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Analyzing everyday conflicts from a socio-spatial perspective. Lesson for peace and reconciliation studies.

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Introduction

One of the common themes in conflict, peace and reconciliation studies is the role of social actors´ practices in the reproduction, functioning and transformation of conflicts(Björkdahl and Buckley-Zistel, 2022; Macaspac and Moore, 2022). This theme refers to the question about agency and is closely linked to the question about the spatiality of conflict and peace since it refers to what happens in everyday life in the places of interaction for the conflict to persist or transform. For this reason, there is great interest in understanding how local agencies look and how they express themselves in everyday spatial practices (Carrer, 2022; Mac Ginty, 2014; Mac Ginty and Firchow, 2019).

However, addressing everyday spatial practices is not only a descriptive task, that is, it goes beyond saying that people have differentiated spatial practices, but aims to reveal new dimensions of socio-spatial injustices, power dynamics and resistance practices in the context of conflict (Harvey, 1990; Koopman, 2020, 2011; Low, 2014; Soja, 2013, 1996)

In the social sciences, particularly in social geography, there is a rich tradition of studying the nature of everyday spatial practices and what they tell us about social conflict (Cresswell, 2014; Drozdzewski et al., 2016; Jones, 2011). Within the field of reconciliation and peace studies, the importance of understanding the spatial dimensions of reconciliation and everyday peace is increasingly recognized. This recognition has generated discussions about the role of everyday spatial practices in peace and reconciliation (Firchow, 2018; Richmond and Mitchell, 2011). As Philippa Williams puts it, by grounding peace in place, we illuminate the role of human agency in the (re)production of everyday peace, and it is possible to understand how local actors actively negotiate and (re)produce peace as policy, narrative, practice and strategy in different urban spaces and at different scales (Williams, 2015, p. 5).

As a corollary to this interest in spatial practices, it is now widely accepted that forging new relationships, nurturing collective memory, engaging in restorative justice, developing a sense of interdependence, ensuring human safety, healing, facilitating reparation, and overcoming trauma are processes that are not only situated but, most importantly, involve reformulating meaning, the narratives and uses of places shaped by conflict (Peña, 2022a).

With the aim of showing the relevance of this topic in reconciliation and peace studies, the chapter presents the concept of everyday sociospatial practices and presents a research tool that I have called: clocks of everyday spatial practices, which answer to the need to investigate spatial practices from an intersectional perspective. This tool was designed to look for alternatives to ethnography, while at the same time allowing to address the intersectionality of spatial practices, conducting semi-structured interviews and making generalizations and comparisons.

The chapter is divided into three sections: (a) an introduction to everyday sociospatial practices and how they have been studied; b) a discussion on how the study of everyday spatial practices can contribute to studies of conflict, peace and reconciliation; and c) shows the tool of everyday spatial practice clocks and their practical use in a specific research project.

What are everyday spatial practices?

Everyday spatial practices refer to the daily routines of use and appropriation of space carried out by people within and for the reproduction of a cultural, political, ecological, and social framework (Bourdieu, 1999; Certeau, 1988; Edensor, 2012; Giddens, 1984; Werlen, 1993). Spatial practices take various forms, develop on multiple and changing scales, and are embedded in regimes of social mediations-embeddings.

In terms of form, the most prominent feature of spatial practices is the appropriation and use of interaction space (Everts et al., 2011; Stock and Jonas, 2015). This involves the connection and routine transit between the places that a person frequents in their daily life, such as home, work, recreational places, public meeting spaces and places where rituals are carried out. These practices occur at different scales, from the most intimate spaces such as the home, to broader spatial contexts such as neighbourhoods, cities and regions (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011).

The frameworks of social mediations of spatial practices are the discursive contexts in which life projects and the spatio-temporal appropriations of people are framed. These contexts act as truth-power regimes that define the purposes of people's actions (Crampton and Elden, 2007; S. Elden, 2007). Some examples of these mediations are gender roles, territorial and geopolitical regimes, the regime of production and class relations, the diet, the security regime, among others. Spatial practices can reproduce these mediations or seek to transform them, which turns everyday spatial practices into a terrain of constant contestation between the modes and purposes of social action and their critique, as well as the emergence of alternative forms of appropriation (Harvey, 2000; Keith and Pile, 1997).

