



Children's everyday mobility practices and experiences in Tabón Island, southern Chile

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ABSTRACT

Work was carried out with a group of children from an island in southern Chile to learn about their everyday mobility practices and experiences, from a perspective that considers childhood island mobilities as networks that shape territories socio-spatially. Use of methodologies such as 'Social Mapping of Mobility', 'Body Mapping', the board game 'Archipelágia' and the 'Soundscape Workshop' allowed delving into discursive, visual, bodily and acoustic aspects of children's mobility experiences in this territory. Among these experiences, the everyday routes and movements, sensory and emotional aspects and the non-human elements involved in their trips stand out. This article concludes that island children's mobility must be understood not just from its inherent 'island' condition, but as an interdependent mobility that goes beyond the dependent-independent and active-passive dichotomies. At the same time, it is a mobility assembled with companionship, collaboration and territorial assistance with human and non-human actors. Spatiality, materiality, temporality and island-archipelagic sensations play an important role in this context.

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Approach to the mobility of island-archipelagic children

In the 1980s, geography began enquiring into the socio-spatial experiences of diverse collectives silenced in the organization of urban spaces, including children (Horton and Kraftl 2006; Porter et al. 2010). Studies have also focused on the occupied, imagined and desired spaces where children build their identities (Ortiz 2007; Phillips 2001). In this sense, the geography of childhood seeks to gain an understanding of how children experience, interpret and lend meaning to the spaces they inhabit and the relationships and activities that arise there (Lopes 2013; Malatesta and Granados 2017; Saiz-Linares and Ceballos-López 2022).

For Amador (2012), this profound interest in children allows one to move from the singular 'childhood' to the plural 'childhoods' (Trujillo 2022) to reflect the multiplicity of worlds of life and participation. This underscores the need to recognize children as social agents who transit the territory in various ways, a factor that has been defended in legal studies (Dewey 2010; Trujillo 2022) and by Children's Geographies (Lopes 2013).

This article understands territory as a space where mobilities occur, a space that has been appropriated, socialized and valued through the everyday movements and relationships that children weave in it, from which socio-territorial roots, attachment and belonging arise (Lazo 2012; Lazo and Calderón 2014). That said, acknowledging children as social agents and making them participate in what happens in the territory entails gaining an understanding of the production of

knowledge regarding their lifestyles and territorial appropriation processes, in addition to validating their experiences as forms of organization that build their own language.

The children who are the focus of this article have grown up in rural territories, specifically islands/archipelagos, which are socially constructed spaces that transcend the land and include the sea. For Kay (2009), children grow up in close relation with social and natural ecosystems, in addition to the associated socio-management practices (Trujillo 2022), from which they articulate particular ways of using the space.

Children living in rural areas or, more specifically, island-archipelagic territories frequently experience poverty and isolation and must often work to help with activities such as fishing, seaweed and shellfish collection, tending the garden, etc. This context differs significantly from urban spaces, where lifestyles, the relationship with nature, sociocultural organization and even mobility practices are guided by other social codes and rules.

In this context, this article aims to get to know the everyday mobility practices and experiences of a group of children from the Isla Tabón Rural School. To this end, work was divided into five sections: The first is a synthesis of the scientific literature on mobility studies involving children, where the concepts of 'companionship' and 'assembly' stand out and a brief overview of certain studies on urban, rural and island-archipelagic mobility is provided.

The next section presents the research's methodological approach and some of its ethical aspects. The third and fourth ones correspond to the presentation and discussion of results, which were organized under three analysis categories: (1) Companions; (2) Spatiality and materialities; and (3) Temporalities, sensations and emotions. The 'Companions' category covers all human and non-human actors that children forge ties of companionship and territorial collaboration with as part of their mobility practices. The second category, 'Spatiality', includes the significant spatial and material elements in the everyday mobility of children in Tabón. Lastly, the category 'Temporalities, sensations and emotions' refers to the causes or forces that transform mobility patterns associated with temporalities, corporality and emotions.

Lastly, the main conclusions of the research conducted on Tabón Island are presented, allowing an understanding of children's mobility as interdependent experiences that are assembled with their environment (human, non-human, spatial, material and temporal), from which territories are socio-spatially configured.

Making children's mobilities visible

Studies on children's mobilities have focused their attention on the daily movements this group makes to routine places and/or activities, research that has mainly been carried out in urban and school contexts (Christensen and Cortés-Morales 2016; Murray and Cortés-Morales 2019).

In the beginning, this research stressed the use of quantitative tools to collect and generate information on children's movements, but from an adult perspective. Shaw, Redecker, and Watson (2012) argue that this was developed from a fixed place perspective in fields such as traffic studies and health sciences (Sari, Lai, and Said 2023), focusing on the risks associated with vehicle traffic and the harmful effects of sedentarism.

