

Mobile caringscapes. Walking as an infrastructure of care in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Sweden

Tanja Joelsson, Dag Balkmar & Malin Henriksson

To cite this article: Tanja Joelsson, Dag Balkmar & Malin Henriksson (2025) Mobile caringscapes. Walking as an infrastructure of care in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Sweden, *Mobilities*, 20:1, 1-17, DOI: [10.1080/17450101.2024.2371598](https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2024.2371598)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2024.2371598>



Published online: 11 Jul 2024.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 2091



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 11 View citing articles [↗](#)

RESEARCH ARTICLE



Mobile caringscapes. Walking as an infrastructure of care in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Sweden

Tanja Joelsson^a , Dag Balkmar^b  and Malin Henriksson^c 

^aDepartment of Child and Youth Studies, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden; ^bSchool of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences, Örebro University, Örebro, Sweden; ^cThe Swedish National Road and Transport Research Institute, Linköping, Sweden

ABSTRACT

The welfare state planning of the Nordic countries can be said to have been carried out as political acts of state care and concern of (some of) their citizens, to tackle poverty and poor housing conditions, and provide more equal living conditions for the whole population. The Million Programme Housing Project (MP) was an ambitious project carried out to combat housing shortage in Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s, which also resulted in traffic separation, car-free courtyards and housing blocks, and recreational green infrastructure. By analysing accounts of walking in 47 interviews around the everyday mobilities of 31 families living in three disadvantaged MP areas in three cities in Sweden, we suggest that the walking practices can be regarded as ‘caringscapes’. The narratives of the participants illuminate how walking is both self-care, other-care, and neighbourhood-care. Taken together, these different facets of ‘caringscapes’ of walking are further discussed in relation to walking as an enacted and practiced infrastructure of care. This conceptual framework of care captures the different experiential facets of walking and highlights the embodied, interdependent, and relational aspects of walking.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 22 September 2023
Accepted 7 June 2024



KEYWORDS

Walking; families; caringscapes; infrastructures of care; disadvantaged neighbourhoods; Sweden

Caring democracy? The land- and time-scapes of mobility in the Swedish welfare society

So that’s what’s nice about living here, why we haven’t thought about moving away from here, because, like, we have walking distance to almost everything. Everything is very convenient. And you don’t have this space in many other neighbourhoods. So this is... Now I’m just looking at [nature reserve] but it continues all the way down, and then you can just keep walking around. There are footpaths everywhere and if you want to walk... If you walk through the forest, there are... people are just out walking here. (...) And there is no place that I know of in [city] that really has anything like this.

During a walk with Dante (father of four children), one of our research participants in a research project on families’ everyday mobility in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Sweden, he explains how living in their neighbourhood as a family is easy since it supports and enables walking. He explains that his children do not need to cross any roads on their way to school, ‘it is built in a way that children are able to move comfortably and safely’, which contributes to him feeling safe and confident as a parent that his children will not be in a car-pedestrian accident. Dante is

CONTACT Tanja Joelsson  tanja.joelsson@buv.su.se  Department of Child and Youth Studies, Stockholm University, Stockholm, 106 91, Sweden

This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

also an everyday commuter, and his weekday travelling amounts to about 4 h/day. He leaves early each weekday morning, and his wife cares for the younger children, takes them to pre-school before going to her work as a nurse, and picks them up in the afternoon. The two teenagers in the family mostly walk to school in the neighbourhood. The mother has access to the family car during the week while taking care of the family logistics. Because of the logistical complexities of the family's everyday mobilities, the place of residence is important, to facilitate many of the everyday needs of the families. To have access to the amenities associated with urban spaces, as well as spacious green areas just around the corner, is considered unique in the city where they live. Many of the other inhabitants speak of the neighbourhood in a similar manner, and the proximity to a mix of service amenities, work places, and educational institutions is highly valued (cf. Gil Solá and Vilhelmson 2022).

Qviström (2022) has noted how the welfare legacies of the Swedish welfare state materialized in a green infrastructure scripted by recreational dimensions in the 1970s. The welfare state planning of the Nordic countries can be said to have been carried out as political acts of state care and concern for their citizens, to tackle poverty, poor housing conditions, and sanitary issues, and provide more equal living conditions for the whole population (Lundqvist 2011). The political project of facilitating family life was not only manifested in social reforms but was also translated into material manifestations in the built environment through, e.g., housing, neighbourhood planning, transport infrastructure, suburbanization, and recreational planning (Lundqvist 2011). These materialized welfare infrastructures can be regarded as part of a welfare state planning where the rhythm of the everyday lives of the citizens guided the ideological constructs and the built environment (Qviström 2022). In many ways, the welfare landscapes materialized in the Million Programme Housing Project (MP) areas are tangible manifestations of a physically accessible neighbourhood. The MP was an ambitious project carried out to combat housing shortage in Sweden in the 1960–1970s and was hence guided by a modernist planning ideal. The functionalist ideal predicated separation of, e.g., work and housing at a city/neighbourhood scale, also resulting in traffic separation and car-free yards and housing blocks (Hall and Vidén 2005). Many of these neighbourhoods are now territorially stigmatized and the target of intensive re-development (Grundström and Molina 2016). Feelings of unsafety due to the presence of criminality affect the everyday lives and mobilities of parents, young people, and children. Nevertheless, the traffic-separated planning has implications for, in particular, the emergence of children's playful mobilities (Ekman Ladru, Joelsson, and Fridén Syrjäpalo 2022), and the predominantly green and varied topography of the neighbourhoods provides a diversity of opportunities valued by children and young people (Joelsson, Ekman Ladru, and Cele forthcoming).

Despite the ongoing dismantling of the Swedish welfare society, the landscaped welfare has been less highlighted in research, and it deserves attention. While some of the welfare legacies are increasingly disassociated from the rhythms of everyday life and are re-framed as merely morphological matters in contemporary urban planning (Qviström 2022), others can be argued to have been strengthened amid the current efforts to achieve environmental sustainability. Having physical infrastructure for walking and bicycling which is also well-maintained has been put forward as significant for increasing walking and cycling. Walking is increasingly addressed in local policy but remains empirically understudied despite the emergence of 'new walking studies' (Lorimer 2016). A deeper understanding of why, how, and when people walk might provide better knowledge for planning and policy work on walking (Middleton 2011a; cf. Horton et al. 2014).

With respect to calls for more knowledge, there is also a need to address the land- and time-scapes for families' everyday mobilities, and their walking practices in particular. While some physical infrastructures have the potential to support the everyday lives of people, societal time-scapes can complicate both access and use of them (Adam 2004). The time-spatial organization of everyday life is tied up in complex webs of relations between the movement and materialities

of the city, as well as the meaning-making and the negotiations that constitute what has been referred to as ‘the secret life of cities’ (Jarvis, Pratt, and Wu 2001). For parents, this might entail juggling the time-spatial obligations of employment, schools, and preschools, as well as other everyday obligations, also referred to as the ‘public timetable’ (Roy, Tubbs, and Burton 2004). The time-spatial organization of everyday life is hence regulated by the temporal and spatial organization of welfare through various institutions (employment, education, transport systems, etc.).