Everyday spatial practices are body practices performed by individuals with specific characteristics, such as age, gender identity, social class, ethnicity, and particular physical abilities (Moss, 2005; Simonsen, 2007, 2003). These practices are corporeal because they involve actions aimed at the body transiting and connecting different places by using body

tactics and skills. This not only requires infrastructure and means to appropriate the space, but also involves different body signifiers such as skin colour, accent, way of dressing, behaviour and a series of body gestures and postures, as well as speech acts, in the tactics of appropriation and use of specific places. All these aspects are mediated by the intersectional conditions of concrete people in particular situations, who possess specific capacities and constraints and operate within hierarchies and power relations (Adey et al., 2012; Lucas, 2022).

In everyday spatial practices, occur a process of place-making that reinforces social, political, geopolitical and cultural regimes (Dodds and Ingram, 2009; Stuart Elden, 2007; Soja, 1996). In these practices, the materiality that allows social interaction is recreated and reproduced and the senses of place are constructed (Özkul, 2014; Spinney, 2006). These senses of place are the existential meanings of the places where people carry out their everyday lives and express themselves, to use a term introduced by Lefebvre, as "lived space": the subjective experience of space, shaped by symbols, images and personal emotions (Lefebvre, 1991). These senses of place can be based on fear, control, vigilance, or conversely, on experiences of pleasure, interpersonal connection, transcendence and peace.

There are several intellectual traditions that have contributed in partial and differentiated ways to the construction of this intersectional concept of everyday spatial practices. Among them are studies of space perception, existentialist geography, Time Geography and the structurationist approach to society, the Marxist critique of the rhythms of everyday life and the geography of the body and feminist. A brief review of these perspectives will allow us to understand the theoretical foundations of the everyday practice clock tool we have designed and recognize the relevance of the study of everyday spatial practices for a spatialized notion of conflict, peace and reconciliation.

Studies of the perception of space, whose seminal work is Kevin Lynch's 1960 "The Image of the City, " emerged with the aim of understanding how people create a readable mind map composed of landmarks, paths, boundaries and nodes, which allows them to orient themselves and find their way in the city (Lynch, 1964). This approach emphasizes the role of perception in shaping people's spatial behaviour, decision-making, and attachment to specific places. The legibility of the space is a key element for the development of everyday activities, and the lack of legibility of the inhabited space becomes a major restriction on freedom. In situations such as forced displacement and the diaspora, it highlights what it means to arrive in an unreadable space, the difficulties in creating a new mental map and a positive sense of belonging to the place you arrive.

Existentialist geography takes this concern for senses of place beyond the way the mental image of space is formed, delving into the meaningful experiences people have about places. It asks how we experience the sense of belonging and identification with the place, how the bonds of affection or rejection towards places arise and how space becomes a place, a centre of personal or collective meaning (Tuan, 1976). Geographers Yi Fu Tuan and Edward Relph are two fundamental authors of the existentialist approach to everyday spatial practices. The first coined a series of terms to describe the multiple symbolic and affective relationships of

individuals with the places they use and inhabit, such as "topophilia" (love and affection associated with a place), "topolatry" (reverential feeling towards a place), "topophobia" (feeling of rejection, fear, insecurity and uncertainty) or "toponegligence" (lack of interest in the inhabited place and lack of rootedness to a place) (Tuan, 1974)

Edward Relph (1976), on the other hand, introduced the notions of authentic and inauthentic places. Using Heidegger's notion of existentialism of authenticity, which means a way of being in which we are recognized as beings for death, Relph denounced how in capitalist societies inauthentic senses of place proliferate, because places are designed for individualistic consumption and not to foster community and identity relations. He argues that there is a close relationship between community and place, in the sense that each reinforces the other's identity, so people are their place and place is their people (Relph, 1976). In both the communal and individual experience of a particular place, there is a strong sense of belonging that defines our "roots in places", which is based not only on a detailed knowledge of them but also on a sense of care and engagement. These links are conceived by Relph as a primordial human need since they provide us with a point of reference from which to observe the world and make sense of the order of things. On the other hand, the sense of non-place would be the lack of meaningful attachments, the feeling of helplessness, and the neglect or carelessness that people experience in a place.

