussion involved in the different stages of this study. This sample size is typical of qualitative studies. Trust is easier to achieve within a small group since I know most of the PWD and their caregivers. This existing relationship also facilitated the PAR study process. Participants were part of this process on the basis of three criteria: 1) interest in being part of the study process; 2) being a person with disability resident in the El Codito sector; and 3) time and commitment available for this process.

There were three exclusion criteria: 1) lack of time and commitment; 2) if during the process the participant does not attend three dialogue groups in a row; 3) individual ongoing medical issues that impede the participation of the person.

According to the Canadian Tri-Council Policy statement, informed consent should be free, voluntary, informed (participants should understand the purpose, risks and benefits) and must be followed throughout the study process (Government of Canada, 2010). The informed consent was obtained through written documents. It was read at the beginning of the study. The participants were asked about questions, doubts or any other information related to those documents.

The multiplicity and diversity of the group determined the data collection strategies. Each participant incarnates a proper and unique experience. By having different disabilities it is very difficult to find a shared, collective and cohesive lived and spatialized experience. In this way the strategies for collecting data sought to highlight the individual experiences that become generalized by the built narrative in the following chapters.

Data collection strategies

For the purposes of this study, four different kinds of data collection strategies were used: *dialogue groups, hangouts, participant observation and semi-structured interviews*.

Dialogue groups

Dialogue groups were formed for three reasons. First was the necessity to build trust with the participants. Even though I have met some of the PWD before the study the recognition and negotiation of interests is needed and is a fundamental part of any Participatory Action

Research process. Second, the dialogue groups helped in getting to know the individuals in the study process and to generate a sense of collectivity and group work. The third reason was to secure rigor and to generate a climate of friendship during the study.

The main idea was to generate a study space where we all felt comfortable and secure, and in which we discussed things about ourselves freely and respectfully. Dialogue groups were the way in which the group of PWD was being strengthened and where the separation from the caregivers started to occur. Through weekly meetings we had the opportunity to discuss general topics as a way to generate awareness of their own reality and the reality shared by them and their role in the world.

In the beginning, I wanted to conduct these dialogues initially and then turn the leadership over to the participants who could define the topic and the way that they would like to run these dialogues. However, this idea was not possible because of the presence of the caregivers and the high degree of dependence of PWD that prevent them from expressing their thoughts and ideas honestly and easily. The main idea of the dialogue groups was to share experiences and gain trust. Dialogue groups were an effective strategy for gaining trust, consolidating the group of PWD and caregivers and strengthening the relationships and bonds within the group. The group can become an active social and political subject by representing the situation of PWD in the El Codito sector and elsewhere.

It was also an important strategy to identify the social interactions and the interests and limitations of PWD. However two elements were significant in the development of the Dialogues: the presence of caregivers that determined the behavior of PWD and the social problems that constitute any social group. The dialogues were audio-recorded.

Hangouts

Lugones' streetwalker approach is a practice of hanging out that permits the identification of the social reality in the context of its material reality through learning, listening, sharing information, participating in community activities, "to gain social depth" (Lugones, 2003: 209). According to Lugones (2003), Hangouts are highly permeable, allowing the

researcher to move from different kinds of settings and contexts without giving the impression of betrayal or disloyalty. Through the Hangouts the concrete space and its "duplicitous tactile-audio-olfactory-visual insight into the depth of the social" can be grasped (Lugones, 2003: 215).

The Hangouts consist of walks that allow the researcher to identify oppressive conducts, discourses and actions (Lugones, 2003). Hangouts are "fluid, worldly, non-sanctioned, communicative, occupations of space, contestatory retreats for the passing on of knowledge, for the tactical-strategic fashioning of multivocal sense, of enigmatic vocabularies and gestures, for the development of keen commentaries on structural pressures and gaps, spaces of complex and open ended recognition" (Lugones, 2003: 221).

The Hangouts are promoted through dialogical processes, but engaging emancipatory processes (processes of inclusion, liberation and defense of rights) through the pedestrian style (Lugones, 2003). Precisely the Hangouts as a data collection strategy sought to promote walks/tours through El Codito sector or other parts of the city allowing the identification of their social spatialisation and the barriers and limitations PWD encounter in their everyday life. These Hangouts consisted of being with and interacting in the El Codito sector, having collective walks, visiting parks, etc. At the beginning of the Hangouts PWD proposed to have them at their homes. This situation generated problematic elements to deal with due to the permanent accompaniment of the caregivers and family members at their homes. Indeed at home PWD are not alone and their spatial practices are constantly mediated. This situation obliged me to start doing participant observation at home and to incorporate it as another strategy for collecting data.

To have the opportunity to be alone with the person with a disability I had to ask for permission from the caregiver or the family members to go outside of their homes with the participant. In fact I invited the participants to have lunch outside El Codito. An afternoon was spent with each one of the participants in the individual hangout.

There were collective hangouts with specific scenarios. The attendance at two musical concerts, one visit to Maloka[13], one visit to the Sopo park[14]. The collective

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[13] Maloka is an interactive science museum

hangouts were characterized by the attendance of caregivers and family members while the individual hangouts were only with the person with disability.

Participant observation

A complementary strategy to the hangouts is participant observation during participation in the reality under inquiry (Mayan, 2009). Through participant observation I had access to the everyday life of PWD at their spatialisations and by hanging out with them. Observations were also made at the dialogue groups as a way to identify reactions and non-verbal communication on key topics.

Field notes were used to collect the data needed. Jotted notes were proposed due to the practice of the Hangout and the participant observations. With jotted notes I had the opportunity to write down brief notes about events, key elements, reactions, phrases, key words, quotes (Bryman, 2008). In the same way I kept a study diary or journal in which the process of the Hangouts, personal reactions, frustrations, accomplishments and the process in general were recorded so a thick description could be made.

Semi-structured interviews

I conducted eight semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were important strategies to let the participants talk and express themselves using their own voice and words. The interviews were made at the end of the study process to deepen the understanding of the rhythms of life and the social spatialisation of PWD in El Codito. This information was difficult to attain at the dialogue groups due to the limitation imposed by the presence of the caregivers.

The interviews provided more reliability and a deeper understanding of the spatialized reality of PWD. Also in terms of making a thick description the interviews offered the possibility of accessing more reliable data that cannot easily come out by using the collective strategies and deepening some topics that emerged in the Hangouts. The

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[14] Sopo is the name of a village next to Bogotá.

interviews were One-on-One. The interviews were audio-recorded and were transcribed and translated to English.

Locating and reflecting on the data collection strategies

The dialogue groups were held in a place agreed to by PWD. Also the PWD and I negotiated the time and days for doing the activities of the project (They were scheduled every week, every Friday). The UR and Jardines de Paz[15] facilitated a place to hold the dialogue groups. The UR provided transportation for the different group's Hangouts. The dialogue groups allow for the conformation and consolidation of the group of PWD and caregivers. They allowed constant meetings and engagement of the participants in an established schedule (same time and same place).

The dialogue groups and the place of Jardines de Paz became a meaningful place for PWD. This physical space was intended to be a free and un-ruled space where PWD can do whatever they want. If they wanted to be in the discussion they were free to participate, if they wanted to go out of the meeting room and take in the sun they were able to do it.

While doing the dialogue groups it was really simple to notice how some strategies work differently with PWD. Having them in the same place for two hours just talking can be very boring and tiring for most of them. It is very easy for them to get distracted and to lose interest in general dialogues.

The dialogue groups and the Hangouts were outstanding tools to generate a critical approach to the reality of PWD in El Codito. As a population that lives at the margins of El Codito society PWD do not have opportunities to critically reflect on their lived experiences.

The hangouts were challenging to arrange because of the permanent accompaniment of family members and caregivers. It was very interesting to get into their homes and observe their physical space, especially their bedrooms. At home this is their own space

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[15] Jardines de Paz is a organization that owns a cemetery next to El Codito sector. Jardines de Paz has a facility that lend to the UR for having the meetings of their social projects with the populations of El Codito.

even though some of them have to share it with a family member or their caregiver. For hanging out with them the proposal was to invite them out of El Codito essentially because they suggested that at El Codito family members can easily meet them and the need to be alone can be complicated and difficult to achieve. The interviews were also made in a different place away from El Codito, which resulted in a paradox since they were talking about their spatial reality but they need to be away from their proximal spaces to do it.

Data Analysis

For this study a content analysis was made. Content analysis helps to identify the latent content that is discovered through identifying, coding and categorizing the data (Mayan, 2009). The first step was to code all the data collected, it implied the identification of repetitive images, words, phrases, expressions and sounds; also all of the "significant" data, e.g. quotes and their meaning were part of this initial coding (Mayan, 2009).

The second step was to define the categories for grouping the codes. This was a key step because of the relationship of categories to the epistemological perspective proposed for the study. A third step was the generation of sub-categories (third step). Having the data codified and grouped into categories and sub-categories, I defined the themes and made conclusions about the phenomenon under study from the data collected (Mayan, 2009).

The data analyzed was shared in a discussion with the participants. As the result of the sharing activity, the making of a video was proposed to the group of PWD, as a way to let them describe the situation of people with disabilities (PWD) in El Codito sector and to raise awareness of the limitations and barriers that PWD living in El Codito sector encounter in their daily life activities.

The video was made by using photovoice (PAR method) by asking the participants to take pictures of places and people that have a meaning for them. The main objective of the video is to describe the situation of PWD in the El Codito sector and to raise awareness of the limitations and barriers that PWD living in the El Codito sector encounter in their daily life activities.

Chapter IV: Social spatialisations of PWD in El Codito

In the northern mountains that surround the city of Bogotá is placed the El Codito sector. As a marginalized space El Codito sector and its habitants routinely face different kinds of problems related to the lack of opportunities to get formal employment, to get education of medium and high quality, to access proper health public services and besides that to deal with everyday challenges of surviving and finding a place in society under marginalized conditions. For people with disabilities (PWD) in El Codito the situation is even more marginalizing. PWD are daily marginalized in El Codito by the general population of El Codito, in some different ways: *"Everyone stares at me, everyone leaves me out, everyone looks at me funny when I grab on everywhere, on the Transmilenio"(Linda refers to the experience of disability in public spaces such as Transmilenio)* (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).

Finding PWD in El Codito is not an easy task. It requires good recognition of the territory and excellent information contacts in public health services as well as with community leaders and members. They are not easy to find in public and community spaces, on the streets or at neighborhood parks. They are kept in the shadows of the private spaces, in the blurred space between home and the exclusive public programs and foundations developed for PWD.

Due to the social isolation, the high degree of overprotection and the marginalization they suffer, the need to establish relationships is prominent. To talk about the spatialisations of PWD, one has to be immersed in their everydayness, visit the places where their social spatialisations are produced, meet their families and their friends, be part of their daily life activities and be embedded in their habits. In other words, to establish a research relationship, to observe, identify and generate an understanding of the social spatialisations of PWD one has to spend time with them and generate trust.

Working with PWD challenges many elements of one's own understanding of the world and in many cases the way one works with communities. It is vitally important to locate disability as a social product and move beyond conceptualizations that refer to

disability as a personal and isolated situation. Disability is a social experience that is spatialized through different bodies, discourses and rhythms.

In this chapter the conceptual framework that provides the understanding on the situation lived by PWD is described. I propose Lefebvre's theory of the production of space and Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to approach the reality of PWD in El Codito. The chapter is divided in two sections: the first one is the theoretical framework that informs the findings of this thesis; the second section is a narrative of the main elements that characterized the spatialisations of PWD in El Codito.

Spatializing the space of PWD. A theoretical framework

The social model of disability posits the discussion of disability in society instead of positing the discussion in the medical sphere, i.e. in the impairment of the PWD. This conceptualization allows a broader understanding and a social discussion of the topic of disability.

The social model is a theoretical proposal that has its roots in the struggle for independent living and the recognition of civil rights for disabled individuals that was initiated in the 1970s. The social model locates disability in the exclusion and oppression that is imposed by the social environment (Marks, 1997). For instance we can argue that the social model of disability focuses on social spatialisations in a particular society. Under this model, disability must be understood as a direct interaction with society, so the attitudes in society determine the disability. In other words, the social model posits the disability in the society and not in the person's body. This is a spatial shift in the context and scale of the phenomena of disability by locating disability in the society and not in the physical body that must be corrected.

The movement that promoted the social model has observed major outcomes in political, social and educational spheres in a short time frame since the social model has been promoted. Hall (2000) argues that this shift in the understanding of disability has pressured other fields of knowledge such as Geography. Thus geographers have seen the

necessity to shift their gaze from the impaired person (medical model) to the barriers and limitations imposed by the society (social model).

In the case of PWD in the El Codito sector I propose to spatialize their situation and to understand their reality through their production of social spatialisations. The term social spatialisation is used by Shields (1999; 1991) to translate the unitary theory proposed by Lefebvre (1991) in *The Production of Space* to understand social life. Social spatialisations are the social constructions expressed in the discourses, practices and processes that shape, transform and produce social space (Shields, 1991). Massey supports the idea that there is a lack of analysis of spatial forms. There is a need to understand and analyze the social structures that shape, discipline and determine those spaces (Massey, 1985).

Lefebvre's theory of space includes three fields or aspects that describe any given social space or place as well as wider sets and systems of regions and places, such as a city, a nation-state or a geopolitical bloc: the physical (nature), the mental (logical and formal abstraction or discourses) and social life (cultural aspects of social spatialisation) (Lefebvre, 1991; Shields, 1999). A social space connotes a particular area that is "characterized by social activities with a culturally given identity (name) and image" (Shields, 1991: 30). In other words "the space of social practices" (Lefebvre, 1974a: 19 in Shields, 1991). To study spatialisations implies the understanding of culture, lifestyle and concrete practices of the space (Shields, 1991). For concrete practices Lefebvre refers to the way we materially appropriate the space and the way we interact with others in the space. The concrete spatial practices are materializations of embodied human interactions.

This understanding of space (spatialisation) challenges the conceptions that establish the concept of space as something immobile and not something that is produced and re-produced dialectically (Skordoulis & Arvanitis, 2008). Spatialisation is an essential quality of humanity seen as social beings that share and produce space, time and society (Skordoulis & Arvanitis, 2008). For this reason the spatialisation is always social, dynamic and changeable and the spatial relations are always "social relations taking a particular geographical form" (Skordoulis & Arvanitis, 2008). In this sense, the space (spatialisation) that Lefebvre talks about is a space produced by social relationships (familiar, cultural, political, economic) that human beings have, for that reason one can argue that space is socially produced (Lefebvre, 1991).

Building on that argument, the main characteristic of a social space is that it is the product "of a sequence and set of operations…itself the outcome of past actions, social space [*L'espace social*] is what permits fresh actions to occur, whilst suggesting others and prohibiting yet others' including production, consumption and knowledge or meaning" (Lefebvre, 1991:27 In Shields, 2013: 41). Thus, social space is produced by historical factors and relationships and has its own rules established by representations, significances and explicit social agreements. Thus social space becomes the present standard for the emergence of new actions and the obstacle for the raising of other actions.

For Shields the root of social spatialisation includes "1) a set of spatial relations (i.e. space proper) between and on which core elements of the mode of production (and consumption) depend; (2) the arrangements (elements of the built and the natural environment that generates a point of view of the world) of architecture and the landscape; (3) understandings and representations of that logic; and (4) cultural forms of social space that include the body and its gestures and comportment" (Shields, 2013: 41). The fields of any space are conceptualized via a threefold dialectic of the three aspects of space: spatial practices or practices of space; representations of space; and spaces of representation.

Spatial practices or practices of space are both described in corporeal terms as well as in terms of a sensory and pragmatic "perceived space" that is often taken for granted (Shields, 2013). These are places or locations that guarantee the production and reproduction of the formation of societies (Lefebvre, 1991). Spatial practices promote the cohesion and continuity of the society and constitute places where we perform in everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991). Shields and Lefebvre assume a normative body able to perform but Lefebvre's discussion of animals and insects bodies suggests that different bodies produce different spatialisations and engage with them on different terms. For example, Lefebvre argues that a spider's web is not just a sort of tool but also a perfect spatial extension of its legs and body that it in turn is perfectly adapted to.

Representations of space are conceived spaces. Spaces are defined by "planning professions or cartographic conventions that assume that the landscape can be rationally planned and subdivided–especially into planning zones for different uses" (Shields, 2013: 42). Representations of space are rational discourses that order the relations in a specific space and are shown as forms of knowledge, signs and codes (Lefebvre, 1991). In other

words representations of space are "discourses on space" (Shields, 2013:42). This aspect of spatialisation includes building codes as well as representations of how bodies inhabit space and legal ordinances specifying where and how bodies may move, who has access and how specific spaces may be accessed.

Spaces of representation are described as fully lived space (Shields, 2013). They enclose our understanding of the world as an imagined framework of possibilities and deep cultural notions of what things and activities go together in a given place. They are discursive frameworks that are coded, decoded and recoded and are key sites for symbolic resistance coming from marginalized populations. They are challenged and manipulated by the clandestine or underground side of social life, by those groups in society that live at the margins of the political and economic systems. Alternative spaces of representation are produced by the marginalized groups of society that do not have a political presence or participation in the definition of public policy and who are not included as political members of society through discourses (the visual: videos, graffiti, paintings, etc.; the oral: music; the written: written documents, literature). These spaces at the margin are the object of discipline and domination by those who control the different means of production (Lefebvre, 1991).

These spaces of representation are alternatives that can transform institutional discourses on space. They imply, suggest, support and legitimize new spatial practices and can resignify them (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words spaces of representation are "discourses of space" (Shields, 2013: 42).

Thus, social spatialisations imply a relationship with objects, discourses, habits and attitudes (Lefebvre, 1991). Social spatialisation includes the physical relations with the space and the objects in it, as well as with other persons; but it also includes virtual relationships through social discourses (Shields, 2006).

Social spatialisations are considered as the

> ongoing social construction of the spatial at the level of the social imaginary (collective mythologies, presuppositions [i.e. Discourses of space]) as well as interventions in the landscape (for example, the built environment [i.e. Practices of space]). This term allows us to name an object of study which encompasses both the cultural logic of the spatial and its expression and elaboration in language and more concrete actions,

constructions and institutional arrangements [i.e. Discourses on space] (Shields, 1991: 31 added notes).

One of the important elements of Lefebvre's theory is the idea of everyday life not just as routines and simple repetition, but as

recurrences of otherwise unique events, cycles of reproduction and seasonal celebration and wholly particular and unique 'moments' in which all aspects of '*l'espace*', of consciousness and embodiment are unified in a oneness with an unfolding experience (Lefebvre, 1959 and Harvey, 1991 in Shields, 2013: 45).

The cultural element is important to understanding the spatial practices, the everydayness and the spatialisations of PWD in El Codito. Culture is understood as the elements that produce, circulate, and legitimate the meanings that are situated or expressed through representations, practices, and performances that constitute one's world (Gregory, 2004: 8). It is co-produced in a dialectical sense with power, thus "culture underwrites power even as power elaborates culture" (Gregory, 2004: 8).

Bourdieu coined the term *habitus*, to express how "the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*" (Bourdieu, 1995: 72). *Habitus* refers to how social practice generates differences between social groups based on their actions, which are made as a product of "personal histories, social position, perception and symbolic mastery" (Bourdieu, 1977 In Thibodaux, 2005: 509). Thus *habitus* refers to the life style, values and expectations of specific social groups that are developed through their everyday experiences (Scott & Marshall, 1998).

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* explains how individuals' acts are defined by social *dispositions* (King, 2005). The *habitus* provides a sense of ownership to individuals in their lives by giving them a sense of how to act and respond, but above all, through *habitus,* the cultural practices are placed in the social life scene (Bourdieu, 1993). Following Bourdieu, Shields (1991) indicates that people do not only follow and obey rules in daily activities but shape *habitus* and acquire views in their experiences of life. In this sense *habitus* recalls Giddens' idea of the 'routinisation'. Thus, *habitus* are presented in everyday life and are "a socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structures" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977: 76 In Shields, 1991: 33).

Habitus is the cultural logic that forms a milieu for the production of the agent's practices[16] that are sensible and reasonable (Bourdieu, 1995). They produce a common sense of the world by normative meanings of practices. Accepting the meaning or significance of a practice allows or permits the existence and common act of a practice as a socially understood, significant and 'proper' action. This will allow common practices that result in the homogenization of social practices (Bourdieu, 1995).

Dispositions are the product of the social system and are embodied by individuals. The *habitus* is the product of history and is a system of *dispositions* that are confronted continuously with new experiences and is affected permanently by them. Due to the determination of acting and reacting in certain ways by these dispositions the individuals act as social subjects (King, 2005; Bourdieu, 1993). The *dispositions* generate practices, perceptions and attitudes that are part of the social life. They are not rationally and strategically coordinated or governed by any rule and are inculcated/incorporated, structured, durable, generative and transposable (Bourdieu, 1993).

As inculcated/incorporated, the *dispositions* are gradually acquired from childhood through educational *dispositifs*[17] as training and learning. The *dispositions* are structured in the sense that they reflect the similarities and differences of the conditions of existence of individuals. The *dispositions* are durable in the sense that they are elements of the life history of the individuals and are mutable through time and new experiences. And they are generative and transposable because they generate multiple practices and perceptions in different fields from those in which they were acquired (Bourdieu, 1993).

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[16] The aim of the structuration theory by Anthony Giddens is to understand how individual action is structured by social practices while the structure (rules, norms, social organization) is reproduced by individual action. The concept of structuration explains how the generation of habitual practices are constitutive of the structure and the individual actions of agents. So individual are agents that act in the social life, they follow rules while social practices are produced in everyday life. (Elliot, 2009).

[17] *Dispositions* can be taken as Foucault's concept of *dispositif* that relates to an heterogeneous assembly of discourses, institutions, laws, administrative and political measures, scientific enunciations, philosophical and moral statements; "in short: as much the said as the un-said, these are the elements of the dispositive […] The dispositive is precisely this: an ensemble (set) of strategies of relations of force which condition certain types of knowledge and is conditioned by them" (Foucault, *Dits et écrits*, quoted in Agamben 2006 In Bussolini 2010, 91-92).

In this way the *habitus* orients actions and gives the individual a "linguistic sense of place" (Bourdieu, 19993: 82). That's why the practical sense (the sense of what is appropriate or not to say in a particular situation) is a state of the body in what Bourdieu calls "corporeal hexis". The "corporeal hexis¨ is a way of standing, speaking, walking, feeling and thinking that defines social status and the subject's position in social life (Bourdieu, 1993).

Habitus and its dispositions are elements that shape and determine our interactions and our everyday life activities. The everyday life practices are the scene for unleashing the moments of dis-alienation that have potential for collective change (Shields, 2013). Everyday life is composed of insignificances that recover meaning under the concept of space (Shields, 2013).

There is a significant element in the production of spatialisations of PWD, which is the embodied space. An embodied space is an intersection between bodies, culture, space and power (Low, 2003). Embodied spaces are produced by the relationships that bodies have in the space being produced. Bodies are not just physical matter that occupies space; they are producers and containers of cultural significances that are reflected in those spaces (Haimes, 2003). "As biological individuals, we contain physical spaces that gain meaning, and reflect other structures, through activities in the social space of particular fields (…) 'The body is in the social world but the social world is in the body' (Bourdieu, 2000a: 152)" (Haimes, 2003: 27).

Low (2003) identifies embodiment as a "perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the World" (Csordas, 1994, p. 12 In Low, 2003: 10). Embodied spaces solve the bodies' problem of objectivity (bodies as physical and biological) and subjectivity (as agents, actors, participants) and allows placement of PWD's bodies into a context that highlights their biological and physiological difference and their spatialisations (Low, 2003). Thus, "embodied space is being-in-the-world, that is, the existential and phenomenological reality of place: its smell, feel, color, and other sensory dimensions" (Low, 2003: 13).

Embodied space helps to understand spatialisations of PWD through their spatial practices, their (bodies) movement, and language (Low, 2003). Everyday lives of individuals are determined by their corporeal existence. This does not mean that the biological body dominates spatialisations of PWD, indeed our bodies result from the biological, social, cultural and power dispositions/dispositifs. "The body is best conceived as a multiplicity: the 'two bodies' of the social and physical (Douglas, 1970); the 'three bodies' of the individual body, social body, and body politic (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987); or the 'five bodies' with the addition of the consumer body and the medical body to the three (O'Neil, 1985)" (Low, 2003: 11).

Pandolfi (1990 in Low, 2003) argues that identity is defined by historical and social dispositions that inscribe the body and give a meaning to the person's existence in the world (Low, 2003: 11). The body can also be understood as a milieu of communication between the spatial practices, the social structures and the body (symbolism and boundaries) (Low, 2003).

Through lived experience the body as metaphor informs the production of new representations of space (discourses on space), especially by planers and architects, whilst others (Douglas, 1978 and Bourdieu, 1984 in Low, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991) explore the implications of the spaces such as the home and the neighborhood in the body's symbolism (Low, 2003). For Casey (2001 in Low, 2003) the recognition of place as a productive element implies an understanding of the importance of the body in the spatial practices and everyday life perceptions (Low, 2003: 12).

Di(s)patializing El Codito: A narrative on PWD spatialisations

In this section I will narrate the experience of being in El Codito and placing disability there. I consider that PWD in El Codito spatialize their existence as possessing three differential characteristics: The embodied production of space (metaphorically and corporeal); the situation of dependence that generates marginalization; and the natural, built and cultural production of PWD space.

It was a cold morning in Bogota's mountains when I started the fieldwork of this project. Getting to El Codito early was my first worry. The access to El Codito is quite

difficult due to its territorial location. El Codito is a sector that is marginalized at the social, economic, political and physical levels. As a space situated in the periphery, El Codito offers a multiplicity of discourses of space.

While waiting for the hour agreed for my first encounter with the group of PWD, I decided to get into a cafeteria and buy a coffee and just observe how El Codito's spatialisations take form on a common week day morning. While looking from the cafeteria I had the opportunity to observe many buses (of public and private transportation) full of people, trucks, vans, dump trucks, cars that everyday transport, mobilize and travel the narrow roads of El Codito. The good morning greetings by the people entering the cafeteria, the bustle of the morning's activities, the morning's *perico*[18], the students running to get to the school as soon as they can, the first cigarette of the day, and the mothers and fathers that are looking for the children's breakfast (a piece of bread and a yogurt) are all morning routines in the microspace of the cafeteria.