Regarding specific studies on children's mobility, some authors have delved into the idea of 'independent mobility', which refers to children's experiences moving about without the company and/or supervision of an adult (Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009; Nansen et al. 2014). Consequently, and as an immediate effect, dependent mobility can be understood as movement in which the children are accompanied by adults and/or are under their supervision.

In the last decade, the idea that independence is a characteristic inherent to children has been questioned (Christensen and Cortés-Morales 2016; Kullman 2010). In response, Nansen et al. (2014) argue that children's mobility takes place through implicit relationships of 'companionship'. In addition, they argue that children's mobile practices are '(...) enabled and configured through a

diversity of relations and materials' (Nansen et al. 2014, 3) by which they understand these mobilities as 'compositions'.

This argument holds that mobility practices are composed of different interdependent actors, materials and relations and, therefore, different forms of companionship, such as 'travel companions', 'companionship devices' and 'environmental companions' (Nansen et al. 2014). In other words, the agency of companionship occurs through an assemblage of different actors, which can be human (e.g. children and adults) and non-human (e.g. organisms, artifacts and technologies) (Christensen and Cortés-Morales 2016, 71; Prout 2005).

These assemblages, or articulations among actors, have the power to complement or expand human capacities toward new eventualities (Christensen and Cortés-Morales 2016). In this sense, the concept of agency is taken up as 'the effect of relations, connections and circulation among a heterogeneous set of materials including bodies, representations, objects and technologies' (Turmel 2008, 44).

In this context, childhood can be considered to be 'a heterogeneous assembly in which the social, technological and biological aspects of childhood are already impure entities or hybrids of nature and culture, social and technological' (Prout 2005, 58).

Nansen et al. (2014) argue that collaboration, or the act of working together for a common purpose, describes how children's mobility is neither controlled by nor independent of others. Instead, this mobility is articulated through cooperation, companionship and the intervention of an assemblage of people, objects and environments that work together with children so they can move about in public.

A literature review of children's mobility studies (Cortés-Morales, De Campos, and Acevedo-Rincón 2021; Kyttä 1997; Murray and Cortés-Morales 2019; Nansen et al. 2014), reveals that studies have focused mainly on urban spaces. This research has ranged from more general reflections on the use of space (Dos Santos, Humberto, and Berle 2019) to the relationship between these mobilities and particular subjects such as road education (Poó et al. 2015), social class (Lechuga 2023) and gender (Luneke, Rasse, and Ugalde 2021), among others such as migration, family relations, health and movements to study centers, with the latter of these being the most studied topic (Christensen and Cortés-Morales 2016; Murray and Cortés-Morales 2019).

When it comes to rurality, there is little evidence of research on children's mobility (Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009; Porter et al. 2010). Most studies have worked on the meanings that children build from their territories (Trujillo 2022), the relationship between environmental uses and perceptions and territorial belonging (Alexander, Cocks, and Shackleton 2015) and, mainly, the relationship between this type of mobility and migration to urban areas in search of a better life (Gao, Adaawen, and Haartsen 2024; García and Izquierdo 2024).

The mobility of island children is still an incipient field of study and most related research has focused on the relationship between this type of mobility and different territorial themes, for which a range of methodological techniques have been implemented, from traditional ones like interviews, focus groups, life stories and participatory observation, to cartographic techniques such as the drawing of maps by the children themselves and GIS mapping.

One example of such research is the work by Pivik (2012), a case study of children from a small island in Canada that identifies the benefits and problems of living in island territories. Among the benefits, the author points to safety, the reduced size of the community, the supply of quality educational services, the proximity to nature, among others. Regarding the disadvantages, she mentions boredom, the island's limited size and the children's lack of preparation for the metropolitan world.

Other authors have studied the relationship between children's mobility and migration, such as Olwig (2012), who has studied the migratory tradition of children from a Caribbean Island. In this regard, the author concludes that these migrations have influenced the strengthening of local, regional and transnational networks.

For their part, Sari, Lai & Said have examined children's movements to and from school in the Indonesian Archipelago (Sari and Lai 2023; Sari, Lai, and Said 2023). These authors have studied

how favorable such environments are for children’s mobility, with the lack of safe and accessible infrastructure for maritime and land transport revealed as the most problematic factor. Based on this, the authors highlight the need to focus public policies on recognizing the environment in children’s mobility experiences.