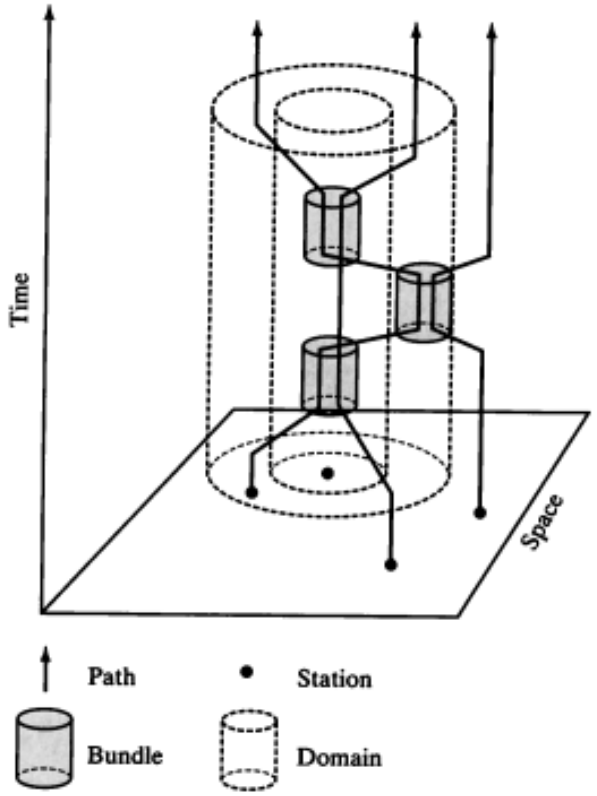
Of particular interest to reconciliation and peace studies is the idea that the strong affective bonds of subjects with place confer a certain stability to the individual and the group. Although its theme is not the types of violence that are worked on in reconciliation and peace studies (dictatorships, apartheid, armed conflicts, colonial occupations, for example), the arguments of humanistic geography are useful to understand that social conflict is expressed as the rupture of senses of positive places, the appearance of uprooting -the experience of non-places- and the destruction of the spaces of encounter that give life to the community and identity. The concepts resulting from humanistic geography allow us to expand the terminology we use when we talk about conflict because we can understand war as a process of generating topophobias and reconciliation as a process of construction of topophilias, for example.

On the basis of a series of criticisms of the existentialist approach, related to the supposed conservative character that derives from it (Ley and Samuels, 1978), other approaches have been interested in the analysis of how everyday spatial practices express injustices and hierarchies of power structurally unequal and reproduced daily. Relevant here is Giddens' Theory of Social Structuration, which uses arguments from the Time Geography to show how social structures reproduce and resist in people's practices (agency) (Giddens, 1984). This theory examines the interaction between social structures and human agency in shaping spatial practices, emphasizing the reciprocal relationship between society and individuals. This approach explores how social structures, rules, and norms influence human behaviour and how individuals, in turn, reproduce, negotiate, and transform those structures through their everyday actions (Meusburger et al., 2017; Werlen, 2017, 1993). Central to Antony Giddens' structuralist theory are the arguments of the Time geography developed by Swedish geographer Torsten Hägerstrand (Hägerstrand, 1985) in the late 1960s, which seeks to understand the relationship between individuals, their activities, and their use of space and

time. Giddens argues that everyday spatio-temporal appropriations are not isolated individual cases, but serve to recognize the constraints imposed by the physical environment, infrastructures, and social obligations.

To detail constraints, Time Geography uses diagrams to visualize individuals' activity patterns (see Figure 1). Throughout their lives, people establish routine space-time movements. These movements are projects in which individuals connect stations and packets through paths that are part of different domains. Each individual faces particular restrictions based on social class, age, gender, or ethnic characteristics. Space and time are resources that individuals have for the realization of their projects. The realization of each project is subject to capacity constraints, relational constraints and limitations imposed by some kind of authority (Ellegård, 2019)

Figure 1 time geography diagram.



Source: (Harvey, 1990).

The conceptual and visual tools of Time Geography allow us to understand how in the functioning of society there are various spatio-temporal appropriations that express socio-spatial injustices (Harvey, 1990). From the perspective of social structuring, conflict could be defined as the expression of these constraints in achieving the realization of rights. Peace would be in the search for new daily space-time appropriations of space in a context in which it is already constituted in a hegemonic way and dictates an unequal appropriation of space-time.

Aligned with the purpose of understanding power relations through the differentiated and unequal appropriations of space and time, is the idea of Rhythmanalysis developed by the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre mentioned in several of his books (Ronneberger, 2008) but details in Rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2013). He argued that rhythms are inherent in human existence and play a fundamental role in shaping social, cultural and spatial practices. Rhythms are present in all aspects of life, including social interactions, work routines, daily rituals and the organization of spaces. Lefebvre argues that through the rhythmic analysis of spatial practices, it is possible to understand the reproduction and change of social space, and it is possible to overcome the static and fixed notion of space. Spaces are not merely passive containers, but dynamic and lived entities that are continuously shaped and transformed by rhythmic practices. The rhythmic analysis seeks to understand how these rhythms, whether regular or irregular, influence the way spaces are used, experienced and perceived. Rhythmanalysis aims to create a multisensory approach to spatial practices, encompassing not only temporal aspects but also sensory experiences. It recognizes that rhythms are not only perceived over time, but are also experienced through sensory engagement with the environment, including visual, auditory, and bodily sensations.