In this text, we analyse walking in the context of the everyday life of families living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Sweden. Walking is highlighted as an important mobility in their everyday life. We argue that the research participants’ accounts of their walking practices are composed of care: walking as self-care, other-care, and neighbourhood-care. Following Bowlby (2012), we suggest that these mobile caring practices can be conceptualized as ‘caringscapes.’ In the following, we will describe the methodological approach and the research context, followed by theoretical reflections and a research overview focusing on walking and mobilities of care, before we present the findings. In the concluding part, we discuss the implications of understanding walking practices as mobile ‘caringscapes,’ as well as walking as an infrastructure of care, and why a focus on care rather than on accessibility might provide a more fruitful way to understand and frame walking in contemporary welfare societies.

Methods, material, and the research context

As Murray (2020) notes, a study on the everyday mobilities of families must engage critically with both the concept of mobility and the concept of family, and what it entails to do mobile research with families. The material for this text on the everyday walking experiences of families in disadvantaged neighbourhoods is gathered within an ethically approved study on families’ everyday mobilities in Sweden (Swedish Ethical Review Authority dnr 2020-03246). Based on an open-ended conceptualization of a family that included intra-generational intimate bonds beyond kinship, we invited families in three low-income urban neighbourhoods (7500–10,000 inhabitants) in three middle-sized/larger cities to participate. In total, 31 families participated; many included a mother and father and four or more children, but some single parents and a woman hosting a family consisting of a mother and three daughters in her apartment also took part in the study. The research participants have different nationalities (a majority have immigrant backgrounds), and their educational and employment background varies. The average income in the neighbourhoods is lower compared to the rest of the municipality. Most of the research participants live in rental housing. Their occupational and educational background varied. Many of the adults were employed in the care sector (e.g., in nurseries, (pre)school, or elderly care, or worked as bus or taxi drivers. Some worked with teaching, one person worked as a driving instructor, and another as an interpreter. A few were unemployed or on parental leave (only women). The children and young people were enrolled in preschool or school. While mobilities research on families often focuses on middle- and upper-class households, and on kinship exclusively, this study deals with gaps in the research, since it diversifies the sample by attending to low-income households (cf. Jensen, Sheller, and Wind 2015).

Following Murray (2020), we argue that doing mobile mobility research with families highlights ‘the interdependencies, relationalities, materialities and imaginaries’ (263) that shape the everyday mobilities of families. Methods used must capture this embeddedness and the negotiations and temporalities that follow. Inspired by an ethnographic approach, we combined conventional in depth-interviews (outdoors or indoors), walking interviews, and mobility diaries. The combination of methods was intended to capture different aspects of everyday mobility, connected to both movement in space and to meaning making (cf. Merriman 2014).

In this text, we analyse the material from the interviews and mobility diaries. The interviews revolved around the research participants' everyday mobility and their use, perceptions, and experiences of different kinds of mobilities. Questions related to their living arrangements, their living environment, and their neighbourhood were also raised in the interviews. Forty-seven interviews with children, young people, and their parents were carried out (individual or family interviews), as well as two group interviews with participants from different families. The majority of the parents were mothers (25 and 10 fathers), and somewhat fewer girls (16) than boys (20) participated.¹ The interviews were carried out online, outdoors, or as walking interviews. The interviews lasted between 10 min and 1–2 h. Some interviews were conducted in other languages than Swedish (e.g., English or Somali). The research participants (one adult and one or two children per family) were asked to fill in mobility diaries during a day or several days of a regular work/school week, to capture everyday movement of both adults and children/youths. In total, 37 diaries were handed in. The mobility diary was designed as a spreadsheet where the research participants could fill in their daily movement (weekday, starting and end location of the trip, transport mode, start and end time of the trip, companions, and the experience of the trip). The columns for experiences were not always filled in, in contrast to the other columns for location, destination, and trip time. Some did not use the template but used a blank regular A4-sheet (like Heena, see [Figure 1](#)).

As Lindberg et al. (2024) note, to approach residents in low-income areas requires a sensibility towards norms about mobility in general, and specifically to the forceful association between everyday mobility and place of residence, and freedom of choice. Many of our participants experienced many limitations due to their economic situation and expressed wishes to live elsewhere or to be able to access cars or cheaper public transport. It is also worth mentioning that many families today, including the participating families as we will show in our findings, experience time pressure in their daily life. We therefore did not pursue or push the research participants that did not hand in the mobility diary or photographs, and instead relied on that the multi-method approach to enable rich accounts of the everyday mobility of the families.

From infrastructures of accessibility to infrastructures of care

A growing field of study, emanating from the intersections between the behavioural sciences and planning, concerns walkability and perceived walkability (Lindelöw 2016). In transport research on walking, focus is often on measures of accessibility and walkability, to predict, model, and plan for (more) walking (Shields et al. 2023). Walkability has emerged as an important concept and refers to a growing research field where the relationship between the built environment and walking is of particular interest. Walkability is used when considering planning related factors and urban features; it 'affects people's propensity to walk' (Lindelöw 2016, 5). The interest is in the correlations between walking rates and the built environment, often from an urban perspective. However, in line with Middleton (2011b), we argue that it is vital to approach socio-material infrastructures from the vantage point of everyday life. While the 'accessibility' lens can illuminate inequalities in access, and highlight many dimensions of how people negotiate, manage, maintain, and repair the infrastructures, the major shortcoming is that accessibility is still understood within a conceptual framework where (whether or not it is understood in terms of perceived, processual or actualized) *accessibility to* infrastructures is foregrounded. This conceals the foundation for a major part of many people's everyday mobility, where life-maintenance and life-sustenance are fundamental for moving around. Hence, the experiences of walking need to be considered. We do not argue that accessibility is unimportant, quite the contrary. Inequalities in accessibility are an important way to address transport disadvantage, transport poverty, or transport related exclusion (e.g., Lucas 2012; Martens 2016). As Muñoz (2023, 201) has argued, accessibility is also a 'doing', where infrastructures are continuously and relationally

Resan b.	Resans	Tillsammans med
11 ⁵⁰	12 ¹⁵	med min arbetslagrat.
21 ⁰⁰	21 ²⁰	-"-
7 ²⁰	7 ⁴⁵	-"-
16 ¹⁰	16 ²⁰	☹️ Spår
06 ²⁵	06 ³⁹	☹️ Spår
16 ⁰⁵	16 ¹⁵	Spår
17 ⁰⁰	17 ⁵⁵	☺️ med Familjen
14 ⁵⁰	17 ⁰⁰	☹️ med Familjen

Figure 1. Part of Heena's (mother) mobility diary, focusing on the column on companions where she has marked her experience of travelling with the family in the car with a happy smiley, whilst travelling alone by bike or foot was marked by a sad face.

Source: Photograph by Tanja Joellsson. CC BY 4.0.

achieved as individuals together with the material environment 'locally enact heterogenous landscapes of accessibility'. Such performative approaches to infrastructures offer a more fruitful venue to explore the constant reconfigurations of the socio-material arrangements that constitute infrastructures.

We suggest that shifting from infrastructures of accessibility to infrastructures of care, when discussing families' everyday walking practices, enables a profoundly relational approach to everyday mobilities, where caring (about, for, and with) forms and shapes relations to others and the environment, and highlights how mobility is as much about meaning-making and experiences as it is about morphology and the built environment. Stratford and Byrne (2023, 3) have proposed that ideas of 'infrastructures invite opportunities to care *with*' and that this 'implicates how we move or not; where, when, and with what intentions and effects, or, "how lives are lived within and across the city and to consider the im/mobilities that characterise city life and the practice of care"'.