Other research has addressed island children’s mobility from the perspective of the relationship with climate variability (Foley 2022) and the social construction of knowledge in everyday activities (Freeman et al. 2023). There are also several dissertations, such as the work by Soto (2021) and Valenzuela (2024) in island-archipelagic communities in southern Chile. Soto researches the territorial imaginaries of children from the municipality of Quicavi on the Island of Chiloé, Chile. Meanwhile, Valenzuela investigates the mobility practices of children from the Island of Huar, Chile, which the author says are expressed through a cosmobiology, or ‘(...) a mobility of practices that is permanently created and recreated’ (Valenzuela 2024, 8).

In summary, it becomes clear that studies on children’s mobility have primarily focused their attention on urban and school contexts, approaching the subject from the perspective of topics inherent to the metropolitan world. However, over the last two decades a number of authors have delved into childhood mobilities in rural (Alexander, Cocks, and Shackleton 2015; Gao, Adaawen, and Haartsen 2024; García and Izquierdo 2024; Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009; Porter et al. 2010; Trujillo 2022) and island-archipelagic contexts (Foley 2022; Freeman et al. 2023; Olwig 2012; Pivik 2012; Sari and Lai 2023; Sari, Lai, and Said 2023; Soto 2021; Valenzuela 2024), allowing their ways of life and the challenges they face in their mobility practices to be highlighted.

Study methodology

This research studied the mobility of children in Tabón Island, and island-archipelagic territory in the municipality of Calbuco (41°54’31” S 73°06’53” W) (see Figure 1). It is in the far north of the

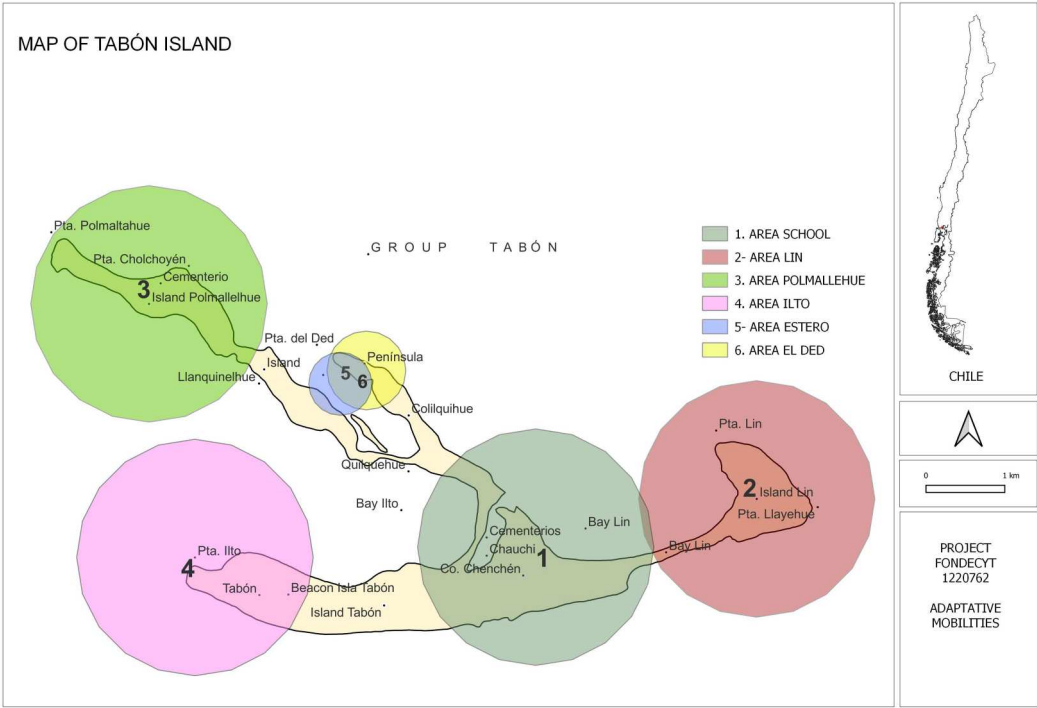


Figure 1. Map of Tabón Island.

Gulf of Ancud, Los Lagos Region, and is the southernmost island in the archipelago. Etymologically, Tabón means 'broken island' in Mapudungún, reflecting the island's geography, as it is split into three sectors at high tide: Lin, Mayelhue and central Tabón, which in turn is subdivided into El Ded, Ilto and Estero. This natural phenomenon submerges the sandbanks and forms the islets Lin and Mayelhue.

The Tabón Island Rural School, with 20 students from first to eighth grade, is where the research was carried out for this article. Contact was made through repeated visits to the institution, which allowed a cordial and collaborative relationship to be forged with the principal and faculty.

Fieldwork was carried out in 2023 and 2024 with a mixed group of 11 students between 11 and 15 years of age. The group was selected based on the school principal's suggestions, describing its members as participatory children who expressed their opinions and experiences clearly, as they are of an age at which they have acquired deeper knowledge of their territory- island.