While drinking my *perico* and finding myself comfortably seated at the cafeteria I was looking at a dozen bikers that were riding the high mountains of El Codito and that are very likely construction workers, doormen, security guards, etc., some surprising movements starting to dance in the symphony of El Codito's morning. Climbing up to El Codito territory can be experienced as an initiation into a different embodiment and the establishment of a distinctive relationship with the mountainous context. This is demonstrated in the different way of walking that enriches and nurtures the particular panorama of El Codito's everydayness. This particular body takes control of the road, with every step it has it produces its own space, it does not need a sidewalk. It walks where it can. In a rebellious or disobedient way it assumes a protagonist role towards the street and transforms the space by walking.

When I decided to leave and go to the place of the meeting, I started to question myself about a boy with the different embodiment that I just saw. Where does he go? What does he do? Where does he live? How does he live? I mean after I saw him walking; I started to realize how different his reality is from my own, how "the corporeal hexis"

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[18]   An small latte that is very common in Colombia

suggests a different habitus and beyond this, implies and draws on a particular spatialisation that makes El Codito, its bodies and way of life distinct from other parts of Bogota.

On the way up (in El Codito once you have entered every single road is a way up unless you are on the way down) to the meeting place I was wondering whether seeing this person will imply that PWD are not so isolated as I had thought, that they may have more inclusion and independence to move around, to have a life of their own. While reflecting on this situation I arrived at the meeting place. It was an interesting surprise to see the boy I saw earlier sitting and waiting for my arrival and at the same time I also confirmed my earlier conception of the situation of PWD in El Codito and their situation of isolation.

The spatialisation of an embodied reality

For Simonsen (2005) the production of space presents an important precondition, which is that "each living body both *is* space and *has* its space; it produces itself in space at the same time as it produces that space" (4). However when one works with PWD there are several elements to be understood. PWD are in constant negotiation with the physical environment and their way to apprehend it. Sometimes their spatial practices are affected by the dominant representations of space and the possibilities for contradiction and contestation can be difficult (Kruse, 2002). Their corporeality is always disrupted by and challenges the socially imposed mainstream (Harold, 2013).

Embodied spaces help to understand how bodies of PWD interact with the natural and built environment, people and objects. Anvik (2009) argues that "the term embodiment emphasizes the importance of seeing the body as both a physical and a biological unit, and refers to both biological and social aspects of the body" (148). Thus embodiment refers to lived experiences, social relationships and appropriation and relations with/on space. Embodied spaces locate how "human experiences and consciousness take on material and spatial form (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, 2)" (Anvik, 2009: 148).

Following Anvik (2009), the embodied space requires considering not only the rational element of human existence but also emotions and carnal experiences. The carnal,

the cultural and the emotions are elements that enrich the understanding of the production of spaces.

Their corporeality (the existence in social life of the biological body) as for all of us, is always there, present; you can feel it, hear it, touch it and smell it. Their bodies are always defining their daily life activities. If they wake up ill, they will not be able to go out, they will not have the chance to leave home, unless the situation is desperate and going to the emergency room is the only option available. PWD are aware of the fatigue their bodies express, of the episodes of sickness and the frustration produced by another entrance to the emergency room. They constantly, if not daily, face the pain that their bodies produce, as a way of memo so you do not have the opportunity to forget the body you have.

The importance of the embodied social spatialisations of PWD is that it can be cause of an exclusionary situation due to the fatigue and sickness of their bodies that they daily deal with. Marilyn has experienced this situation with the group of community mothers[19] she works with:

> *"Marilyn: Yes, last year they didn't tell me, and I was very annoyed. I was annoyed, because just as you put me in the chair, they could have put me in the chair and taken me to the bay to take the bus, this time nobody wanted to tell me.*
> *JD: Nobody wanted to tell you about the trip?*
> *Marilyn: No. I wasn't told, they didn't want to tell me and I got angry and told the president of the association "That's outrageous that nobody tells me!"*
> *JD: And why not?*
> *Marilyn: I don't know, she is so selfish. It must be because last year on that trip I started feeling like…like I was…I felt bad as though I was…*
> *JD: Going to faint?*
> *Marilyn: Yes, I almost fainted. I had never fainted before. I think it is definitely because of that, now they don't tell me anymore.*
> *JD: They didn't want to tell you because of your health condition?*
> *Marilyn: Exactly, just like now.*
> *JD: So it's like your condition makes you a problem for them?*
> *Marilyn Exactly, they are doing it that way now*
> *JD: And what do you think of that?*
> *Marilyn: That's very bad, the fact that a person has a disability doesn't mean they can be discriminated against. Shocking" (Marilyn, interview. 12,12,2013).*

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[19]The community mothers is a program funded by the National Institute of Family Welfare-ICBF. The program aims to provide assistance to pregnant women and nursing mothers.

In this way bodies of PWD are prominent in their spatialisations, they are the key element to understanding their situation and the way marginalization takes place. They challenge the abstract Cartesian dualism of mind (active) and body (passive) by positing the material corporeality of their living situation. Their bodies define their identity and the role society has given them (Hall, 2000). Even though Hall (2000) recognizes that what matters to the body is "its representation, meaning and symbolism" (p. 23); for the case of PWD the material body is a key element due to the difficulties that are embedded in it. Because, the body and the experience of embodiment cannot be ignored or repressed into a background "normality" validated by the dominant social and spatial arrangements, sickness, fatigue and pain are characteristics that shape social relations in ways that are particularly evident for PWD.

Their physical body plays an important role in PWD's spatialisations. Their corporeality spatializes their social interactions, defining with whom or how they can interact. Linda has expressed this idea in the following quote: *"At parties I get left alone. No one dances with me. If I go to a party without a date no one dances with me, so I´m not so keen on going"* (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).

Sometimes it is more the desperation of getting out of the home that leads them to go out sick. Their level of isolation leads them to seek new environments, new ways to fill their everydayness. Masschelein and Verstraete (2012) explain how people with cognitive disabilities can be generators of spaces of representation through their "ability to slow down (…) (and) to produce an interstice which can be understood as another way of conceiving the space of our living together" (1191). The caregivers share the idea of letting them go out even though their understanding of the meaning of this can be different from the expectations of PWD and a perspective that highlights the abilities and rebellious conditions of their experiences. In caregiver's opinions PWD will have the opportunity to get a job or learn to do something with their lives by going to the foundations[20], but it also

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[20] The foundations are institutions of private or public funding that seek to generate educational processes for teaching a way of living for PWD. They can take the form of a public institution, a NGO, a charity institution, a private organization or an informal organization.

implies an opportunity to experience independent life situations and relief for the caregivers from their everyday obligations to the PWD.

Living with a disability in El Codito generates a marginalized situation but especially high levels of isolation and with it the appearance of frustration and sad feelings, as Alice says when being asked about the meaning of living with disability: *"It's difficult. Sometimes I'm alone and I cry"* (Alice, interview. 16. 12. 2013). Indeed PWD are left alone most of the time and face different constrained situations that do not allow them to live as they would like.

Spatialisations of dependency as marginalization
The production of space by PWD is signified by the situation of dependence; as we have seen there are different situations where PWD depend on their caregivers for the production of their space. They depend on assistance not only for the production of their built environment but also everyday spatial practices such as getting up or mobility in the neighbourhood. It is very uncommon to see PWD without the accompaniment of the caregiver or a family member, and it is very unlikely to see them outside in El Codito with a friend. The level of dependence is very high and sometimes PWD need to ask for permission and company to go out.

Because of their physical disability some of the participants are not able to go out of their houses without the accompaniment of the caregiver or a family member. Indeed the use of technology for mobility can ameliorate the dependence, however the symbiotic relationship between the caregiver and the person with a disability has generated a co-dependence so the person with a disability does not feel safe or confident without the caregiver and the caregiver's life has a void and feels meaningless without taking care of the PWD.

The levels of dependency are established by social factors such as age, gender, culture, social and economic spheres. A state of marginalization arises in the situation of dependency of PWD due to social exclusion emerging from the lack of economic resources and the need to receive public resources via welfare programs and subsidies (Saugeres, 2011). At the same time the dependency on others implies that PWD are not treated as

equal citizens: "The dominant social construction of dependency requires 'a dependent' to be subject to the often arbitrary and invasive authority of public service providers and other public and private administrators who impose rules that the marginal must obey (Young 2000)" (Saugeres, 2011: 42).

Indeed there is a contradictory situation; on one side the participants argue that they feel frustrated by the impossibility of being alone, on the other hand they cannot imagine a life without the help of the caregiver. Even though some of them have been users of assistive technology (AT) (canes, wheelchairs and walkers) they have not felt comfortable using them. Explanations for this situation include the lack of a learning process when getting the device; and the need to navigate the complex hills they encounter that requires an extra level of effort for walking in El Codito. Another explanation is the stigma related to being seen with an assistive device (Parette and Scherer, 2004).

Some PWD and their caregivers in El Codito and elsewhere establish social relationships of dependency. PWD are seen as individuals with lesser value and lack of capabilities. For people with cognitive or learning disabilities they are socially pictured as children. Some references were found to this expressed by caregivers of El Codito in the study by Mendoza et. al. (2014). One of them is related to what Mendoza (et. al. 2014) calls the representation of disability "the families of PWD think they do not have the abilities to have a life by their own (to live under the principles of autonomy and independence) (…): 'he has abilities but is incapable of doing things'; 'I think he can be an independent person, but prefer to do everything he needs'; 'their opinions are important but not that much to make the decisions of her life'"(144). These statements are referred to by Mendoza (et. al. 2014) as the ambivalence PWD encounter in their everydayness, so families discursively support them but in their everyday life activities dependence and lack of autonomy predominates their actions.

According to Mendoza et al. (2014) the situation of PWD in El Codito can be named as *the minority of age*. In their study they have identified expressions such as: the family member with a disability "'is like a baby'; 'is like having a child all the life'; 'I take her out to walk'" (98). So PWD are perceived as persons that require care; that cannot be alone or make independent decisions (Mendoza et. al., 2014).

An example of this situation is that in the few circumstances in which PWD can take part in the community activities, their levels of dependence do not allow them to engage in these activities freely even though when they would like to do so, as Linda points out *"my mother says she doesn't have time to take me"* (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013). So her dependence is so embedded in her spatial practices that she prefers to stay at home instead of looking for different strategies to go out.

The caregivers and the PWD are constantly producing prospective ideas of what the future looks like. In their projections there is always the idea of what will happen to the person with a disability. For PWD the question is who is going to take care of them and what is going to happen after the mother (the caregiver is always the mother) passes away.

This dependency is not only situated in the future sphere, it is also present in the present spatialisations of PWD. Caregivers are always in the presence of the other (person with a disability) they take care of the person and in doing it they consider that they have to be with them all the time. They do not trust in anybody in El Codito's society much less in a broader social context. When the caregiver has to go out, the person with a disability suffers a situation of incarceration and isolation (Mendoza et. al., 2014). The spatialization of PWD is not merely distinguished by isolation in their physical positioning in geographical space, but also in understandings of whether "going out" is possible or desirable. Further, it extends to imagine future spaces, and the PWD's relative position performatively and socially as a dependant or satellite of another body. Precisely one can observe the situation of dependency in two ways: the need of PWD to have caregiver support for daily life activities and the intimate relationship the caregiver has with the PWD. As mentioned, this situation generates a relationship of co-dependence. This co-dependence strengthens the dependency PWD have.

The levels of co-dependency have generated in some participants an intense overprotection by the caregivers. The overprotection creates a scene in which the person with a disability cannot be alone. Linda expresses the overprotection in this statement: "*Because of the overprotectiveness I don't feel like a proper human being because sometimes I can't make my own decisions. Others take them for me" (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).* So some participants feel they cannot be themselves in the presence of the

caregiver (as the other) and relate this situation to having a boyfriend. *"Look Juan, what I feel I can't have is a normal boyfriend, to go out with someone as a couple. I never go to the cinema, and if I do I have to go with a 'bodyguard'"* (Linda, interview. 12. 12.2013). Linda refers to 'bodyguard' as a close family member (mother or siblings) that must be with her at any time while she is out of Home.

From a charity model perspective PWD are objects of donations and gifts. This perception perpetuates a widespread image of the 'poor' lives PWD have and will have for the rest of their lives and how sectors of society contribute in some way to make life easier for others. This situation reinforces the dynamics of dependency for PWD but not on the caregivers and the family members but in third actors that act when they want or can. In this sense the charity model does not promote processes for achieving independence and autonomy.

There is a determining element in the Colombian context that is presented in the spatialisations of PWD. Men with a disability are freer in El Codito's spatialisations than women due to the machismo culture that characterizes Colombian society. Indeed caregivers of women express a high vulnerability for women with disability due to the conception of their role in Colombian society.

A machismo culture considers that women must assume a social role at home and should stay in the private sphere while men are actors in the public sphere. Women must provide care at home and be in charge of the household chores. This situation is aggravated when a woman is a PWD due to the social conception of disability: "it is very common to find that disability is associated with feelings of shame, pity and rejection that in general are expressed by neighbors and acquaintances. There are affirmations such as: 'there are people that look with pity and say: oh! Poor girl, look at her eyes, open your eyes. At the beginning I got angry but not so much anymore, I can tolerate it'" (Mendoza et. al., 2014:101). Such social meaning reinforces the idea of keeping PWD isolated and especially to leave women with a disability stay at home.

These discourses create spaces of exclusion where PWD are not seen as privileged interlocutors in the social interactions. Public and private environments are different but

still component parts of this spatialisation. Negative attitudes towards the situation of disability are also producers of this exclusionary space, in the words of the caregivers: "'having children with disabilities is an impediment to rent an apartment because people say that children with a disability 'bother a lot' 'people look at her like she was ugly…like ugly… like she was a rare bug, like she was a bizarre person (…) sometimes people make fun of her and how she is, as she cannot pronounce the words, people make fun of her" (Mendoza et. al., 2014 :101).

Everyday life of dealing with the natural, the built environment and the cultural violence

The study made by Saugeres (2011) highlights the importance of location for PWD due to the possibilities of the physical inaccessibility. This is one of the key elements of understanding the marginalization lived by PWD in El Codito. The particular inclination of the physical environment and the built environment made by informal processes of construction[21] determine the situation of PWD and the need for being accompanied by another person all the time.

> The terrain's inclination and the architectural infrastructure of El Codito's sector also represents a barrier for people with physical or multiple disabilities. For this reason they need other people's support to develop daily activities even when they use assistive technology devices. Even more, access to stairs built by the community that do not follow technical or material requirements constrains the possibilities to go out and to integrate social and labor dynamics: 'They have lots of problems … because they are 'the sick' cannot walk, it is slippery, and they fall down very often' (Mendoza, et. al., 2014: 113).

The situation for PWD, their caregivers and their families is even more complex and even more marginalized in comparison to the other inhabitants of El Codito. For PWD leaving home or accessing the community is an everyday struggle that involves both physical and social isolation.

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[21]   In Colombian urban areas of low income the houses are built through a long process that depends on the amount of money saved for those purposes. This resulting situation is that most of the houses in sectors as El Codito are being built continuously and will be finished in the years to come. Another key element of the Colombian houses in marginalized contexts is the lack of technical knowledge to build the houses: these houses are built by people who have worked in the construction sector but that are not well prepared or do not have the money to make land studies to know the composition of the land. In Colombia studies on the land are very important due to the mountainous and moist characteristics of Colombian's terrain. This situation is shared by the construction of neighborhoods that for El Codito's case has been shaped by invasions (land grabs) and unrecovered terrains from the extraction quarries since the 1960's.

According to a study by the ID Team[22] on social representations and imaginaries of PWD in El Codito, the situation of PWD in El Codito is determined by the struggles of the households for getting higher incomes, a lack of welfare state programs addressed to PWD, difficulties accessing public services (sewer system, electricity, potable water and health services), environmental barriers and physical conditions in a high and steeply inclined place such as Bogotá's mountains (Mendoza et. al., 2014).

From a cultural perspective, disability is related to sickness, devalued significance and an unknown status. Ernest rejects the idea of being treated as a sick person: "*People say 'there goes the sick guy', that's why I told you I don't like people saying that to me*". Seeking to understand the conception of the participants of their situation of disability, I have found that some of the participants do not know or are not conscious on their condition of disability.

Disability is related to mobility (physical limitations) or to the functional ability to speak. Marilyn considers that having a disability implies the impossibility to move around, and she relates to the inability of fending for herself or helping others as she mentioned she used to do before having the disability.

In some cases their families are not aware of the situation of disability and the implications (social and medical) a disability may have, especially when the person has a cognitive or intellectual disability. For Ernest disability is a sickness so he felt sad when people told him he is a person with a disability. For Mark, he does not know what a disability is. He is totally convinced that people (Family members and practitioners) *"say disability is in here (points to head) but they say I'm a normal person" (Mark, interview. 10. 14.2013).*

Disability is also understood as something painful in the way PWD experience life. Broken dreams, frustrated desires, social barriers, situations of exclusion, marginalization and stigma are elements that define the spatialisations of PWD. This overview generates psychological pressures that have led PWD to think about solutions to eradicate these

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[22]   Interdisciplinary Team in Development Studies from University of Rosario

situations. One of the participants shared that she once tried to commit suicide as way to escape from her reality.

The violent aspects of Colombian culture
El Codito, as many Colombian spatialisations, is a place/space where violence has played a special role in the history of the sector. According to Galtung (1990) one can talk about cultural violence when the symbolic sphere legitimizes or justifies the use of violence. Indeed there are elements or aspects that can be categorized as violence, which does not label a whole culture as violent. Colombian culture can be characterized as violent in the sense that for solving problems Colombians constantly resort to the use of violence.

El Codito cannot escape such use of violent methods. From the beginning of the sector, El Codito has been a receptor of invaders that defended their new houses from the police and army using violent methods to defend their new homes; in the present days El Codito is a place of confrontation between gangs that control the drug business in the north of Bogotá, of domestic violence, of violence emerging from the political and social conflict and of social violence.

PWD are part of this situation presented in El Codito. One can find different relations to this violence in their narratives. One of them is related to direct consequences by the use of violence in their families:

> *"JD: And do you know your uncle, your supposed father?*
> *Alice: No, he was killed. He loved me a lot.*
> *JD: And whose son is your brother?*
> *Alice: My brother who died?*
> *JD: Yes*
> *Alice: He was the son of another man hahahaha! His dad is dead, too"(Alice,*
> *interview. 16. 12. 2013).*

The violence appears to be embedded in the life of the habitants of El Codito. PWD have suffered the effects of violence in places like their homes, the foundations and the schools. In their homes, social interactions can be affected by domestic violence. Henry experienced this situation that resulted in the separation of the family. He used to live with his mother and his sisters (two sisters) until a boyfriend of one of his sisters threatened to hit his mother. After this menace she (his mother) decided to leave the house with Henry

and find a new house only for the two of them (Henry, interview. 11. 18. 2013). Another experience is shared by Alice in which she suffered the direct use of violence, even in an attempt on her own life:

> *"JD: Are you alone much?*
> *Alice: Yes. Didn't I tell you I almost got killed once?*
> *JD: When?*
> *Alice: Once some guys broke into my house and almost killed me. They cut me.*
> *JD: With a knife?*
> *Alice: No, with a needle, then they neighbors called the police.*
> *JD: Did the neighbors see them?*
> *Alice: No, I was screaming because something was leaking out of my arm. It wasn't blood, it was white.*
> *JD: How long ago was that?*
> *Alice: 2 years. It was horrible.*
> *JD: What happened to those guys?*
> *Alice: It's in the court. It was terrible; they injected me with camphor, mercury and iodine at once to kill me.*
> *JD: Why would they do that?*
> *Alice: Revenge on my sister, they say.*
> *JD: Your sister?*
> *Alice: For John's dad*
> *JD: I'm lost. Tell me a little bit about that. Your brother in law wanted to kill you?*
> *Alice: Not me, my sister, but they couldn't find my sister so they did it to me.*
> *JD: You opened the window?*
> *Alice: Yeah, I screamed and opened the window.*
> *JD: And the guys fled?*
> *Alice: Yeah*
> *JD: And why didn't you die?*
> *Alice: Because the neighbors called an ambulance and I didn't die. They thought I had been raped and everything, but I couldn't remember. The doctor examined me and said I was OK and I hadn't been raped, thank god"* (Alice, interview. 12. 16. 2013).

PWD are conceived of as objects of violence; this is very likely to happen because of the socially vulnerable image that people have of PWD. In numerous situations they are object of violence and, as a Linda said, people think PWD cannot defend by themselves (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).

Violence and insecurity go hand by hand. Some of PWD have experienced situations of insecurity when others attempted to steal their goods. El Codito as a marginalized space is labeled as a space of insecurity and is reinforced by some of the

habitants of the sector, e.g. the expression of Alice while talking about the use of a powered wheelchair *"That would get stolen with the amount of thieves there are around here."* *(Alice, interview. 12. 16. 2013).*

In some dialogue groups, the wounds and lacerations are evidently seen by all of the participants. Tears easily come out and faces are sad, frustrated and hopeless, when talking about the topic of domestic violence and seeking responses, while asking why did the mother, the father or the siblings hit, punch and torture them in ways that seem pointless?

As a means of isolation and enforcement of their status and situation, violence has been so embedded in their spatialisations and lives that two of the participants have argued that their disability was the result of the blows of their fathers. Thus in their families their condition and lived experience is determined by a situation produced by violence.

As a way of conclusion: opening the discussions

This chapter provided a thick description of the specific features that shape the spatialisations of PWD in EL Codito. Through the presentation of Lefebvre's theory and the conceptualization of Shields on social spatialisations it was argued that the experience of disability can be spatialized as a way to narrate a lived experience and to understand the significance of difference for different bodies and productions of space.

The framework presented in this chapter will inform the findings and narrations of PWD in El Codito as a possibility to think outside the box when proposing inclusionary processes for society, focusing on characteristic elements such as their embodied experience and PWD's social spatialisations. Spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation will be located in the identification of places and rhythms of PWD in El Codito.

The PWD's bodies are placed as key elements in their spatialisations not only in terms of the representations in and by society, but also by the biological implications and the differentiated corporeality they encounter daily.

The degrees of dependence they face in their everydayness are another particular element of the spatialisations of PWD in El Codito. The lived experiences, the feelings,

their social relationships and even their modes of mobility are defined by the perpetual accompaniment of others in their lives. Dependency is a social relationship that establishes impositions and power relationships; the frustrations of being a PWD are very likely exacerbated by this situation.

The conditionality of their bodies are a constitutive element of their spatialisations: the space is culturally produced and for the El Codito context a culture of violence is imposed over their own desires and interests. PWD spatialisations are produced by the factors of their bodies as constitutive and parts of their beings; by the struggles, challenges and differentiated situations produced by being with someone else most of the time; and by the natural, the built and the cultural elements of a particular territory as the one of El Codito.

Chapter V: Placing the spatialisations of PWD

*JD: Socially in the neighborhood do you feel such as the neighbors stare at you, such as
they leave you out?*
*LM: Hahaha! Yes, but if I feel excluded by my own family, how can I not feel it in the
neighborhood (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).*

In this chapter I will try to reconstruct the participants' narratives on their spatialisations. In
the different hangouts, dialogue groups, focus groups and interviews the idea of space –and
specifically the place- was embedded in their discourses. One of the purposes of this work
was to keep the voice of the participants as authentic as possible, so I am proposing for this
part to expose the spaces (places) where PWD of El Codito develop their social
spatialisations as they describe these in their own words.

The reader will find the places where PWD develop their everydayness, their social
relationships and their lives. These places are sites where PWD experience life, the
exclusion and marginalization they encounter daily and where dreams, desires and
frustrations take place. The research shows an inherent contradiction at each one of the
places exposed by the participants. They are ambiguous places that represent contradiction
for PWD in their everydayness. What it is presented in this chapter is the contradictory
spatialisation of PWD. This occurs in the places/spaces produced by them in interaction
with built and social space regarding dependent actions and relationships with others. It is
reinforced by (self) exclusionary attitudes and actions at different places/spaces of the El
Codito sector.

Researchers in geography, sociology and anthropology have independently analyzed
the qualitative aspects of place in ways that complement and confirm Lefebvre's dialectical
approach and Bourdieu's French sociological approach to space and situation. When we
refer to the notion of place we are considering any kind of physical location (identifiable
spot on the physical space) and its meaning. Places have a past, an associated environment,
a physical landscape and a sense of place (Cresswell, 2008). Places are spaces on a micro-
level, they are amongst the most proximal spaces one can experience and produce.

Sense of place is the element on which we are focusing because "sense of place refers to the meanings, both individual and shared, that are associated with a place" (Cresswell, 2008: 134). Places are important by their location, the surroundings-landscape and the meaning. "But even a favourite chair has a particular location (in front of the fireplace perhaps), a physical structure (worn armrests, wobbly legs) and meanings (maybe it is where your dad sat when reading stories to you as a child)" (Cresswell, 2008: 134).

Similar to Cresswel's definition, for Gieryn, places refer to a geographic location, a material form (physicality) and the constitution of meaning and value (meaningfulness) (Gieryn, 2000). For Cresswell (2008) places are an infinite number of material things that occupy a particular spot of the space and embed significance. Places are one part of wider spatialisations because they produce a particular order on the space, a particular set of meanings and a particular relationship with the objects in that space. Places are continuously made "when ordinary people extract from continuous and abstract space a bounded, identified, meaningful, named, and significant place (de Certeau, 1984, Etlin, 1997 in Gieryn, 2000: 472).

Places as incarnations of meaning decorate the space with emotions, feelings and beliefs that emanate from the human interaction with the physical (built and natural) environment (Cresswell, 2008). Places are sites for human activities so bodies, rhythms of life and everydayness shape and have the potential to transform places and spaces (Cresswell, 2008).

Being aware of place as a human agent and researcher increases the understanding of how humans "are in the world -how we relate to our environment and make it into place" (Cresswell, 2008: 136). In this sense power and place are tied and are milieus where *dispositions/dispositifs* deploy their tentacles in forming citizens, social agents, students, mothers, fathers, PWD, etc. (Cresswell, 2008). The meanings people offer and designate to places are historical and shared cultural comprehensions of the space; thus places are representations and images that articulate behaviors and interpretations of the world (Gieryn, 2000: 473).

