

<div class="logo logo-mobile"> <a href="https://fr.forumviesmobiles.org/"> <a href="https://fr.forumviesmobiles.org/"><br />

## **1. Modural: a program to study sustainable mobility in Andean cities**

Based on the collective experience of the ANR Modural program (2020-2023) on sustainable mobility practices in the working-class outskirts of Lima, Peru and Bogotá, Colombia ([modural.hypotheses.org](http://modural.hypotheses.org)),<sup>[1]</sup> the goal of this article is to present how Covid-19 affected daily travel in these two Latin American cities, each of which is home to about 10 million inhabitants. These two cities are also highly spread out and strongly segregated, making transport conditions difficult. Polls show that, due to congestion, pollution and insecurity, daily mobility is the second biggest cause of dissatisfaction, after insecurity.<sup>[2]</sup> Over the past two decades, however, these cities have promoted a series of measures aiming towards a more sustainable mobility. They have made innovations in public transport, with the implementation of BRTs<sup>[3]</sup> (the Transmilenio in Bogotá, from 2001, and the Metropolitano in Lima, from 2010; map 1), a metro line in Lima in 2012, an urban cable car in Bogotá in 2018, and buses integrated into the BRT network (the SITP in Bogotá from 2011 and the SIT in Lima from 2012).

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Map 1: Lima and Bogotá, the two cities of the Modural program

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Both cities have also introduced road space rationing which is governed according to days of the week and the vehicle's number plate (the pico y placa). This has been in

place since the 1990s in Bogotá and since 2019 in Lima. Despite these advances, individual motorised transport (cars, taxis, motorbikes), which causes heavy pollution, keeps growing and the shift to more sustainable modes, such as public transport, walking or cycling, remains limited, especially in peripheral sectors. Yet, cycling has been promoted since the 1970s in Bogotá and to a lesser extent since the 1980s in Lima (Montero, 2017). According to the latest mobility surveys,<sup>[4]</sup> the modal share of cycling was barely 1% of daily trips in Lima in 2012 and only 6% in Bogotá in 2019.

As of March 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic has profoundly disrupted people's living conditions, lifestyles and daily mobility, both in Lima and Bogotá. It has also impacted how we conduct our research, by limiting our researchers' ability to travel internationally and conduct field work on location.<sup>[5]</sup> These disruptions led us to reevaluate the original objectives of the Modural project, even if the original goal remains: to understand the mobility practices of those living in the working-class outskirts, from a sustainability standpoint.

In this article, we focus on the tactics and strategies deployed by residents to deal with the crisis, focusing on the most intense period of the first lockdown from March to July 2020. We continue this analysis by integrating subsequent observations, in particular questioning the sustainability of the observed changes: the sudden drop in travel, the dissatisfaction with public transport, the shift towards individual transport modes (whether motorised or not). Our approach focuses on an aspect that has so far been largely ignored by the media,<sup>[6]</sup> namely the disruptions that individuals and households have experienced in their professional activities and private lives due to the health crisis, but also the strategies adopted to deal with its effects.

## **2. The impact of Covid-19 on daily mobility**

The Covid epidemic caused an unprecedented upheaval in lifestyles and daily mobility practices: people were forced into lockdown in uncomfortable and overcrowded living spaces in working-class neighbourhoods, schools were closed, public transport ran on quotas, use of individual vehicles was restricted, and businesses had to reduce their activity, leading to a general slowdown of the urban economy. At the start of the pandemic, strict lockdown measures and travel restrictions were imposed, resulting in forced immobility and necessary modal shifts. In March 2020, the use of private vehicles was banned for almost four months in both cities. Meanwhile, public transport capacity was halved for two months, before a

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Map 2: Temporary bike lanes in Bogotá (by M. Lucas, 2021). Spring: Secretaría de Movilidad de Bogotá. The map shows the existing network in April 2020 (82 kilometers).