Walking is almost exclusively perceived as a desirable and 'positive' mobility within current (eco-oriented) sustainability or health-related discourses. Yet it is seldom investigated in relation to normative cultural conceptions, associated with different mobilities, or to the complexity of meanings, conditions, and processes structuring families' everyday life and mobility practices (cf. Jarvis 2005; Jiron and Carrasco 2019). By studying the everyday lives of people, it can be seen that walking, contrary to the positive connotations in much research, planning, and policy, can have negative effects on the welfare and well-being of families, especially on low-income mothers with caring responsibilities. Being dependent on public transport, or walking as a 'free' transport mode, is often the joint consequence of economic position (low income), place (housing segregation pathways), and other intersecting inequalities related to gender (caring responsibilities) and time (public timetables; Roy, Tubbs, and Burton 2004). As walking is often compulsory for poor women, it can in fact undermine health and well-being due to the additional physical and psychological stress involved because of the mothers' caring obligations when accompanied by their pre-school children (Blumenberg 2016; Bostock 2001; cf. Gilow 2020). Bostock (2001) illustrates that walking was the dominant mode of mobility in her study of low-income mothers and that their enforced lack of a car in a car society not only impacted on the accessibility of service and amenities, making them more home-bound, but also had a profound effect on their health and well-being. She concludes that these women 'used their bodies as a means to bridge the gap between responsibilities and resources' (Bostock 2001, 16), as their time and (bodily) labour were their main resources for the sustaining of everyday life (cf. Simone 2004). This can be contrasted to families with economic means as well as flexible employment, which create possibilities to outsource reproductive tasks or adapt to the time obligations (cf. Hjorthol et al. 2005; Jarvis, Pratt, and Wu 2001).

Our conceptual framework highlights the spatiotemporal dimensions of the unequal arrangements that configure families' everyday mobilities in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Adopting ecological thinking in relation to care according to Bowlby and McKie (2019, 536) emphasizes 'the need to specify, through empirical and theoretical exploration, significant proximal processes relating to care acts and exchanges, "context" and possible dynamic interactions between these elements.' We will now go on to develop the conceptual framework of such a shift through Bowlby's work on 'caringscapes.' By considering the mobilities of 'caringscapes,' we develop an understanding of walking as an enacted and practiced heterogenous infrastructure of care (Lawhon et al. 2018).

Caringscapes: enacted and practiced (mobile) infrastructures of care

We conceive walking as an (conditioned) infrastructure of care (McFarlane and Silver 2017).

As laid out above, walking is conditioned by the land- and timescapes of the materialized welfare legacies, as well as the processes that have transformed or reinforced these materializations of welfare. As Tronto (2013) has argued, the privatization of formal care in many affluent societies has had consequences not only for the organization of formal care but also for informal care (see also Bowlby and McKie 2019). The de-valued and often precarious work performed by formal care workers often involves time-consuming travel between the recipients of care (Henriksson 2019) while trying to keep up with the squeezed time schedule of the day (Jackson et al. 2019). How care relations unfold in relation to mobility has been illuminated in relation to, e.g., the organization of everyday life in families (Hjorthol et al. 2005; Jiron and Carrasco 2019; Ravensbergen, Buliung, and Serli 2020; cf. Jarvis 2005), in later life (Croucher et al. 2021) or over the life course (Plyushteva and Schwanen 2018). Some have focused on how the cycling infrastructure in car-based societies exposes vulnerability and does not 'care for' children cycling with their parents (Hvidt Breengaard and Henriksson 2022). Hence, the system of automobility can be seen as cultivating 'cultures of care' (Greenhough et al. 2023) for people in cars, while other users of public spaces are less cared for.

By scrutinizing 'time squeeze' in working families in London by investigating the household distribution of resources, Jarvis (2005) contends that the everyday choices of the families need to be put in their social, cultural, and material context, and considered beyond individual factors. Jarvis illustrates that everyday strategies for coping with family life were impacted by structural conditions, such as working hours and occupation, housing affordability, childcare shortage, transport failure, and school choice. Not only is domestic mobility work time-consuming, but, as Gilow (2020) states, also an energy-consuming activity. In her study on working mothers' daily organization of domestic mobility, her research participants speak of the planning and execution of daily logistics as physically and mentally burdensome.

Women account for the highest share of household related trips. Sánchez de Madariaga (2016) has suggested that such trips can be referred to as mobility of care and argues that these trips in fact exceed work trips. In Gilow's (2020, 3) study, mothers accounted for three aspects in planning for the complex logistics of their daily lives: 'the planning of trip chains, the implementation of proximity strategies and the spatial concentrations of activities to reduce the number of trips that need to be done'. As Roy, Tubbs, and Burton (2004) illustrate, economic resources can in some ways be used to ease the burden of everyday management of time (cf. Hjorthol et al. 2005; Jarvis 2005; Jiron and Carrasco 2019).

These ways of caring, and their relation to mobility, can be perceived as mobile 'caringscapes' (Bowlby 2012). The enacted and practiced care/ing activities and practices that a person carries out or receives over the life-course include both past, current, and future caring activities. Caring practices are further 'nested,' i.e., interrelated to other practices in complex interdependent ways (Tronto 2013; cf. Kittay 1999). The 'caringscapes' are influenced by the 'carescapes' they emerge in/with, and occur 'over a variety of spatial and temporal scales' (Bowlby 2012) and with other humans, and the more than-human (de la Bellacasa 2017). In this respect, it is vital to acknowledge how care/ing activities take place relationally, making it pertinent to also address the context for care/ing and the unequal power relations that emerge in and through caring situations (Bowlby 2012; Bowlby and McKie 2019; Tronto 2013). The inequalities of care refer, for example, to how policies, services, and infrastructures make certain care situations and practices possible while excluding others, on global and national as well as regional and municipal levels. The inequalities of care also refer to how power relations unfold in care/ing situations, when caring is carried out or as an outcome of caring.

Mobile 'caringscapes'

In the following, we suggest that the walking practices our research participants report engaging in during their everyday lives can be regarded as 'caringscapes.' The narratives of the participants illuminate how walking can be framed as self-care, other-care and neighbourhood-care.

Walking as self-care

Given the stressful everyday lives the research participants in our study account for, walking is conceived of as a cheap way of moving around and can be combined with socializing and having fun. Even if the research participants' lives in many ways can be understood as less affluent, and their mobilities reflect their socioeconomic position, walking was also perceived as important for easing everyday stress. For many of the research participants, daily life was often tied up with work or education obligations, a hectic family schedule, and small economic means. One way of relieving stress was walking with companions, another was to walk (alone or with companions) in green areas and parks. The walking environments they move through are hence vital for their walking experiences, foregrounding not only green spaces and parks but also consumption spaces and sports fields. The welfare legacies of recreational planning from the 1970s materialized in the MP areas, include significant recreational environments (Qviström 2022). Very few of the parents reported having leisure activities of their own, and time for self-care was scarce (cf. Roy, Tubbs, and Burton 2004). Taking exercise and caring for one's health was very often framed as part of their daily mobilities, and here walking stands out as being the preferred mode of exercise as it can be combined with everyday logistical needs. Salma, mother of five, does not have a driving licence and walks to and from work:

Salma: When I finish [work], I often go for a walk, because I need to. I need to do some exercise, I ... no bus, no car. Sometimes, I go to the centre and shop, if I want. Not so much bulk shopping. Well, if something is urgently needed. Or, I walk to my children's preschool.