Another important element of place lies in the significance of experience. Experience is possible through the sensory elements of the body (gustatory, olfactory and tactual) that allows thinking, feeling and living. Passive modes of experience are related to the inner human experience, to the private corporeal sensations that come from smelling, tasting or touching. These experiences cannot be public or are not easy to render public. For the case of some PWD these experiences differ from each corporeal experience and for the dominant imposition of the abled bodies. The concrete practices on space are assimilated to the active mode of experience through the actual actions on a particular place (Tuan, 1975).

The meaning of a place is constituted by the different experiences one has (active or passive): "To know a place fully means both to understand it in an abstract way and to know it as one person knows another. At a high theoretical level, places are points in a spatial system" (Tuan, 1975: 152).

Following a Marxist perspective some places are defined by the dominant class and they obey its interests. For a theorist of inequality such as Harvey, "place is often reactionary – used to exclude or confine others who do not belong" (Harvey, 1993 in Cresswell, 2008: 137). As an exclusionary or marginalizing element, place is defined by interests and rules that seek to produce meanings, practices and identities so people can be "'in place or "out of place'" (Cresswell, 2008: 137). This is how place contains difference and hierarchy at the same time. Gieryn (2000) points out that daily routines can generate exclusions by categorizing people and by rendering elements of the culture visible and tangible.

Besides the political imposition of the "place" there are always discourses of space (representations of space) that challenge, transgress and transform the place. Place as space is not a finished product, its boundaries are not fixed; it is a particular space where the emergence can happen and new productions can be made. Massey (2004) argues that for this (emergence site) to happen people's experiences have to be rooted and bounded to this place, so we can identify places as "'ours' and not 'theirs'" (Cresswell, 2008: 137). The implication of 'our' and 'theirs' place is the constitution of the outside from the inside as a way of generating identities in the relationship with the other.

El Codito's neighborhoods

El Codito[23] is placed in the north side of the city. It is a sector of 18 neighborhoods. The governmental authorities legally recognize some of the neighborhoods, while some others are not recognized. The legal recognition permits the assignation of public resources and the political and citizen inclusion in the State institutions at the local and national level. The sector is located in the mountains of Bogotá, and the mountainous location shapes El Codito's physical environment in a way that restricts the mobility and access for people with disabilities-PWD.

Wacquant (1996) points out that marginalization in Western societies includes the identification of a place/territory to locate marginalization or a cultural struggle placed in everyday life. There are spaces in Bogotá that are produced as *ghettos:* enclaves or specific places where marginalized or excluded populations develop part of their social life and can be stereotyped or stigmatized for living there (Wacquant, 1996). Colombian cities are spaces of physical and cultural marginalization, and the El Codito sector is just an example of how marginalization is being produced in Colombia.

This kind of spatial exclusion is called by Wacquant (1996) "advanced marginality":

> New forms of exclusionary social closure and peripheralization have arisen, or intensified, in the post-Fordist metropolis as a result, not of backwardness, but of the uneven, disarticulating, mutations of the *most advanced sectors* of Western societies and economies, as these bear on the lower fractions of the working class and on dominated ethno-racial categories, as well as on the territories they occupy in the divided city (Wacquant, 1996: 123).

Taking El Codito as a *place on the margin* (Shields, 1991, 2013) implies the existence of broad cultural, political, physical and social elements in constant relationship with the prominent mainstream of elements that are being imposed by some dominant sectors in Colombian society, and that look for the elimination of any divergent/different

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[23] The map of El Codito sector can be found in the appendix A

modes and ways of living. A situation that exemplifies the statement is the feeling of abandonment expressed by inhabitants of the sector due to the lack of public investment in services such as modern sewer systems, road maintenance and sidewalk construction (Malaver, 2011; Cante, 2012). Being at the margin implies the role of an outsider or lagging behind in the dynamics of an economic, social and political system. Berland (1996) signals that a 'margin' "remains 'behind' (to put in temporal terms) or 'outside' in terms of industrial and political power" (Berland, 1996: 62).

Shields (1991) relates such marginal places or spaces to the "categorization of objects, practices, ideas and modes of social interaction as belonging to the 'Low culture', the culture of marginal places and spaces, the culture of the marginalized" (Shields, 1991: 4). The marginalized, peripheral or 'Low culture' is always in constant relationship with the 'High culture', the culture that is imposed. This 'High culture', also known as the centre, does not lose its dynamic of continuous transformation and it is being influenced by the cultures at the margin so the inversion of the dominant social-cultural paradigm can be achieved (Shields, 1991).

Any space at the margin is thus in relation to a space at the centre. The centre-margin relations are always attached to the social, technical and political dynamics of time and space. Acceleration of speed in cultural and technologies of information are elements that can be identified as temporal symptoms of this relation (Berland, 1996). In Innis' words cited by Berland (1996), the notion of marginality must contain a notion of centre and the intimate relationship between the centre and the periphery. In this sense, a margin is always external and dependent and it is mediated by technologies, language and modes of communication (Berland, 1996). In the case of PWD the modes of communication are mediators and exclusionary elements for the interactions defined by the 'High culture'. Different forms of communication are related to the strategies and tactics that PWD use to communicate with the family and others. In many situations they do not follow the current mainstream and instead they use 'rebellious or rude' ways for the interaction with others.

Virilio's dromocracy (race and power), inspired by Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis and Bachelard's dromology, contains both time and space in social, technical and political terms. Virilio illustrates the key elements for power and control in terms of transportation,

acceleration and transmission. So the relation of centre-margin is a political relationship in which time and space are the determinants of its development (Virilio, Lotringer and Taormina, 2001). One of the consequences that maintains marginalization is that through the race/acceleration of technological, political and social change, a displacement of oral culture and collective memory occurs along with the imposition of dominant *representations of space*[24] that privilege the centre.

The margin could be taken as a revolutionary space in which discourses, performances and habits of living are counter hegemonic elements of transformations and oppose the imposed culture and the systematical order of the dominant structures of power (Harold, 2013). For Innis, the 'margin' is any "site [that] enables communities to employ cultural technologies as counter hegemonic cultural tools" (Berland, 1996: 65). However, spaces at the margin are subjects of deterioration and constant attacks:

> Such spaces are today subject to vicious assault; the recommodification of information and experience, the erosion of noncommercial spaces, and the triumph of reactionary mercantile politics in the organization of cultural production have become part of the ongoing production of space which implicates communities at every scale. These processes continue to produce centers and margins (Berland, 1996: 79)

As in any social spatialisation (Shields, 1991; 1999) the margin is also produced and is an essential spatial concept. Berland's (1996) colonial spaces are similar to spaces at the margin in the sense that these "usable topographies are shaped in dialectical interaction with its own resources" (62).

A marginalized space can be concomitant with placing stigmatized populations. Goffman (2008) considers that stigma is a relationship between a particular attribute and the social stereotype resulted from the attribute. Stigma is a common situation lived by PWD due to the particular attributes they have in their different bodies and at their different

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[24] Representations of space are conceived spaces. Spaces defined by "planning professions or cartographic conventions that assume that the landscape can be rationally planned and subdivided –especially into planning zones for different uses" (Shields, 2013: 42). Representations of space are rational discourses that order the relations in a specific space and are shown as forms of knowledge, signs and codes (Lefebvre, 1991). In other words representations of space are "discourses on space" (Shields, 2013:42).

spatialisations. Living in El Codito marginalizes PWD by being at the margin and by being stigmatized.

El Codito as a sector unites seventeen neighborhoods that have a similar history. Some of El Codito neighborhoods have been placed at the margin due to the label of being neighborhoods of invasion (land occupations). During the 1930s Colombian cities started to occupy an important role in the industrialization process of the country (Murad, 2003; Sardi, 2007). Cities came to be places of residence for the workers in the new economic system; Bogotá was and still is the city where the industrial production of the country takes place. Bogotá embraces most of the industrial factories that produce commercial goods for the globalized economy (Guevara, Hernandez and Mendoza, 2013).

In the decade of 1930 the rural population in Colombia was about 70% of the total population, a factor that dramatically changed by 1993 at which time the rural population was about 32% of the total Colombian population (Murad, 2003; Sardi, 2007). This historical fact shows how cities grew over 60 years; Colombian cities passed from 30% of the population to 70% of the total population. For city planners and government institutions this demographic shift produced pressures on the public services, dwelling access and the urban plans of the cities (Zambrano et. al., 2002).

The neighborhoods of El Codito are a product of these unsolved pressures and their necessities led to the community solutions that in most of the cases do not have technical, professional or proper economic resources to construct the networks of public services and dwellings. At the same time the El Codito's neighborhoods suffered from stigma due to the marginalization and the label as a place of violence and insecurity. As observed by journalists, people from El Codito are excluded even from public spaces. In the news a couple of children are asked to leave a public park only because they live in El Codito. These situations of exclusion are common for people in El Codito who are discriminated against by society in general. As a way to change the general opinions of society some leaders are starting to use media to show a different face of El Codito. As it is expressed by one leader of El Codito in a national newspaper: "Here (in El Codito) the good people are more. The majority of the El Codito's habitants work to earn money for living their lives" (El Tiempo, Mi Zona, 2011).

The neighborhoods of El Codito share social, architectural and economic conditions and are "distinguished by its socioeconomic status, and by the look of its houses and streets" (Tuan, 1975: 158) from other neighborhoods at the north of Bogota. Neighborhoods are places where the Universal abstract[25] is also produced and where marginalized people encounter a place in the world. Tuan explains the significance and difference of two proximal places as home and the neighborhood:

> "Home is a place. The family is the smallest political unit. Its form of government is traditionally authoritarian. Home has boundaries that need to be defended against the intrusion of outsiders. Home is a place because it encloses space and thereby creates an 'inside' and an 'outside'. The more the storm rages outside the more cozy the home feels inside, the more the family is united, and the more the home itself is a unit, not an arrangement of separate rooms. Neighborhood is an arrangement of individual houses, streets, and blocks until it becomes politically organized; then the entire neighborhood is a place to its members, a place with a boundary and with values that may be threatened by outside forces" (Tuan, 1975: 163).

In Tuan's concept, the Neighborhood represents the place where politics[26] is spatialized, where the community membership is approved or rejected, where community makes sense, takes form and is placed. The neighborhood encloses memories, histories, experiences, and relationships (with objects, the built and the nature and with others).

In this paper I suggest that the neighborhood is one of the macro spaces of everyday life where different places take form and are produced. In the case of PWD, they have identified places such as parks, churches, foundations, schools, and home as places where they have interacted or interact and where they spatialize their social life. I am referring to the social spaces where PWD reported any social relationships or interaction with friends, family members, neighbors and acquaintances. In this way one can encounter the kind of relationships PWD have with the physical space and the individuals that give significance to these spaces.

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[25]   See the part of the home in this chapter

[26]   By politics I mean the issues that matter to the citizens since the coexistence with the neighbors to the inequities of the globalized economy

The neighborhood as a place of social interaction

In the neighborhoods of El Codito PWD are usually occulted in a way they are kept hidden by their familiars. Some of the families do not have caregivers or the possibility to pay for a person that takes care of the person with a disability, supporting them in daily life activities. For other PWD, their families prefer to keep them away from any social activity due to the difficulties of meeting their needs in public and the secure environment a PWD requires. In addition is the shame or feelings associated with the stigma that a situation such as this implies (Mendoza, 2014). The neighborhood is a familiar place where neighbors meet and produce spatialisations: "*JD: Do you like living here in this sector? (…) Mark: Yes, because I know it. I am used to seeing people even if they don't talk to me. I know who they are*" (Mark, interview. 10. 14. 2013).

This social isolation produces a void in the existence of PWD interests, desires and voices in the dynamics of the neighborhood. PWD do not intervene and participate in the activities of the JAC[27] or in most social and communal activities. The inhabitants of El Codito's neighborhoods are not aware and do not know where PWD live and the situation of their isolation (Mendoza, 2014).

The lack of PWD in collective memory is perceived by PWD. An example is illustrated by the participation for the first time of PWD in the week of peace[28]. Quotes such as *"we make people look at us and make them understand that there are PWD at the neighborhood"* (Dialogue group. 10.04. 2013) demonstrates the opinion of PWD on their role in El Codito and in society in general.

PWD also report a perception of invisibility in the work of the JAC's: "*I had to talk to M (Community leader and member of the JAC about the presence of a group of PWD from El Codito) and then he mentioned us in the event*" (Dialogue group. 10.04. 2013). They also consider that the work done by JAC's is not intended to improve and promote the

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[27]   JAC: Juntas de Acción Comunal are community organizations with legal recognition that represent the interests of the neighborhood and provide a voice for solving the needs and problems of its residents.

[28]   The week of peace is a week of the year that serves to reflect and to rise awareness of the importance of peace for Colombian society. This initiative is being made since the year 1994 and in El Codito since the year 1995.

inclusion of PWD in El Codito, in fact "*JAC's have never been interested in us. They do not care about us*" (Dialogue group. 10.04. 2013).

The spatial production of a neighborhood such as the El Codito sector has been shaped by different struggles and in many occasions determined by situations of intense violence. Most of the present interactions could be determined by the historical relationships the social actors have had in the development of El Codito. This is an important factor to understand the present situation of PWD who have lived in El Codito.

Solidarity versus individualism: combating the isolation of PWD
In the interactions with neighbors in the neighborhood the participants have reported elements that define these relationships in terms of solidarity against paid service. Solidarity was an important element of the social interactions at the beginning of the construction of the neighborhoods, people used to help without rewarding; today there is a lost of the principle of solidarity and the consolidation of the community relationships mediated by the payment of a help or support needed by a neighbor, now nobody do anything without receiving money. Thus in this apart I discuss the elements that PWD refer about solidarity that in my opinion is opposed the relationships mediated by payment. As elements of solidarity the PWD identified special relationships with particular individuals (neighbors) in their neighborhoods. The solidarity principle is found in the narrative of the need for help. Asking for help is very common for PWD in El Codito who need mobility to fulfill daily life activities and cannot do this on their own. Essentially the need for mobility and the particular (hilly) conditions of the natural and built environment of El Codito mark the isolated and complex situation that PWD experience in El Codito. In one of the participant's narratives, the participant describes the problematic situation she encounters in her everydayness to go out of her place. The participant, a person with a paralysis in her the right side of her body, lives with a daughter who works so she is alone at her place for the entire day. When she wants to go out she needs help to take a shower, get ready (she emphasizes the impossibility of putting a bra on by herself), cook her breakfast. At her home she cannot use her wheelchair because her room is on a second floor and she has to take rickety stairs[29] everyday to go up or down. Her home is situated halfway

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[29] As the reader has found out the dwellings and the interior of the houses are made by the same people that

up the mountain, so the inclination of the road increases the difficulties she encounters every day. Her narrative describes that she needs help to go out and to mobilize in her neighborhood. She points out some people in her neighborhood have been helpful with her situation:

> *JD: But you have found that El Codito territory is very difficult, for example for the wheelchair*
> *Marilyn: But look in here there are very good people (...) when I had to go to the meetings he (A neighbor) took the wheelchair and took me there, he does not live here anymore. When I needed him I called him and he came, I used to give him money for the pop" (Hangout. 10.17.2013)*

This narrative explicitly makes a reference to the help of a specific neighbor. A young guy that has met the participant in the neighborhood because she was a community leader and some people remember her as a person that has helped others in different situations. This neighbor was a particular and specific individual who helped the participant when she wanted to go out. In the quote she said that this person does not live anymore in the neighborhood so later in the dialogue she recognize the lack of solidarity and community bounds nowadays and like other participants shares the situation of loneliness and isolation:

> *"JD: But now almost nobody helps you without receiving a payment*
> *Marilyn: No, not anymore. No because at least the woman that came, I usually call her to come so I am always looking through the window to find someone that can call her" (Hangout. 10.17.2013).*

This lack of the principle of solidarity is an experience that makes PWD reflect on their situation and their lived experience. In Marilyn's words: *"It affects me, because I like to do things. I used to be a person that always looked out for people and now, here, I can't. I have to beg for help"* (Marilyn, interview. 12.12.2013).

When asking about this situation Marilyn is very clear to point out that:

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inhabit these dwellings. Most of the people in El Codito have worked in the construction sector, however they do not have the knowledge required to build a house or to design the spaces of these dwellings. The lack of economic resources is a key element to understand how the interior spaces of the house are constructed because the recycled materials they use that are not properly treated or used. One of the examples is the rickety stairs that one can find at the participant's house that do not have a proper railing and the steps are not adequate for walking without tripping. The railing is not well fixed, the stairs are very narrow and the steps are not equal in dimensions.

"there are people that lack a lot of humanity. I never thought I would live in these conditions that I am in today, Juan David, worse before. I had many cases close to me, close to my house of sick people who were stuck in their beds. I helped them to wash and dress themselves, I gave them food…and these people had families who didn't care about them, it is like they have no heart" (Marilyn, interview. 12.12.2013).

It is very common to listen to the first inhabitants of El Codito or the elderly make reference to the first years living there and the strong community and solidarity bonds between neighbors. Indeed there is a common narration on how the houses were built with the collaboration of the neighbors. The block helped to construct the houses on Saturdays and Sundays while the women cooked for them (Guevara, Hernandez and Mendoza, 2013).

The participants of a certain age (above 50 years old) and some caregivers remember those days and compare that situation with nowadays. This new situation of lack of community and solidary bonds has required the participant to find help in the neighbors but with a payment; otherwise nobody will help her to get ready or to go out: *"Marilyn: I call her when I need her. I give her some money, for example today I gave her 2000 pesos (1,10 dollars)"* (Hangout. 10.17.2013).

The lack of economic resources, the lack of state programs and social isolation forces PWD to look for alternative resources due to the need to meet daily needs. The most common alternative is to ask a family member for the help needed; family members are always the best option to look for care due to the proximity and historical relationships families have.

Another alternative that also violates solidarity is related to the above quote and is to pay a small amount of money to friends, neighbors or acquaintances for the help they can provide. Sometimes families are producers of the isolation lived by PWD. The need for getting resources, the conditions of the labour market, the socio-economic conditions of their families and the family and neighbors relationships are determinants for understanding the isolation that PWD experience in their everydayness.

In this sense payment for care is a fundamental issue in the interactions they have. Indeed this relationship is defined by the need for caring and the need for money but it represents an important transaction that generates interactions for PWD.

Violence in the neighborhoods

As a place where violence has had a role in the production of El Codito, the social implication of the use of violence is that in the collective memory subjects are defined and identified for what they have done in the past and as a form of actualization these memories are brought to the present to remind us who is the person who is our neighbor, They may be perpetrators or victims of violence in different ways at different times in the past. In fact, Marilyn has shared with me the personal struggle she has had for being black and trying to get into her home and into the neighborhood. She has suffered from racial discrimination, gender discrimination and now from discrimination for being a PWD.

According to different social actors, El Codito has different cycles of violence. PWD are embedded in these dynamics in different ways: first as inhabitants and residents of the same social space; second, by the relationships they have with neighbors, friends, landlords or renters; and third, by the stages of life they have shared, such as going to the same school or the same kindergarten.

This context has produced a legitimization of the use of the violence in a tacit sense. In fact there is a tacit acceptance of the gangs and the producers of violence and the feelings and relationships associated with them. There is no rejection of the violent actors in El Codito, in fact there is a special consideration given to them because in many occasions they provide services to the populations there. People have benefited from the presence and power relationships established by gangs in El Codito. As one of the participants has shared: "*JD: But those gangs work in other parts of the city, right? Carlton: No, I know them and they take care of me* "(Dialogue group. 08.30.2013).

One can argue that violence is a historical condition of the production of spatialisations in El Codito. Also, the experiences of violence are not only lived by PWD, the populations in El Codito all share the same living conditions. What is different is the existing misconceptions or myths related to disability. PWD are seen as children so they cannot be alone and require the supervision of an adult at all times. This perception

reinforces the idea that PWD are more vulnerable than other populations and for that reason they require special treatment.

Despite these ideas on disability, vulnerability and insecurity there could be different reasons to explain why the robberies or holdups take place in El Codito. Carlton argues that: "*they are not guilty because they consume a lot of drugs*" (Dialogue group. 08.30.2013). One of the reasons is that people understand that drug addicts need money to consume drugs and the way of doing it is by criminal actions. Another explanation could be the bonds created by having neighbors that are addicts so the situation of sharing a friendship or a social relationship allows the understanding of the situation of the drug addicts. In some conversations with community leaders they stated that some drug addicts in El Codito are members of the traditional families of El Codito. This situation has generated a social tolerance with some individuals and their actions while others are condemned and excluded.

The Place of the park: taking out and hide the PWD

The parks are important spaces in El Codito. Their significance as spaces of interaction is that PWD understand that parks are spaces for doing exercise, following the planned disposition as representations of space. Parks are also portrayed as spaces of marginalization in the sense that "*the ones that exist are places only for playing soccer or consuming drugs, unsecure, and they do not take into account the situation of people with disabilities*" (Discussion group. 09.06.2013). Besides this particular spatialisation of the parks in El Codito a fundamental issue arises that is related to the physical adaptations PWD need to enjoy, mobilize and recreate in the parks.

Due to the natural environment, the lack of public resources and the significance of the parks in El Codito PWD stay away and do not occupy these places. This spatialisation of parks through inaction or the non-presence of PWD allows a discursive reproduction of parks as places for the especially able-bodied. A particularity occurs in El Codito when PWD talk about parks, PWD affirm that they do not go to parks but at the same time talk about the lived situation in parks. It appears that the production of the parks as social spaces is determined by the actors that most constantly occupy these spaces. However, the place takes a specific spatial identity role and forms a site to be avoided by PWD through social

discourses or direct experiences of this space. This space can be an example of a self-exclusionary action that PWD make to avoid negative situations.

Parks are identified as spaces of violence. As social spaces, parks are places that are both the settings or stages for and that represent insecurity, fear and mistrust. The participants have had experiences at the parks regarding insecurity and violent spatial practices: *"Dylan: I was victim of a holdup when I was going up in the way to my house I took a shortcut within the park. There I saw a group of guys hanging out when they approached to me and tore my shirt off asking me if I had a cell phone or money (...) Linda: At parks there are also robberies, holdups; people steal in the parks*" (Discussion group. 08.30.2013; Discussion group. 09.06.2013).

Parks appear to be spaces for consumption that are stigmatized as spaces for the marginalized consumer of drugs and are perceived in this sense by PWD: *"parks are full of people that consume drugs, they are dangerous for my family and me"; "There are drugs, drug addicts, insecurity"* (Discussion group. 09.06.2013).

Thus parks in El Codito are places that PWD avoid, which does not mean that they do not seek recreation and leisure at these places. However, for having leisure or recreation they prefer to go out of El Codito. One of the reasons other than the obvious reason of safety is the recreation equipment that permits PWD to enjoy the space, as Alice makes reference to other parks:

> *"JD: And what do they do there to make you like it?*
> *Alice: There are swings*
> *JD: Do you get on?*
> *Alice: Yes*
> *JD: How?*
> *Alice: I grab the chains. I like it"* (Alice, interview. 16.12.2013).

The mystical place: Churches in El Codito

At El Codito the existence of a neighborhood leads to the existence of a church. The churches in El Codito are mainly Catholic but there are a small number of Protestant

churches. For Colombian society the Catholic Church has had an important role in the consolidation of the society. They have an historical responsibility in the consolidation of the nation-state and as an actor that exercises control over society.

In the Colombian case it is very common to observe that in cities, towns and villages, churches are built as the main buildings (the tallest and biggest buildings) along with the city hall buildings. Probably this is an example of the power exercised through the built environment as a symbolic imposition of the power exercised by the Catholic Church that represents the proximity to the divine entity. The physical building of the church is taller than any other building in El Codito. The erection of the church tower symbolizes a proximity to the realm of the heaven, which according to the traditional Christian belief is the main objective in the religious experience.

For PWD the Church appears to be a place for meeting people, a place to meet and get together with people different from the family. On the same line Foundations are places for meeting new people and to have encounters with the ones already known (Dialogue group. 09.06.2013).

Thus the Church and the Foundations are spaces where PWD develop social skills, and prove the effectiveness of their own ways of meeting and communicating with other people. In this sense these spaces are special because they serve to overcome their situation of social isolation. Some of the participants consider the Church as a place to go out, in a sense that denotes the possibility for recreation and going out of the house.

Even though the Church is a place that helps to break the routines PWD have, they essentially stay at home. The identification as a mystical space is preserved in the conception PWD have about this place. Their behavior changes when they are in a space such as that: as *Carlton says: "There I am more quiet and calm because we are in a Church*" (Field notes).

Churches are mystical places that require respect. They are places where one can find God, so the behavior is different from other places. What is important for the case of Churches and the situation of PWD is that they understand these places as sites for social interactions and places for breaking the routines of staying at *Home*. Thus, it can be seen as

a place that allows the inclusion of PWD and that represents a rupture of the isolated everydayness of PWD.

Schools and Foundations: the exclusion at the inclusionary place

Schools and foundations are places where PWD can learn how to live an independent and autonomous life. According to the experience of PWD these places are not spaces that promote inclusion or offer a differential treatment of them.

PWD have been objects of violence, exclusion and marginalization at schools. In Colombia the right of PWD to access educational programs is guaranteed by the constitution and several laws that regulate how the programs must be provided. Local administrations must provide special programs and therapeutic and pedagogical processes for the inclusion of PWD at educational institutions (Congreso de la República de Colombia, Ley 115 de 1994). However, even though there is a legal protection, the guarantees of the right are difficult to achieve.

As the participants experienced, despite the existence of different laws that protect the right of PWD, they have not found such a guarantee. When Alice wanted to study, she did not find a position in the school:

> "JD: So you never tried to get into a normal school?
> Alice: No they never let me in.
> JD: Why?
> Alice: Because I am sick and can't walk or go to the bathroom and all that.
> JD: So you weren't accepted. Would you like to go to the school?
> Alice: Definitely
> JD: And why?
> Alice: To learn" (Alice, interview. 16.12.2013)

The educational stance of society toward PWD generates an exclusionary situation that determines the role PWD have in society. In Colombia it is very common to only see PWD in the streets begging for money, it seems to be that this is the only role that PWD may achieve in society. Indeed the situation of PWD in Colombia depends on where one was born. In Colombia the education system indicates that the best schools are the private ones, which are costly schools.

PWD in El Codito do not have opportunities different from going to the public schools or the few that the city hall of Bogotá offers with programs for people with special needs (PWD). Some of the participants have had the opportunity to go to the schools of El Codito and its surroundings but the experiences have not been the best ones.