Sensory diversity, corporeality and the exploration of other dimensions of power in everyday spatial practices have been addressed more radically by feminine geography, inspired by intersectional approaches (Simonsen, 2007). Emerging within feminist theory and race studies (Carastathis, 2016), intersectionality applied to the study of everyday spatial practices has revealed other spatial injustices and other dimensions in place-making (Hopkins, 2019). Intersectionality shows experiences of privilege and marginalization as a result of the intersection between gender, race, class, sexuality, and disability, and not as a result of a single categorical axis. Intersectionality has also revitalized discussions about identities, showing the complexity and diversity of identity-building strategies and practices, but beyond the mention of the multiplicity of identities, and as a relational process, dependent on social context, power relations, colonial relations and narratives, social justice and inequalities (Hopkins, 2019).

Using the foundations of the intersectional approach, black feminist geography (Ferreira, 2021), decolonial geography(Naylor et al., 2018; Zaragocin and Caretta, 2021), the geography of masculinities (Hopkins and Noble, 2009) and the geography of whiteness (Bonds and Inwood, 2016) have shown that there is not only a diversity of forms of privilege and marginalization, but also the way in which these are situated processes intrinsically linked to the places-making. The geography inspired by intersectionality has placed particular emphasis on how, in the everyday and routine spaces of life, individuals and communities shape and negotiate their identities through place-making processes, just as the destruction of places and uprooting have profound implications on people's identity and trauma. In this sense, intersectionality has served to highlight how social identities and power relations intersect with each other to influence the production and representation of space, as well as the formation of place-based identities and communities but not just to show the diversity but the relational constitution of marginalizations and privileges (Mollett and Faria, 2018).

Relevance of everyday spatial practices for studies of conflict, peace and reconciliation.

The analysis of everyday spatial practices has fundamental implications for understanding social conflict, peace and reconciliation. In the field of social conflict, these practices help us to understand the role played by social space in the dynamics of power, spatial injustices and the spatial dimension of contestation processes. By examining daily practices, we can analyse how the control of space is exercised over specific groups since there is no political, social, cultural, military or religious order that is not supported by a spatial order manifested in the everyday appropriations and uses of space (Dalby, 2010; S. Elden, 2007; Naylor et al., 2018). Segregation, exclusion and territorial occupation are examples of strategies that are employed to impose a specific use of space and time in daily life and are reflected in how the territorialization of power is experienced, whether by companies, social classes or States.

The control of space not only involves the occupation of strategic places and the control of key infrastructures but also includes the creation and manipulation of spatial narratives that legitimize such control (Dalby, 2010; Tuathail, 2000). These practices also encompass the symbolic dimensions of conflict and, in that sense, are relevant for understanding struggles for identity and historical and geographical narratives, as well as for reinforcing the importance of space in conflict (Routledge, 1996).

Regarding spatial injustices, the study of spatial practices reveals how these injustices are rooted in everyday life, manifesting themselves through the unequal capacity of access to spaces of privilege or confinement in spaces of marginalization (Dangschat, 2009; Kaup, 2013). Understanding how these practices shape spatial divisions and inequalities helps us understand the underlying causes of conflict and can provide tools for conflict transformation and reconciliation. Spatial injustices manifest themselves in various forms, such as discrimination, exclusion, exploitation and marginalization of certain groups. Spatial practices allow us to describe and understand the local complexity of phenomena such as social and economic segregation, racial discrimination, gender-based violence, homophobia and transphobia, educational exclusion, domestic violence, disability discrimination, political exclusion, racial and ethnic violence, labour marginalization, religious violence, political violence, migratory exclusion, ethnic marginalization, violence against indigenous peoples and linguistic marginalization, among others. All of these phenomena represent cases of socio-spatial injustice and are rooted in the ability of certain actors to impose controls and appropriate space, which perpetuates privileges based on class, race and gender.