For Salma, these daily walks are important for her well-being. Lea, mother of three, explains how she also incorporates daily exercise in her everyday life. For example, she says that it is 'very good for [your health]' to take the stairs, as their apartment is located on level three in an apartment building with no elevator. For her, daily walks, taking the stairs, or biking, is the only option as she cannot visit training facilities due to being a full-time student, and looking after the children when her husband is at work (he is on shiftwork as a bus driver). She laughingly adds that in this way she can, 'exercise for free, you do not need to pay for it.' Iman also talks about physical well-being and health, when commenting on how her body 'needs' exercise. By not always taking the bus, but instead cycling or walking, she can satisfy her 'need' of exercise. In contrast, Sandra mentions the days before she had a driving licence and was dependent on public transport and walking, and how the driving has had an impact on her body. On a question of whether the transition from public transport and walking to driving has had any negative effects on her, she laughingly mentions that she has gained 10 kg in weight.

Aisha, 60 years old, speaks of how she always walks to the nature reserve close to her home (a very appreciated place for many of the research participants in one of the cities), but never leaves home without her bus pass. She refers to herself as 'lazy,' as she often combines her recreational walks with a bus ride, and does not always want to go for a walk despite living with a friend who pushes her to accompany her for walks. It is important for Aisha to be able to always reach a bus stop so that she can take the bus home when she gets physically tired from walking.

AISHA: Well, when I go for a walk, I always come here [to a nature area]. Yes, I can just sit somewhere, walk around a bit like this. Or go directly [inaudible 0:27:13] to [street] and then continue on the other side. I usually don't go further than where I can find a bus stop.

I: That's right, you always have your bus pass with you.

AISHA: Yes, I always carry a bus pass with me. And then when I leave, I think "Now that I'm tired, I'll take the bus back." [inaudible 0:27:30] ... Otherwise I walk only half an hour, then go back. So I make sure it's only an hour like that. I'm not one to walk that much when I've been very lazy throughout ... since last year actually. But I'll try to start again this summer.

Iman mentions that she does not only walk with friends but also with her family. She remarks that her daughter also ‘needs’ to walk and that walking with her daughter and sometimes with her husband is ‘nice,’ alluding both to the health dimensions of walking and to the social aspects of doing family and kinship. Salma, on the other hand, is explicit about the necessity of walking with friends and that it is fun to walk at weekends to break off the working week. She emphasizes that she and her family need to have fun during the weekends to cope with the upcoming week. Both Iman and Salma highlight how walking is intertwined with socializing, with exercise, and with winding down from a hectic everyday life.

Walking as other-care

The research participants’ accounts of walking remain ambivalent, as they account for how walking is at times framed negatively, and at times perceived as unproblematic and desirable. One such ambivalence can be illustrated in relation to walking as other-care, where other-care (of the family members) is nested both in gendered parental care obligations and in the maintenance of kinship. Other-care also entailed maintaining friendship through walking practices.

As mentioned previously, care responsibilities are gendered and often fall on the shoulders of mothers. Many of the mothers account for walking with children, to preschool or school. Asho, mother of four and currently on parental leave, highlights how a considerable amount of time during her day is devoted to walking to and from school with her children:

I: Yes, so you go with the children to school first?

Asho: Yes, the first one starts at eight o’clock. (...) At nine o’clock I leave the others. Then I walk around in the whole [neighbourhood], and then I go back home. I clean and cook food [laughter]. Then I go back [to school], pick them up. So I go back to school three times to pick them up.

I: It sounds like it takes quite some time to walk around?

Asho: Yes. Yes, just ... Sometimes 30 minutes, 40 minutes. It feels good though.

Heena, mother of five children, usually walks to her work place which is located near her youngest daughter’s school. In her interview, she compares her current—less stressful—situation with an earlier phase in her life when she needed to care for her then younger children and also commute to another part of town for work, which caused considerable stress. Her life was much more stressful when her children needed to be accompanied, her work place was located farther away, and she needed to walk and use the bus (she has no driving licence). Dependency on public transport or on walking has also been shown to affect the overall experiences of time management and of being in control of one’s time (cf. Roy, Tubbs, and Burton 2004). In the study of Bostock (2001), the mothers account for walking as compulsory, an additional burden in their everyday life, which may be associated with health problems. Walking with children in tow was specifically burdensome (Bostock 2001). In this light, car use is often perceived as a necessity, not a luxury or choice in low-income families with small children. Access to a car has been highlighted as vital, particularly for low-income mothers, since care obligations are heavily gendered (Bostock 2001; Blumenberg 2016; Gilow 2020).

Women’s care responsibilities often involve taking care of the household shopping, therefore the closeness to stores is highlighted and valued (Bostock 2001). As several of the mothers do not have a driving licence, nor are they able to cycle, walking becomes the only viable option. Lea, mother of three children, says that the grocery stores are so close there is simply no need to use the car or even the bikes. Sara, single mother of three teenage and young adult sons, on the other hand, uses her bike to transport the groceries home from the shop. Sara does not have a driving licence and speaks a great deal in the interview about the hassle of shopping. As she is a single mother, she needs to do the planning, shopping, and cooking for the family, and

not having access to a car illustrates the *embodied* aspect of such care obligations (Bostock 2001; Jiron and Carrasco 2019). Her son Emilio, 15 years old, helps out occasionally.

We have always lived in good places. We walk to the swimming baths and... But when you shop, you might wish. (...) When Emilio and I went to the store yesterday, I wrote an ordinary plain paper list, so we had one each then. And then we took the bike, and hung the bags on it. [inaudible 0:23:22] to cart those bags. (...) Yes, he thought it was extremely toilsome when we were going home with the bike. He said "Can we try [to cycle]?" I said "No, those are very heavy bags. You just walk, listen to your music or something", yes. (Sara)

Like Roy, Tubbs, and Burton (2004) illustrate in their ethnographic study of single mothers, the normative public timetable demands regularity and predictability of time use and time obligations, which these mothers could not fulfill due to being employed in precarious low wage jobs with shifting working hours. In our study, caring responsibilities were gendered but not exclusively performed by mothers, since fathers in many ways accounted for being present and involved fathers. It is important to distinguish, however, how caring for children is not necessarily accompanied by gender equality between the spouses. Some of the participating fathers did not have a driving licence or were not the primary users of the family car (as Dante and Olle, previously mentioned).

A growing part of literature on families and mobilities analyses how family or kin relationships are maintained on the move, specifically in private cars (Dowling 2000; Jensen, Sheller, and Wind 2015; Kerr 2015; Waitt and Harada 2016), with/on bikes (McIlvenny 2015; McIlvenny, Broth, and Haddington 2014; Ravensbergen, Buliung, and Sersli 2020), walking (Middleton 2018), or with the pram (Clement and Waitt 2018; Cortés-Morales and Christensen 2014). Holdsworth (2013) contends that family practices are more than 'stuff families do' since these practices are also always embodied, emotional, and part of the meaning making of everyday life. She maintains that '[f]amily is constituted through practices not just because these involve doing things together, but also because these practices frame the quality of relationships' (Holdsworth 2013, 158). Studies show how these mobility-human assemblages are not only a transport mode but a space for 'doing family' and consolidating relationships. Waitt and Harada's (2016) driving ethnographies with heterosexual parents in Australia show how care is performed in the car, constructing the family car as a socio-material assemblage. The car becomes a family-oriented space where relational work is carried out, and where parents and children collectively enact kinship, despite the restraining time-spatial conditions of, e.g., work and school (cf. Hjorthol et al. 2005). The relationship between walking practices and care is less highlighted.