Mark studied at one of the schools of El Codito; he studied until seventh grade because *"Afterwards I went to "Nuevo Horizonte" to do my high school diploma up to seventh grade. I was going to carry on but my teachers told my mom I could carry on but without graduating."* (Mark, interview. 14.10.2013).

Mark does not know why he could continue studying but not receive the diploma, but the teachers as the main actors of any educational system did. One of the barriers that PWD have found at schools is the attitude of teachers.

> *JD: What happened at school, because that was an act of exclusion and violence at the same time.*
> *Linda: Yeah, too right.*
> *JD: What I noticed most was that the directors…*
> *Linda: What? Didn't do anything?*
> *JD: Supported the teacher, in the end you ended up leaving school with an awful experience.*
> *Linda: I don't end up leaving college, I quit because I was so angry because he threatened me "This isn't over, and if you come back I will get even, and you can't begin to imagine how.", so I quit out of fear of being raped or so many other things, because in fact, when I was in elementary school, a classmate tried to rape me. I didn't tell my mom. He wasn't able in the end because I grabbed him.*
> *JD: How old were you?*
> *Linda: 8*
> *JD: You were little. Do you remember it?*
> *Linda: Yes. And I was angry at men for a while after.*
> *JD: Sure*
> *Linda: But when I started high school I reflected on it and said to myself that not all men were the same, I don't have a reason to be angry with them - on the contrary, those who treat me well I will treat well, and those who don't, I won't.*
> *JD: Why did he try to rape you?*
> *Linda: Because he saw me as defenseless and I didn't want to kiss him by force.*
> *JD: Why do you think the teacher threatened you in that way?*
> *Linda: Because he saw that I had won the lawsuit and he was going to lose his license to teach.*
> *JD: So of course, it was a way to protect his job by following the steps he had already started taking over you. (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).*

So, instead of developing the abilities of PWD, teachers become the first actors that produce exclusionary actions on PWD. Constant bullying and violent acts are suffered by PWD. Teachers are not the only ones that make fun of PWD at the school, there are also students and classmates that used to made fun of them.

Objectification of women and sexual abuse are common for PWD. Linda shared her experience but as it is well known women with disabilities are targeted as sexual objects and only in a few occasions the person with disability or a family member denounce these abuses.

Foundations as places of the relative inclusion

The foundations are institutions of private or public funding that seek to generate educational processes for PWD. Foundations are the places where professional and alternative ways for projecting their lives take sense. Foundations are taken as educational places where PWD can learn artisanal knowledge that can provide resources for independent living. They can take the form of a public institution, an NGO, a charity institution, a private organization or an informal organization[30].

When they are accepted at any Foundation their everydayness is only at the home and the foundations. Some of the participants refer to the Foundations as schools. In fact the definition of the time at the Foundations follows the regular seasonal timing of a school. PWD at the foundations have holidays, days off and celebrate special days such as the teacher's day.

Foundations are places where PWD encounter their peers and socialize with each other. The participants may find these places perfect sites to meet people, have friends, meet new people and socially produce a space where they can be away from the pressures at Home. However due to the defined practices and norms that are imposed by the practitioners and professional at the Foundations, PWD also occupy the place without possibilities for transforming it.

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[30] Examples of the foundations referred to by PWD are: Vida y alegría (private foundation that is sustained by donations); Centro crecer (State program); and ADPES (private foundation that receives public funding).

As educational places, PWD encounter these places as if they do not serve for them. PWD tell that these places are not appropriate for learning; in fact Alice expresses in her own words what she would like to find at these places:

> *"JD: So what was the first foundation you went to?*
> *Alice: ADPES*
> *JD: And how long ago was that?*
> *Alice: 5 years ago*
> *JD: And what did you learn there?*
> *Alice: Nothing, they teach you nothing there.*
> *JD: So who taught you to do handicrafts?*
> *Alice: There*
> *JD: Aaahhh, so they do teach you things, Miss Alice*
> *Alice: Yes, but there they don't teach you to read or write such as they taught to Carlton. They don't teach you anything" (Alice, interview 16.12.2013).*

The foundations are effective at being spaces of social interaction. PWD have the opportunity of meeting new persons and strengthening the bounds with other acquaintances. While asking about the friends he has, Henry refers to his peers at the foundation as his friends:

> *"JD: Do you have many friends?*
> *Henry: No, at the moment very few because I don't go out of the house. I hardly go out. The friends I do have are Linda, L and Carlton, and the ones in the foundation" (Henry, interview. 11.18.2013).*

In this sense the foundations are highly appreciated by PWD because of the social interactions they can have*: "JD: Why do you like the foundation so much? Henry: Because I have a lot of friends" (Henry, interview. 11.18.2013).*

The core idea of the Foundations is to generate inclusive processes with PWD so they can develop strategies to find ways for being included in society[31]. However, even though these places are established as places that seek and promote the inclusion of PWD, they are also places that reproduce marginalization and exclusion. Carlton has been subject of such a marginalization. Carlton lives next to the biggest place of consumption and

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[31]   What I have found on the accompaniment to PWD is that in the foundations the idea is to generate possibilities for PWD to find jobs or to have learning opportunities but in the terms of what society demands for human resources and citizens' behaviors. This is very critical in terms of the concept of disability that the practitioners and professionals have and under which they establish these processes with PWD. It seems that PWD must be find spaces in society where society allows them to be, as a favor and not as a right.

selling of drugs in the El Codito sector. These places are stigmatized and marginalized by the general population of El Codito and with it the marginalization is addressed to the populations that live there. Carlton's interactions with the neighbors are frequent, he shares lived experiences with the persons that control the stigmatized place as a place of insecurity and addiction. Carlton has developed a personality according to the social treatment he receives by living there. The people in these places are armed and are usually stigmatized and marginalized as delinquent, robbers, thieves and drug addicts. Carlton is not isolated from this situation, his house is embedded in these dynamics and he learns how to behave and take care of himself. In the following quote a situation of exclusion is provoked in a foundation, having Carlton as the main actor of the situation:

> *"JD: How long were you in ADPES (Foundation)?*
> *Carlton: They didn't let me finish the year there*
> *JD: Why?*
> *Carlton: Because they started harassing me saying I was hanging around with gangsters.*
> *JD: And was that true?*
> *Carlton: I said hi to them but that was it.*
> *JD: I've always noticed you know a lot about the gangs around here and once we spoke about it. I know you live next to them, but do you hang around with them?*
> *Carlton: No, because if I did, I'd be up there with them now. All I do is say hi to them.*
> *JD: So in ADPES they thought you were hanging around with them?*
> *Carlton: Yeah. Esther came up with that gossip.*
> *JD: Who is Esther?*
> *Carlton: The ADPES Coordinator. She told my mom I was involved in that and because of that gossip I was kicked out of ADPES" (Carlton, interview. 11.16.2013).*

What one can observe is that the situation of disability cannot be taken in isolation from the broader social context and it must be understood by the spatializing situations that occur at the places that are being socially produced. Even though the marginalization is not provoked directly by the condition of disability (disabled body) the understanding of a disabled situation must include the broader conditions of the social spatialisations they have, their social, economic and political context.

At the same time these foundations can be scenarios of violence and marginalization by practices that are not close to professional standards. Sometimes the people in charge in these foundations do not have the professional knowledge or are not prepared to assume the

care of PWD. They are there because of the possibility to earn money no matter what they have to do. The lack of knowledge in interacting with PWD and the cultural significance of dealing with the Other and to solve problems generate the use of violence as a corrective measure and as way of interaction.

> *"JD: The problem there was that they said you were mixed up with gangsters, but did they mistreat you.*
> *Carlton: Yeah. There, yes. A nurse pushed the children and they almost killed her.*
> *JD: Did the parents say anything?*
> *Carlton: The thing is that there the children are in-patients, they leave them lying there and who is going to say anything?*
> *JD: Did they ever push you?*
> *Carlton: Once a teacher threw my bag in my face.*
> *JD: And what did you do?*
> *Carlton: Nothing. I didn't lift a hand, kept my mouth shut.*
> *JD: Did you tell your mom?*
> *Carlton: Yeah, I told my mom but she asked what we were doing there, so I decided to stay quiet and put up with it. If I found someone to help me sue, I would sue that woman. I still can"* (Carlton, interview. 11.16.2013).

The contradictory space of the home

As the reader is discovering, the informality of the construction and production of El Codito space is one of the determinants of the social spatialisations of El Codito's populations and especially of PWD. The dwellings where PWD develop their everyday lives and spatialisations are key elements on the understanding and narration of the social spatialisations of PWD.

Referring to the home as a physical space where different logics, discourses and practices take place means entering into the most intimate space that human being can experience. The home has become an object of study since the feminist revolution in the 60's. Feminist authors locate the discussion of the home in the center of the exclusionary process suffered by women as they seek egalitarian rights and inclusionary processes in society (Arendt, 2009).

Arendt (2009) identifies three different kinds of spheres: public sphere, private sphere and intimate sphere. The public sphere is the political arena in the broad sense of the

word. It is the sphere of the common, the sphere where the common interests are placed for discussion and action. This sphere can be differentiated from the social sphere that is even broader and encloses the social and cultural spheres. The private sphere is the place where the family develops its logics, life and dynamics. It is the familiar space in which before the Nation-State the only legitimate authority was the power of the *pater-familias* or the father of the house (Arendt, 2009). Since the birth of the Nation-State, and due to the emergence of Human Rights, the State has the possibility to regulate the private life, even in terms of over writing the freedom and free will of the individuals.

Arendt (2009) explains how the private protects the intimate that is the subjective mode of human existence. The intimate is the sphere of the feelings, the sphere of the personal ideas and the sphere where no one can enter without our own permission.

These spheres are blurred and their boundaries are difficult to identify. However what it is pointed out here is the intrusion of State apparatuses in the public and private spheres while the intimate sphere remains untouchable. "Above all, the bed is a personal place. 'Happiness is to sleep in one's own bed', says the cartoon character Charlie Brown" (Tuan, 1975: 153).

For PWD this conceptualization does not make much sense. Their private and intimate spaces overlap because of the intrusion of practitioners, physicians, the State, family members and caregivers. It can be argued that their intimacy is in constant transgression by different people and it seems that PWD have their hands tied. An example of this situation is the sexual life of PWD that is regulated by the State in the case of people with cognitive or intellectual disabilities[32].

The importance of the home appeared from the beginning of the fieldwork of this project. Since the first meetings I was invited to visit their private/intimate place, to spend time with them and of course to have more than one lunch. This initial experience has given

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[32]   In Colombia there is legal regulation on the sexual and reproductive rights of people with intellectual disabilities; however in some discussions with the group of participants it appears that within families a prohibition on PWD children dreaming of having a family or having a free sexual life is socially widespread no matter whether the person has an intellectual disability or not.

me insights and trust building by entering into a place that has special meanings for the human experience.

The dwellings of El Codito are particular informal places that have been built through the passage of time and as long as the economic and legal resources have allowed these constructions. In Colombian marginalized spaces/places houses are places where the families find a family place, the sons and in some occasions the daughters of the parents when they establish a family tend to stay at their parents' house and bring their families to live at the parents' dwelling.

In a particular and significant form, dwellings grow as the family grows. So the first floor is the place of living of the original family (parents, sons and daughters), as time passes and the family (sons and daughters) grows the house presents its condition of expansion, so the second floor appears. The third floor can appear when the son decides to have a family.

It is very common to find this kind of construction of houses in El Codito, houses of three, four and even five floors decorate the El Codito's panorama. Some of these dwellings are rented when the members of the family decide to move out to a different neighborhood or to a different city.

Indeed the physical characteristics of El Codito's dwellings are shared by almost everybody. The difference lies in the uses of the construction. For some people the house can be used as an element for increasing income. People usually rent the houses while some of them live there and others do not.

Informality is the most common way of constructing houses in El Codito due to different factors: the lack of steady or even basic incomes for the survival of the family, the impossibility of accessing financial system services, the difficulties for achieving legal permission for building and social envy between others. By informality I mean a lack of technical, legal and architectural knowledge. There are no architects or engineers at the beginning of these constructions; there are no soil studies; there are no legal authorizations.

In some ways the informality of houses exemplifies the "informality" of their lives. PWD only can get informal jobs (when they have had the opportunity); they have informal education (only when a foundation appears and brings them some learning skills or when a State program is running[33]); they receive opportunities but in the form of donations, so informality of opportunities is also common.

Houses are the place of the family. Due to the lack of economic resources private spaces become the family space. Bedrooms are not totally private (not even the bed) in various cases the participants share the bedroom or the bed with the mother (caregiver). Spaces at home can be very narrow and small and are not proper to seek privacy and silence. Some rooms appear to be primary elements. I have found that in a couple of the participants' bedrooms the fridge is located there. In some others they share the room with the whole family and the kitchen and the bathroom are shared with other families in the same dwelling. There are other participants who have different housing conditions: private bedrooms, shared bathrooms only with their families not with other people and private kitchens. One particular situation is the case of houses with rooms or small apartments that the participant's families rent.

The home is situated in particular daily activities, routines, interactions, feelings and affects that are performed in specific spatio-temporalities (Power, 2009). Home is the place of the family. Family members are diverse and their bodies can produce different spatialisations. The social roles, the personal routines, the corporeal rhythmicity, their expenditure of energy are elements that shape the home as spatialized place.

Marginalization at home
The home is understood as the "nurturing shelter […] (where one) can openly and comfortably admit our frailty and our bodily needs" (Tuan, 1975: 154). The home can also be taken as a poetic space that lets the family and the inhabitants dream. It is the first universe; the place where we experience the world for the first time and where one finds shelter, refuge and the virtualities arise through our own lived experiences (Bachelard,

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[33]   In Colombia, State programs are not State policies but Government policies. The difference is substantial due to the lack of continuity the programs have. It is known that for the locality of Usaquén there is one program that has been kept through ages, Crecer Centre. However the Crecer Center is only for kids in the Autism spectrum or with mild cognitive disability.

1994). The home is not an isolated space that contains the inner relationships that occur in its physical structure, it is a place that is embedded in the social dynamics, the natural and built environment of the neighborhood. These different layers of the spatialisations are characteristics of the exclusionary situation of PWD (Imrie, 2004). The home and its significance cannot be detached from the personal experiences PWD have in their social spatialisations. In their spatialisations their *physiological substratum* or PWD's bodies are key elements in the understanding of the domestic dynamics in the home (Imrie, 2004).

This *physiological substratum* incorporates the attention on the care of the body (washing, dressing, getting ready) and defines the built spaces at the interior of the home in what Imrie calls the *body zone* (2004). In this sense Imrie (2004) states that according to the bodily functions the built environment and the spatial practices are attended in a way that the bathroom is designated to washing the body and the bedroom for recovering the body and the mind. "Home is devoted to the sustenance of the body. In the home we feed, wash, and rest; to it we go when we are tired or sick, that is, when we can no longer maintain a brave front before the world. In the home, not the hospital, we recover from illness" (Tuan, 1965: 154).

Placing a PWD's body in the home raises a contradictory situation of care. On one hand PWD dominate and control their personal space of caring at home, on the other hand receiving caregivers (familiars and practitioners) can deteriorate the autonomy PWD may have at their place losing independence and increasing the dependence in their daily activities (Imrie, 2004).The home can be conceived of as a space where opinions and identity elements must be silent as a consequence of the powers of the Home spatialisations. In Colombian society the voice of the parents is always respected and followed especially if one still lives at his/her parents' house.

For PWD the home can often be a disembodied experience due to the exclusionary elements that do not recognize their bodies, their ways of spacing (producing space by movement such as walking), or their psychological and physical needs (Imrie, 2004). The lack of recognition of these exclusionary elements can determine the home as a poetic space for dreaming and remembering with nostalgia lived experiences or the space for retreat and rest. However the disabled home does not contain the nature and particularities

of the desirable home, instead it incarnates a physical tiredness, a social and psychological isolation and exclusionary treatments (Imrie, 2004).

The relationship between PWD and the domestic space (the home) implies a complex panorama of physiological, social and cultural elements that are redefined in terms of the aesthetic and the functional (Imrie, 2004). The built elements and the architectural arrangements take an important role, not only in terms of accessibility but also in the inclusionary way of allowing the encounter with others and what Imrie (2004) calls the embodied encounter with the design features.

In a marginalized situation such as El Codito there is a notorious absence of adaptations to dwellings that can be made to allow the inclusion of all family members. It is very common to observe in the different dwellings of PWD in El Codito that the prevailing necessity is to find a proper shelter to raise a family rather than to develop the capacities of all the family members. In this sense, "the body is simultaneously there but not there, characterized by material practices (i.e. moving from room to room, bathing, etc.), which draw attention to 'out-of-place' bodies, or bodies unable to operate wholly in environments characterized by the embodied norms of society" (Imrie, 2004: 751). It is well known that disability and accessibility is a matter of economic resources. People with high income have more possibilities for adapting their private space, influencing public policy or accessing public resources for adapting these spaces (Imrie, 2004).

The invisibility of PWD bodies is seen in how the homes are not designed and constructed with the inclusion of those bodies. The adaptations come when families allow them after many years, and when PWD are lucky to know and incorporate rehabilitation knowledge that inserts different assistive technology devices.

There appears to be a problematic situation, the existence of PWD bodies and its invisibility, that defines the way PWD behave in their homes summed by the social constraints and the power-dominated relationship with their parents and the unsatisfactory situation of living at the home. Respondents made statements that express this unsatisfactory situation:

JD: What cannot you talk about?
Linda: About my sadness, the things that happen to me
JD: Is not your home a space so you can be yourself?
Linda: No, despite I live with my mom and dad it is not that I feel like I cannot be myself, the problem is that as a person with a disability I feel I am overprotected. I am always with my dad and my mom otherwise they get angry, there are a few times that they let me go out alone. This is the second time that I do that" (Linda. interview. 12.10.13)

Another example of the lack of autonomy and independence is the situation in which PWD cannot make decisions on their own lives that determine their social spatialisations. Some of the situations lived by PWD produce shy and reserved personalities that cannot express their wishes and desires at home. This situation is motivated by their social context and not by their health conditions or the type of disability they have.

"Linda: They (her parents and family members) are happiest when I am locked up here and no one invites me out anywhere.
JD: Why do you say that?
Linda: Because I can see it
JD: Where do you see it?
Linda: One example I'm going through at the moment - my sister said to me this morning "But you're going out with Juan? Have you told mom and dad? You haven't told mom and dad? Will Juan bring you back this morning?" I don't know what time. I don't know… I don't have a private live. If I have a boyfriend - no joke I have to kiss in secret because if they find out I will get in trouble.
JD: I'm interested that you say you don't have a private life. Is everything down to your disability?
Linda: Look, they stick their noses in my private life so much that since I was little my mother instilled in me that the day I was together with a man I would lose all value before getting married.
JD: And was it the same with your sister? I mean, were you brought up differently to your sister and brother?
Linda: Definitely. My sister was allowed to go to parties with her friends, she could go to the cinema, she could go wherever she wants, but Linda couldn't go anywhere, she could only go out if it was with mom or dad. Once I had a boyfriend who asked me out and my father was talking to him for an hour before he let us go out.
JD: And what did he say to him?
(No answer)
Linda: That's why when you said you would collect me at the bay I said that if you did don't come up, don't come up!!! It's getting late hahahaha I don't think we would have gotten out of the house[34].

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[34]   Linda refers to the situations she has lived with her parents when a friend wants to meet her at her home. She explained how difficult is to have these encounters due to the immersion her father has in her life.

JD: But look, maybe there has been a change, I mean, you said that this was the second time they have let you out alone.
Linda: The second time. But completely, this is the first because they sent me to Chiquinquirá (town) with the lodger, my boyfriend invited me to Salitre (park) and they sent me with my brother, another friend I had invited me to Mundo Aventura (amusement park) and everyone went – my brother, my sister, my mom – everyone, god…" (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).

As this conversation demonstrates PWD are treated in a different way than non-disabled people. Linda is a woman of 34 years old and is the oldest sibling in her family. As she has shared in the interview she cannot go out alone without a family member, a situation that makes her angry.

One situation that is shared by some participants is the impossibility of taking care of their own lives, *"My ex-husband is the torment of my life, [from] which I would like him to disappear (Hangout. 10.17.2013 with addition)"*. This statement relates the situation of a person that cannot continue with her life due to the degree of dependence she has with her ex-husband. He (ex-husband) is the person that takes care of her; he is the one that helps with the wheelchair and the one that sometimes helps her with the chores at home.

However, the ex-husband is also an impediment to continue her life. He is all the time looking (spying and controlling) at her life situations, he even controls who can get into her home because her mobility is very limited and in her home she does not have adapted spaces for the wheelchair. As many say the meaning of home is not fixed (Cresswell, 2008; Imrie, 2004). On the basis of the interviews, for PWD in El Codito it looks like the home is a place of incarceration, control and violence.

This situation is even more complex and is related to the difficulties PWD have to possess something they can call their own. For example a participant living in a house that she considers home. The owner of the house is her ex-husband and this produces feelings of anxiety and generates a constant contradiction in developing a life, an identity and a place in the world due to the lack of her ownership of the home.

For her the best way to meet someone is to be away of the home and avoid her father talking with her friends.

At the same time dependence at home is related to economics and essentially to the limitations PWD have in their social spatialisations. In words of one participant:

I did not want to stay at home; I do not want to feel that my dad pays for everything I need. It is kind of bothering to tell my dad that I need money. With my work I have achieved independence, I had money to buy my things, to spend my own money. And also on the other hand, there I met a very special person and we were dating when I lost the job and my dad is very opposed to have someone visiting the house" (Linda, Interview. 12.10.13)

On one hand the situation of depending at any time on the economic resources of her dad produces feelings of annoying, irritation, nostalgia and frustration. On the other hand her dependence determines the social spatialisation of PWD due to imposition of rules and discourses at home. At home PWD suffer an intense isolation and are marginalized from the dynamics of the family. The levels of isolation can be understood by what Marilyn experiences in her daily life:

"JD: What do you do when there isn't anyone in the family that can help you go out?
Marilyn: I don't go out.
JD: No?
MR: I don't go out, but sometimes I go down by sitting on the stairs and I sit in the doorway and when someone passes I ask them the favor to help me sit in the plastic chair I have there" (Marilyn, interview. 12.12.2013).

The home for PWD is not an autonomous space where they can develop their dreams, desires and lives. This space is similar to a limited space that marginalizes them. The interior is similar to the dynamics of marginalization that occurs in exterior social and public spaces.

From an economic perspective, all of the PWD depend on family members for daily sustenance. As was found in the fieldwork of this study, all of the participants lack economic resources. Some of them receive a subsidy from the Government of Bogotá[35].

All of the participants live in the home with other family members and other families[36]. This situation allows them to compare their situation with the situation of others

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[35]   The subsidies for PWD vary depending whether the person was born with the disability or not. They have the right to a monthly income of 50.000 pesos (25 dollars) and to a coupon of 250.000 pesos (125 dollars) to redeem in the supermarket. The coupon is only for buying groceries or some medication.

that are at the home. Some of the people that live in the PWD's dwellings have jobs while some others do not. The opportunity to compare the situation of those who do not have work and are part of the social space of PWD (family members, friends and acquaintances) can generate feelings of frustration and sadness due to the apparent freedom the others have in comparison to the everydayness of PWD.

One of the most important elements is the intimate life[37] of the participants that is limited by the family and social constraints. This will be expanded in the chapter on limitations and desires. I would like to bring this situation as an argument that reinforces the lack of autonomy and independence that PWD in El Codito have and that marks their social spatialisations.

PWD are always protected from personal and social situations, they suffer from direct uses of violence (symbolic and physical) and they are not supported within the family boundaries. In fact, one of the participant's mothers has shared that "*at home my daughter is excluded. My family does not treat her well*" (Field notes. 14.12.2014). Strengthening the last argument some PWD refer to having social interactions with people different from the family such as renters; in fact they consider the renters as friends they encounter at their homes.

Some of the relationships in space are more meaningful than others and can be created by virtualities and material realities. The lived experience of dealing with suffering can be a way to deal with everydayness and mold a way to experience life. The case of Marilyn is a paradigmatic for understanding the ways homes and households are stigmatized and marginalized in El Codito. Her son is in jail and because of that people marginalized her and her family. Suffering is provoked by the marginalization caused by the acts of her son and the negative expectations of what might occur when he gets out of prison (Marilyn, interview. 12.12. 2013).

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[36]   In marginalized and low-income neighborhoods a dwelling can be a place for living for more than one family. In the El Codito context "family" means the group of people that live in the same dwelling (under the same roof) and share the food budget.

[37]   For intimate life I am referring to the sentiment and sexual life of the participants

Marginalization and exclusion is also materialized through physical and psychological violence. At home when parent-child relationships are mediated by violence, ruptures, negative feelings and frustrations arise. PWD are objects of violence at h*ome*. One of the participants described how she does not like her father because he used to hit her and her mother; in fact she used to blame her father for the meningitis she had after he hit her on the head. This meningitis was the element that provoked her disability. *"I had a sad childhood because my mom worked and my dad used to hit me and to my brother (...) When I was little he kicked and punched me, he busted my nose and mouth, I remember. It's something I can't forget"* (Alice, interview. 16.12.2013).

The appropriation of the space: PWD's spatialisation in the dialogue groups

During the research process the dialogue groups were accompanied by workshops and social activities that aimed to decrease the levels of isolation and loneliness PWD experience in their daily life. In these activities, PWD had the opportunity to meet others and establish social relationships with them. Some of them have met in previous State programs (such as Foundations) and groups for PWD, while some others had never been in a group with other PWD.

As we have seen PWD are always accompanied by their caregivers or a family member[38]. At the beginning of the dialogue groups and as at any beginning of any community group that is getting together, the need for achieving trust was an element that emerged in a natural way. Indeed, the relationships that started to arise were strengthened by the different situations that arose during the dialogue groups and hangouts[39].