In accordance with the commitments and obligations of anthropological ethics and work with children, it is important to stress that informed consent was obtained for the work, a document that was signed by legal representatives of the children who participated in the study.

The difficulties of working with children were considered during the preliminary design stage, for which a work package consisting of four methodologies focused on creativity, teamwork and greater horizontality among children and researchers was created. Four types of methodology were used: Social Mapping of Mobility, the Archipelágia game, Body Mapping and Soundscape Workshop, which allowed collecting information on mobility experiences, in addition to the emotions and sensations associated with these movements. It should be noted that these tools were implemented with all members of the study group.

In 'Social Mapping of Mobility'¹ the children drew the places and routes relevant to their mobility within Tabón Island and to the rest of the archipelago on individual maps of the Calbuco Archipelago. To activate the dynamics and go beyond descriptive aspects, questions were asked about the emotions, senses and bodily sensations experienced during their movements.

For its part, the game 'Archipelágia' (see [Figure 2](#)) was a tool designed to talk about the territory and mobility experiences, but based on playful, performative and co-formative dynamics among children and researchers. The children were divided into two groups to play Archipelágia, in which they moved around the board throwing dice and participating in different questions and/or imitations of mobility in their archipelago.

The 'Body Mapping'² tool was used to activate and motivate sensory and bodily aspects of their mobilities. Masking tape was used to mark the floor with the silhouettes of the position their bodies are in on the route between their homes and school (see [Figure 3](#)), for which one color was assigned to the way there and another for the way back. Once the silhouettes were drawn, the children reflected on their relationship with the emotions and bodily sensations they experience in their daily mobility.

Lastly, the 'Soundscape Workshop'³ allowed the children to delve into their relationship with different acoustic elements in the territory, in addition to their emotional and memory-related aspects. For this, the children were taken to visit everyday places in Tabón – such as beaches, the school, the football field, among others – and used voice recorders to collect some of the characteristic sounds of their mobility.

Records of the four methodologies used were kept using a voice recorder and camera. The recorded material was transcribed in its entirety. For the photographs, the material that best summarized experiences in the field was selected. Some photographs were also edited to preserve the participants' anonymity.

Regarding the systematization and subsequent analysis, the information was processed using a dual entry systematization matrix, in which the information obtained was cross-referenced with the following study categories: (1) Companions; (2) Spatiality and materialities; and (3) Temporalities, sensations and emotions.



Figure 2. Archipelágia Board Game (Calbuco Archipelago).



Figure 3. Body mapping activity.

The transcripts were processed with a simple discourse analysis, establishing relationships with the corresponding photographs. In the Body Mapping methodology, for example, transcript fragments were linked to photographs portraying what was described. In short, the transcribed narratives guided the entire systematization and analysis process, while the photographs were a supplemental visual support.

Companions: human and non-human actors as social and spatial connections

A common factor in the narratives of the children from Tabón Island is the presence of human and non-human actors in their mobility experiences. These actors are a substantial component of their

mobilities, as they are figures with which they establish ties of companionship and territorial collaboration.

The human actors include other children and certain direct relatives such as parents, siblings, and grandparents. Meanwhile, the importance of the area's species emerges among the non-human actors. Nansen et al. (2014) view these elements as 'environmental companions' and they stand out for having a fairly symmetrical relationship with the human actors of Tabón Island in terms of the values of respect and care for the natural environment. For this reason, flora and fauna are categorized as non-human actors in this article and not as 'spatial and material' elements of mobility.

The children are generally accompanied in their mobilities, whether by human or non-human actors. For example, as far as humans are concerned, while the children are very used to moving about the island and the archipelago without adult company, they do so with their schoolmates, taking maritime and land routes. On these trips, they say that they talk with each other, sleep and/or pay attention to the landscape that they can hear, see and smell around them.

Regarding the rest of their relatives, they participate with the children in local activities on the coastline. On the one hand, fishing is an activity they engage in with their fathers and/or grandfathers, while they engage in shellfish and seaweed collection with their mothers and/or grandmothers. For their part, some of the children who live in areas that are closer to the school mention that their parents take them in their private vehicles.

As noted above, when the children travel without human companionship, they are not in essence alone, as they are accompanied by different elements in their natural environment, such as the landscape, the sounds of territory, and the native flora and fauna. The latter two are the most commented on by the children.

The flora is not an element that attracts the attention of Tabón's children much, apparently because they do not know about it from their own mobile experiences, but rather from adult relatives talking about their observations in activities such as agriculture and seaweed collection. The children highlight the latter, as they often participate in collecting the seaweed Luga (*Sarcothalia crispata*).