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Cyclists on the Septima in Bogota, 01/10/2020, Carlos Felipe Pardo

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In both cities, disruptions were particularly severe in working-class neighbourhoods on the outskirts, where the contagion rate was highest,<sup>[11]</sup> and where government-imposed travel restrictions were more difficult to cope with than elsewhere (Vega Centeno et al., 2021).<sup>[12]</sup>

The health crisis exacerbated job insecurity. Informal work, which is widespread in these cities and omnipresent in the peripheries, was strongly impacted by the crisis. It became harder to make a living and many people had to work less or lost their jobs. Domestic workers, street vendors, construction workers and delivery men were among the many jobs where teleworking was not really an option. As a result, many people were faced with the dilemma of "going out to work or starving to death." This was one fundamental difference with the situations we observed in Europe.<sup>[13]</sup>

The use of public transport - which was often taken out of necessity - increased the risk of contagion<sup>[14]</sup> due to overcrowding in buses (despite health protocols and reduced capacity) and also at interchanges. - People coming from the poorer outskirts pass through these up to 6 times per trip in both cities. In Huaycán - the district of Lima we studied - nearly 44,000 people commute outwards every day for work (compared to 17,000 people who commute into Huayác for work, which equates to a negative balance of 26,000 people, as shown on Map 3). South of Bogotá, in the poorest part of the city, this figure rises to 17,000 commuters from Altos de Cazucá, and 30,000 from El Lucero (two of the research areas of the Modural program), which

<div class="logo logo-mobile"> <a href="https://fr.forumviesmobiles.org/">18</sup>] To conduct this study, we took advantage of the continuing links between the research professors of the Modural program and their students, by asking the latter (as part of their training) to ask family members living with them a set of questions. This method has limitations in that it didn't allow us to specifically target the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods, as these students on the whole belonged to the middle classes.[<sup>19</sup>] The living standards of the different neighbourhoods are shown on Map 4, together with the approximate locations of the students who took part in the study. However, this method did allow us to capture a variety of situations, and to collect data that would otherwise have been difficult to obtain (Table 1).

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<span style="color: #e1007a;">**Description of family accounts in Bogotá**  
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<span style="color: #e1007a;">36 accounts, 149 individuals.</span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">Members per household: 4 on average; 1 minimum; 8 maximum.</span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">Accounts in the most disadvantaged sectors: 4 of 36 .</span>

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<iframe width="100%" height="300px" frameborder="0" allowfullscreen src="//umap.openstreetmap.fr/fr/map/lugares-de-residencia-de-los-estudiantes-que-aplic\_589333?scaleControl=false&miniMap=false&scrollWheelZoom=false&zoomControl=true" href="//umap.openstreetmap.fr/es/map/lugares-de-residencia-de-los-estudiantes-que-aplic\_589333" target=\_blank>Full screen</a></p>

Map 4: Places of residence of the students who took part in the family accounts and percentage of poorest households by sector (Social Condition Index 1 and 2), [<sup>20</sup>] Bogotá 2020. Reading aid: the areas in dark red are the most disadvantaged. NB: for confidentiality, the pins show the approximate location of where the students live.

Regarding the individual interviews conducted in Huaycán, we used contacts made through a previous study (sociology thesis by Jimena Ñiquén, [<sup>21</sup>] recruited as part



of the Modural program to carry out interviews), and we proceeded by snowball sampling. The ten people who were interviewed came from lower social classes than the students involved in the family accounts carried out in Bogotá.[<sup>22</sup>] However, they were not representative of the most difficult situations within Huaycán, because remote data collection made it difficult to reach people living in the poorest outskirts. For the 10 interviews conducted, internet access was an obstacle: none included video, with the vast majority done by phone, and in some cases via WhatsApp.

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### <span style="color: #e1007a;">**Description of the interviews conducted in Lima**</span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">5 women / 5 men </span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">Area of residence in Huaycán: consolidated or in the process of consolidation (not in the extreme periphery) </span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">4 youth (18 to 29 years old)</span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">6 adults (30 to 59 years old)</span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">1 student; 2 students/workers; 5 formal workers; 2 informal workers</span>

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This interview method limited the interactions with the respondent, making it impossible to capture elements of non-verbal communication. But despite these difficulties, the information collected represents an original body of data on the inhabitants' experience of the health crisis.