There is a particularity found in this study that is the self-promotion of marginalization generated in the study. There was a specific situation in which the participants wanted to exclude another participant from the group. The lack of comprehension and the lack of the recognition of different minds and bodies led the participants to promote the expulsion of another participant (Carlton). The participants did

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[38] Caregivers are usually family members, specially the mother; however there are two participants that due to the level of marginalization and isolation suffered at their Homes they are usually accompanied by people different from the family

[39] See chapter 3-Methods

not have full information of the disability of Carlton. When a caregiver took the initiative to talk to the participant and explain the arguments of the others and after an occupational therapist took the lead to explain to the group the type of disability he had, the re-inclusion of the participant and the transformation of the group into a more cohesive one was the result of the conflict. The participants and their caregivers started to understand the differences in the group members and how those differences might be accepted. Carlton expressed his gratefulness for re-admission to the group and shared that in many situations he has been put out of groups for different reasons.

This event illustrates the exclusion promoted by a group of people that have been excluded. It is paradoxical that a study on marginalization and exclusion shows how the excluded propitiate the exclusion of others. Fortunately the situation changed when arguments were exposed and solidarity privileged the re-inclusion of Carlton.

One of the situations that consolidated the bonds of solidarity was a musical event that we were invited to at the end of the year 2013. It was 10 pm at night and we were on the bus in our way back to El Codito when suddenly the bus broke down. This situation generated discomfort and anxiety due to the difficult situation that PWD encounter in their mobilization. This was a difficult situation because we could not find any buses or taxis. It is very complicated for people in El Codito to take taxis due to the stigma and marginalization of El Codito as an insecure place. That night we had to deal with this situation and we started to think about possible solutions. Ideas and thoughts came and went and the curtains of the night started to embrace another cold Bogotian night, the clock was ticking until one of the participants offered the car of her dad to take some of the participants to El Codito. Linda was all the time thinking on the situation of Alice (a wheelchair user) and she was in contact with her to know if the wheelchair user had found a transportation solution. After the participant went up to El Codito and left some other participants at their homes, she decided to return and picked up the wheelchair user with her family to take her home.

Why is this situation important? Indeed this situation may mean nothing but reflecting on it and taking into account the situation of PWD in El Codito one can observe the bonds created in the group space that permit the establishment of social and solidary

relationships between PWD. However reflecting on the space of dialogue and looking at the relationships and the freedom that they have created through the days that the meetings have taken place, one can argue that the PWD have appropriated this particular social space as if it was their own. It seems that they have re-produced the rules of the space and created new ones. They consider this space/place as their own and it has allowed them to assume social roles based on responsibility and solidarity. Currently the weekly space is occupied only by PWD[40] and they are trying to create a space that addresses their own desire and will.

At the group these kind of bonds have transformed some routines of PWD and caregivers by generating new relationships of care and help. In fact Marilyn has been helped by a caregiver when she needed her help. On the days of the dialogue groups the caregiver helped Marilyn to get ready and to go to the meeting site.

> *Marilyn: No, well it helps me a lot to go to the bay, because…what's the name of that girl that comes here?*
> *JD: Which girl?*
> *Marilyn: The one who goes out with us.*
> *JD: AC?*
> *Marilyn: No, the one with the disabled boy*
> *JD: Ash C*
> *Marilyn: She has had to come often to help me get ready, shower and dress myself. I feel bad because she has her own things to do, but she makes people help me. (Marilyn. 12.12.2013).*

The space assumed by PWD implies what Masschelein and Verstraete (2012) explain as the presence of others that requires a shift in discourse and actions when facing the Other, their bodies and their rhythms.

Conclusion

In this chapter the reader has found the places where PWD develop their everydayness, their social relationships and their lives. These places are sites where PWD experience life, where they encounter exclusion and marginalization daily and where dreams, desires and

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[40] At the beginning of the research the caregivers attended to the meetings. Since the year 2014, the caregivers stopped coming to the meetings and the PWD started to appropriate these space.

frustrations take place. The reader will find an inherent contradiction at each one of the places exposed by the participants. They are ambiguous places that represent contradiction for PWD in their everydayness. Contradictory spatialisations of PWD in the places/spaces produced by them via interaction with the built and the social space sustain the dependent actions and relationships with others and the (self) exclusionary attitudes and actions in the different places/spaces of the El Codito sector.

The importance of the place for the study of PWD's spatialisations is that it locates social interactions, spatial relations and marginalization into a specific milieu. Understanding the place allow us to concretize the spatialisations of PWD in the places they refer in their discourses, occupy and produce in their social interactions and spatial practices.

El Codito's neighborhoods can be characterized as spaces of marginalization and as a space at the margin. They are spaces of marginalization due to the evident exclusion that is expressed by PWD reflecting on their spatialisations in the neighborhoods; as space at the margin, El Codito's neighborhoods appeared to be a stigmatized space where impositions and exclusions take place. The interactions of PWD with others are characterized by values of solidarity versus individualism. However, violence is embedded in the past and present of El Codito and its places.

The discussion of the places of PWD in El Codito allows us to identify the tense relationships between representations of space and the spaces of representation. The parks and the home are places that embed particular contradictions. Parks are supposed to be places of leisure and recreation but they are socially produced as places of insecurity. Homes are supposed to be places of inclusion and security but for PWD they mean something different and enclose the most proximal relationships of exclusion and marginalization that PWD encounter.

In a similar situation, churches seems to be mystical places designated for the reflection and prayer; however for PWD they are places for social interaction and breaking the routine of being incarcerated at home. School and the Foundations share a similar history: they are created to be spaces that promote the inclusion of PWD. However, the

lived experiences of PWD do not describe inclusion in these spaces as a result of the processes that take place in these sites, on the contrary many PWD have decided to be self-excluded from the schools and are treated as excluded, marginal members of society at some Foundations.

The importance of the home lies in three dimensions: first, it is the place of proximity, PWD establish intimate relationships at home and identity is being produced; second, it is the place of contradiction: at home PWD are being excluded, incarcerated and marginalized; and third, the home is the place where the family resides and where PWD develop their lives, dreams and desires.

For PWD, the home is not an autonomous space where they can develop their dreams, desires and lives. The interior is similar to the dynamics of marginalization that occurs in exterior social and public spaces.

Chapter VI: Rhythmicity and disability

Inclusion for PWD in the social mainstream is prevailing to improve the material conditions of PWD as a marginalized group. Arrangements in the physical environment are required to open the ways for including them in the society. However the inclusion of PWD does not only depend on accessibility.

A new proposal is being made through the analysis of rhythms of PWD as a way to generate consciousness on their relationships between space, time and bodies. Raising awareness of these relationships allows the understanding of the living experiences, their social spatialisations and the way marginalization of PWD is being produced.

An analysis on rhythms of PWD is presented taking Henri Lefebvre's proposal of Rhythmanalysis. The objective of this chapter seeks to describe the rhythms of PWD and to apply Lefebvre's proposal on the rhythms by relating space, time and the body.

The first part of the chapter conceptually presents the general idea of the Rhythmanalysis focusing on the concepts of time and the body. In the second part, the results of this study are presented in a way that narrates their everyday life stating their daily routines and especial rhythms that define the situation of disability. A third section reflects the rhythms of mobility in which it is established that a different body implies different rhythms and a different mobility. The last section is an attempt to discuss the slow pace PWD have in their lives and the relation with the imposed rhythms of society.

Introduction to Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis: a theoretical perspective for understanding PWD's situation

Bodies and time: an introduction to Rhythmanalysis

The differences in marginalized populations can be reflected in the conceptualization of body and time as two basic elements for rendering a *Rhythmanalysis*. One of the elements that characterize *Rhythmanalysis* is the body, in the sense that any discussion of the rhythmic laws posits the discussion and relevance of the bodies (Lefebvre, 2008). Lefebvre situates the body as the centre for understanding the dynamics of rhythms, in terms of alliances and contradictions. This location relates the anatomical and physiological body to

the lived experience, the body as "being-in-the-world, perceiving, acting, thinking, and feeling" (Prior, 2011: 205).

For Grosz (1995, in Koch and Sand, 2010) bodies and cities define themselves by their rhythms, "bodies transform the city just as the city spatially organizes bodies" (Koch and Sand, 2010:62). Extreme changes or interventions, such as the insertion of new technologies, massive urbanization, refugees, displacements caused by war or lack of opportunities, etc., produce a distortion in the relationship of the body and the city. This distortion requires that bodies re-take the rhythm that now the city is experiencing with its new process of transformation (Grosz, 1995 In Koch and Sand, 2010). Metaphorically bodies dance with the city by following or rejecting its rhythms. In any dance the rhythms that define the dancing must be produced by the entities in the symphonic interlude. When the rhythmicity changes by the provocation of a shift by one of the entities (bodies, cities) the other entity recomposes its own rhythm to continue the interaction produced by the dancing. Sometimes entities (bodies and cities) are contradicted and rejected by each other. In these cases marginalization and exclusion emerge by the isolation of the arrhythmic actors.

Lefebvre differentiates rhythms: the body has its own rhythms such as breathing and walking, while there are macro rhythms such as "seasons, epochs and the circulation of commodities" (Prior, 2011: 205). In this conception the body is the centre for understanding the dynamics of rhythms, in terms of alliances and contradictions, but also rhythms are important to understand the social dynamism of collectives (Prior, 2011). "Lefebvre encourages us, like Bourdieu, to reflect on the bodily incorporation of the social, where bodily movements take on social significance to the extent that they are both sensuously experienced but also socially shaped by linear rhythms such as work. 'In the street', he writes, "people can turn right or left, but their walk, the rhythm of their walking, their movements [*gestes*] do not change for all that" (Lefebvre, 2004, pp. 40-41)"" (Prior, 2011: 209).

Bodies as rhythmic are particular and develop a sensorial experience according to the context or the subject position. So, the lived experience of the body varies depending of these contexts: bodies and rhythms differ if the subject occupies the position of the tourist

or the position of a worker (Bourdieu, 2000 In Prior, 2011: 210). I argue that different bodies imply different rhythms and approaches to interact with and allow a proper inclusion in society.

For Lefebvre the body is related to the significance of practice: the practice "relates to nature, to the past and to human possibilities, and it ranges in scale from gestures and corporeal attitudes, over everyday activities, to overall social practice in the economic and political spheres" (Simonsen, 2005: 2). In this sense, bodies establish interactions with social practices (practices of production) and nature and its constant transformation (Simonsen, 2005). Lefebvre takes Nietzsche's ideas that prior to knowledge and beyond it is the body and its actions that require comprehension, especially because it is through the body that human existence can be grasped thanks to the suffering, desire and pleasure (Simonsen, 2005).

The practices of the body such as the physiological (smell, taste and touch), the "work and social practices, bodily creativity and poetry, Eros, sexuality and desire" (Simonsen, 2005: 4) are constitutive parts of the body and the selfhood internalized in it. At the same time, these practices are also caused by particular forms of space and time (Simonsen, 2004: 4). Simonsen (2005) signals that the body "constitutes a practico-sensory realm in which space is perceived through smells, tastes, touch and hearing as well as through sight" (4). The physiological body implies two different elements: the orientation that is the structure of the body and the demarcation that is the practical and symbolic "directions which not only act as guidance to the world, but also make it meaningful" (Simonsen, 2005: 4). This conceptualization with the body and its relationship with space is what Simonsen calls *the spatial body*.

Summarizing, I would argue that bodies, rhythms and time conjugate the movements and dynamics of the society. The next section will provide a linkage with time, which is a key element of *Rhythmanalysis*.

Timing the time

Time is always a relational element that is performed, produced and experienced by bodies, spaces and objects and by the relationships between them (Power, 2009). Social times are

diverse, multiple and contradictory. Changes in time will depend on the strength and insinuation of a social group, a class or a caste on defining a new rhythm in a specific era. "In the course of a *crisis*, in a critical situation, a group must designate itself as an *innovator* or *producer of meaning,* and its acts must inscribe themselves on *reality"* (Lefebvre, 2004:14). The shifting or progressive transformation of a rhythm will depend on practices and culture that will enclose the new project of time (Lefebvre, 2004). In this sense the discourses on intangibles and tangibles provide a way to cover "the machinery of the economo-political society" (Lefebvre, 2004:14). For Lefebvre the study of space is also a study that must be focused on time due to the inherent interactions they have.

Rhythm is everywhere there is interaction between a place, a time and expenditure of energy (Lefebvre, 2004). Time is embodied with rhythms into the following four notions: Polyrhytmia, which is the product of different rhythms; Eurhythmia, refers to the association of different rhythms; Isorhythmia designates the equality of rhythms; and Arrhythmia the lack of concordance of rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004).

Lefebvre classifies rhythms in terms of: secret (internal), public (external), fictional and dominating-dominated. Secret rhythms are physiological and psychological. Public rhythms are well known by the majority of the population; they encompass calendars, ceremonies, celebrations and virtualities that assume expressions such as digestion or tiredness. Fictional rhythms are false statements or pseudo-dissimulations that take place in the imaginary world. Dominating-dominated rhythms are created in music as well as in everyday speech with a tendency to be long-lasting (Lefebvre, 2004). Thus, time and rhythms seem to be embedded one in each other, as inherent parts of human beings. Time is what defines us as humans, is what allows us to talk about God, the universe, life, death. It includes everything about our human condition (Adam, 2006).

As culture gives sense to the transcendence of human existence, the relationship between human life and time is marked by elements as sense or explications "(…) death, the boundedness of human existence, to change transience, ephemerality, contingence and the rhythmicity of the physical and living environment" (Adam, 2006:120). Time as a cultural element gives meaning to life and death and establish a proper idea for measuring and understanding the human existence. Going beyond, this relationship is also marked by

the mundane of the world, in which economics and politics establish its own time (Adam, 2006).

When human existence is temporarily enclosed in a set of meanings and significances of life (culture) new ways of change, ephemerality and rhythmicity flourish (Adam, 2006). Time can be tracked, measured and transformed according to the human design for extending the power of control over the bodies at the individual, collective, national and international level. The extents of this power can be located in a set of distinctions/oppositions/recognitions that divide places, discourses and activities (Adam, 2006).

The focus on time and temporal relations provide us with the possibility of establishing historical connections and the identification of historical gaps that germinate change (Adam, 2006), but also to differentiate differences in terms of generations and management of time. Precisely, communities and marginalized populations own a particular perspective on the understanding of time; the outsiders, especially NGO's and government institutions, should understand these realities and rhythms and never impose their own logic of time (Vasco, 2007).

Virilio incorporates the time/speed as another important component in any analysis of a place or a city. For him, the city is a "box full of speeds" (Virilio & Lotringer, 1997, p. 66 in Prior, 2011), in which there are not stationary populations and the city is a site of "interchangeable places, telescoped in time and connected by systems of instantaneous travel and telepresence" (Prior, 2011). What Virilio is pointing out is that space-distances and geography are becoming time-distances and chronography (Prior, 2011). A critical element of marginalization is the existence of some rhythms that follow the time/speed imposed by the social dominant actors while other reflect a different measurement of time.

To understand marginalization rhythms, bodies and times become important. The immanent divisions and differences in any particular marginalized population imply the comprehension of knowing bodies (disciplined, undisciplined, abnormal and normal) and the recognition of the time constraints that each individual has on his/her everyday life.

The Rhythmanalysis proposal

The inspirational element of Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* is the music: his fascination for listening to music influenced his theory and comprehension of the city. Indeed, as with music, social life has its own rhythms that are expressed in the city and thus there is a need to comprehend that any analysis of space requires an understanding of time and body (Prior, 2011).

In the first instance, rhythm is the way of disciplining and maintaining the different energies of life and mind (Meyer, 2008); its organic aspect allows us to understand the relationship with actors, ideas and realities (Lefebvre, 2004). In other words, rhythms permit us to capture the diverse and cross-cutting layers of practice, social spatialisations and social life around a place, a city, or even beyond (Prior, 2011).

Rhythm has different aspects. Firstly, rhythm is defined as a regular recurrence, as a consecutive series of elements with regular movements, or as a period of eras or cycles, terms usually conceptualized by economists and historians. Secondly, rhythm is also understood as the arrangement of spoken words, the act of speaking, or the flow in poetry verse and prose defined by their meter rules. Thirdly, rhythm is related to biological movements such as heartbeats and breathing rhythms. Fourthly, rhythm is not a movement nor a speed nor a series of consecutive movements. It is also different from the musician's element of simple repetition of tones (Wunderlich, 2008; Lefebvre, 2004).

Rhythms are originated from cultural conditions, and are elements of reproduction and transformation of a culture (Koch and Sand, 2010). Also they are incorporated in culture through fluid relationships between "bodily perceptions, the topography of place, and the perceptions of maps" (Koch and Sand, 2010:62). According to Koch and Sand (2010). Rhythmanalysis refers to the tension between observation and participation and seeks to understand urban life. There are two main characteristics in rhythm's definition: repetition and measure.

Repetition is essential to understand rhythm and its relation with measure. Due to this link, the relationship between repetition and difference is established. "There is no identical absolute repetition, indefinitely. When it concerns the everyday, rites, ceremonies,

fêtes (parties), rules and laws, there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference" (Lefebvre, 2004: 6). Precisely, repetition does not only include difference. It is its own producer. In the repetitive sequences the absolute repetition is demystified and the repetition is never the same, it is always followed/resulted by the relationship with the predecessor/last rhythms so repetition is always an element that allows the differentiation from the predecessor (Lefebvre, 2004).

The complexity of rhythm relies on its paradoxical characteristic of cyclical repetition and linear repetition. By cyclical, Lefebvre understands the natural repetitions of days, nights, seasons, the waves, etc. While the linear emerges from social practice: "the monotony of actions and of movements, imposed structures" (Lefebvre, 2004: 8). The paradoxical relationship between the cyclical and the linear represents the measure of time (Lefebvre, 2004).

Rhythm and the rhythm of time seem natural in the biological sense of the word, yet rhythm is always unique (music, poetry, bodies, work, etc.). This means that time always implies a particular measure consisting of speed, frequency and consistency (Lefebvre, 2004). There is an important element underpins this affirmation, which is that rhythm always exists relation to other rhythms; its dynamics are slow but lively due to this interrelation. "One (a person) is quick only to the extent that the other (another person) is slow" (Prior, 2011: 206).

Measure in rhythm combines both quantitative and qualitative elements. Time can be marked and differentiated in moments, but also can inform about the unity of the elements in rhythm. "Rhythm appears as regulated time, governed by rational laws, but in contact with what is least rational in human beings: the lived, the carnal, the body" (Lefebvre, 2004: 9). What one finds in rhythms is, on one hand, logical categories and mathematical calculations and, on the other hand, that the visceral and human body encloses the undiscovered elements of our social life (Lefebvre, 2004). Even more, rhythms (external-rationalized and internal-biological and embodied) frequently contradict each other (Cresswell, 2010).

Lefebvre' views rhythms through a dialectical play of opposites. In this sense the concepts that define rhythms are:

- Repetition and difference

- Mechanical and organic

- Discovery and creation

- Cyclical and linear

- Continuous and discontinuous

- Quantitative and qualitative

As each rhythm encloses its quantitative and qualitative elements of measure according to their particularity, each of us deals with rhythms in different ways. Thus, each preference for hours of work, rest, waking and sleep will depend on the individual (Lefebvre, 2004). Our rhythms contain repetitive sounds, colours and objects that are concealed in the diversity of our rhythms. In fact, due to this concealment is how we restrain ourselves (Lefebvre, 2004). Precisely rhythms can be imposed and our bodies must be re-accommodated to those new rhythms. High cultures can determine a new rhythmicity so bodies on the low culture must be re-adapted, in various situations following a rhythm can be very difficult especially for bodies with differentiated capacities, which can originate constraints, restrictions and exclusions.

Rhythms hold a logic inherent to their origins, development and essence. The relation of this logic (identical-logic) and the dialectic (contradictory-oppositional) of rhythms is the primary goal of any Rhythmanalysis. In a particular sense, Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* project obliges us to revise the trialectic of space[41] as the method to conduct such enterprise. Lefebvre's example is the triad *time-space-energy* (Lefebvre, 2004).

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[41] See Chapter 4 on Production of space: Spatial practices, representations of spaces and spaces of representation.

Thus, rhythms are part of a social order and are historical elements of a particular moment in a particular society (Cresswell, 2010). Rhythms are key elements in producing social order in the way they "intervene by imprinting a rhythm on an era, be it through force or in an insinuating era" (Lefebvre, 2004: 14; Cresswell, 2010).

The diversity of times and rhythms define the way people experience and produce place/space. "These diverse times and rhythms shape the ways that people encounter and experience place, for example, they can be experienced as being in-tune with place, but can also jar and be experienced as producing a discordant and arrhythmic sense of place (see Edensor and Holloway, 2008; Kärrholm, 2009)" (Power, 2009: 1025).

Power (2009) also emphasizes how times and rhythms of places have implications and impacts on the bodies and at the same time how bodies influence places and their times and rhythms. Feelings can be associated with the dynamic production of time, rhythms, bodies and places/spaces.

The family as a group of bodies that produce and incarnate rhythms must "co-exist, interact, entwine, coincide and conflict, producing home as a complex and sometimes fragmented timespace" (Power, 2009: 1025). These rhythms co-exist (Polyrithmia) and usually are contradictory or conflicted (Arrhythmia), so it is necessary to negotiate rhythms, routines and times for a participatory production of the space. Some rhythms are imposed by different *biopolitical dispositifs* that permeate the rhythmicity of the family, while some are created by the corporeality of the bodies, such as the PWD bodies (Power, 2009).

Everydayness of PWD in El Codito

Daily routines-Timing the daily spaces

For Lefebvre rhythms are a constitutive part of our everyday life (2004; Cresswell, 2010). Daily routines are defined by the different activities one has during the day. Indeed, as a member of the 'working class' PWD in El Codito require time to do their morning chores. Their body rhythms are limited by their physical condition, by their spatial practices in El Codito and their routines.

Having work implies getting up very early, to get ready as soon as you can so you do not miss the bus, and to re-spatialized the routines at home. A job entrance at 7 am determines that the person with disability in El Codito has to get up at 3:50 am (Hangout. 11.29.2013). Indeed, this could be taken as an extreme situation, however, it is the reality lived by many people in El Codito who work in municipalities near Bogotá. Their day at work starts very early so the dynamics of the family share a similar routine.

For PWD in El Codito working and having a disability requires planning, time and the help of a family member. The schedules for using the only shower at home or to have breakfast have to be negotiated or in some cases may be imposed by the male figure at home (usually the father).

Assistance required by some of the participants to do daily life activities[42]. The lack of autonomy in doing some activities affect their daily rhythms due to the subjection PWD have to their caregivers. In terms of the activities at home, PWD's rhythms appear as a sort of co-rhythmicity shared between the caregiver and the PWD. This shared rhythmicity is revealed when the person with a disability requires the accompaniment and help of the caregiver or family member, and timing becomes important in the everyday life of PWD.

> *"Marilyn: When I have to go out I do what I can. I take a shower. I dress up as I can. The bra is at the end because I cannot put it on alone. Sometimes my daughters and grandchildren help me"* (Hangout. 10.17.2013).

Putting a bra on and tying shoes are daily life activities that require help for some PWD. This situation also implies dependence on others' time and may require waiting until somebody can help him or her to get ready to go out. Sometimes she does not have a family member with her, so she has to wait until a known neighbor passes by her house:

> *"Marilyn: There are some clothes I put on myself, but some are really difficult, like my bra. I shower alone and hold on tight. I dry myself and put on what I can. I sit at the window to see if anyone I know passes by who can help me, any lady that I*

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[42] In the rehabilitation literature daily life activities can be taken as human actions that obey to routines and personal responsibilities regarding the different roles one has in society; other authors refer to them as the tasks that a person must be able to do to take care of him/herself. Those activities include personal care, communication and mobility (Romero, 2007). The ICF proposes a re-conceptualization related to the daily life activities: 1) learning and use of knowledge; 2) Tasks and general demands; 3) Communication; 4) Mobility; 5) Self care; 6) Domestic life; 7) Interactions and interpersonal relationships; 8) principle areas of life; and 9) Community, social and civil life

know, and when I see one I throw them the keys and they come up and I ask for help with what I need" (Interview, Marilyn, 12.12.2013).

Colombian society places a different value on time. Time does not appear to be an exchange good that incorporates economic value. People in Colombia do not respect others' time and they are always late. For other societies time is precious, it has a value of its own. Time and respecting time are core values in societies like Canada.

Time for PWD is always a matter about which to be worried. PWD arrive early to the meeting places when leaving El Codito or to go to the foundations. Daily they have to make time for each daily life activity. Their slow pace requires the making of time and being aware of how the effect of time-consuming their bodies are. It is paradoxical that PWD, of their own volition, try to respect others' time while the Colombian society has a different idea on their own time and others' time.

A possible explanation of this situation is the excitement of going out and leaving their homes for a moment. At the same time, the commitment shown by the participants with the dialogue groups can be a motive for them to be on time. Meeting with PWD is another specific characteristics of their everyday life. Planning and timing are really important to create daily habits. When a particular activity or lived situation (such as going to the foundation) is scheduled they arrange their lives towards attending to these spaces. When time changes some of them find it difficult to meet/arrive at the new arranged hour.

Leaving El Codito could mean expending hours to get together. The lack of experiences and not going beyond El Codito borders and their surroundings generates a sense of anxiety and uncertainty whether we are near El Codito or not. Meeting people in a new place, going out with them and leaving El Codito (their proximal space) is not an easy task and sometimes can be problematic if the communication and interaction are not effective. In some way, this lack of knowing other spaces and the feeling of anxiety can be related to their situation of dependence and isolation that frames the relationship with others (people and places).

> *"Marilyn: (…) People I don't even know help me, at least to get down. There are people who are quick to help me.*
> *JD: And to go up?*
> *Marilyn: To go up? You have had to do that JD, and Sarah as well. I feel sorry for*

her.
JD: But is it always someone you know?
Marilyn: Yes. It is always someone I know, even though there are many young
people who are new to the area who don't know me, but help me a lot.'' (Interview,
Marilyn 12.12. 2013).

Waking up early is another differentiated element that PWD experience. As they need support and depend on others' rhythms since getting up early, getting to morning meetings and staying at formal jobs can be really difficult for them.

The rhythms of home are fixed by the PWD's rhythms and are negotiated to coordinate with the family members rhythms. The everyday life of PWD is influenced by others' routines, bodies and rhythms and vice versa with the rhythms of the home.