The most appreciated mode of walking among the research participants involves walking with companions. Both adults, young people, and children express how walking is a way of socializing. Especially in the literature on children's and young people's geographies and mobilities, the social aspects of getting around have been highlighted (Horton et al. 2014, see also Middleton 2018). Some of the research participants explicitly choose walking over other modes of transport, to be able to walk and talk with friends or family. Some, like Heena, considered that going by car with her family was worthy of a happy smiley face in her mobility diary, compared to walking or biking alone which resulted in a sad face.

For Jasmine, mother of two, being able to go for walks with her friends became particularly important during the Covid-19 pandemic when government restrictions were implemented. Instead of meeting up at friends' houses or in her own home, walks and family outings in nearby parks were important for maintaining friendship (Ekman Ladru, Joelsson, and Fridén Syrjäpalo 2022). Leylo, 18 years old, spoke at length about the need to walk with friends if she has to have 'serious talks':

I: And when you walk, where do you ...

Leylo: Around [the neighbourhood]

I: Yes?

Leylo: We take that road and then we just go, and if we manage, we walk the whole way. Otherwise we come in there and go back.

I: I see. How do you find walking around here then?

Leylo: It's good. But most of the time we do it when we need time to (...) have serious talks. [laughter]

In addition, in some of the young men's accounts, 'hanging out' involves a great deal of walking around together in the neighbourhood, making short stops for playing football or baseball, or buying beverages or other things at local shops (cf. Horton et al. 2014). Filip, 15 years old, mentions how he 'just moves around' with his friends in the neighbourhood and to places nearby. 15-year-old Asif explains how a particular football pitch is an appreciated place, and that the whole process of playing football with his friends, moving around in the neighbourhood with them, is what reinforces his relations to that place and to his friends. He emphasizes how the experience is temporally and spatially stretched out, as they want to prolong their stay there.

I don't know if it's the place really, but it's the whole process of it. Let's say, it's me and some friends, we go to [neighbourhood nearby] to play football. And then we go there. I love that place. It's so nice. So we play football for a long time and you get very tired. And then on the way back to the centre of [neighbourhood], you buy a drink and then we go back there because no one wants to go home. (Asif)

Asif's and Filip's accounts of their walking resonates with a study by Horton et al. (2014), where children's and young people's walking practices were highly significant and playful spatial practices, which shaped and consolidated friendships, as well as strengthening the children's and young people's spatial relations. These socio-spatial dimensions of the consolidation of friendship also take on additional meaning, as many of the young research subjects, particularly the young men, relate to their parents' care for their safety (Ekman Ladru, Joelsson, and Fridén Syrjäpalo 2022). Growing up in a neighbourhood where criminality is present on an everyday basis, impacts how parents and young people negotiate the young people's mobilities. Spatial and social restrictions are common, and perceived by the young people as part of being cared for (Ekman Ladru, Joelsson, and Fridén Syrjäpalo 2022). The young men accounted for many socio-spatial restrictions, whereas some of the girls only mentioned a few. It might be the case that the girls in general were already restricted by gendered norms and by the geographies of fear (Koskela 1999), which many women relate to when moving around in public space. In the neighbourhoods, and due to overcrowding, it is common that young men gather in groups and occupy certain public spaces, which is often considered intimidating by girls and women.

Walking as neighbourhood-care

Walking can be perceived as a way of caring for the neighbourhood as well, as walking allows for community building. In Asif's account above, moving around on foot can also be perceived as a way of building ties to the community and the neighbourhood. Walking is hence a way of knowing, relating to, sensing and experiencing place, and thus a profoundly embodied practice (Edensou 2000; Ingold 2004; Middleton 2010; Wunderlich 2008). Ingold (2004) has argued that walking also constructs the landscape by interweaving life and landscape, making walking essential for human experience and existence (Anderson 2004). When walking, one is not only moving across but moving with, constructing what Ingold (2004, 331) has referred to as 'circumambulatory knowing.' Knowing about the world 'by walking around' rather than perceiving things from fixed points of view, as Ingold (2004) maintains, is associated with our perceptions and strengthens the attachments we hold to places. Similarly, Wunderlich (2008) discusses how walking is an embodied way to sense urban space, closely entwined with rhythms and pace, routines and habits, which nurture intimacy to places.

Against this background, the research participants' walking practices can be analysed as caring for the (local) environment, although very few of them articulated these concerns explicitly. Some, like Jasmine, with a driving licence and access to a car, are able to choose between taking the car, biking, or walking. Jasmine differentiates herself from her husband in choosing to walk instead of taking the car to the grocery store in the neighbourhood. In her account, her husband is framed as car-dependent, whereas she is more able and flexible to choose transport mode depending on the purpose of the trip.

And when I go shopping, I have [grocery store] just ahead, and [grocery store]. My husband, he takes the car and drives to [grocery store] and to [grocery store], so I get very angry with him. I say "It's only ten steps to walk, why take the car?" I don't take the car, ever. I go shopping on foot. I don't take anything. I walk to [grocery store], to [grocery store], to [grocery store]. I can go for a walk, just go for a walk to get some fresh air. My husband had, what's it called, damaged the car in the parking lot during the winter, it was icy then. He was going to park, then he damaged the car. He was so stressed, "[now] We don't have a car, how are we going to manage?" and so on. It wasn't that much stress for me. I can manage with the bus, so I took the bus all the time. (...) They can't bear to take public transport. When he didn't have a driving licence, he worked 100% and he only used public transport. He says "Ten years with public transport is enough, I've done my part. Now I have to drive." (Jasmine)

While she alludes to how her husband's decision to drive a car, from being formerly dependent on public transport, is about convenience rather than concern for the environment, she aligns with more environmentally friendly modes of everyday transport—which moreover allows her to 'get some fresh air.' Jasmine also perceives herself to have a range of options and was not as dependent on public transport as most of our other research participants.

Many of the research participants, whether children, young people, or their parents, have environmentally sustainable life-styles when it comes to daily mobility, yet they are seldom recognized as subjects or role-models within such discourses. In this sense, given the prevalence of accounts of walking in the interviews, we maintain that the research subjects are already exercising care in their everyday lives (cf. Williams 2018).

Towards caring democracies

Walking constitutes a significant part of the everyday mobilities of our research participants. Parents, children, and young people, highlight the importance of walking. We have suggested that walking can be conceptualized as mobile 'caringscapes,' where walking practices can be seen as self-care, other-care, and neighbourhood-care. Walking as self-care refers to how walking is not only free and easily incorporated into a hectic everyday life with many time-spatial obligations, but also regarded as important for easing everyday stress. Walking is self-care. The walking environments of the MP areas afford opportunities for walking, in terms of how proximity to service and other important functions cater for the families' everyday needs, as well as provide easily accessible, sensual, green, and cultural environments. Walking is also about other-care, at times desirable, at times experienced as unwanted. Other-care of family members is nested in gendered parental care obligations, and in the maintenance and consolidation of kinship and friendship. Last, neighbourhood-care is about attaining and maintaining attachment to the local neighbourhood through walking practices. Walking practices can also be associated with environmental concerns in a broader sense. We will now further discuss the implications of conceptualizing walking practices as 'caringscapes' and these mobile 'caringscapes' as part of a practiced and enacted infrastructure of care.