## **4. In Bogotá: residential strategies, reduced mobility, reorganisation of daily routines and household tasks**

While the Covid-19 crisis undoubtedly affected the daily activities of all household members (spouses, parents, children and others), it did so in different ways. Through the 36 accounts we obtained, we tried to understand what arrangements the families implemented to adapt to the situation. The idea was therefore to observe each

member's strategies with regards to their mobility, work or studies, and also to understand the possible residential relocations and reorganisations of daily life, all through the prism of the family.

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## **<span style="color: #e1007a;">Portrait: The account by Alexia,[^23] "My family submerged in the pandemic" (C5)</span>**

<span style="color: #e1007a;">She begins like this: "The Covid 19 pandemic transformed our lives, our social relationships, our jobs, our forms of mobility, or to put it another way, right down to the last grain of sand in the sea." </span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">Alexia lives with her father in a house in a residential area. Her mother lives elsewhere, in an apartment, with her 6-year-old brother. The father, 53, works in a civil construction company north of Bogotá. Her mother, 43, runs a shoe shop in a shopping mall. Before the pandemic, both parents used public transport to go to work, as did Alexia to go to university. The little brother walked to school.</span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">At the start of the pandemic, the mother, little brother and a female cousin moved into the father's house, in order to be closer to the mother's workplace. They stayed there until the end of August 2020 (6 months). Her parents were put on mandatory leave. Soon after, her mother's company offered her voluntary redundancy with a severance package, or for her to go on unpaid leave with the promise of a return to work once the lockdown was over. She took the second option and in May, she resumed work at the request of her company, breaking the lockdown rules in the process. She started doing online sales, while making a few trips to her store, always by public transport. After a month, the father started working again, remotely for two weeks at first, then in a hybrid way with occasional trips to sites requiring a special permit. He continued to use public transport. A localised lockdown twice forced him to go back to teleworking.</span>

<span style="color: #e1007a;">Alexia looked for work to help her family, but to no avail. She then decided to launch a website to sell used books. She was the one who took care of her brother's school activities, with guides sent by the school and sometimes with the help of her cousin. Her father managed to find one more

computer. Alexia, her brother and her cousin stopped going out, except when the cousin went out to do the shopping. She took care of the household chores. She used to do so at her mother's house and continued to do so during the lockdown, but it took her more time. While before the pandemic “everyone got on with their own lives, minding their own business,” the lockdown changed everything, increasing the forms of interdependencies between household members: "All aspects of everyday life, for me and for my family, have changed."

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Our survey revealed two main impacts on daily life: the forced reduction of travel due to lockdown measures, and the economic problems (explicitly mentioned in 14 cases) related to the decreased incomes of household members.

In 14 accounts, we also saw changes of residence at the beginning of the lockdown. Some students (2) left Bogotá, where they had come to study, to return to their families. For others (5) it was more complicated: some remained stranded in other cities throughout the country, where they were passing through when the lockdown started, while another moved near his internship to avoid exposing his family, who remained in Bogotá, to the virus. We also saw changes of residence within Bogotá: four students moved to a different area to be closer to work, or to stay with their parents. And in the last three cases, other family members joined them in their homes, as in Alexia's family (in the box above), for economic reasons (saving rent) or to help take care of more vulnerable people.

Inside the home,<sup>24</sup> the space was also reorganised: the bedroom became a virtual classroom, as did, sometimes, the terrace. Others set up their desks under the window, to get some natural light and thus limit the electricity bill. This is the case of Leslie (Figure 1):

"I turned my brother's bedroom into a classroom and occasionally had breakfast or meals there, and sometimes it was the living room or my mother's bedroom that became my university workplace."

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Figure 1: The organisation of Leslie's home before the pandemic and how it was reorganised during lockdown (C13).