It is very common to observe that caregivers are not only providers of care to the PWD, but they have different roles at home and also provide care and financial resources for the rest of the family. Alice experiences everydayness with the accompaniment of her mother. She needs her help all the time to get ready and go out:

> *"JD: And you get up and what do you do?*
> *Alice: I put the TV on*
> *JD: But can you move on your own or do you need help from your mom?*
> *Alice: Yeah, I need my mom*
> *JD: Always?*
> *Alice: Yeah, always.*
> *JD: And what kind of help do you get from her? Does she lift you up?*
> *Alice: Yeah, she lifts me up"* (Alice, interview. 16. 12. 2013).

Alice narrates her everyday routines and points out how her everyday life is in between sleeping, watching TV and eating. There is an interesting element of the body, the rhythms and the space. For Lefebvre (1991) the expenditure of energy is related to the idea of producing space; our bodies are producers of energy and the excess of that energy is utilized to produce space. In marginalized conditions (physical and symbolic) bodies do not have the same amount of energy, the marginalized body requires more time for recovering from daily life activities so the need to sleep is a way of keeping energy for their everyday life. As Lefebvre also suggests, the unproductive releasing of energy and maintaining that energy can cause a body's condition to deteriorate. For PWD it is important to move and release energy otherwise their bodies can increase certain limitation they may have.

It is suggested that sleeping is an everyday practice that takes place during the day and night. It seems to be a representative activity when lacking energy and when bodies need more time for recovering from everyday life.

> *"JD: And what do you watch?*
> *Alice: In the morning CityTV, the Gardener's Daughter (soap opera), and then Dragon Ball Z.*
> *JD: And then?*
> *Alice: The news*
> *JD: The news? Oooh. That's the morning gone. What do you have for breakfast?*
> *Alice: Sometimes when we don't have money a coffee, when we do, toast and coffee with milk.*
> *JD: Eggs?*
> *Alice: Well when I get the subsidy with groceries like the one Carlmine has, I also have eggs for breakfast […]*
> *JD: OK, so after the news what do you do?*
> *Alice: I go back to sleep*
> *JD: A nap?*
> *Alice: Yeah, for a little while*
> *JD: And after the nap?*
> *Alice: I get up to eat*
> *JD: To have lunch?*
> *Alice: No, dinner.*
> *JD: What do you mean? Don't you have lunch?*
> *Alice: Hahaha! Yes, I have lunch at 1 when the news starts, then I go to sleep and afterwards at 6 I get up to eat"* (Alice, interview. 16. 12. 2013).

The routines of PWD elapse in between different kinds of daily life activities: taking care of the body (taking a shower, getting dressed and eating); activities of leisure (watching TV, doing exercises at the parks and listening to radio). For some of them part of their everyday life is working and the management of time, space and body that is required to be 'included' in the labour system.

As the kinds of jobs they can get are informal, the participants who work are still at the margins of the Colombian society. In Colombia the worker has to pay a part of both the total cost of the service and as part of their wages as tax for accessing the 'public services' of health and to get a pension when retirement comes. As the participants who work are kept at the margins of Colombian society, they do not have the opportunity to pay for better health services and a pension. In fact the income they receive is not enough to have an independent life because of the high degree of dependence they experience every day.

For the ones that work (or have worked) arrangements in time and space must be renegotiated due to the overlapping rhythms it can produce. Waking up early (4 to 5 in the morning) implies a confrontation with the rhythms of others family members at Home who have a job. The ones that have a different role at home such as mothers, school students or housewives also have different rhythms.

In the following section I would like to present how the rhythms of PWD are determined by their different bodies. Fatigue, sickness and health conditions define their rhythmicity in everyday life and their production of space.

Rhythms that break down: fatigue, sickness and health conditions

In their everyday life PWD and their physiological bodies suffer constant relapses. Sometimes their bodily functions, do not respond if their health conditions of health decay as happened with almost all of the participants. Their health condition deteriorates and staying at home or going to a hospital is a necessity.

Tiredness and pain also determine rhythmicity of PWD. Going out and walking is an activity that takes time. Resting in the middle of the walk and taking a breath is constantly required. Indeed, their disability is a determinant of the way they are included in society and how they walk their lives and the way they spatialize it. Marginalization is caused by living in a low-income neighborhood combined with being a person with disability. Constant falls by the participants are a common situation. Because of the kind of disability they have:

> *"JD: The fact you can't move your legs well – what consequences has that brought you?*
> *Alice: Because I can't go out, I can't go anywhere unless I tell my mom to take me*
> *JD: Have you become dependent on your mom?*
> *Alice: Yes*
> *JD: Do you like that?*
> *Alice: No*
> *JD: Why don't you like it?*
> *Alice: I want to walk, but when I stop, I fall*
> *JD: And what have the doctors done about that?*
> *Alice: Nothing. This disease is like that*

JD: You get used to it?
Alice: Well, yes" (Alice, interview. 16. 12. 2013).

Marilyn, Linda and Carlton often fall. The way they deal with their situations is very different. Marilyn's situation of isolation makes it really difficult to have strategies to manage the falls. In a hangout she has shared the situation she has lived when she felt down at her *Home.* She has screamed for help for almost two hours until a neighbor heard her screams. The neighbors had to break down a window to enter into her place and help her go out of the bathroom where she fell down. As this is a continuous situation her family decided to place her in a room on the first floor. She did not approve of this decision because she does not have the same conditions downstairs as upstairs. The downstairs room is darker, colder and is next to the main door.

Linda's situation is quite different since she is always with her mother. She blames the loss of balance she sometimes faces for the times she has fallen down. She has had the opportunity to use AT devices (walker)[43]. However, the structure of the natural and built environment and a fall suffered with her walker led her to ask for more help and has increased her dependence.

Carlton is a person who seeks independence at all cost, he is aware of his situation and sometimes his body remembers that, in many situations he tries to control his body while walking or standing up. However the lack of strength and balance causes him falling down even though he is trying to keep control of his body. It appears that the falls are provoked by him but not on purpose. His falls are usually in public spaces, especially at the buses he usually use to mobilize himself through the streets of El Codito. He is very careful while riding a bus because he can easily fall down due to the difficulties finding support and because of the lack of attention of drivers and passengers and the aggressive social interactions at the Colombian buses.

When it comes to AT devices and instances of falling, PWD have experienced frustration and insecurity. They do not trust the devices and do not feel comfortable using them:

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[43] Once she has an experience of falling down while using a Walker, since then she does not feel trustful when using the Walker and self-required the constant accompaniment of other for walking.

"Linda: I have a stick, Zimmer frame and crutches but they don't provide the safety that I need.
JD: You are looking for the kind of safety you need outdoors?
Linda: What do you mean outdoors?
JD: You say that these tools don't give you the kind of safety you need.
Linda: Because it just gets me even more tangled up.
JD: Do you think it is due to the type of support or the type of terrain on which you walk?
Linda: I think it has to do with the type of terrain and the lack of balance, which is something I can't recover" (Linda, Interview, 12.12. 2013)

Rhythms of mobilization

For PWD it is really difficult to mobilize. Their mobility and the pace they have differ in different ways from those who do not have any limitation. The simple fact of needing the assistance of a person creates a different way of walking in or engaging a public space. In this section, I will focus on the way PWD mobilize emphasizing their rhythms as one of the main characteristics in their spatialisations.

Movement encompasses an interweaving of physical movement (bodily parts), representations and practices (Cresswell, 2010). Cresswell (2010) calls these connected elements "constellations of mobility": "particular patterns of movement, representations of movement, and ways of practicing movement that make sense together" (18). These constellations are nurtured by historical events and the spaces they produce. Physical movement is the concrete act of moving or getting from one place to another. The representations are the social and personal understanding and meaning of the movements. The practice of movement is the experience of the movement such as how the body experiences (walking-rolling) and struggles with the movement and whether it produces fatigue, is painful or leads to liberation, etc. Mobility as a practice inherently connects the individual will with Habitus (Cresswell, 2010). The way we move defines and presents who we are (Cresswell, 2010). Through walking one can grasp the spatial concreteness and demonstrate their own tactics of walking (Lugones, 2003; de Certeau, 2000; Cresswell, 2010).

For PWD, walking and making their pace ((s)pacing) is a matter of struggling with their own body and getting used to their body's rhythms. Alternatively, they have to accommodate to the pace and rhythm of the person that assists or serves a support for them. By mobilizing through walking, PWD engage in daily negotiations with themselves and with other bodies.

For Thrift (2004, in Cresswell, 2010) the possibility of walking is embedded in fields of morality, aesthetics, and worthiness. It is always contextualized in a physical and historical space. Cresswell (2010) considers that mobilities are cultural elements that produce power relationships. As cultural elements, mobilities are both the products and producers of social relationships. As a social relationship mobility generates a particular way of producing space in a form that "one person's speed is another person's slowness" (Cresswell, 2010: 21).

A different mobility: the mobility of PWD in El Codito

Cresswell (2010) explains how in the contemporary world rhythms are producers and constituters of spaces. Different embodied rhythms represent a threat to the homogenized rhythmicity in space. "A strange rhythm of movements over a longer time period can similarly mark a person out. Too many one-way trips, journeys at irregular intervals, or sudden bursts of mobility can make someone suspect" (Cresswell, 2010: 24).

Cresswell (2010) also points out that rhythms embed an aesthetic element in their production, so mobility is a way of performance in public spaces as well as in the private sphere. For him, mobility has a significant importance because "we are always trying to get somewhere. No one wants to be stuck or bogged down" (Cresswell, 2010: 21). So movement cannot just be that, it implies interactions and the generation of identities and at the same time is an entrance to encounter new places and people.

Walking appears as an ideology and exclusionary element in the sense that the fact of walking embodies a set of meanings and principles related to being human and being masculine: "Not being able to walk thus falls short of being fully human" (Cresswell, 2010: 21). Different practices of mobility can establish different ways to inclusion/exclusion and

domination relationships. The mobile practice of a rich male globetrotting is not the same as the mobilization of a homeless person or a PWD (Cresswell, 2010). For PWD Cresswell's ideas appear to be a premonition of what happens with the way PWD's bodies behave and move in their production of space and as an expression of their rhythms. Many PWD will have believed that they are out of the social mainstream by their lack of or different mobility.

A reflection on the importance of mobility for PWD in El Codito, and specifically for their caregivers and family members, is the meaning they have of disability and the relationship with the idea of mobility. What such a situation produces is an exclusion of the difference that it is being represented by the mobility of PWD. Reducing the difference of PWD to the seeking of the 'normal' mobility denotes a misconception of what the difference of PWD is and especially the importance that caregivers and family members give to the idea of an autonomous and independent mobility related to what must be changed for PWD. There is not recognition of the different mobilities encountered in society and how bodies produce different mobilities.

Rhythms are in constant reference to bodily movements, for some people with physical disability in El Codito (wheelchair users) one of the primary aspects of their everyday life is the need to have somebody to push them in order to move around. When the person has a caregiver this person is in charge of mobilizing the person to their home or to go out of the home. However, when the user of the wheelchair doesn't have a caregiver the person relies on the goodwill of neighbors and acquaintances.

As we have seen, the analysis of their rhythms is also influenced by the situation of dependence. This scenario illustrates how rhythms are also social and in many cases do not depend on the person's body. Indeed, waiting for a kind person is a permanent characteristic of PWD users of wheelchairs in El Codito.

The production of space by PWD is defined by the situation of dependence in their spatialisations. The mountains are very steep and the force and strength the 'pusher' must have complicates the decision of the person to help the wheelchair user. The natural and built environment of El Codito decreases the opportunity to obtain help pushing the

wheelchair, and the PWD does not have the opportunity to choose from a spectrum of possible 'pushers'.

PWD's concerns are frequent. They use to blame some neighbors for the lack of commitment and help. Some other PWDs complain about the dependence they have on their caregivers. What this situation produces in PWD is the establishment of particular ways of living their everyday life. Their rhythms are a body expression (clothing, eating, washing, walking are time consuming in a different way from non-disabled people, but also a social spatialisation characterized by needing, helping to mobilize and achieve solidarity.

In different situations mobilizing is a matter of economic resources. Due to the built and the physical environment and to the limitations of the public transport in Colombia, PWD are obliged to pay more for mobility. If a person is a wheelchair user the person will have to take a taxi because in Colombia there are no other public transportation options available for them.

> *"JD: And how do they do to take you to the Physician?*
> *Marilyn: It is like a rich person. They take me in car*
> *JD: So, they have a car*
> *Marilyn: No, in taxi*
> *JD: Ok, in taxi*
> *Marilyn: when there is no money and I have the appointment I cannot go"*
> (Hangout. 10.17.2013).

Mobilizing is a matter of the body and its rhythms. Movement is an important element of bodies and for production of the embodied space. Movement is in relation to the bodies and in this sense is with the bodies' rhythms. The movement of the bodies of PWD is key elements to understanding their spatialisations. For mobilizing PWD need to make time, their slow and careful pace requires knowing the physical space to walk and stroll in. Due to the lack of resources and the lack of public expenditures in the El Codito sector, its streets and its sidewalks are not accessible for children, women, men, the elderly and of course for PWD.

Sometimes PWD have to hasten their pace due to the rhythmicity of the caregiver or family member. In some way they depend on others' rhythms to mobilize and that implies a great effort for them to keep other's pace and deal with fatigue and pain:

"Linda: If my mom were here she would be telling me 'eat, stop chattering!'
JD: I like that. Earlier we took almost an hour to get here and you told me that you were too slow, right? So I asked you, if you think your mom gets frustrated with you? Do you think you have your own pace?
Linda: Yes.
JD: And the other people that go with you?
Linda: Maybe they get frustrated and I feel it.
JD: Have you had a situation in which you have been left behind because you are slower?
Linda: Mmm, no. Never.
JD: Never? What if they tell you to hurry up?
Linda: They have to wait
JD: Do you get very tired when you walk?
Linda: When I walk uphill, yes but on level ground, no
JD: So every day you go out of the house, when you go downhill you have to walk back uphill.
Linda: and more so when I'm with my mom who tells me to hurry up because my dad is waiting for us...(She is like) 'Hurry up! Your dad is never late. Hurry up'"
(Interview, Linda 12. 12. 2013).

El Codito's streets are narrow and full of cars, buses and trucks[44]. Walking and rolling in the street represents a danger for those who are there. These streets are not in good condition due to the lack of maintenance and the lack of civic culture and citizen ownership that deteriorates the physical conditions due to the throwing of garbage on the streets and roads. Also, the lack of respect for the norms of transit; the weight of public transport and trucks destroys the pavement or concrete on the streets and roads. These situations make the streets and roads dangerous for PWD who have to deal with obstacles in their everyday life in the El Codito sector.

Pacing the walking

Mobility is about time and energy expenditure, it consumes energy and sometimes can be really hard work. For some people, such as PWD, it is a privilege for some to mobilize on their own, for some others mobility causes a dependent pattern of consumption for them and their caregivers (Cresswell, 2010).

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[44] El Codito's main road is a road that serves to connect the capital city of Bogotá to municipalities of the Department of Cundinamarca

By walking one can establish differences not only in terms of Rhythms, but also in identity, habitus and social roles. Carlton has pointed this idea out by saying *"I do not like 'gomelos'[45]. They walk in a different way. They have a different style"* (Hangout. 11.29.2013).

By walking and (s)pacing PWD render themselves visible to society. They establish a relationship not only with space, but also with objects, people and bodies in space. A particular interaction with public spaces generates many looks and instanced of staring. Indeed, PWD note how they have been observed but the routine of being observed by others is already part of their everydayness. All of the participants that I have asked about this situation have said they are used to being observed and that they do not feel anger.

An arhythmical pace provokes staring and calls attention in a public space that is designated to flow in a constant and fluid way. A different Rhythm may be problematic to deal with in the rules of the space. So occupying more space by walking results in the loss of space for others. This situation incorporates a visible element that reshapes space and redefines social rules.

An example of this situation is walking on the right side of the sidewalk. The particular conditions of some bodies that have a paralysis at the right side can result in redefinition of rules of space. PWD with paralysis on the right side must find support on their left side that produces a balance in their walking. Pushing and collisions are characteristics of the encounters with other bodies. In these interactions looks are easy to decipher, people in the encounters are aggressive until they realize that the person with the strange look is a person with disability.

Another interesting situation is the (s)pacing of PWD due to the need to hang on to someone. The situation of having two bodies connected to each other generates new challenges to the imposed rhythms and spaces. A caregiver and PWD occupy more space, they are slow according to the social norm and they walk in diverse ways.

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[45] Snobish people

Walking for PWD incorporates a series of strategies and techniques that improve their rapidness (rate of movement) and the balance and stability of their pace. They have been subjects of different kinds of therapies that have taught them how to walk with their different bodies. At the same time, their everyday life is a product of historical and present experiences that shape most of the ways in which they walk.

Their experiences of falling and fatigue require them to create strategies to deal with in their everyday life at *Home.* Being accompanied or being alone determines the way that life is experienced for PWD. It is easier to live with the accompaniment and support of the caregiver, but it also constrains the life of PWD. Technology appears to be an opportunity to experience mobility separated from the dependence of having a caregiver or family member all the time and from the difficulties of being alone that can conduce to isolation.

The possible independence and autonomy PWD can achieve through the use of AT has implications for their rhythms of life. The participants in this study that have used AT are persons with a physical disability. They expressed the opinions that they have experienced difficulties of using AT in El Codito, and they have pointed out how hard it is to use AT there. Linda expresses the hard work for her to go up the hill with her walker. In several experiences she has referred to falling while using the walker. She is convinced that the walker instead of providing her balance while walking is an artifact that makes her stumble.

Specifically, a reflection on AT use is related to the insecurity a participant experienced when using an AT device as a cane or walker instead of having her mother at her side. *Her narrative* describes the insecurity she has due to the difficulty of keeping her balance when walking alone and that is reduced when having a person that provides support.

The feeling of insecurity is also generated by the lack of experience in situations when the person with a disability has to deal alone with everyday life, especially in public spaces. The insecurity of not having the caregiver at their side and the situation of having to deal with a new, unfamiliar and different body implies new accommodations of bodies and establishing new relationships of rhythms. For example a different height of the person

supporting their walking signifies a new form for finding support. Bodies are used to walk at their own pace and by their own ways, performing aesthetics and personalized movements according to their own embodied experience of walking. In this sense, interacting with a different body or an AT device can produce insecurity or anxiety because the walking experience a person with disability has to deal with is different.

Most of the participants complain about the difficulties they encounter when walking in El Codito. Mark expresses the limitations he has when walking in El Codito due to his visual limitations (he is losing his sight). Participants with physical limitations such as Linda and Carlton describe the fatigue caused by walking in El Codito.

This complex situation of the natural and built environment is merged by the lack of financial resources that leads to a more difficult and complex situation:

> *"JD: Is it easy for you to walk?*
> *Carlton: If there are people around who know me*
> *JD: But is it easy for you to walk in the neighborhood with the hills up there?*
> *Carlton: There are some parts that aren't*
> *JD: Do you get tired?*
> *Carlton: Yeah I have to rest a bit.*
> *JD: Do your feet hurt?*
> *Carlton: Well they start to tire when my shoes get worn out.*
> *JD: Do you wear out a lot of shoes?*
> *Carlton: Yeah, but I don't know if it's me who wears out the shoes or these sneakers*
> *that they make now that wear out quickly"* (Carlton, interview. 16. 11. 2013).

Speeding disability-Slowing down the pace

Speed is a core element of globalization. Getting to somewhere fast is an exclusive and marginalized element in contemporary societies. There are spaces in modern cities of exclusivity that privilege the speed so mobility of bodies that are faster. Virilio's work focuses on the architectural arrangements that promote the rapidity in the mobilizations of the bodies. From a critical perspective he argues that "the faster we (as a society) get, the more our freedoms are threatened (…). We only need refer to the necessary controls and constraints on the railway, airway or highway infrastructures to see the fatal impulse: the more speed increases, the faster freedom decreases" (Virilio, 1986: 142 in Cresswell, 2010: 23).

PWD's bodies are perceived as slow by the current social forms. PWD need to take time for daily life activities and for the different interactions they may encounter with others and with the environment. A common daily activity is eating. For PWD eating can be a slow and tedious activity. Eating is a time consuming activity that can be frustrated by the difficulties for using the cutlery one finds at a restaurant or at home. Some of the participants need help for cutting meat due to the lack of fine motor control, and some others need help to take the food to their mouths. Eating becomes an activity that constrains social interactions and that takes more time from others' experiences of eating.

In a society in which time has value, rhythms and bodies' abilities can be measured by the expenditure of time. Taking more time than the time supposedly needed for specific activities is a situation that the social mainstream seeks to avoid.

We live in a world where velocity is desired elements for increasing productivity and effectiveness. PWD's tempo (slow movements) is slow and it appears as a counter production against the fast and standardized production of knowledge and lifestyles (Orr, 1996; Antweiller, 1998). PWD daily pace is slow. Shaving, showering, eating and getting dressed are time consuming so PWD need to plan and make time to satisfactorily complete these activities.

The experience of engaging with the different times and bodies of PWD produces a challenge to understanding their everyday life and to experiencing their interactions. Sometimes being with them is a matter of making time. They need more time and physical space for walking. Having a conversation with PWD implicates the understanding that the social mainstream utilization and definition of time do not serve to establish an open and meaningful dialogue, instead one has to be prepared for having an afternoon off only for the conversation.

Their rhythmicity establishes a rebel paradox: they are excluded and marginalized due to the different bodies and rhythms they have. However their rhythms impose a different way of interacting that results in a contradictory situation for society. Their rhythms are rebellious in the sense that they cannot be disciplined or changed their physiological substratum makes it impossible for society to attempt to change them. This is

a significant point due to the essence of the social model that posits the discussion of disability in society instead of the body.

As a manner of example Carlton shares the time he needs in the mornings when he is going out to the foundation:

> *"JD: (At what time do you get up) when you go to the foundation?*
> *Carlton: At 5.*
> *JD: Why do you get up so early?*
> *Carlton: because I have to take a shower, I shave, I take my soup and at 7 I get on the bus.*
> *JD: But that's 2 hours to get ready.*
> *Carlton: If I shower and shave, I take my soup and that's barely enough time"*
> *(Carlton, interview. 16.11.2013).*

A situation that is evident in the slowing pace of PWD is walking. Walking is also a slow activity PWD experience. The natural and built environment requires that PWD take caution and care while pacing their walk. Having visual limitations can require slowing down the pace, to take precautions and to be careful while walking. Haste is not allowed, planning the time, the path and the day are mandatory. For Mark (who has a visual limitation) dealing while walking in El Codito is an everyday problematic situation: "*Well, I have to do it slowly (talking about walking). When I go down stairs I go down slowly. At night I have to be very careful because I am scared to trip over a step or something, my brother makes me go down the stairs quickly when we are in a rush, but it makes me very anxious"* (Mark, interview. 10. 14.2013).

Speeding disability and slowing PWD pace is a way to understand that rhythms are key elements for the inclusion of people at the margins. PWD are commonly excluded from the social mainstream and are treated like citizens of second class /when they are treated like citizens). Indeed, their interactions have differences that require a broader comprehension. For example sometimes people with intellectual/learning disabilities cannot easily grasp social codes, and this lack of comprehension and knowledge of their situation generates confrontations and problematic situations at places like the home or the neighborhood.

Carlton encounters many places of confrontation where his difference is misunderstood and taken as a gestural rudeness:

JD: Are your parents in the house?
Carlton: My mom
JD: Do you get on well with her?
Carlton: More or less
JD: What does that mean?
Carlton: Not really, and we fight. We're not friends.
JD: Do you fight a lot?
Carlton: Because she says I treat her badly and all that.
JD: Do you treat her badly?
Carlton: No, but I argue with her a lot.
JD: She fights with you because you argue with her?
Carlton: Yeah.
JD: Why?
Carlton: Because I arrive late and she starts getting in my face, but it's not my fault that the shuttle bus brings me up late.
JD: Today you'll arrive late. Are you going to fight?
Carlton: Maybe not. She knows the shuttle bus takes a while" (Carlton, interview. 11.16.2013).

Talking about the body and space, Simonsen (2005) considers the importance of the gestural system in social interactions. "Ensembles of gestures or gestural systems are further invested with meaning and codes. Like language, they are made up of symbols, signs and signals" (6). They are elements to follow and allow us the inclusion of a broader society.

Lefebvre (1991) considers that belonging to a society "is to know and use its codes for politeness, courtesy, affection, parley, negotiation, trading, and so on –as also for the declaration of hostilities" (215). For PWD it is not easy to follow these codes and the event of missing a code can result in the exclusion of the person, (i.e. Carl and his behavior at the meetings (he likes to stand up, to walk around the venue, to interrupt the speaker, etc.). As it is pointed out by Simonsen (2005), "gestural Systems embody ideology and history and bind them to practice" (6).

Slowing down intimate relationships
Through the research process I have found an interesting situation experienced by PWD. What I call the intimate relationship is the relationship of the boyfriend/girlfriend. These relationships differ in terms of space and time form the relationship that a non-disabled

person may have. At the same time the rhythms of their relationship are similar to the relationship a minor may have.

Timing and spacing the relationship is very common for PWD. PWD are used to being a couple at the foundations. Indeed, meeting every week twice or thrice per week allows PWD to establish a more intimate relationship with partners. The opportunities to meet outside of these spaces and times is not very common and the lack of economic resources imposes greater barriers to find new spaces and times for meeting.

When a relationship has been established at the foundations and they are no longer going to the foundations it is very common for the couple to meet once or twice per month. Henry experiences this situation but he does not find any particular problem with it.

> "JD: OK, tell me something, how long have you been with Nataly?
> Henry: I met her in the foundation.
> JD: I understand she is very jealous, but before going on, you have been together for a while, how often do you see each other?
> Henry: Now we see each other every month because she lives far away (out of El Codito).
> JD: Last time you said you saw each other once a year
> Henry: She calls me and says we should see each other, but when I go, we go to a park.
> JD: Why?
> Henry: Because I can't go into her parents' house.
> JD: Why not?
> Henry: Because her dad doesn't like me.
> JD: Why?
> Henry: Nataly says because her dad doesn't know me, her dad doesn't even know I'm her boyfriend" (Henry interview. 18. 11. 2013).

PWD have to keep their relationships hidden; their families do not think they should date especially because in their opinion they are not able to look after themselves, and in the event they have a child they will not be able to look after the child. PWD are not allowed to have a boyfriend/girlfriend, and in their situation it is very difficult to form intimate relationships without the presence of others. The situation Henry describes is shared by other participants that carry on their intimate relationships at hidden and secret sites. Mark and Alice also share their experiences in terms of keeping their relationships hidden from family members, especially the family of the woman.