On the other hand, the analysis of everyday spatial practices is also useful for understanding intersectional strategies of resistance (Keith and Pile, 1997; Koopman, 2011; Pain and Smith, 2008) This approach shows us that territorial and social control always presents fissures and that people are not passive subjects in the face of normalized spatial injustices. Faced with the establishment of borders, access controls to certain spaces or cultural norms of use of public space, people deploy corporal practices that not only imply adaptation and acceptance but also differentiated resistance according to their ethnicity, race, social class, gender and abilities.

In relation to the relevance of the study of everyday spatial practices for reconciliation studies, it is possible to understand the reconciliation process as a process that should be expressed as the creation of positive senses of place based on interpersonal connection, care for oneself, community, nature (Peña, 2022a, 2022b). Reconciliation must be expressed in everyday spatial experiences far from fear, subjection, domination, and exploitation. It must be experienced as freedom and peace in the use and appropriation of personal, public, community, workspace, from the local to the regional. The everyday spatial practices of reconciliation must be expressed as the pursuit of the realization of spatial justice.

Various approaches to reconciliation can benefit from developing the question of which everyday spatial practices best express their focus. That is, reconciliation as forgiveness, reconciliation as security and the rule of law, reconciliation as the reconstruction of civic friendship and reconciliation as achieving a sense of interdependence, could deepen its proposal by spatializing its response to how reconciliation is lived. Reconciliation needs to be spatialized and this implies understanding how space is configured and reconciliation is socially reproduced, in which spatial practices reconciliation is constructed and how are the different people situated experience reconciliation in different ways.

The clock of everyday spatial practices. A tool for discovering everyday conflicts.

Background

How can we describe the spatial practices that occur in everyday life? Is there a practical tool for fieldwork that enables us to gather data on the daily appropriation of space and identify dimensions of conflicts? In response to these questions and as a means to enhance ethnographic research with the aforementioned concepts about everyday spatial practices, I have developed a tool called the "Clock of Everyday Spatial Practices". This instrument serves the purpose of conducting semi-structured interviews and creating databases for the examination and theorization of spatial appropriations. Initially, I developed this tool within the context of a study of urban insecurity, with the objective of addressing the question: What are the strategies employed by individuals in Bogotá, Colombia, to safeguard their personal security in this highly unsafe city? However, the " Clock of Everyday Space Practices" can also be utilized to investigate other spatial practices and recognize conflicts within daily life. In the subsequent sections, I will provide a detailed description of this tool.

During the course of my ethnographic fieldwork aimed at deepening into the security practices of individuals in Bogotá, I consistently came across accounts of surveillance tactics as a means to manage fear and evade being a victim of crime or misdemeanour. These accounts shed light on how individuals deploy surveillance strategies in various locations and experience a pervasive sense of being constantly watched. Much like in numerous other urban areas, the quest for protection and surveillance, in the context of insecurity, imposes a significant burden on people's daily routines and shapes a relational landscape characterized by mistrust. The narratives collected from individuals concerning their daily safety strategies transcended mere tales of fear and provided insights into their strategies to navigate space, time, and social interactions within an insecure context. Prompted by these findings, I