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For everyone, mobility was reduced, as transport was synonymous with the risk of contagion. But for many, it remained a necessity, to move around and to get to work, in order to "move forward" (salir adelante). People had to change their routines. Some opted for taxis or motorcycle taxis. Others began to get up earlier in the morning, to catch a bus with fewer passengers, or, if it was full, to wait for the next one. They also changed their habits inside the buses: sitting at the front, not eating on the way, or not sleeping during the trip to stay alert.

As Jimena, a 20-year-old student (E6), says:

"Sometimes before I would leave early, try to save time by leaving without eating, and I would eat on the way and finish sleeping [on the bus], but now you can't sleep, you have to be very careful not to bump into other people,

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This is also the case for Daniel, a 38-year-old physical education teacher, who decided to buy a motorcycle taxi. He learned to drive, gained his license and now manages to generate about half of his pre-pandemic income.

We saw the emergence in Huaycán of home delivery services, on foot, and sometimes by bike, motorcycle or motorcycle taxi. These small local businesses are replacing the “Rappi” or “Glovo” services, found mainly in the central districts and which weren’t really present in Huaycán before the pandemic. While the working-class peripheries are highly dependent on the city centre for employment, a new neighbourhood economy seems to have developed.

## **By way of conclusion: towards a more sustainable mobility?**

Our study offers an original insight into the impact of the health crisis on mobility and daily life in Bogotá and Lima, but also on how to think about the transition to a more sustainable mobility.

In terms of policies first of all, the lockdown and mobility restriction measures, in particular those implemented during the first months of the crisis (from March to July 2020) and later renewed during the second peak in infections (early 2021), have forced a complete transformation of mobility practices. In both cities, the use of individual vehicles and taxis was severely limited, while public transport ran with reduced capacity. Bogotá distinguished itself with its policy of encouraging the use of bicycles, with the quick implementation of corona cycleways. The authorities in Lima followed suit, albeit belatedly and tentatively. In this context of drastic travel reduction, two scenarios gradually emerged: the first, a virtuous one, was a shift towards more sustainable practices such as cycling or walking; the second, a more problematic one, was a boom in individual motorised transport (cars, motorbikes, taxis, app-based vehicles), which are more polluting options and likely to aggravate the problems of urban congestion.

With the volume of travel returning to its pre-pandemic levels by the first half of 2021, we can question whether the measures applied during the crisis can permanently transform mobility practices. On the one hand, cycling seems to be the big winner, with a growing number of cyclists and infrastructure projects, continuing a pre-existing trend.<sup>[^31]</sup> However, the overall outcome remains mixed. In Bogotá,

beyond the hype and heavy marketing around cycling, the integration of cyclists remains difficult,<sup>[^32]</sup> and the length of temporary bike lanes has turned out to be quite limited - most had even disappeared by June 2021. In Lima, current projects will certainly compensate for many shortcomings, but there is still a long way to go before cycling becomes widespread, while the incentive policies put in place by the authorities are already being met with various restrictions. As early as June 2021, the Ministry of Transport announced a list of binding rules and new fines for cyclists.<sup>[^33]</sup>

Regarding public transport, the drastic drop in passenger numbers weakened the financial stability of service providers, forcing public authorities to intervene with subsidies or loans. Despite limited resources, the service needs to be improved if usage is to pick up again, by integrating health protocols. But the challenges are all the greater given that public transport was already a major source of dissatisfaction before the crisis, with passenger numbers declining on the Transmilenio in Bogotá, mainly due to crowded lines and deteriorating traffic conditions. Furthermore, the use of individual vehicles has only occasionally been questioned. While access to cars remains limited for the poorest members of society, we can expect an increase in motorbike use. Taxis, both formal and informal, as well as Uber-type platforms, also maintain a strong presence.