If they are lucky they find a boyfriend or a girlfriend at the foundations. There they will have the opportunity to meet weekly. However, at these foundations there are some rules that they must obey. These rules establish the prohibition on expressing any public displays of affection toward their boyfriends or girlfriends at the foundations:

> *"Henry: My mom got a call saying I had been kissing a girl*
> *JD: That you what?*
> *Henry: That I had been kissing Nataly*
> *JD: OK, tell me about Nataly.*
> *Henry: Because in the foundation kissing was banned" (Henry interview.*
> *18.11.2013).*

In some ways their relationships are restricted by the imposed rhythms of others. Family members, especially the mother, establish when and where they can meet. It resemblances the way parents relate to adolescents. Mark's experience exemplifies this situation:

> *"JD: And when do you visit Diana?*
> *Mark: I was going to go yesterday, but her mother told her off and has punished her. They were going to hit her.*
> *JD: Do they let you visit her at home?*
> *Mark: Well, my mom generally doesn't let me go out, but when I get out of the foundation I visit her.*
> *JD: Does Diana's mom let you?*
> *Mark: Yeah, she's good. She gives me coffee.*
> *JD: And do they leave you alone?*
> *Mark: No, we're almost never alone" (Mark, interview. 14.10.2013).*

It is very uncommon to find PWD holding hands or kissing in a public space. Their place for expressing their feelings is at home. However, the home is a problematic, contradictory and exclusionary place for them. As Mark says, "we are almost never alone" so the kind of relationship is quite different from the relationship a non-disabled person may have. This situation creates feelings of frustration in comparison with others' situation. PWD are never alone at their homes or at other places where they interact. They observe how people behave and establish social and intimate relationships, they would like to have a boyfriend/girlfriend without hiding, but it is very difficult for them due to the conception of society and sometimes their own conceptions of what disability may mean.

Conclusion

The Rhythmanalysis approach incorporates the concepts of the body, time and space. It is an approach that seeks to analyze the dynamics of the city as a social space that is constantly produced and re-produced.

The Rhythmanalysis made in the chapter seeks to understand the situation of PWD in their production of space. The Rhythmanalysis of PWD unites discussions of the body, time and space produced by PWD. An analysis of rhythms can be an effective tool to include PWD in Colombian society through the understanding of the differences in their spatialisations and rhythms.

The analysis of the rhythms is related to the everyday life of PWD. The identification and narration of daily routines of PWD enable the timing of their daily activities. Rhythms are in relationship with the timing, for PWD it is very important to pace their everyday life due to the specific characteristics of their bodies and by the relationship with the imposed rhythms of society. Social roles and rhythms go hand-in-hand defining the times and spaces of PWD.

Caring for the body, fatigue, sickness and health conditions are relevant elements in the rhythmicity of PWD. Falling down is a characteristic that PWD encounter daily, it is a key element in the understanding of their rhythms, but also a way to establish connections between the body and the self.

The identification of the rhythms of PWD informs the discussion of AT such as walkers and wheelchairs. Rhythms of dependency necessitated by the need to have support or help for pushing the wheelchair or walking with the walker determine the rhythmicity of PWD.

The mobility element is proposed in the study of rhythms of PWD as a main characteristic of this population. The rhythms of mobility are important to understanding how they mobilize, walk and interact with the natural and built environment and at their social spatialisations. For PWD walking and mobilizing directly refer to the different body they have. Their capabilities are related to their body and in this sense their rhythms are also dependent on them.

Rhythms of PWD embed a possible transformation of society. The concept and use of time that PWD possess and the need to slow down their pace can be considered contra elements that challenge the social norms.

Chapter VII: limitations, desires and hopes of PWD

In Colombia there is a still a need to provide material responses and arrangements for solving marginalization and states of poverty suffered by many inhabitants of Colombian regions. The situation for PWD in El Codito cannot be different. Material limitations are part of their daily existence, e.g., the lack of economic resources to buy groceries, pay rent or for use of public transportation.

However, the limitations of PWD are not only material (tangible). There are also elements that define their personalities and the way they interact with others. This chapter considers the intangible but nevertheless truly felt and experienced with powerful effects such that they are shared and commonly referenced as real factors in the lives of PWD, their allies and other community members. This will be approached through a brief discussion of virtualities, affect and intensity which will not be "tested" in the positivist sense but be applied to demonstrate the relevance of these theories to making sense and amplifying our understanding of the experiences of PWD reported throughout this project.

Virtualities such as the limitations, desires and hopes of PWD in El Codito need to be identified. These virtualities are non-material elements or entities that relate to the experience and the existence of PWD (Davidson, Park and Shields, 2011). The intangible refers to the untouchable, due to its lack of material form or its complement to a material form (Oxford dictionaries, 2014). Intangible limitations are non-material objects that can be encountered and observed as effects in the plane of the real. Intangibles are often discussed as virtualities.

The intangible is related to the existence of non-material elements that are not merely abstract concepts but are taken "as if they were a thing" (Davidson, Park and Shields, 2011: 7). These objects can include "brands, groups such as communities and classes, sets and the social- any 'thing' that is not a mere fiction but is known only through its effects" (Davidson, Park and Shields, 2011: 7).

The intangibles of PWD in El Codito. Virtualities as memory, desires and affect

Dreams, hopes and past memories (also called nostalgia, Shields, 2011) give sense to the spaces one produces and experiences in life. The most proximal space a person can produce, and for the case of PWD the most significant place, according to the burden and importance on their lives, is the home (Bachelard, 1994). Dreams, hopes, nostalgias and desires are virtualities and they challenge our understanding of actual materialized existence and allow seeking of new forms of human existence.

For Proust "dreams, memories and the past are (…) 'real without being actual, ideal without being abstract'" (Shields, 2003: 2), in other words they are virtual. Virtualities, as personal interactions, are placed in material contexts and are forms of interaction between self and others, things and places. The virtual captures the essence of the activities and the objects that are not tangible for the human senses. Virtuality considers the immediate "admission that something is not the case in fact" (Norton, 1972: 499). Shields and Van Loon (2002) explain the virtual in terms of being both real and ideal.

	Real	**Possible**
Ideal:	Virtual	Abstract
Actual:	Material (Concrete)	Probable

Table 7.1. The virtual (Shields and Van Loon, 2002: 2)

The Material/concrete is actually-real, our everyday life now; the Abstract is the possible-ideal, pure abstractions and representations; the Probable is the actually-possible and is most often expressed as a statistical percentage (Shields, 2003: 28-29).

The relationships between these fields are mediated by human agency, time and place (space) in the everyday life. According to Henry (2002 in Shields, 2003) the four elements of Table 1 can be found in any social interaction mediated by communication of any kind, they are interwoven and constitute everyday experiences: "the concrete (voice, inked letters), the virtual (coded meaning), the abstract (ideas), and the probable (author's intention)" (Shields, 2003: 33).

For Shields (2003), etymologically the virtual refers to: "what is so in essence but not in form" (22). For example, dreams and memories are imagined and recollected events that may be an inspiration conducive to action and that can "become actualized in the present" (Shields, 2003: 25). Absence recovers its sense through the virtual. "The presence of absence is virtual" (Shields and Van Loon, 2002: 3). So feelings might arise from the experience of absence. At the same time, the Virtual can be involved in relations of sublimation with the Actual: "A body becomes virtual by organizing itself into a subject ... this virtual effect then posits itself as the actual ground" (Colebrook, 1999 in Shields, 2003: 26-27).

The virtual is in an intrinsic and dependent relation with the concrete, in fact they cannot exist independently from each other (Norton, 1972); "is the past real? Yes, virtually, inasmuch as there is an actual past of events, which were once the concrete present and which are now really existing memories, cognitive representations reconstructed each time we remember (Neisser, 1982; Antze and Lambek, 1996; and see below)" (Shields, 2003: 29). The status of the past is thus clearly distinct from mere ideas. In this sense, the virtual can create a sense of the world that is seen as a whole and fractured at the same time, so it is real but not actual (Norton, 1972). Shields goes on to argue that spatialisations and other collective phenomena such as neoliberalism or globalisation describe processes that are virtualities; they are not just theoretical abstractions (2003).

Feelings as virtualities in the production of space: Affect

Feelings as virtualities refer to what Deleuze calls affect: "forces that things exert upon other things. These forces, in turn, become actualized so long as they find a purchase on those other things" (Tiessen, 2012: 13). Shields, following Deleuze explains that this notion of affect is *affectus* in the sense of "'a melodic line of continuous variations,' that is 'in me' as a change in my *vis existendi,* my 'power of existing,' or my *potentia agendi,* the lived power or potential to act" (Deleuze, 1978, in Shields, 2011: 4).

Affect can be taken as the potential meaning of the power of existing, which shapes human actions and the experience of living. It is a potential capacity to act, the decreased or increased power to act (Shields, 2011), the experience of a changing flux of feeling empowered and disempowered. Desire and fear respond to this affective essence. Gatens

and Lloyd reason that affect is tied to the body in the sense of being somatic rather than simply a mental phenomenon. However it is also tied to the imagination: "emotions and imagining work together; our imaginings are intensified by our loves and hates and implicated in our fears and hopes" (Gatens and Lloyd, 1999: 28 in Shields, 2011: 5). Affect is part of our daily life experience; it shapes individual personalities and habitus that are both an individual way of living and a social style. Thus, affect is always taking place in a context so it can be spatialized in place and time (Shields, 2011).

Places and affects are the result of the never-ending interactions of people with others, objects and the physical environment. "The continual engagement of people with things and in environments creates places and affects that are themselves always shifting, morphing, and flickering" (Shields, 2011: 7). Affect permeates the experience of people regarding "the emotional and the rational, the cognitive and the physical moments of our lives" (Tiessen, 2012). Affect can be cause and effect: "one thing can affect another, or another can affect it" (Tiessen, 2012). For the purposes of this chapter I acknowledge that the concept of affect is more complex and abstract than it seems. In fact, Shouse (2005) posits affect at the level of the non-conscious, being uncontrolled and unformed. Affect defines the "intensity (quantity) of a feeling (quality), as well as the background intensity of our everyday lives" (Shouse, 2005).

Affect precedes will and consciousness (Shouse, 2005), this is why it can be cause and effect. Affect nurtures feelings and produces them in the way that "affect is what makes feeling feel (…) (and) without affect feelings do not 'feel' because they have no intensity, and without feelings rational decision-making becomes problematic" (Damasio 204-22 in Shouse, 2005). Feelings can be attached to memories or past events that are actualized in the form of a remembrance expressed in a conversation or dialogue as well as the (im)probable future event. There are some memories that are pleasant to remember while others produce sadness, regret or frustration. At the same time, future projections can generate feelings related to frustration, worry, anxiety and sadness due to the contextual factors that determine the dreams and identity of people.

Shields (2003) suggests that the presence of absence is virtual. Memories are real but neither tangible or actual, so they are also virtual. This section is a limited sketch of

theories of virtuality and affect explored by a number of writers including Deleuze. I forego a more thorough investigation of the concept of affect, intensity and intangibility derived from the philosophical work of Spinoza as lying beyond the limits of this thesis. The following paragraphs will present the tangible limitations that PWD have; in a second part the limitations become intangible marking an emphasis on the self-conception of disability on the part of PWD; in the last part of the chapter the virtual is presented in the form of memories that produce feelings (affect) and the desires of PWD.

Facing the limits: limitations of PWD in El Codito

"It doesn't let me be the woman I want to be. I have to be the woman everyone wants me to be" (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).

In El Codito all the communities live under limitations that constrain their social, labor and communal lives. The difficulties of living in unrecognized neighborhoods produce the impossibility of getting public resources and having a dynamic interaction with State authorities. The presence of armed actors (like gangs) generates insecurity and fear. The lack of economic resources and indifference of social actors marginalizes people.

PWD in El Codito face these limitations and others that form a special kind of marginalization. As this thesis research makes clear, the situation of PWD in El Codito creates a marginalization on a second level: El Codito as a marginalized space that marginalizes PWD. Thus, PWD are marginalized in El Codito by different actors in different places/spaces. The literacy and level of education determine the kind of jobs people may get. In the best cases people from El Codito get informal jobs in which salary, access to health services, pension and others social benefits are not assured. To illustrate the inequalities of the educational system in Colombia and the situation lived by the people of El Codito and specifically for PWD in Colombia there is 90% coverage for primary and secondary education, 84% of these students attend public schools while the other 16% are in private schools (Minister of Education, 2012). According to the state annual examination to measure the quality of schools in Colombia, of the best 400 schools of Colombia only 80 are public schools and the best one of them is ranked 115 on the list of 400 (Dinero, 2013).

PWD possess a low-level of education that determines the kind of employment they can get. However, the situation is even more complex when some PWD of El Codito

reported they did not have the opportunity to get into public schools due to their lack of capacity for learning according to the formal standards of education and the evaluation of teachers and school directors. Having this panorama the labor situation for PWD is complex in the sense that they may not get either formal or informal jobs and that their capabilities will not be developed in educational processes. Thus, the alternative that PWD have is to beg for money as a way of living and as a way of getting economic resources for survival.

Negative attitudes, the social conception and the social representations of disability are other elements framing the situation of PWD in El Codito. According to Mendoza (et. al., 2014) the population with a disability and their families reject their situation of disability due to the misleading information and misunderstanding provoked by the lack of pertinent guidance on what it means to have a disability. So Colombian society and especially family members of a person with a disability do not accept or do not understand the condition of having a disability.

This situation produces another problematic element for understanding and accepting difference, which is the "compassionate response" (Alonso, 2003: 88) that is related to the well-known "charity model". Alonso and others critique the 'compassionate response' as generating an attitude towards disability that posits the PWD in a low position and one of not participating in the social sphere. In fact the consequences of having this kind of social response forms social roles and defines agents that behave in the ways that society is looking for.

For PWD the 'compassionate response' establishes a new layer of marginality and exclusion due to the need to overcome the social situations, discourses and perceptions of the appearance of disability. The situation becomes more difficult when one seeks to promote processes of social participation and local development in which the main paradigm is to generate autonomous processes led by the actors living the situation of marginalization, in this case PWD (Guevara and Mendoza, 2012).

In the survey made by the UofR ID Team, 64% of PWD surveyed responded that they believe the disability will disappear from their lives. This understanding of disability

seems to be seen as a situational element that can be overcome. This implies that disability is a sickness that must be rejected or eliminated and expresses a desire to be different from who they are. "They (PWD and their families) referred that one of their desires is to be able to get up one day and see that the disability has gone" (Mendoza et. al., 2014: 128).

Indeed, dependence is another important issue that surrounds disability in El Codito. Lack of autonomy to make decisions in their own lives, a situation of overprotection generated by their families, relationships with the caregivers that are perceived by the PWD as a 'load' for the caregivers and for society, the lack of financial resources[46] and of work opportunities are the elements that create dependence and that PWD have to deal with in their everyday lives (Mendoza et. al., 2014). One of the shared ideas of disability that the PWD and their families possess is the inability to do or act according to the current imposition of the 'High Culture', the imposed way of seeing the world and life. In this sense, "the PWD perceive that he/she cannot develop the same activities that others do in their everyday life. This situation influences the valuation PWD have of themselves, due to the lack of recognition of everyday life activities they do, specially the chores at home" (Mendoza et.al., 2014: 139).

The self-conception as lacking abilities is a product not only of the self-image that PWD have: their families also motivate it. The ID Team has labeled this situation as the 'ambivalence' that refers to ideas that show a contradictory position: "'they have skills but they are unable to do things'; […] 'I think the person can be independent, but I assume the responsibility all his/her activities'; 'his opinions count but not that much for him to make the decisions of his life'" (Mendoza et.al., 2014: 145).

The next section will reflect on the limitations identified by the participants in this study. I have organized them in three sections: The lack of economic resources; their social spatialisations regarding their autonomy and dependence in terms of bonds of friendship and affective life; and how different bodies generate different limitations.

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[46]   In Bogotá a person with disability has a subsidy of 25 dollars per month. This amount of money does not cover the purchase of minimal basic goods needed for one person. In El Codito's situation 25 dollars can last one week for buying some groceries but not for paying rent or amenities.

The lack of economic resources

The low income of the families with a person with disability is the result of the need to provide care for the person with disability. However, in the El Codito sector the situation is aggravated because 51% of the families live with less than US$ 656 and the 26% of the families of El Codito with less than US$ 328 per month. Having a person with a disability implies that one of the family members' has to stay at home to dedicate him/herself partially or completely to the care of the person. This situation in El Codito has resulted in most cases that the mother or the grandmother has to assume the role of the caregiver, requiring the person to stay at home and renounce an autonomous and independent life (Mendoza and Guevara, 2011; Mendoza et. al., 2014).

The situation of disability is costly and represents high levels of expense for the families. Disability has a financial cost: the medication, the therapies that are not covered by the health services in its totality, the transportation and the access to assistive technology are goods and services that PWD and their families must pay. For the families in El Codito these services and goods are very unlikely to be obtained due to the low family income. So the situation of marginalization is increased by the economic factor. In other cases some of the goods such as medications must be bought by the PWD, in these cases the family must find the money from different sources to buy the medications the person with disability needs[47].

This situation can be prejudicial for the person with disability due to the potential increment of further isolation provoked by the need of the family to increase income. What constantly happens is that the caregiver leaves the home to find a job (most of the time informal) instead of being with and caring for the person with disability (Mendoza et. al., 2014).

The economic limitations are very important for PWD. Transportation and mobility in El Codito are difficult. When PWD need to go out to the physician they encounter several limitations, they lack private modes of transportation such as a car so the only

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[47]   Families usually ask family members or informal creditors and moneylenders for money

public transportation[48] that is availability to them is taking a taxi. However taking a taxi in El Codito is very difficult due to the stigmatized situation the sector has (it is very common to hear that taxis do not want to go to El Codito due to the label of the sector as being a very insecure place) and they are expensive if you can get one since most avoid El Codito. This situation makes them fail in getting to the appointments: *"I have to get taxis everywhere, but sometimes I don't have money and when I don't have money I can't get a taxi or go to the doctor"* (Marilyn, interview. 12.12.2013). This is a common experience for the habitants of El Codito, but it is aggravated by the situation of disability including the constant experiences of sickness and fatigue they deal with every day.

Sometimes PWD have the initiative to find economic resources for them and their families. Their precarious situation leads them to create informal business without the help or advice of their families or business professionals. Carlton has a small business where he sells music; he buys the CD's at Bogotá's downtown for 50 cents each CD. He needs a stereo for selling the music and finding those resources are difficult to get.

> *"JD: Who helps you with this business? Where do you get the money?*
> *Carlton: No, that money I have to get it myself.*
> *JD: Your parents don't help you?*
> *Carlton: No they don't help me with anything, not even with the loudspeakers"*
> *(Carlton, interview. 11.16.2013).*

Probably the only help he could get is from one of his parents. However, it has been difficult to get due to the common lack of resources and the conceptions that surround the situation of disability in Colombia, namely the belief that a person with disability may not have a business on their own.

Social spatialisations: relations of autonomy and dependency, friendship and intimacy
Apart from the well-documented barrier of the natural environment of El Codito, there are other limitations that PWD encounter daily. The built environment is another limitation PWD face daily; the public spaces are not adequate with inclusive or accessible furniture

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[48]   Buses are not a possibility of transportation for PWD due to the lack of accessibility and to the difficulties associated with the dynamics in the buses. The buses are unsecured because it is not easy for PWD to keep their balance; people are indifferent to the situation of PWD so PWD do not easily find spots to sit down; the buses are also unsecured because of robberies and holdups that are very common in Bogotá; and the lack of secure conditions for transportation (lack of seatbelts and the drivers do not respect the transit laws)

and access and do not allow different bodies to be included in those spaces. The lack of public resources to transform spaces to accommodate different bodies excludes PWD from being in and occupying these spaces. The lack of public transportation accessible to persons with different bodies and physical and built environments that do not contain universal or inclusive accessible designs limit social and citizen participation for PWD in El Codito (Mendoza et. al, 2014).

In El Codito the lack of mobility of PWD is a huge limitation, PWD struggle everyday with their bodies, their physical houses and the built environment of the neighborhood. El Codito's neighborhoods are still being built by the habitants in contradiction to the mandates of the planning authorities; the neighborhoods in El Codito appear to be more than just informal spatial practice but full spaces of representations, community oeuvres that represent the desires, the interests, the ideas and discourses of the habitants of the sector. For PWD the high isolation from the social mainstream causes them to be excluded from the social construction of El Codito. In particular, in Colombian society PWD are still hidden from the social and political discourses, and only in times of political campaigns do discussions around disability appear on the public scene.

The limitations produced by the built and the natural environments are reinforced by a social marginalization promoted by the marginalized. In a micro-society as one finds in El Codito there are different social actors (families, young populations, gangs, community leaders, local authorities, NGO's, politicians, etc.). Sometimes there is no trust or confidence between them and interaction occurs because they co-produce the same social space but with distant interactions and mistrustful relationships. This panorama mandates that PWD and their situation of being at home most of the time reduce the social relationships they could have. The situation of a lack of autonomy is shown in the way the caregiver does not allow a PWD to establish social relationships with whom they would like, and the PWD have to obey what the caregiver says to avoid any confrontation.

> *D: Do you have friends in the neighborhood?*
> *Henry: Very few*
> *JD: Why?*
> *Henry: I don't like to have friends*
> *JD: Why?*

Henry: My mom doesn't let us. She says it leads to bad habits, better to avoid problems. She says that they teach you bad things, bad words" (Henry, interview. 11.18.2013).

One of the stigmatized social groups is the youth, especially the young population that follows the hip hop culture. The general population tends to stigmatize young people for the music they listen to and the clothes they wear. People in El Codito used to say they are drug addicts, slackers that do not work and that steal to buy drugs. Some participants are young and share a liking for hip hop and rap music and live close to specific places of the sector where the youth usually meet; at the same time they live close to the stigmatized places where drug consumption and the selling of drugs occurs.

Living close to these stigmatized places has created situations in which caregivers limited the PWD's social interactions and increased the overprotection. Due to overprotection PWD cannot freely go outside, and they need permission and accompaniment at all times. Parents and caregivers control and 'protect' them from whatever can harm them. The problem is that in El Codito anything can be dangerous or risky for PWD.

There is another situation that in Linda's view is overprotection by her family. She refers to the difficulties of having a boyfriend by the 'menace' of her father and by the words of her mother.

"Linda: Also, he says that the day I'm with a guy it's best I don't tell him because he'll kill him and go to prison, I don't know…
JD: Do you think there is a machismo side to him in these sorts of positions?
Linda: I don't see him as a machismo dad, I see him as an overprotective dad that thinks because I have all these material things that I don't want for anything else to be happy.
JD: Yeah, so that's a false belief.
Linda: My mom tells me "You'll see if you behave loosely and then get left in a heap like garbage".

This quote serves to reinforce the complexity that PWD encounter when they want to be a couple or just have a friend of the opposite sex. PWD cannot freely talk about their intimate life, and they are not seen as sexual subjects. One of the surprising elements found during this study is that sexuality of PWD is something forbidden and kept away from discussion. While different social actors receive sexual education (like school students) or

have access to information on the topic, PWD do not have those opportunities and are socially condemned when they act outside the limits of the social conventions of what it is expected by society.

Different bodies, different limitations

Having a different body implies a need to get used to it. Arrangements regarding space become necessary to fit their bodies and rhythms. When the person acquires a disability they must re-learn the different daily life activities they once knew how to do. Marilyn refers to having a limitation regarding a daily life activity that she knew how to do before and that is now costing her time and effort.

> *"Marilyn: The biggest barrier (when talking about her disability) has been being able to clean the house, because I have been a very active person. I like to polish my pans. I like them shiny and can't do it left-handed.*
> *JD: You're right-handed*
> *Marilyn: Yes. I had to learn to use my left. I used to drop food…learning to sweep and mop is also difficult" (Marilyn, interview. 12.12.2013).*

Action is a very important part of human beings; for Marilyn shinning her pans is an activity that she enjoys doing and is a meaningful activity for her. She also likes to have her house clean and now it is difficult for her to do the chores at home. Her face changes when she expresses the discomfort and frustration in not being able to clean the house, an activity that she used to do and now her limitations impede her doing it.

Getting used to a new body is a challenge that PWD face, sometimes they do not have the accompaniment of a practitioner and daily life activities at home become a torture and something that they would like to avoid.

The chapter on rhythms gives us an idea of the differences for PWD in their interactions with others and the physical space. One of the main differentiated elements is mobility. Their bodies move in a different way (s)pacing their path and producing space in different ways. Interacting with others is a way of producing spaces that requires a common rhythm, otherwise one can get excluded. As Carlton describes, he cannot get to other places without the help of others and what he has found in his own experience is the necessity to follow the rhythm of the others in able to get to an unknown place. His body movement and

the velocity at which he can perform is a limitation he easily encounters when is accompanied by somebody:

> *"JD: What limitations do you find throughout your day for social relationships?*
> *Carlton: What do you mean?*
> *JD: For example, a limitation could be the lack of money, so you can't get the bus to visit your friend, or that the terrain isn't so easy and you can't go so often to see your friend.*
> *Carlton: My friend walks quicker than me.*
> *JD: Is that a limitation?*
> *Carlton: Yeah, because I don't know how to get to some places"* (Carlton, interview. 16.11.2013)

Mobility is not just knowing how to move the body; it is a way to produce space and life live (Lefebvre, 1991; Cresswell, 2010). In the case of PWD in El Codito it appears that the difference in mobilizing and the limitations imposed by Colombian society has provoked greater limitations for PWD. Linda summarizes her social experience citing her need to walk with someone, the overprotection she deals with and her frustration at being a different person from who she is are elements that rise from having a different body that has a formative impact on her social spatialisations.

> *"JD: Can you say that your life is how it is because you can't walk on your own?*
> *LM: Yes. Firstly, because I can't walk alone, secondly because of the overprotection I have at home, and thirdly because they don't let me be who I want to be, I have to be who they say, go where they say and look after myself how they say. I would like to tell my mom that I'm going to someplace without them saying me "Where? Who with? What time are you coming home?" have you noticed that my sister never gets asked that? My brother got home at one in the morning and was never asked why he got back so late"* (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).