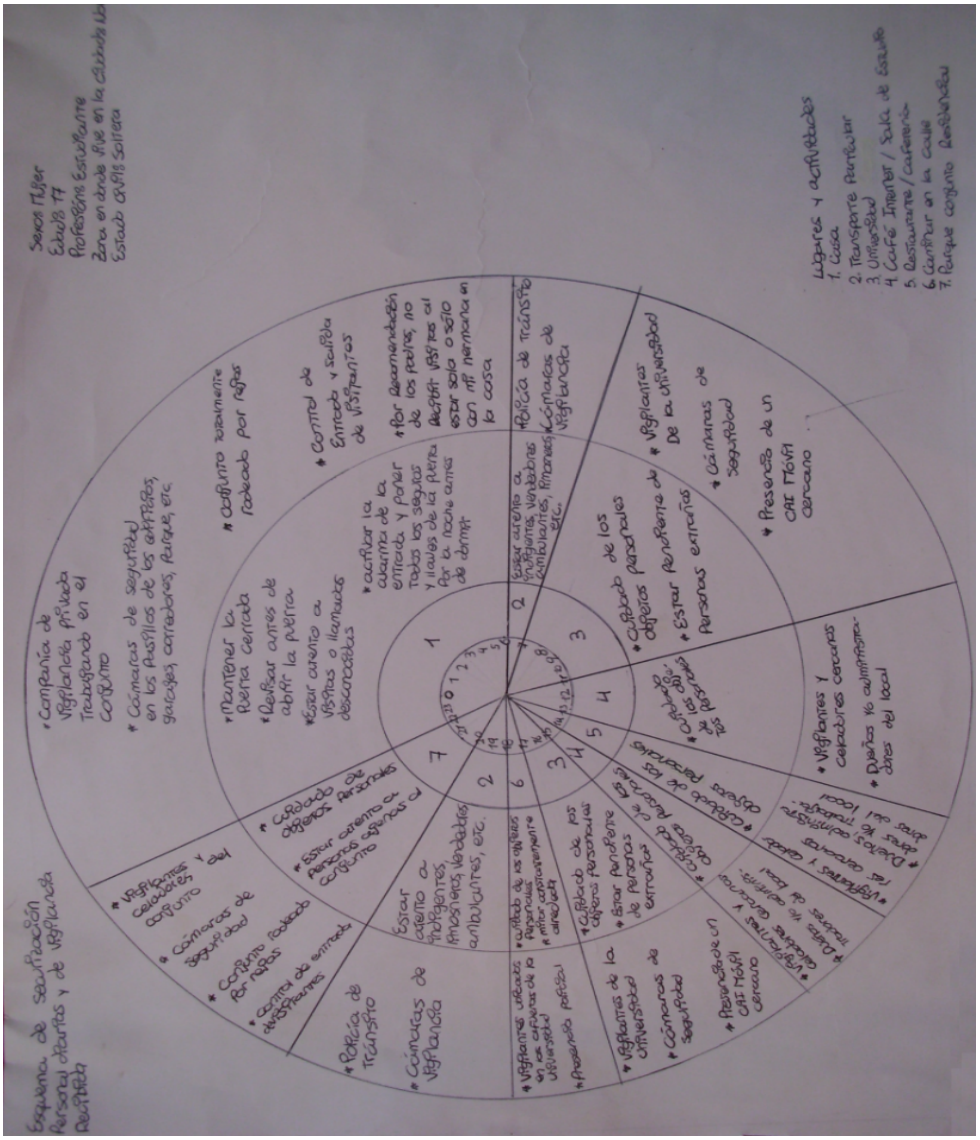
embarked upon a question: How can we move beyond personal anecdotes to gain a comprehensive understanding of surveillance practices, thereby unravelling the intricate dynamics of urban sociability in a deeply divided society such as Colombia? How to grasp the socio-spatial dimension of this sociability and the challenges arising from it?

Several authors have emphasized the interconnectedness of mistrust, a heightened sense of paranoia, and spatial restrictions. These factors have increasingly shaped various aspects of society, including sociability, political subjectivities, spatial practices, and the economy (Amendola, 2000; Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Bauman, 2013; Caldeira, 2001; Flusty, 1994; Katz, 2007; Lee, 2013; MacLeod and Ward, 2002; Pain and Smith, 2008). However, most of these studies primarily focus on the political geography of fear production, paying limited attention to how individuals navigate and live in insecure spaces beyond conventional approaches such as building walls, residing in gated communities, and relying on video surveillance. This leads us to inquire: What other strategies do people employ? What unfolds beyond the confines of gated communities and spaces with restricted access?

The tool and its implementation

To address these questions, I developed a tool called the "clocks of everyday spatial practices," which enabled us to capture both the surveillance individuals exercise and receive. This instrument facilitated the examination of the interplay between surveillance, fears, and the ways in which people appropriate space and time (see Figure 1 for a sample clock of everyday practices). Through data analysis, I was able to introduce the concept of "securonormativity" to describe the sociability that arises from the informal rules of surveillance evident in spatial practices, body language, verbal communication, object usage, and gender relations.

Figure 2 Methodological tool. Sample of a clock of everyday practices of security.



Source: Research material

This tool, inspired by Time-Geography (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht, 2008; Hägerstrand, 1985), and the aforementioned theories, is represented by a clock with four concentric rings, each representing different domains: The first ring from the centre to the outside displays the hours of the day from 0-24; the second ring represents the places frequented by an individual; the third ring represents the surveillance exerted by the individual, and the fourth ring represents the surveillance received by the individual. In the fieldwork, the work began by explaining to the interviewees that the interview sought to understand what they do in each place and time of the day to exercise surveillance and how and where they feel that they are the object of surveillance by other people.