Among other seaweeds, they mention lamilla (*Ulva lactuca*), cochayuyo (*Durvillaea incurvata*) and huiro (*Macrocystis pyrifera*), which are collected in the El Ded, Lin and Mayelhue sectors. They also mention the presence of vegetable fibers, which generally correspond to wetlands in which part of the island's birdlife lives. Regarding the flora of other islands, their narratives focus on what they have seen on their boat trips or what they know from word of mouth. On this, they mention that nearby islands have apple trees and local flowers.

Regarding fauna, the children said that it is an element that they always observe in their movements. All the activities, especially in the Archipelágia game, revealed that they easily identify many local species. Meanwhile, in the Soundscape Workshop they recorded field animals and local birds. Among the latter, the presence of swans, cormorants, and different types of seagulls and bandurria, among others, stand out.

As far as the marine fauna mentioned is concerned, it is divided into four categories: crustaceans, mollusks, fish and larger species, among which toninas (*Cephalorhynchus eutropia*) and whales stand out, which are often seen swimming south of Tabón Island. It should be noted that both children and adults relate to these non-human actors in their everyday lives and through activities such as fishing and shellfish collection.

On the archipelagic scale, the list of fauna mentioned is more limited. On this subject, the presence of certain birds on Puluqui Island was highlighted, naming the same types of birds as seen in Tabón. They also noted the presence of certain species of fish, toninas and sea lions.

In short, it becomes clear that the human and non-human actors of Tabón influence mobility practices on the island with relatively balanced agency, based on relationships focused on territorial companionship and collaboration.

Spatiality and materialities in Tabón Island: interweaving mobilities

Children from Tabón Island mention a series of significant spatial and material elements of their mobility, among which they highlight everyday places in the island, certain institutions and geographical milestones, the routes taken, the means of transport and some of the objects that are a routine part of their movements.

Their homes and those of certain close relatives and friends stand out among everyday places. As documented in the Social Mapping of Mobility activity, seven of the children were registered as living in the central area of Tabón, specifically in the Estero and Ilto sectors. However, there were four exceptions: a 15-year-old girl who lives in El Ded, a boy in the Mayelhue sector, and a boy and girl from the Lin sector, both aged 11. This dispersion shows that the children inhabit various sectors of the island, moving from the centrality and vicinity of the school to more peripheral parts of the island.

Likewise, mapping revealed that most of the places highlighted by the children are very close to their homes, and it is therefore unsurprising for them to be a significant part of their everyday lives. One example is the El Sur beach in the Ilto sector, known for its great natural attraction. Others are strategic points for connecting with the other islands in the archipelago, such as the lighthouse in the Ilto sector and the docks in Mayelhue and Estero.

At the institutional level, they mentioned some of the institutions that are important to their community. When asked, 'What are the most important places?' they replied: 'The church, because if a relative dies they can be buried there. The school, so we can have an education (...) The health clinic, in case we get sick' (children from Tabón Island). Based on this, it was identified that the importance of these spaces lies with the specific functions of protection, care and learning.

The most frequently mentioned institutions were those dedicated to learning, such as the Mayelhue School, the Tabón Island Rural School and the football field in Estero. Other places were destined for the development of beliefs, such as the Our Lady of the Rosary Church and the chapel and the cemetery in Mayelhue. They also mentioned certain spaces associated with essential services. In the case of health, they mentioned the clinic and the neighborhood social center when it comes to community encounters.

Other important places are the so-called geographical landmarks, among which the sandbanks stand out. A curious natural phenomenon takes place in these areas, as the islets Lin and Mayelhue are formed when they are submerged by the tide. On the former, one of the children said in the Social Mapping of Mobility activity that

The thing about this sandbank is that when the tide rises, water mixes with water and there is water from the beach over there [Lin] and from the beach over there [Estero], and the wind is strong, like 70 km (...) When the sandbank is closed, this becomes an island. (boy, Tabón Island)

The landmarks in the area that the children highlighted included La Meona, Callejón de los Brujos, El Ded, Piedra de la Fortuna o del Destino and La Lobera.

As commented in the soundscape workshop, La Meona is a waterfall in the southern part of the Tabón Island where the islanders bathe in summer and collect water. Meanwhile, in the Social Mapping of Mobility workshop, the children mentioned the Callejón de los Brujos, a path to the beach that they avoid due to local stories about witchcraft there. They also noted the El Ded sector, an area with very little wind, which makes it ideal for mooring boats. They also commented on Piedra de la Fortuna o Destino in the same activity, a place whose name is not clear as the story is transmitted by word of mouth. On this place, one of the children said: 'There are two stones close to each other, with a space between them. Whoever crosses this space and gets through fine will live for many years and those who do so with difficulty will have a short life' (boy, Tabón Island).