The underwhelming policies in favour of active mobility in the face of the Covid crisis, as well as the exacerbated vulnerability of public transport, therefore highlight increasing mobility inequalities, rather than a transition towards a more sustainable model. As such, the crisis doesn't seem to have led to the emergence of an ecological conscience, as we have seen in Europe.<sup>[^34]</sup> This is especially true in the working-class outskirts, where the subsistence of the household remains the top priority, to the detriment of environmental considerations. Employment, which is a necessity and a question of survival, was actually the main reason for protesting the lockdown measures. The working-class outskirts remain dependent on public transport, especially for economic reasons, and have little interest in incentives for active modes, which are more adapted to short journeys and therefore speak more to central districts.

But the issue of transitioning to more sustainable mobilities can also be questioned in light of the inhabitants' new habits. The lessons drawn from the family accounts and interviews conducted in the two cities clearly show that the impact of the Covid-19 crisis was not limited to health, quantified in the daily number of deaths or new cases

announced by the authorities and reported in the press. The pandemic completely changed everyone's daily life and mobility practices, resulting in a reorganisation (at least temporarily) of their living spaces and ways of dwelling. As V. Kaufmann<sup>[^35]</sup> points out, in the European context, we see a return of spatial proximity in everyday life, and this has less to do with the rise of teleworking or new leisure activities than with travel constraints, with measures to mitigate the risk of contagion and the development of new local activities. In a way, this could contribute to the implementation of a more sustainable mobility, by limiting distant trips. But these choices are often constrained, by a fear of the virus, or by the loss of a job, or by the deterioration in learning conditions for young people (when their school or university is closed), or because the individual has stopped taking advantage of the resources of the entire metropolitan area. This dilemma, which is apparent both in the Lima interviews and the Bogotá accounts, is a common challenge for these great cities.

Ultimately, what matters is remembering the reasons and constraints that underpin the mobility restrictions, and questioning their implications for people's quality of life. We have seen that the impact of the crisis has been further complicated by the fact that it has led to more vulnerable livelihoods and precarious working and learning conditions. The lockdown thereby created a new state of affairs: children staying inside and studying at home; parents teleworking, or prevented from working, or instead forced to spend more time away from home to make up for lost income; consumption habits were disrupted, as was the support that was previously given to the elderly or vulnerable parents, living at home or elsewhere. The restrictions on mobility clashed with the vital need to travel for those who are unable to telework and have to brave the risk of contagion. Surveys conducted in Bogotá and Lima show that these difficulties affected the entire population but reveal that some were more vulnerable than others. Especially the inhabitants of the working-class peripheries without stable employment or whose jobs were compromised by the health crisis (results observed in Lima); as well as households with vulnerable members who require special care (results observed in Bogotá). Faced with these challenges, we identified several strategies: staying at home, reorganising domestic chores, reassigning roles within the household, redefining forms of mutual aid and solidarity, developing entrepreneurship, or providing local services to leverage a new demand.

<!-- Notes -->

[^1]: Launched on January 1, 2020, for a period of three years, the Modural program is funded by the National Research Agency (ANR, Agence Nationale de la Recherche) and involves about twenty researchers, in a partnership between Rennes 2