I provide an A3-sized sheet with the general scheme of the four concentric circles. The interview began by asking about their age, ethnic group, gender, main activity, and the place where they live. There the interviewees were prompted to describe what a typical everyday day looks like in order to trace the sections of space-time in their daily lives. They were then prompted to describe a typical day, enabling the mapping of space-time sections in their daily lives. This process yielded sections such as home, public transport, workplace, among others, with the corresponding duration spent in each location. This allowed for the identification of recurring interaction scenarios.

After obtaining these sections of everyday space-time and the recurrent social interaction scenarios, the interview proceeded by inquiring about strategies for exercising surveillance and avoiding becoming victims of crime in each interaction scenario (e.g., house, public transport, street, etc.). Subsequently, the interview explored how the interviewees perceived being subject to surveillance in each scenario. In this specific case, a total of 125 clocks were collected.

These clocks were digitized and uploaded to Atlas.ti to be coded. This software, like other qualitative data analysis tools, allows to code images. The coding process began by selecting the entire image and coding it with the attributes of specific individuals, such as age, gender, activity, ethnicity, and place of residence. Subsequently, three image coding sections were created: morning, afternoon, and night. Within each section, the exercised surveillance and the received surveillance were coded. This procedure means that the codification of the types of surveillance is overlapped on the section of the day (morning, afternoon, and night) and the characteristics of the people. I named this coding approach "overlapped coding". It served to create a database of spatial practices by individuals that to perform queries of spatial practices using multiple code filters. Thus, it is possible to consult in this database such as the surveillance practices exercised by women of an age range at night, for example. This coding procedure is usable for other types of topics and standardizable to make comparisons.

Unboxing everyday conflicts: demonstrating the utility of Clocks of Everyday Spatial Practices

To show the usefulness of the clock in describing conflicts in everyday life, I will highlight five findings that illustrate how securitization practices influence the appropriation of space and time, as well as the creation of a sense of place. These findings are as follows:

a) Surveillance as transhabitus or superhabitus
b) Differential weight of surveillance on men and women
c) Public presentation of the body
d) Performativity of securitization practices
e) Objects as active participants in securitization strategies

From a methodological perspective, presenting these findings allows us to show that the clock of everyday spatial practices enables the development of theories about conflictivity. In this regard, by examining these findings, I was able to introduce the concept of

securonormativity. This concept did not exist prior to the description of everyday practices but emerged through analysis and a search for generalization.

1. Surveillance as a superhabitus

Living in a city like Bogota entails incorporating a series of securitization practices that exhibit a pervasive intention of protection and surveillance associated with the fear of being a victim of crime or aggression. The clocks of spatial practices show that this intentionality of securitization is incorporated in almost all social scenarios. Going out, staying at home, shopping after work or over the weekend, leaving work late, the care of children, going on vacation, and the use of public transport or bicycle, are all activities that involve an aware reflection about which protection strategy to deploy. The surveillance skills are, using Latour´s metaphor (Latour, 2005), "plug-ins" or complements learned and updated constantly in the interactions. The surveillance skills are competences (Garfinkel, 1991), body techniques (Ingold, 2018; Mauss, 1973), body disciplines (Rabinow, 2003), that in the case of Bogotá are present in all everyday spaces and times. In fact, there are as many surveillance "plug-ins" as interaction settings. These complements serve to dictate which is the appropriate behaviour in every situation: which corporal attitude to adopt, the walking speed, the appropriate clothes to wear in a certain place, which is the best place to sit down or stand up on the bus, etc. In spatial terms, the use of these skills intends not just to avoid threatening places, situations, and people but to allow a fluid transit and a comfortable stay in the interaction scenarios.

Nevertheless, the surveillance practices and appropriation of space are not a unidirectional relationship (Küller, 1976; Nyman, 1999; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1976). We found that surveillance practices are embedded in the daily activities of people but at the same time, we found the possibility of performing surveillance strategies sometimes determines the decision of carrying out an activity in a given place. Lofland discovered something similar in his research on public spaces (Lofland, 1989a, 1989b, 1985)

The existence of multiple practices of securitization results in what Cindi Katz (2008) has called the "security state" composed of actions that, far from being banal individual acts related just "to be careful" or "to be alert", indicate how are embodied the fears that give life to a social and political regime. In the same vein, the extension of surveillance allows us to speak of the creation of a sort of securitarian "superhabitus" or "transhabitus" in the sense that the everlasting intention of surveillance permeates every interaction exceeding a specific field of social life. Thus, the extent and amount of vigilant subjects and scenarios have become the securitarian practices a normal and enduring state of being.