Regarding La Lobera, it is a small island off Tabón and gets its name from the many sea lions that live there.

The children's usual routes cover different recreational areas in Tabón Island, which are a key part of their everyday lives. Among the places that stand out are the El Sur beach in Ilto, in addition to the football field and the Tabón Island Rural School, the latter being the place they go to most frequently.

Another important element that intersects with the spatiality of routes taken is the characteristic landscape that surrounds them. On this matter, the children say that while the routes are very beautiful, especially because of the visual and acoustic experiences of the island-archipelagic landscape, they are also very complicated due to the presence of mud, scrubs and the behavior of the tides.

The children use different material elements in response to these difficulties, which range from specialized clothing for rainy climates to the use of routes and constructions that facilitate their movements. Regarding constructions, not all have been satisfactory projects on which one of the children said: 'When the tide rises a lot there's a bridge you can take to cross over, but let's say it is not in very good condition' (boy, Tabón Island).

These trips stand out for their neighborhood-family nature, as a recurring element en route is the constant presence of the homes of different neighbors and/or relatives in Tabón, which is complemented by the deep knowledge they have of their territory-island. One of the girls in the activities says:

I walk past my house, Uncle Humberto and Uncle Erwin's lands, then I pass through the part below, by the beach, cross the playing field, Don Arturo's part and I reach the gate. I feel angry and tired, very weak. (girl, Tabón Island)

They mentioned their shellfish collection and fishing routes as among the less frequent movements in Tabón. They are generally taken every other week, by day or night and accompanied by an adult relative. Likewise, the children commented on their routes to the Mayelhue Pier, the point of departure from the island and the start of trips to other islands in the Archipelago, as that is where they board private boats and/or those with fixed-route services.

Meanwhile, when it comes to movements within the archipelago, the children mention the route to the Gulf of Ancud, known for being further away and a place for fishing. Unlike other routes, this one is only used by adults and the children know it from their parents' stories.

Likewise, the children mentioned making occasional trips to more distant islands, such as Huar, Quenu, Puluqui and Calbuco, places they know about through their main economic and cultural activities. For example, they know about some of Huar's most popular festivities like the Saint Peter's Festival and races. Regarding the islands Quenu and Puluqui, they mention some of their main activities, such as fishing, shellfish collection, agriculture and livestock husbandry. The children traveled to all these places using fixed-route boats.

Regarding trips to Calbuco, the children detailed that it takes about an hour and a half, as the boat is not very fast. They also commented on certain movements to more distant urban areas. When faced with the question, 'Where is the farthest I have traveled?' one of them replied, 'Calbuco, Puerto Montt, Puerto Varas and Osorno'. While the children do not mention why they made these trips, the information provided in the work techniques allow one to infer that it was for economic activities and to access services available in these territories.

The children use a variety of means of transport for these routes, or their movements to other islands in the archipelago. This is due to the constantly shifting weather in the region, making the alteration of both the means of transport and routes taken common. On this, one of the children said: 'I take my bike as far as the sandbank, which I cross by boat. I then take the bus to get to school'.

Regarding their maritime routes, the children use different types of vessels, such as dinghies, boats, and boats with outboard motors, which can be private and/or have a fixed route. Meanwhile for shorter land routes they choose to walk, go on horseback or take their bicycles. Meanwhile, they use more modern means for longer routes, such as motorbikes, minibuses and vehicles, among

which they mention pickup trucks and/or vans. One detail worth highlighting is their preference for walking, which is revealed in the following fragment from the Social Mapping of Mobility activity:

- Monitor: Did you know that your parents and grandparents used to do all this on foot?
- Students: Yes.
- Monitor: Have you covered those routes entirely on foot?
- Students: Yes.
- Monitor: Is there anyone who would prefer to do it on foot every day?
- Student 1: It's just that I prefer to breathe fresh air to fill my lungs. I prefer to walk, which is more natural, than to go by van, because there are things that bore me.

In short, the children from Tabón are in a constant relationship with different types of spatial and material elements throughout their mobility practices. These elements not only give shape to the situational context of movement but are the material foundation from which they relate to the island-archipelagic environment.

Temporalities, sensations and emotions of children's movements

Other elements identified in the children's narratives are the temporal aspects, in addition to the sensations and emotions they feel in their mobility practices. The former refer to the causes or forces that transform mobility patterns and the latter to the bodily effects and related emotions. As noted in the introduction, while sensations and emotions are factors that cut across all three categories of analysis, this category's title responds to the cause-and-effect relationship between temporalities and the sensations/emotions that they cause.

The island-archipelagic climate, which tends to be windy and cool most of the year, stands out as a temporal aspect. This climate has a direct impact on the routes taken, the means of transport chosen, the operation of ports, among other factors. Thus, the knowledge the children claim to have of the climate and its influence on their movements is fundamental.