A different body is the object of stares from others. Every day PWD face the social scrutiny of unfamiliar eyes that seek to find explanations or that show expressions of sadness, shame or compassion. PWD are aware of these looks and as they have said, one gets used to that, it is a matter of living under the visual examinations of others that recalls the different situation of their living experience.

> *"JD: How is it for you living with a disability?*
> *Carlton: Disability? Ahaa!*
> *JD: How is it? Easy? Difficult?*
> *Carlton: No, well, you get used to it. For me it isn't difficult anymore because I am*

already accustomed. I don't care anymore if I get looked at funny or not" (Carlton, interview. 11.16.2013)

From tangible to intangible: limitations and barriers become virtual

In the following paragraphs the intangible limitations of PWD are presented. The intangible abstraction of the meaning of disability for the participants is the preface to relate concrete, physical limitations to virtualities like: memory, affect and desire.

Conceptualizing disability

In different dialogues and at the interviews I wanted to know the self-conception of who they are, the way PWD conceive themselves and the importance of the disability in their lives. Surprisingly there is a high lack of self-consciousness regarding their condition and their social context. The question of disability becomes relevant for this study after different dialogues I had with PWD and the caregivers and the conception they have of the different condition of the person with disability.

One of the relevant opinions that got my attention is the lack of understanding of the implications of having a disability in a context like the Colombian context. A conversation with Mark serves to exemplify the comprehension of the condition of disability:

> *"JD: Do you consider yourself a disabled person?*
> *Mark: I don't know.*
> *JD: Have you never been told "Mark you have a disability"?*
> *Mark: What I understand is that they say disability is in here (points to head) but they say I'm a normal person.*
> *JD: You are saying that disability is in the mind?*
> *Mark: They say it's in the mind.*
> *JD: What do you understand by disability?*
> *Mark: Well they say they are people who can't move or do things, their daily activities, like I do, but this is what I understand, as you were saying about Alice. My mom told me I was normal and that the only thing I had was life. She tells me I can do things without help from anyone.*
> *JD: Do you think that disability is something negative*
> *Mark: I don't understand.*
> *JD: Do you think that disabled people are sick?*
> *Mark: If it impedes?*
> *JD: Yeah, if it impedes*
> *Mark: I don't see it like that.*

JD: How do you see it?
Mark: Well, I don't know.
JD: Is it normal for you?
Mark: Well what I've been told is that disability is in the mind but deep down I don't know that. I understand that you can't move or if you move it is with a wheelchair, but I don't see anything else" (Mark, interview. 10.14,2013).

In this part of the interview Mark points out that he has been told that disability is in the mind but, he also suggests that people have told him he is 'normal'[49]. Seeking 'normality' is a common goal that family members of PWD have. The need for being accepted as an equal in the social mainstream is a struggle that characterizes the behavior of some caregivers in El Codito.

Trying to 'normalize' the different body has generated exclusion for PWD regarding the exclusion by society. The opinions related to this issue indicate that PWD prefer to avoid the topic of disability because of the social significance it has. Also, they prefer to speak from the normal point of view ("I am normal") creating a belief that they are included by the self-ideation of being normal. Just as with Mark, Alice makes references to the idea of normality. It can be argued that an awareness of their own reality is what Alice might be referring to by rejecting the idea of being sick and pursuing normality.

PWD's opinions on how others look at (see and think) them are also related to the idea of shame. Alice was asked about the looks she constantly receives. From the point of view of the person with a disability her own interpretation is that people look at her because she uses a wheelchair.

"JD: You said that people are nasty. Do you think people look at you or at the wheelchair?
Alice: Well, they look at me because they say it's a shame to see me like this. They feel bad.
JD: And what do you say to them?
Alice: I ask them if they've never seen a sick person before.
JD: Do you think you're a sick person?
Alice: I'm normal
JD: You're normal?
Alice: Yeah, I'm normal.
JD: Is something you talk about in the family?
Alice: If I'm normal, I have a friend who is in a wheelchair but she is retarded.

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[49] The concept of normality is related to the term ableism that is referred in chapter 3 of this Thesis

JD: And what's the difference between her situation and yours?
Alice: A lot because she has difficulty when she speaks.
JD: And you speak fine
Alice: Yeah I speak fine.
JD: That's why you're not sick?
Alice: No, I'm not sick" (Alice, interview. 12.16.2013).

Discussions about being sick and being normal are common for PWD in El Codito. PWD face regular declines in their health condition, and people in general relate being a person with disability to the condition of health. It seems that if you are healthy you are a contributing member of society and feelings of shame are not related to you.

Considering the realities of El Codito it is not difficult to imagine why people in general feel sorry for a person in a wheelchair (Parrette and Scherer, 2004), it is not just the struggles of everyday life in such a marginalized condition, but it is to live under the marginalized conditions while having a disability.

As a wheelchair user Alice is easily recognized as a person with a disability. In the Colombian context as well as in El Codito, disability is commonly related to physical limitations; however, she is referring to a friend who is also a wheelchair user. She considers her friend different from her because her friend cannot express herself orally.

The participants also indicate that having a disability suggests dealing with social barriers and exclusions. Carlton has tried to find a job, but he expresses that it is very difficult to find because of his multiple disability (intellectual and physical):

"JD: What does it mean to you to have this disability?
Carlton: It's difficult; sometimes I can't work with my right side.
JD: Have you ever not been hired because of your disability?
Carlton: Yeah.
JD: Why is it difficult?
Carlton: Lots of people in wheelchairs don't go to work.
JD: In your case do you feel like you haven't had the same opportunities?
Carlton: Yeah, that's what my disability on my right side has led to" (Carlton, interview. 11.16.2013).

A widespread social conception regarding disability implies that a person with a disability is immediately taken as a person not able to do tasks that others can do. This misconception is also seen at home. Parents decide for the person with disability, and this is seen by PWD as a limitation they have and will have in the future. In the families of PWD there are arrangements to decide who 'takes' (help or support) the person with disability:

"Linda: That I won't be able to live my life until I don't have them (her parents) anymore. The thing is that my dad is so obsessed that he already told my sister that the day they (her parents) die I have to live with her and I don't want to live with her because for me that would be difficult – living with my sister along with the man I end up loving (...) For me it will be difficult. I would never tell them this to their faces. There are so many things that they don't realize. You see me laughing and joking, but I'm not that kind of woman, I have to hide myself" (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).

In the El Codito context the limitations are broader because of the lack of different resources, which posits more constraints on PWD. The relationships at home are determinants for PWD, home is a very important place where proximal relationships take a form and identity starts to be shaped. It seems that PWD have limited relationships at home based on hiding their desires and voices by letting others decide on their lives. "*It doesn't let me be the woman I want to be. I have to be the woman everyone wants me to be*" (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).

Memories are also embedded in the experience of having a disability. Linda and Alice have expressed on many occasions the multiple surgeries they have had in different stages of their lives. Seeking to walk as a 'normal' person and the understanding that the disability is in the body (commonly referred to as the "medical model" as opposed to the social model by locating disability in the body of the person and not in the society) have generated these experiences they have had. When asking about these experiences they have related them to feelings of frustration and to physical and emotional pain; but especially to the opinion that disability is a terrible and sad experience.

Affected life: feelings, memories and desire

In this part of the chapter I would like to reflect on the different feelings expressed by the participants regarding the different scenarios of the research process. Some of these feelings are attached to memories and remembrances; some others are embedded in social relationships and the determinant rules of spaces/places like the home. The virtual incorporates elements like memories; they are *real ideations*: they are real but not material/tangible nor actual per se (Shields, 2003: 38).

Memories are virtual and as virtual they are real. Memories or past events are real but not actual so they are not material. The past (the memories) has a virtual existence so it

is never a literal narration of what is happening; it is "a narrative, a memory, an ideation" (Shields, 2003: 40). As virtual, memories produce feelings and the capacity/power to act. In the case of PWD limitations are related to the potential of action, to the 'power of existing'.

The home is still a transcendental place where PWD reside, live and, experience life. PWD consider the home as the "place closest to us" (Discussion group. 09.06.2013). The home as a place for congregation is related to the family relationships and to the idea that the intimate place where the most meaningful situations and relationships occur is the home. As Bachelard (1994) notes, the home is where one can dream and imagine life prospectively. However, the home can embed the spatial elements that produce marginalization for PWD. The home as a place of confinement marginalizes the person from a broader social life and privileges this situation in terms of finding a place of haven even if privacies appear in this situation (Imrie, 2004).

Memories of the home include negative experiences that have marginalized PWD. The use of violence against PWD as we have seen in other chapters has imposed sad memories that have produced feelings of sadness and frustration. Memories and past experiences that demonstrate situations of marginalization and that are remembered with sadness can be seen in quotes like this one: *"My parents do not love me, my dad used to say that I should beg for money to buy the medication I need"* (Carlton. Discussion group, 2013). Carlton remembers when he was a child and keeps in his mind such words and exclusionary acts he faces at home. Carlton, and many other PWD, in his lived experience have suffered lack of support, lack of understanding and lack of opportunities. The underlying idea of the above quote is that PWD cannot do anything else for their lives different than begging for money, which is a very common image and role that society holds for PWD in Colombia.

Feelings associated with sadness, frustration, fear and machismo are very common when remembering experiences. The feelings of sadness can be a product of the way PWD are treated. In many cases violence has been the mediator in the interactions of different people with PWD. Like the experiences of Linda at the school and Alice at Home they have been victims of violent acts. These acts have provoked limited actions in terms of finishing school or having a relationship with her father. As it is expressed by Linda: *"Linda: My*

dream was to show my parents that I could get the high school degree, but now I cannot get it because of what happened to me in the school" (Linda, Discussion group. 11. 08. 2013).

The expression of sadness is related to the feeling of frustration. According to the *Oxford Dictionaries* frustration is "the feeling of being upset or annoyed as a result of being unable to change or achieve something" (*Oxford*, 2014). The feeling of frustration can be identified in situations in which the family assumes a role of protection of the PWD that can undermine their autonomy and freedom. In various narrations the PWD in El Codito have shared their feelings of frustration on different occasions. One of the examples is the difficulty they encounter to go out without the accompaniment of a family member. In some cases they need the support of a person to go out, e.g. wheelchair users. In other cases the impediment to going out is provoked by the permission they need to go out. Even though they are people over eighteen years old, because of the social conception Colombian society has of PWD (like the minority of age) they are treated as children and their economic situation of dependence generates feelings of frustration.

When asked for desires, the limitations of PWD arise and produce a relationship between the limits and the wanted. *"Linda: I would like to have a normal family, just like any human being, and be able to go out wherever I want, have my boyfriend arrive to my house without any problems…if there is a family outing that they invite him, but I know this will never happen"* (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013). Even though she wishes to have what she calls a normal life, she is aware of the limitations that impede her from her life. The memories of having a conversation with the physician at the age of 12 in which the physician told her she would not be able to be a mother because her physical condition could be deteriorate; the situation provoked by the visit of one of her friends and the attitude of her father by talking to her friend on the do's and do not's with Linda; and the permanent accompaniment of a family member every time she wants to go out generate not only the feeling but also a self-conviction that she will not change her own life.

The last quote illustrates how the social model of disability understands the situation of disability. Linda without knowing it exemplifies how society (and the different social actors) intervenes and produces the marginalization of PWD. Her lived experiences and

past events are constructors of a personality that feels, experiences and expresses limitations and marginalization.

Due to the constant frustrations, PWD used to describe their own existence, in formulations that imply an experience of sadness and depression: *"(…) I am so frustrated that sometimes I ask why I was born to be in a world where I can't live a normal life" (Linda, interview. 12.12.2013).*

Feelings of fear are expressed in a double sense: the fear felt by PWD in their social spatialisations and the fear PWD think their parents or family members have for their security. The fear provoked by the context of constant mistrust and violence (killings, robberies and assaults) by the situations of the El Codito impact the spatialisations that PWD have.

We have seen how the participants recall being attacked at parks and at the home. Also, the participants have referred to the existence of gangs that menace the security of the sector by occasional confrontations between each other. The presence of drug addicts that steal and assault El Codito's inhabitants produces a sense of insecurity spread out through the neighborhoods of the El Codito.

Having direct violent experiences generates personal rejections of the places where violence is being produced. The school and the parks are examples of places that PWD prefer to avoid due to the personal lived experience and the social product of the place. Signification of the place is generalized and self-exclusion is being produced for avoiding these places.

Fears related to what PWD think about what their families fear are related to sexual topics. One of the participants has said that the *"biggest fear (of her parents) is that I get pregnant (…) because they think I do not know about protection methods"* (Linda. 12.12.2013). For women with a disability it is very difficult to seek independence and being alone with male accompaniment, the narratives of Linda, Alice and Marilyn are consistent with this statement.

The fear felt by PWD corresponds to a machismo culture that increases the exclusion of women and the levels of dependence. This situation is identified in El Codito in different ways. According to one participant the impossibility of having a boyfriend is related to the relationship of dependence that she has with her ex-husband: *"if I want to have a boyfriend I get scared. I find a boyfriend and it freaks me out because my ex-husband has said to some people that the person who enters to my place he will kill him"* (Hangout. 10.17.2013).

In this statement one can identify several elements. The first one is the degree of self-perceived ownership of the life of the ex-wife by her former husband. From a feminist point of view the situation of domination lived by the participant is explained by the idea of possession of the life of a person who once shared a life with him. The physical control exercised on women by incarcerating them at home is an element that they experience everyday, especially if the woman is a wheelchair user.

Desiring desires
The following section presents the desires PWD have. As we have argued there are virtualities that are in permanent relationship with the concrete limitations they encounter every day. Sometimes the desires expressed are not seeking to fulfill a personal good. Marilyn, as a leader of the sector and community mother, has raised many children of the sector through her work of more than 20 years. She points out that since her disease (as she calls the stroke she sustained seven years ago) she has not been able to carry out the activities of the community and is isolated. According to her she knows many people that have unsatisfied needs so she considers that what she needs is a car.

Since she had a stroke her mobility and rhythmicity have shifted, she thinks that her disability has made her stay at home and limited her interactions due to the use of a wheelchair. In her conceptualization of disability she believes that having a car will solve her situation and allow her to help people.

> *"Because of the sickness I have, because I cannot move…Not really, but if I could get in that car I would go out and be able to see the people's problems. I would help them to resolve many things – I am not rich but I don't want for anything financially because I have worked a lot. I see children who I know are in a bad state but I can't help them, I can't give them a different Christmas where they actually get*

something. The lady who helps me does so because I ask her, not for me but for others. On Saturday we had a day for present-giving. I sat in the wheelchair and they took me to the healthcare center to give out the presents. I don't ask for myself, Juan David, but for the others because I have everything, except my health (...) Yes, Juan David, that's why I need the car. I get into that car and help to find the things I ask for and people give them to me because they aren't for me – everyone knows it isn't for me because thank god I don't need it, but what I need now is my health, to be able to move and get the things to give to other people, and how can I do it there?" (Marilyn, interview. 12.12.2013).

Her desire to help others is expressed as a worry she has. Getting a car appears as an object of desire to recover her mobility. She asks for a car so she can bring people to her place, she understands that her dependence and lived situations are tied to her condition of being in a wheelchair.

There is a lack of self-recognition as a person with a disability; one can observe this in many interactions I have had with them but especially as it is pointed out in this chapter by the self-conceptions they have about disability. In a context like El Codito's, and as a result of their lived experience, disability appears to be a limitation and the desire for eradicating it is imperative.

Overcoming the condition of disability is related to the desire to be 'normal': the social imposition generates disciplined bodies and minds. PWD desire to be 'normal' because of the limitations they encounter. On many occasions they talk about wanting to have a normal life.

For example Linda indicates how she would like to follow the imposed parameters of a 'normal' life. "*I would like to finish my high school diploma and do a nursing course, have my own job and stop having to live in my father's pocket, even though he doesn't leave me wanting for anything. That's what I would most like"*(Linda, interview. 12. 12. 2013).

Having a family is part of the discourse on normality. They feel the pressure that their acquaintances, family members and friends have partners and have families while they cannot. Mark situates his desire in terms of finding a job so he can have a family:

"JD: What would you like to do?
Mark: Work, I would like to have my own things, my own family.
JD: Get married to Diana?
Mark: Yeah, live together just us. I wish we could.
JD: What's stopping that?

Mark: Our parents, because they are scared something will happen if they are left alone.
JD: Do you have money to raise a family?
Mark: No. That's why I need to work to keep a family, because with nothing, it is difficult" (Mark, interview. 14.10.2013).

He suggests that it is difficult for them to find jobs but that does not impede them to wish to have a family or to have a more personal place for them. Desires are related to their condition of isolation and marginalization. Desires become a response to avoid their material reality and an escape valve from the isolation and incarceration.

Indeed desires are related to past events that have impacted their lives. Alice would like to return to her rap classes but different circumstances do not allow her to go back:

"JD: Did you learn to rap?
Alice: Well yeah, but I forgot. It's been years since I've been there, but I'm going to see if I get involved in this again because I get really bored. I don't like staying at home.
JD: Why?
Alice: It's horrible
JD: Why?
Alice: Because I'm alone, I don't have anything to do, whereas outside I can do things, meet people, but my mom doesn't let me go back because she thinks the boys are going to do something to me, but they leave me alone" (Alice, interview. 12.16.2013).

Their social context impacts them in different senses. One of the obvious ones is the lack of economic resources. Most of the participants would like to have a job to allow buying their own things, having their own house and their own car. However, some of them encounter in painting and doing crafts a desired activity for learning and doing. Marilyn would like to learn handicrafts, but the pain in her hand makes that impossible. Carlton would like to learn how to paint, in fact he has shown an interest in being involved in painting courses and as he states *"to learn how to paint and sell paintings"* (Carlton, interview. 11. 16. 2013).

There is an interesting desire communicated by the participants: the place of desire called the shopping centers. When Alice was asked about places that she would like to go, she named two shopping centers. She refers to those places as beautiful places. Desire can be actualized in a place like that through consumption. She refers to it as a beautiful place where she would like to go to see. Indeed, consumption appears to be difficult when

lacking economic resources, and it is a constant that defines the consumption of goods and services they can purchase. Sightseeing at a shopping centre can ameliorate the situation of isolation and incarceration she experiences.

Conclusion

The limitations and barriers that PWD experience are related to the tangible and the intangible of the human existence. As intangible, virtualities are relevant to understanding social life, social interactions, the production of space and the elements that temporally served to fix the identity of people. Dreams, hopes, nostalgias, affect and desires are virtualities that stretch and challenge our understanding of actual materialized existence and allow the seeking of new forms of human existence. For PWD in El Codito the virtual is a key element to understanding another kind of marginalization that relates not only to the material but also to the immaterial side of the reality.

One of the main elements of this chapter can be found in the relationship of the virtual (affect and/or memories) with the generation of feelings. Affect can be taken as the potential meaning of the power of existing, which shapes human actions and the experience of living and is part of our daily life experience; it shapes the individual personalities and the habitus that are both an individual way of living and a social style. It is a potential capacity to act, the decrease or increase in the power to act (Shields, 2011).

Memories and affect are elements that shape and give meaning to the experience of PWD in El Codito. However, their social marginalization is also related to material limitations such as: the lack of economic resources; limitations of the build and natural environment that generate situations of dependence; and the spatial marginalization of their bodies.

It is important to highlight that this chapter aims to bring the virtual into the studies of disability by discussing the lived situation of PWD through an identification of memories and feelings. Indeed there is much to do and further research can deepen the understanding of disability through the study of virtualities.

One of the elements that relate the tangible with the intangible is the concept that PWD have of their situation of disability. Discussions around 'normality', sickness and

'incapacity' emerged from the self-conceptualization of PWD in El Codito. Memories and past experiences also shape the concept of disability, especially from the lived experience they have.

The feelings of frustration, sadness, fear and depression that are attached to memories help shape the personalities and aspirations for life that PWD may have. Places are also embedded in those memories and have a special role on the identification or rejection for further and present spatialisations of PWD.

In the last part of the chapter the desires of PWD are presented as a way to let them speak from their own interests and dreams. It is significant to find that desires are related to the limitations that PWD refer to having in their social spatialisations. Desires related to having a family or 'normal' lives are very common for them. It may be established that desires are also related to the imposed normative elements of society. Frustrations derived from lived experiences reinforce the desire of PWD to be "normal" or able to (ableism concept) when comparing themselves with family members or society in general.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis sought to contribute to the understanding of the situation lived by PWD in a marginalized and low resourced community such as the El Codito sector. It is limited in scope and by the need to transcribe, translate and write up the research in English when the original material is in Spanish. Issues of translation are not discussed. Similarly the thesis touches on many theoretical debates but focuses on analysing the experiences of the participants and privileges their interview responses. Through the presentation of Lefebvre's theory and the conceptualization of Shields on social spatialisations and the virtual, the experience of disability was spatialized as a way to narrate and present the lived experience of disability in Colombia. The contribution also sought to understand the significance of difference for diverse bodies and the productions of space by their particular bodies and the intangible elements of the marginalized situation of PWD in El Codito.

Lefebvre's production of space and rhythm and Shields social spatialisations inform the findings and narrations of PWD in El Codito by locating the main characteristic elements such as their embodied experience and PWD's social spatialisations of the lived situation of disability in El Codito, through the identification of spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation. It is important to highlight that PWD's spatialisations are determined by bodies in situations of dependency, the natural and the built environment and the cultural elements of Colombian society.

The identification of places such as the neighborhoods, the home, schools, foundations, the parks and the churches locate the spatialisations of PWD and the marginalized situation they encounter in their everyday life.

The analysis of rhythms of PWD incorporated theoretically the concepts of the body, time and space. This incorporation allowed the understanding of the situation of PWD in their production of space and a different perspective for understanding inclusion of PWD in Colombian society through the acceptance of differences in their spatialisations and rhythms.

The PWD's bodies are placed as key elements in their spatialisations not only for the representations society has of them, but also by the biological implications and the differentiated corporeality they encounter daily. Rhythms of PWD's bodies are key elements to understand their marginalization and relationship with the timing, the imposed rhythms of society and the social roles of PWD. Caring for the body, fatigue, sickness and health conditions are relevant elements in the rhythmicity of PWD.

The rhythms of mobility are important to understand how PWD mobilize, walk, think and interact with the natural and built environment and at their social spatialisations. For PWD walking and mobilizing directly refer to the different body they have. Social spatialisations and rhythms are in permanent relationship with the virtual (relationship between the tangible and the intangible).

New explorations on the cultural appropriation of space of PWD can expand the findings presented in this study. Similarly using frameworks such as Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis advance in the understanding of time, space and the body of PWD.

It is also important to highlight that the limitations and barriers of PWD are related to the tangible and the intangible of the human existence. As intangible, virtualities are relevant to understanding social life, social interactions, the production of space and the elements that temporally served to fix the identity of people. Dreams, hopes, nostalgias, affect and desires are virtualities that stretch and challenge our understanding of actual materialized existence and allow the seeking of new forms of human existence. For PWD in El Codito the virtual is a key element to understanding another kind of marginalization that relates not only to the material but also to the immaterial side of the real. The intangibles are a topic that deserves to be explored in a greater deepness in further research. There is a great opportunity to develop further studies that inquire on the importance of the virtual for understanding marginalization, especially the situation of PWD.

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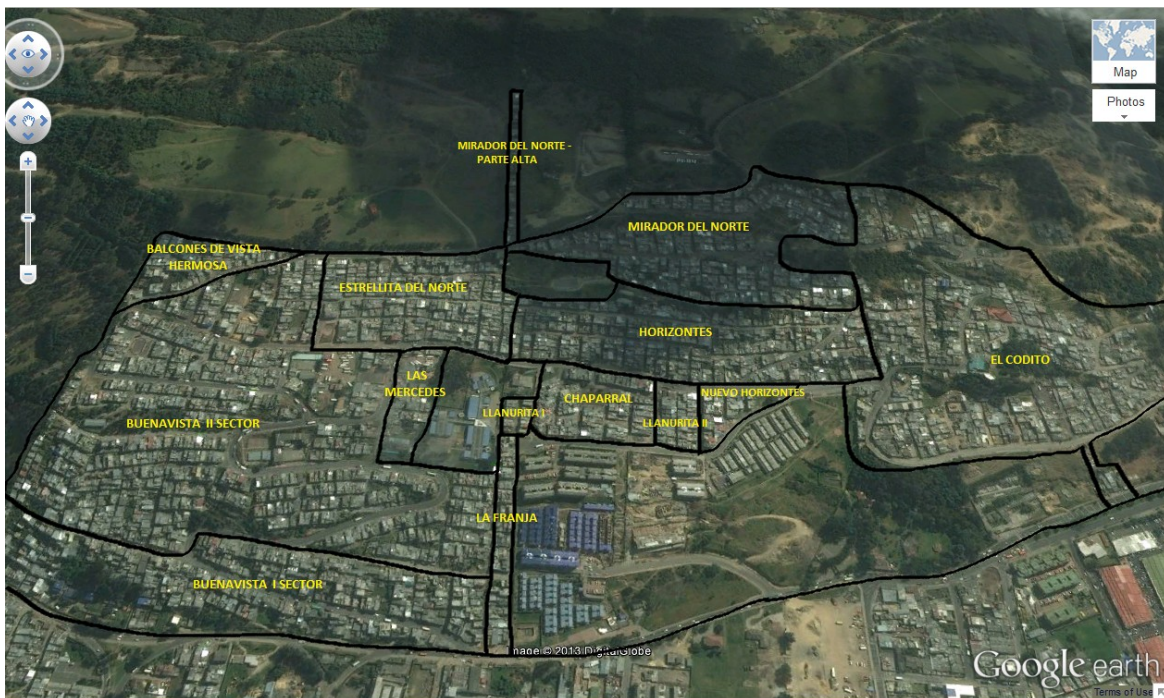
FIGURES - MAPS OF EL CODITO SECTOR

Figure 1: Bogotá, Usaquén locality and El Codito sector

Guevara, Hernandez & Mendoza, 2013

This is the map of the city of Bogotá. The red zone is the locality of Usaquén and the green arrow represents the El Codito sector.

Figure 2: Map of the neighborhoods of El Codito 1

Guevara, Hernandez & Mendoza, 2013

Figure 3: Map of the neighborhoods of El Codito sector 2

Guevara, Hernández & Mendoza, 2013

The figure 2 and the figure 3 show the social construction of the El Codito sector by socially defining the neighborhoods of the sector. The neighborhoods are divided by the black lines and each one of the territories has its name.