Lawson (2007), among others, has called for a shift from, e.g., the smart or the sustainable city in geographies and mobilities (and urban studies more generally) to 'the caring city' through an ethics of care (Middleton and Samanani 2021; Power and Williams 2020). The 'caringscapes' of walking, practiced by our research participants, can be conceived of as an important infrastructure of care if the power asymmetries are recognized and highlighted, not only when

planning for new housing areas and urban infrastructure, but also in maintaining and supporting the 'walkability' in existing neighbourhoods (cf. Fainstein 2004). Walking is highly gendered, and aged (McGaw 2003), since it is the children, young people, and women who account for the majority of walking in our study. McGaw (2003) has argued that women's practices and technologies often 'patch up' the frailties and cracks of technological systems, often with their bodies if they do not have the means of outsourcing (cf. McFarlane and Silver 2017). This can have very material consequences for low-income mothers, in combination with the time demands of everyday life, causing more stress and potentially leading to illness, poorer health, and a decrease in well-being. It is therefore pertinent to consider how women, young people, and children are what Clarke (2021) has referred to as 'implicated actors': affected by transport infrastructures and systems, but largely ignored by transport research, planning, and policy. Despite an existing physical infrastructure for walking in the MP areas in our study, the research participants living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods can be perceived as implicated actors. As re-development processes are underway in MP areas where recreational green infrastructures are at risk of diminishing, walking opportunities might be further complicated in the everyday lives of the residents.

The timescapes of everyday life also comprise walking. Roy, Tubbs, and Burton (2004) suggests that the public timetable, a normative time-frame adapted to white-collar working conditions, emphasises that everyday life is not only concerned with social relations but also temporal and spatial 'relations of ruling' (Smith 2003, 62). Socio-economic conditions (labour market position, income, housing) affect the degree of latitude low-income families have when adapting to, and managing, the various time obligations in relation to employment, education, and family life. For instance, supportive resources such as owning or having access to a private car or paying for babysitters, as well as flexible work hours and conditions, are often tied to socio-economic position (Jarvis, Pratt, and Wu 2001; cf. Hjorthol et al. 2005). Nansen et al. (2009, 182) have argued that domestic rhythms might rather be seen as 'reticular' (following Lefebvre), since 'heterogeneous actors (...) participate in the constitution of provisional, unstable, entangled and distributed settings.' They argue that the domestic orchestration is affected by an increased connectivity and use of media technologies, constituted by technologies of reticulation as self and other disciplining processes (see also Hjorthol et al. 2005). While such re-articulations are important in pointing to the multiplicity of domestic rhythms, the differentiating processes connected to time use and experience, and the more enduring aspects (referred to as 'structural constraints' or conditions; e.g., Jarvis 2005) of time-space, need to be acknowledged in tandem. Family practices are embedded and emplaced in time and space, and the relations between experiences of time and space are necessarily entwined (Morgan 2020). The need for families to time-squeeze (Jarvis 2005) or space-squeeze (Fridén Syrjäpalo and Ekman Ladru *forthcoming*) suggest how time is not only tied to space but also a scarce resource (Nowotny 1992), albeit in different ways depending on context and situation.

Walking is considered an important transport mode in the transition to (ecologically) sustainable societies, but very seldom central in smart city discourses, which are often driven by technologically mediated notions of efficiency (but see Lyons 2020, cf. Spinney 2023). Nevertheless, walking is considered important for the green transition. Yet, what we have alluded to in this text is the need for commoning the meaning of, in this case, walking mobilities (Nikolaeva et al. 2019), where the discursive re-configuration of walking mobilities is essential if we are to meet goals related to sustainability and to social justice (Sheller 2011). Time optimization is the dominating rationale in transport planning; this has been shown to be at odds with transport users' wider range of valuations of their everyday mobilities. Walking is a transport mode that is underpinned by other valuations and rationalities but nonetheless related to time and temporality (e.g. Edensor 2010). Transport planning rests upon normative temporal notions where time optimization is highly valued, i.e., implying that the main goal for the rational users of the transport system is to optimize or cut travel time. Several mobility scholars

have critiqued these assumptions, instead pointing out other values based on, e.g., user experiences and perspectives. It is therefore crucial to further explore how gender, age, and socio-economic conditions influence the processes of meaning and value in relation to mobilities. In this text, we have illustrated how values based on various dimensions and levels of care might counteract notions of normative temporalities. Speed and time efficiency are not always part of the intentionality of mobilities. A shift of perspective in transport planning and policy emerges as increasingly crucial, from individualist and atomistic notions of mobilities to taking relational socialities, temporalities, and spatialities into account: aspects of *moving-with*. In addition, prominent elements in the narratives of the research participants are accounts of slowness and stillness, 'mooring' and mobility, dwelling-in-motion (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006; Hannam and Roy 2013), and walking as part of a logics of recovery and restoration rather than activity (Collado et al. 2017).

Another dominating rationale when discussing current and future sustainable and just mobilities is that of accessibility. Addressing accessibility is very important, and at times crucial, to tackle the many inequalities and injustices related both to mobility systems (and lack thereof) and to the everyday mobilities and immobilities of people. We contend that a focus on accessibility is not enough, however, since accessibility too often remains in a framework of access to systems, infrastructures, and the material environment more broadly. By placing accessibility in relation to infrastructures of care, attention may be more readily devoted to social (including mental and cognitive), cultural (including symbolic), and material aspects of infrastructures, and how infrastructures are iteratively enacted and practiced in everyday life. It is also possible to pay greater attention to how mobilities and landscapes are enmeshed, but also how certain legacies which are materialized in the landscape direct and regulate our ways of moving. Within a framework of care, a focus on accessibility can illuminate how easily accessed green infrastructure enables self-care, other-care, and neighbourhood-care. Such analyses point to the more pressing urge for mobilities research to engage in how matters of accessibility, sustainability, and justice are deeply entangled with care. Care is in this sense a highly political concern, and needs to be understood as an ethico-political project at the heart of democracy (Tronto 2013).

Note

1. The youngest children were few (eight children, 3–6 years of age), therefore, most of the quotes in the analysis are from adults and young people aged 12–18 years.

Ethical approval

The study has been subject to ethical review by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority (nr 2020-03246). All research participants have given their consent to participate in the study according to Swedish Law, SFS 2003:460. Adult participants and the young participants over 15 years of age have given their written consent. Child participants under 15 years of age have given their consent (written, when applicable), and their guardians have provided written consent to their children's participation. All participants' names are fictional.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

The research was funded by FORMAS, the Swedish Research Council for Sustainable Development, as part of the National Research Programme for Sustainable Built Environment, under grant number 2019-01900.

ORCID

Tanja Joelsson  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5209-0904>
 Dag Balkmar  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5268-8957>
 Malin Henriksson  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8074-3634>

Data availability statement

Due to the nature of the research, due to ethical/legal reasons, supporting data is not available.