Among the results of the work package activities, it was revealed that the children often chose alternative routes to the main ones, depending on the weather and, therefore, the routes' quality. On this subject, one of the children said:

You can cross this part until about noon; you cross the sandbank at that time. So, we cross it at around eight-thirty in the morning, my aunt drops us off, but we used to have to go on horseback, to where the van picks us up. (girl, Tabón Island)

Because these children live in an island territory, the behavior of the sea is another element that affects their mobility. While this is a factor that creates significant obstacles to free movement, the children do not relate it to something purely negative, as they mention that they are very attracted to the sound of the waves.

It not only affects their maritime movements, but can even cause changes in land movements within Tabón. For example, the children talked about how the routes to the Lin and Mayelhue sectors of the island depend on the tide, which occasionally submerges the sandbanks and hampers connectivity within the island. On this matter, one of the children said in the Social Mapping of Mobility activity that:

I start at my house. The route I take to get there is a bit long, as sometimes my father or mother will drop me off in the pickup truck from Lin. You must be careful, because the sand gets soft when the tide rises, and then you have to consider the waves. Sometimes the tides can be strong, and I take 15 or 20 minutes to reach school in the pickup. (boy, Tabón Island)

Among the other effects of inclement weather, they mentioned the fog and the aggressive winds, which are most dangerous on maritime routes. The children said that this makes them afraid and distrustful, which is reflected in the following extract from the Archipelágia game:

- Student 1: I like it when there is a calm, and I don't like it when there is bad weather for traveling sometimes. You get wet all the same.
- Monitor: How do you feel when you travel in bad weather?
- Student 1: Once you get used to it it's almost like nothing; it doesn't matter.
- Monitor: Did you ever feel afraid, or the first times?
- Student 1: (Nod) You feel afraid the first few times with bad weather. More than anything when you are younger.
- Monitor: Do you have any memories that you can share with us? An anecdote?
- Student 1: For a time, I would go to the island Huapi Abtao (...). That's the island over there. We would take like a half hour or a bit longer in a dinghy. At the time a heavy northern came out at us, a fresh north wind. We left there at about 8:30 in the evening, at night. The waves started breaking a lot over there and we broke down (...). I was a bit afraid then.
- Monitor: Who were you with then?
- Student 1: I'm always with my dad.
- Monitor: And were you afraid?
- Student 1: Yes, of course. It was the first time I made the trip, and we ran into bad weather.

To summarize, most of the routes that children from Tabón take to move about their island and archipelago largely depend on the weather, whose influence on the fog and the behavior of the sea and the wind has significant repercussions on travel times, quality and even the feasibility of movement.

Regarding the physical and emotional sensations experienced, the children generally said that they enjoy the routes on their island and to the rest of the archipelago. They especially appreciate the visual experience of contemplating the native flora and fauna, which entertains them and creates a pleasant sensation.

Among the routes taken by the children of Tabón, the sensations experienced on the route between their homes and the school stand out. The children commented that they go to school enthusiastically and happily, which stands out in the following fragment of the Body Mapping activity: 'When I think about the way to school, I feel good, happy, eager to learn new things' (boy, Tabón Island).

Meanwhile, they say that on the way home their bodies are tired from the routine and constant walking. One of the girls in the workshop represented this feeling by saying that her body felt tired and without energy upon returning home. This was corroborated by another of her classmates, who said: 'I leave tired because I get up early and then get back tired, so I arrive for dinner and then go to bed' (girl, Tabón Island).

Regarding less pleasant sensations, the children expressed fear and distrust of certain places in the island and the archipelago. Within the island, they distrust visiting the 'Cueva de los Brujos' (Sorcerers' Cave), due to the local legends associated with that area. They were also frightened of the Gulf of Ancud area, as they fear for the lives of their relatives who travel there to go fishing.

These examples of the bodily and emotional sensations experienced reveal the importance of recognizing the corporality, sensoriality and emotions of children's mobility, as they allow delving into the causes of certain movements, in addition to certain effects of mobility practices on children's physical condition.

Proximity assemblages of island-archipelagic children

The categorization carried out at the beginning of this analysis reveals that the elements that participate in the mobility of Tabón's children – companions, spatiality, materiality, temporality and sensations – do not do so in isolation from one another, as they acquire their meaning from a symmetrical and reciprocal relationship.