University, the French Institute of Andean Studies, the Catholic University of Peru, and in Colombia, the National Universities, Piloto, Santo Tomás and Tadeo Lozano. The Modural project focuses on the study of individual travel practices, unlike most other research on daily mobility in Latin American cities that primarily focuses on public policies and the modernisation of public transport. By focusing its research on people's daily commutes to work or school - which represent the majority of trips - its goal is to identify the obstacles and levers that restrict or promote the adoption of more sustainable mobility practices. It seeks to understand the routines, strategies, and contextual elements that influence living practices, from socio-economic constraints and obstacles related to residential localisation, to representations and life stories. It focuses on working class outskirts, which are socio-economically vulnerable, lack transport services and offer poor accessibility to urban centralities (employment, education, and services). What does sustainable mobility mean in these peripheral neighbourhoods, which are often side-lined in debates on the matter? How can we enable their inhabitants to access more sustainable forms of mobility and how would this improve their quality of life? [^2]: Surveys: Lima Cómo Vamos (<http://www.limacomovamos.org/informesurbanos/>) and Bogotá Cómo Vamos (<https://bogotacomovamos.org/encuestas-de-percepcion-ciudadana/>). [^3]: Bus Rapid Transit, or BRT (Bus with high level of service), running on designated lanes. [^4]: The latest data comes from the Lima JICA Survey in 2012 and the Bogotá Mobility Survey in 2019. [^5]: Gouëset et al. 2021. "Étudier les mobilités durables dans des villes durablement immobilisées par la covid-19... À propos du programme ANR Modural" [Studying sustainable mobility in cities permanently immobilized by Covid-19... About the ANR Modural program], Palimpseste, N° 5, p. 6-11. ([hal-03005287](https://hal-03005287)) [^6]: See the Covid-19 report on Modural's Research Notebook: <https://modural.hypotheses.org/covid-19> [^7]: <https://www.iadb.org/es/topics-effectiveness-improving-lives/coronavirus-impact-dashboard> . For a complete study of the chronology of the health crisis and its consequences on daily mobility in Lima and Bogotá, see Robert J., Lucas M., Gouëset V. (forthcoming) "Du confinement à la perspective d'une mobilité plus durable : impacts de la Covid-19 à Lima et Bogotá" [From the lockdown to the prospect of more sustainable mobility: impacts of Covid-19 in Lima and Bogotá], in Boidin-Caravias C., Damasceno Fonseca C., Le Tourneau F-M., Magnan M., Théry H. (Eds.), La Covid 19 et les Amériques : éclairages à chaud [Covid 19 et the Americas: immediate perspectives], Colectivo collection, IHEAL Editions, Chapter 4. The remarks given during the symposium called "A year of Covid-19 in the Americas" (Un an de Covid-19 dans les Amériques), organized by the Institute of the Americas, iGLOBES, Mondes Américains-CRBC, IHEAL-CREDA, in April 2021 ([hal-](https://hal-03005287)

<div class="logo logo-mobile"> <a href="https://fr.forumviesmobiles.org/"> [^11]: For the case of Lima, see Clausen J., Barrantes N. (2020), "¿Cómo se asocian el riesgo multidimensional y los efectos de la COVID-19? Evidencia a nivel distrital para las provincias de Lima y el Callao en Perú.", in Iguñiz, J., Clausen, J. (Dir.), Covid-19 & crisis de desarrollo humano en América Latina, Instituto de Desarrollo Humano, PUCP, Lima, p. 111-132. For the case of Bogotá, see Laajaj R. et al. (2021), "SARS-CoV-2 Spread, Detection, and Dynamics in a Megacity in Latin America." Documentos CEDE, No. 18, 41 pp. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3822625> . [^12]: Vega Centeno P., Robert J., Demoraes F., Moreno C., Gouëset V. (2021) (submitted February 2021). "¡Dime dónde vives y te diré cómo te pegó la cuarentena! Formas de habitar e impacto del Covid-19 en Lima y Bogotá", Revista INVI. [^13]: Vincent Kaufmann (2021), "Lockdown", Mobile Lives Forum. URL:

<https://en.forumviesmobiles.org/marks/lockdown-13664> [^14]: On Lima, see Vega Centeno P., 2021, "Las centralidades de Lima y la movilidad: la organización de la ciudad como factor de vulnerabilidad al COVID-19", in Iguñiz J., Clausen J., (Eds.), COVID-19 & Crisis de Desarrollo Humano en América Latina, Instituto de Desarrollo Humano, PUCP, Lima, p. 417-432,

<http://isbn.bnpgob.pe/catalogo.php?mode=detalle&nt=119388> [^15]: Duque Franco, I. (2020). "Ahondando la brecha. pandemia y desigualdad socio-espacial en Bogotá." Crítica Urbana 3 (15): 23-26. [^16]: <https://gestion.pe/peru/politica/coronavirus-peru-10-mercados-en-lima-identificados-como-focos-de-contagio-de-covid-19-nndc-noticia/>