References

- Adam, B. 2004. *Time*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.
- Anderson, B. 2004. "Time-Stilled Space-Slowed: How Boredom Matters." *Geoforum* 35 (6): 739–754. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.02.005>.
- Blumenberg, E. 2016. "Why Low-Income Women in the US Still Need Automobiles." *Town Planning Review* 87 (5): 525–545. <https://doi.org/10.3828/tpr.2016.34>.
- Bostock, L. 2001. "Pathways of Disadvantage? Walking as a Mode of Transport among Low-Income Mothers." *Health & Social Care in the Community* 9 (1): 11–18. <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2524.2001.00275.x>.
- Bowlby, S. 2012. "Recognising the Time—Space Dimensions of Care: Caringscapes and Carescapes." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 44 (9): 2101–2118. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a44492>.
- Bowlby, S., and L. McKie. 2019. "Care and Caring: An Ecological Framework." *Area* 51 (3): 532–539. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12511>.
- Clarke, A. E. 2021. "From Grounded Theory to Situational Analysis: What's New? Why? How?" In *Developing Grounded Theory: The Second Generation Revisited*. *Developing Grounded Theory*, edited by J. M. Morse, 223–266. New York: Routledge.
- Clement, S., and G. Waitt. 2018. "Pram Mobilities: Affordances and Atmospheres that Assemble Childhood and Motherhood on-the-Move." *Children's Geographies* 16 (3): 252–265. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2018.1432849>.
- Collado, S., H. Staats, J. A. Corraliza, and T. Hartig. 2017. "Restorative Environments and Health." In *Handbook of Environmental Psychology and Quality of Life Research*, edited by G. Fleury-Bahi, E. Pol, and O. Navarro, 329–344. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Cortés-Morales, S., and P. Christensen. 2014. "Unfolding the Pushchair. Children's Mobilities and Everyday Technologies." *Research on Education and Media* 6 (2): 9–18.
- Croucher, K., R. Gilroy, M. Bevan, and K. Attuyer. 2021. "The Mobilities of Care in Later Life: Exploring the Relationship between Caring and Mobility in the Lives of Older People." *Ageing and Society* 41 (8): 1788–1809. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X20000100>.
- de La Bellacasa, M. P. 2017. *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More than Human Worlds*. Vol. 41. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Edensor, T. 2000. "Walking in the British Countryside: Reflexivity, Embodied Practices and Ways to Escape." *Body & Society* 6 (3–4): 81–106. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1357034X00006003005>.
- Edensor, T. 2010. "Walking in Rhythms: Place, Regulation, Style and the Flow of Experience." *Visual Studies* 25 (1): 69–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725861003606902>.
- Ekman Ladru, D., T. Joelsson, and L. Fridén Syrjäpalo. 2022. "Playing, Living, Moving – and Fearing? Families' Management of Risk and Safety through Play (and) Mobility." *Journal of Sociology of Education and Socialization*. 42 (2): 117–132.
- Fainstein, S. S. 2014. "The Just City." *International Journal of Urban Sciences* 18 (1): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/12265934.2013.834643>.
- Fridén Syrjäpalo, L., and D. Ekman Ladru. *forthcoming*. "Squeezing the Distance. Time-Spatial Organization and Negotiation of Families' Everyday Mobility in Remote Rural Settings in the Swedish North." *Journal of Rural Studies*.
- Gil Solá, A., and B. Vilhelmson. 2022. "To Choose, or Not to Choose, a Nearby Activity Option: Understanding the Gendered Role of Proximity in Urban Settings." *Journal of Transport Geography* 99: 103301. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2022.103301>.
- Gilow, M. 2020. "It's Work, Physically and Logistically": Analyzing the Daily Mobility of Employed Mothers as Domestic Mobility Work." *Journal of Transport Geography* 85: 102693. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2020.102693>.
- Greenhough, B., G. Davies, and S. Bowlby. 2023. "Why 'Cultures of Care'?" *Social & Cultural Geography* 24 (1): 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2022.2105938>.
- Grundström, K., and I. Molina. 2016. "From Folkhem to Lifestyle Housing in Sweden: Segregation and Urban Form, 1930s–2010s." *International Journal of Housing Policy* 16 (3): 316–336. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616718.2015.1122695>.

- Hall, T., and S. Vidén. 2005. "The Million Homes Programme: A Review of the Great Swedish Planning Project." *Planning Perspectives* 20 (3): 301–328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665430500130233>.
- Hannam, K., and S. Roy. 2013. "Cultural Tourism and the Mobilities Paradigm." In *The Routledge Handbook of Cultural Tourism*, edited by M. K. Smith and G. Richards, 167–173. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hannam, K., M. Sheller, and J. Urry. 2006. "Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings." *Mobilities* 1 (1): 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/174501005000489189>.
- Henriksson, M. 2019. "Utsatt på arbetsmarknaden och beroende av kollektivtrafiken. Transportfattigdom i ett svenskt sammanhang [Labor Market Vulnerability and Public Transport Dependency. Transport Poverty in a Swedish Context]." *Tidskrift för Genusvetenskap* 40 (2): 75–96. <https://doi.org/10.55870/tgv.v40i2.2689>.
- Hjorthol, R., M. H. Jakobsen, R. Ling, S. Nordbakke, and L. Haddon. 2005. "Den mobile hverdag." En kvalitativ studie om bruk av bil og kommunikasjonsmedier i barnefamilier. TØL rapport 754.
- Holdsworth, C. 2013. *Family and Intimate Mobilities*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Horton, J., P. Christensen, P. Kraftl, S. Hadfield-Hill. 2014. "Walking ... Just Walking: How Children and Young People's Everyday Pedestrian Practices Matter." *Social & Cultural Geography* 15 (1): 94–115. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2013.864782>.
- Hvidt Brengaard, M., and M. Henriksson. 2022. "For Whom Does the Transport System Care: The Vulnerability of Cycling in Cities Made for Cars." *Urban Matters Journal*. <https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:vti:diva-19699>.
- Ingold, T. 2004. "Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived through the Feet." *Journal of Material Culture* 9 (3): 315–340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183504046896>.
- Jackson, L., S. Price, P. Gardiner, S. Barber, M. Kruisselbrink, L. N. Shiva, and I. Bourgeault. 2019. "Healthcare Workers 'On the Move': Making Visible the Employment-Related Geographic Mobility of Healthcare Workers." *Health Sociology Review* 28 (3): 277–290. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14461242.2019.1659154>.
- Jarvis, H. 2005. "Moving to London Time: Household Co-ordination and the Infrastructure of Everyday Life." *Time & Society* 14 (1): 133–154. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X05050302>.
- Jarvis, H., A. C. Pratt, and P. C. C. Wu. 2001. *The Secret Life of Cities: The Social Reproduction of Everyday Life*. London and New York: Pearson Education.
- Jensen, O. B., M. Sheller, and S. Wind. 2015. "Together and Apart: Affective Ambiences and Negotiation in Families' Everyday Life and Mobility." *Mobilities* 10 (3): 363–382. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.868158>.
- Jiron, P., and J. A. Carrasco. 2019. "Understanding Daily Mobility Strategies through Ethnographic, Time Use, and Social Network Lenses." *Sustainability* 12 (1): 312. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12010312>.
- Joëlsson, T., D. Ekman Ladru, and S. Cele. forthcoming. "Thinking with Intensity: Children and their Families Navigating the Compact City." *Children's Geographies*.
- Kittay, E. F. 1999. *Love's Labor: Essays on Equality, Women, and Dependency*. New York and Abingdon: Routledge.
- Koskela, H. 1999. "Gendered Exclusions: Women's Fear of Violence and Changing Relations to Space." *Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography* 81 (3): 111–124. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0435-3684.1999.00052.x>.
- Lawhon, M., D. Nilsson, J. Silver, H. Ernstson, and S. Lwasa. 2018. "Thinking through Heterogeneous Infrastructure Configurations." *Urban Studies* 55 (4): 720–732. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017720149>.
- Lawson, V. 2007. "Geographies of Care and Responsibility." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97 (1): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.2007.00520.x>.
- Lindberg, M. R., N. G. Kristensen, M. Freudendal-Pedersen, and K. Hartmann-Petersen. 2024. "Uneven Mobilities and Epistemic Injustice: Towards Reflexive Mobilities Research." *Mobilities* 19 (1): 134–150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2023.2244682>.
- Lindelöw, D. 2016. *Walking as a Transport Mode: Examining the Role of Preconditions, Planning Aspects and Personal Traits for the Urban Pedestrian*. Lund: Lund University.
- Lorimer, H. 2016. "Walking: New Forms and Spaces for Studies of Pedestrianism." In *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects*, edited by T. Cresswell and P. Merriman, 19–33. Abingdon and New York: Ashgate Publishing.
- Lucas, K. 2012. "Transport and Social Exclusion: Where Are We Now?" *Transport Policy* 20: 105–113. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2012.01.013>.
- Lundqvist, Å. 2011. "Family Policy Paradoxes." In *Gender Equality and Labour Market Regulation in Sweden, 1930–2010*. Bristol and Portland: The Policy Press.
- Lyons, G. 2020. "Walking as a Service—Does It Have Legs?" *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice* 137: 271–284. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2020.05.015>.
- Martens, K. 2016. *Transport Justice: Designing Fair Transportation Systems*. New York and London: Routledge.
- McFarlane, C., and J. Silver. 2017. "Navigating the City: Dialectics of Everyday Urbanism." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 42 (3): 458–471. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12175>.
- McGaw, J. A. 2003. "Why Feminine Technologies Matter." In *Gender and Technology: A Reader*, edited by N. E. Lerman, R. Oldenzil, and A. P. Mohun, 16–32. Baltimore and London: JHU Press.
- McIlvenny, P. 2015. "The Joy of Biking Together: Sharing Everyday Experiences of Vélomobility." *Mobilities* 10 (1): 55–82. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.844950>.
- McIlvenny, P., M. Broth, and P. Haddington. 2014. "Moving Together: Mobile Formations in Interaction." *Space and Culture* 17 (2): 104–106. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331213508679>.