The elements that make up this mobility equation are separated from the dependent – independent and active–passive dichotomies and these characteristics are understood as part of the interdependence continuum (Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009; Murray and Cortés-Morales 2019). As Nansen et al. say,

Between the poles of dependence and independence, there are many cases in which the children are not directly accompanied by an adult nor are completely alone. When the children move through public spaces, they go in and out of places that are more or less populated by others; they move in shifting group compositions; their progress is mediated by people and technology and their trips include many modes of mobility. (2014, 3)

This interdependent mobility coincides with the mobile reality of Tabón Island's children, who relate through companionship, cooperation and territorial assistance (Nansen et al. 2014). It is through these values that the children establish proximity with other human actors, the landscape, the routes taken, the places in their island and its nature, which gives shape to the assemblage of their everyday mobility.

An example of these assemblages is the children's profound knowledge of the sea and the island-archipelagic climate, from which they structure, project and articulate their movements. Another assemblage is articulated through the community and neighborly nature of Tabón Island. The analysis of the results revealed that the children come across the homes of different neighbors and relatives in their movements, who frequently accompany, cooperate with and/or assist the children in their mobility.

These assemblages not only occur within the island, but also on an archipelagic scale. On this subject, they highlight movements to other islands in the Calbuco Archipelago, especially Puluqui, Quenu and Huar, territories that the residents of Tabón continually relate to because they are areas characterized by the significant presence and diversity of fishing resources.

Other assemblages include the relationship between the school and families, the bonds of friendship between children, the relationship of respect for flora and fauna, the impact of local activities on movements, among others.

It is also fundamental to mention that while these assemblages are built on elements that the children share about their mobility practices, there are also important differences from which 'sub-assemblages' are built. These differences include territorial, gender, age and other factors.

In the case of the study carried out for this article, one type of 'sub-assemblage' identified was related to the impact of the area of residence on movements in the island. On the one hand, those living in the main sector have institutions and basic services nearby, meaning that they assemble their mobilities based on more independent dynamics and shorter travel times. For their part, those who live on the periphery face greater difficulties moving to the central part of the island. The area's sandbanks stand out among these difficulties, as they become submerged by the tide and make the children's mobility more difficult, constantly modifying and re-assembling their movement strategies.

In summary, it is based on these assemblages and sub-assemblages that the children articulate and adapt their mobility practices, for which they resort to different skills, materialities and values – such as companionship and cooperation – to engage in their movements.

Recognizing island children's mobilities

This research allows approaching a topic that remains incipient in mobility studies, such as the mobile experiences of children living in island-archipelagic contexts.

It found that island children's mobility is not a previously determined experience and, on the contrary, is defined and characterized by what Nansen et al. (2014) call companionship relations among 'travel companions', 'companionship devices' and 'environmental companions'. That is, it is a type of mobility that both human and non-human components participate in, the latter of which include organisms, artifacts and technologies (Prout 2005).

In the case of this article, these relationships of companionship occur within the framework of an assemblage (Christensen and Cortés-Morales 2016) of human and non-human actors, with the spatiality, materiality, temporality and sensations experienced while in movement.

Island children's mobilities are not easy; they must navigate long roads, inclement weather and use various means of transport. In this sense, the children's profound knowledge of their mobility territory allows them to move confidently, safely and accompanied. Island children not only recognize themselves in their territory and identify with it but also add an emotional, affective and sensory value to their everyday routes and paths.

Likewise, the children's mobility practices and experiences have times and rhythms, cultural and environmental overlapping that must be understood in the island's territorial context and, in that sense, as experiences that are interdependent (Mikkelsen and Christensen 2009; Murray and Cortés-Morales 2019) and assembled (Christensen and Cortés-Morales 2016; Prout 2005) with their own environment.

Regarding the methodology used to compile the children's mobility practices and experiences, this work argues that the use of collaborative and creative tools allows an approach that is more appropriate and in line with the children's reality. The Archipelágia game, the drawings on maps, the body silhouettes and the materials used invited the children not only to talk about their mobilities but also to play and feel. These techniques allowed the research team to build trust and a more horizontal relationship with the children.

Lastly, island childhood mobilities must be understood as interdependent mobilities that are well assembled with the social actors, spatiality, materiality and temporality that make it possible. Accordingly, discovering and understanding the mobilities that the children of island-archipelagic territories configure provides an opportunity to delve deeper into the ways that they weave their ties with the spaces and places they inhabit. This implies moving toward studying children's mobilities from a perspective that is less adult-centric, based on recognizing children as active, participatory and visible social actors capable of imagining the future of their territories.

Notes

1. To see the maps created by the children participating in this research, visit the following figshare link: <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.28528607.v1>.
2. To see more photographs of this activity's creation process, visit the following figshare link: <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.28528610.v1>.
3. To hear the sound records, visit the following figshare link: <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.28528628.v1>.

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Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in figshare at <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.28528607.v1>, <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.28528610.v1> and <https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.28528628.v1>

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