[^17]: Shared taxis are taxis that run on specific routes and take several passengers. Motorcycle taxis, which are widespread in Lima, are three-wheeled motorcycles with a roof. In Bogotá, they are just classic motorbikes, although they are banned there, so there are fewer. "Combis," which are common in Lima, are small vans which can seat about fifteen passengers. [^18]: Care includes a set of activities of mutual aid, support, companionship (intergenerational solidarity, intra-family help, accompanying children and people with disabilities, care for the elderly, etc.) and housekeeping (shopping, etc.). [^19]: In Bogotá, the middle classes are considered to correspond to households with an income of 2 to 5 times the minimum wage (the monthly minimum wage is equivalent to about 200 euros). They have between 11 and 60 euros per day per person. They represent 55.1% of the population of Bogotá in 2017 (against 35.6%

for the working classes, and 9.4% for the upper classes). Source: Fundesarrollo & DANE, 2020. [^20]: The Social Condition Index is an indicator of households' position in the social hierarchy. It is calculated by dividing the household's academic level (average number of years spent studying by people aged 15 and over) by the dwelling's occupancy (number of people per room). The ICS1 class corresponds to the poorest 10% of households, the ICS2 class to the next 15%. [^21]: Ñiquén J., 2018, Entre la necesidad y la acumulación. Una aproximación al rol del suelo y la vivienda en los procesos de reproducción y movilidad social de los sectores populares. El caso de las familias fundadoras de Huaycán, Lima; Tesis Sociología PUCP, <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12404/12400> [^22]: In Lima, the working classes correspond to households earning less than 1.2 times the minimum wage (the monthly minimum wage is equivalent to about 200 euros). These two groups represent respectively 6% and 25% of households in Lima according to INEI data in 2020. The middle classes represent 43% of households, the upper middle classes 22% and the upper classes 4%. In Mondural's 4 survey areas, more than 80% of the census districts are predominantly comprised of working-class households, compared to 60% for the entire city. Source: [https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/publication/documents/2021-01/nse\\_2020\\_v2.pdf](https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/publication/documents/2021-01/nse_2020_v2.pdf). [^23]: For confidentiality reasons, all first and last names have been changed. [^24]: The vast majority were apartments, hosting an average of 4 people, and up to a maximum of 8. See an illustration of a dwelling in the portrait "The Gomez family's account of the health crisis." [^25]: In Colombia, several generations of a same family often cohabit in the same home, with the elderly in regular contact with the young. [^26]: See the Modural Project Survey Area Selection Report: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-03053354/document> [^27]: Vans used as informal minibuses in Lima. [^28]: Homemade water ices, with fruit pulp. [^29]: Traditional homemade corn-based drink. [^30]: As a taxi, or for deliveries for example. [^31]: It is estimated that with the health crisis, the modal share of cycling has tripled in both cities: in Bogotá, it went from 6.6% in 2019 (according to the Origne Destination Survey) to 18% in April 2020 and 10% in December, according to data from the Secretaría de Movilidad; while in Lima, it went from 1% according to perception surveys conducted between 2010 and 2019, to 3% in 2020, according to a survey conducted by the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima. See Lucas, M., "La pratique quotidienne du vélo à Bogotá. Le rôle des représentations et l'évolution des profils de cyclistes" [The daily practice of cycling in Bogotá. The role of representations and the evolution of cyclist profiles], 3rd Francophone Meeting on Transport and Mobility, June 3, 2021. [^32]: See article and video in El Tiempo,

<div class="logo logo-mobile"> <a href="https://fr.forumviesmobiles.org/"> [<sup>35</sup>]: Vincent Kaufmann

(2021), "Lockdown", Mobile Lives Forum. URL:

<https://en.forumviesmobiles.org/marks/lockdown-13664>

Activer

Activé

Niveau de profondeur

Balise H2 + H3

Ajouter le triangle si ce contenu est affiché dans la quinzaine

Désactivé

Envoyer une notification

Désactivé

Thématique

[Alternative mobilities](#)

[Change in practices](#)

[Diversity of lifestyles](#)

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