- Merriman, P. 2014. "Rethinking Mobile Methods." *Mobilities* 9 (2): 167–187. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2013.784540>.
- Middleton, J. 2010. "Sense and the City: Exploring the Embodied Geographies of Urban Walking." *Social & Cultural Geography* 11 (6): 575–596. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2010.497913>.
- Middleton, J. 2011a. "Walking in the City: The Geographies of Everyday Pedestrian Practices." *Geography Compass* 5 (2): 90–105. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2010.00409.x>.
- Middleton, J. 2011b. "I'm on Autopilot, I Just Follow the Route": Exploring the Habits, Routines, and Decision-Making Practices of Everyday Urban Mobilities." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 43 (12): 2857–2877. <https://doi.org/10.1068/a43600>.
- Middleton, J. 2018. "The Socialities of Everyday Urban Walking and the 'Right to the City'." *Urban Studies* 55 (2): 296–315. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016649325>.
- Middleton, J., and F. Samanani. 2021. "Accounting for Care within Human Geography." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 46 (1): 29–43. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12403>.
- Morgan, D. H. 2020. "Family Practices in Time and Space." *Gender, Place & Culture* 27 (5): 733–743. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1541870>.
- Muñoz, D. 2023. "Accessibility as a 'Doing': The Everyday Production of Santiago de Chile's Public Transport System as an Accessible Infrastructure." *Landscape Research* 48 (2): 200–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2021.1961701>.
- Murray, L. 2020. "Family Mobilities." In *Handbook of Research Methods and Applications for Mobilities*, 263–271. Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Nansen, B., M. Arnold, M. R. Gibbs, and H. Davis. 2009. "Domestic Orchestration: Rhythms in the Mediated Home." *Time & Society* 18 (2–3): 181–207. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X09338082>.
- Nikolaeva, A., P. Adey, T. Cresswell, J. Y. Lee, A. Nóvoa, and C. Temenos. 2019. "Commoning Mobility: Towards a New Politics of Mobility Transitions." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 44 (2): 346–360. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12287>.
- Nowotny, H. 1992. "Time and Social Theory: Towards a Social Theory of Time." *Time & Society* 1 (3): 421–454. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X92001003006>.
- Plyushteva, A., and T. Schwanen. 2018. "Care-Related Journeys over the Life Course: Thinking Mobility Biographies with Gender, Care and the Household." *Geoforum* 97: 131–141. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.10.025>.
- Power, E. R., and M. J. Williams. 2020. "Cities of Care: A Platform for Urban Geographical Care Research." *Geography Compass* 14 (1): e12474. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12474>.
- Qvistrom, M. 2022. "Finding the Pulse of the Welfare Landscape: Reframing Green Space Provision in Modernist Planning." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 104 (3): 269–284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.2022.2040376>.
- Ravensbergen, L., R. Buliung, and S. Sersli. 2020. "Vélobilities of Care in a Low-Cycling City." *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice* 134: 336–347. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tra.2020.02.014>.
- Roy, K. M., C. Y. Tubbs, and L. M. Burton. 2004. "Don't Have No Time: Daily Rhythms and the Organization of Time for Low-Income Families." *Family Relations* 53 (2): 168–178. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-2445.2004.00007.x>.
- Sánchez de Madariaga, I. 2016. "Mobility of Care: Introducing New Concepts in Urban Transport." In *Fair Shared Cities. The Impact of Gender Planning in Europe*, edited by M. Roberts and I. Sánchez de Madariaga, 33–48. London and New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315581835-9>.
- Sheller, M. 2011. "Sustainable Mobility and Mobility Justice: Towards a Twin Transition." In *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society*, edited by M. Grieco and J. Urry, 289–304. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Shields, R., E. J. Gomes da Silva, T. Lima e Lima, and N. Osorio. 2023. Walkability: a review of trends." *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability* 16 (1): 19–41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17549175.2021.1936601>.
- Simone, A. 2004. "People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg." *Public Culture* 16 (3): 407–429. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-16-3-407>.
- Smith, D. E. 2003. "Making Sense of What People Do: A Sociological Perspective." *Journal of Occupational Science* 10 (1): 61–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2003.9686512>.
- Spinney, J. 2023. "Valuing Othered Rationalities in the Smart City: Examining Children's Cycling from a Justice Perspective." *Journal of Urban Technology* 31 (1): 51–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10630732.2023.2257476>.
- Stratford, E., and J. Byrne. 2023. "Im/Mobilising Bus Travel as an Infrastructure of Care: Student Experiences in a Mid-Size City." *Mobilities* 19 (3): 379–395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2023.2244683>.
- Tronto, J. C. 2013. *Caring Democracy: Markets, Equality, and Justice*. New York and London: NYU Press.
- Waite, G., and T. Harada. 2016. "Parenting, Care and the Family Car." *Social & Cultural Geography* 17 (8): 1079–1100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2016.1152395>.
- Williams, F. 2018. "Care: Intersections of Scales, Inequalities and Crises." *Current Sociology* 66 (4): 547–561. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392118765206>.
- Wunderlich, M. F. 2008. "Walking and Rhythmicity: Sensing Urban Space." *Journal of Urban Design* 13 (1): 125–139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13574800701803472>.