2. Gender patterns in surveillance practices.

The analysis of spatial practices of surveillance shows that strategies of protection adopted for women express and reinforce the established frameworks of a patriarchal society in which women´s autonomy and freedom are limited. As the women´s statement shows, their strategies of surveillance have to do mainly to be accompanied. In the clocks they mentioned:

"because of the fear to be victims of express kidnap, one has to go out and come back escorted for friends and with a triple blessing of your parents (P23 Clock: M 11)[1]"; " I'm fed up of being paranoiac on walking in the stress, that is why I go out not alone" (P12 Clock: M5); "I try to go out always with a male friend to be relaxed and enjoy"(P13 Clock: M6); or "I always go out with a group of friends and I'm always alert of not separate myself from them (P65: M 25).

For a woman, do not be in the company of someone translates into strategies of "walk fast" (Clock P22: H9), "do not look at anyone" (P96 Clock: M 29), "not call attention" (P97 Clock: M 30), "do not use the sidewalks but walk in the avenue to avoid people" (P31 Clock: M13), "give bad looks" (P109 Clock: M32), "make a face of bad temper" (P31 Clock: M13), "do not show fear" (Clock P 1: M1), "warning my parents where I am" (P97 Clock: M 30).

In all cases, the message seems to be the same: a woman alone is "exposed" and her presence in public space needs to be endorsed by the company of a man. As in other circumstances of the patriarchal regime, women require a man´s company to be worthy of respect. This is expressed, among other things, in sexual harassment in the street, and the permanent objectification that makes many men of women. "I would like to be in a place where I cannot walk without afraid of being looked with dirty eyes" (P65 Clock: M 25), "I feel that men look at me nastily" (P62 Clock: M 23), are some women´s expressions that we found in the clocks of practices. That confirms what a women's organization asserts: "For a woman to walk alone on the street in Bogota has become an experience of socially accepted sexual harassment. Indeed, sexual harassment on the streets is marked by the use of physical power, verbal aggression, the objectification of women's bodies, and the absolute tolerance of passersby. People look so natural this kind of behaviour that sometimes may even seem as funny or like a form of flattery when it is a violent act" (Corporación Sisma Mujer, 2013, p. 51)

In this context of limited freedoms, women feel more watched than men in their most familiar places like the house or the neighbourhood. They talk about the close watch of thieves – "thieves are always lurking who get distracted" (P100 Clock: M31) -, acquaintances – "I feel that the neighbours are observing me" (P65 Clock: M 25) and the families. The men´s discomfort with the received surveillance has to be of being viewed as potential aggressors and the frequent requisitioning and inspection of personal belongings. Some women, meanwhile, deemed the received surveillance as an offence but at the same time, they can feel relieved by the surveillance. "At night when I do not feel vigilance, I worry about it because it is a very insecure and lonely place with little police. I am relieved to hear the private security or the police on the street because I know that someone is taking care of me" (P100 Clock: M31), a woman states.

This tension between relief and discomfort produced by the surveillance replicates what women experience before the presence of strangers. While to be alone on a site can produce fear and to be accompanied could be a source of relief, the presence of others requires distance and civil o polite inattention in order to be perceived as pleasant.

[1] This is the format used to quoting specific clocks.

3. Body postures: acting as a threat or trying to be invisible.

According to the clocks of practices, the constant intention of protection drives people to personify a variety of body attitudes. At one extreme, a person can pursue to appear defiant before others to communicate that he or she is not afraid, deserves respect, and, in some cases, that she or he is a threat. Interestingly, that means that some people use negative labelling as a defence and protection strategy by adopting a threatening body attitude. This is an inadvertent dimension by Frank Tannenbaum, one of the fathers of the labelling theory, who noted in his classic book Crime and Community, that the way to break the spiral of crime was refusing to play the evil role (Tannenbaum, 1938). That attitude shows that the division between "bad" and "good" hide important interaction dimensions and that the embodiment of a particular attitude can be more complex.

On the other side, we found that people make all possible to pass unnoticed and become invisible to the imagined or real aggressors and before the potential watchers´ eyes as well. The purpose of this body attitude, the most common, is to be irrelevant by using active forms of surveillance averting. The function of this strategy is to camouflage oneself as just another one and become some kind of "grey mouse". The "embodiment of a grey mouse" translates into the adjustment of the body (gestures, dress, haircut, etc.) to the dominant social patterns otherwise the person risks being a target of the police, private security, criminal organizations, and offenders. This type of securitization strategy is especially based on the assumption that the offender is always watching. People say that "the thief is always observing to take advantage of any inattention". One woman said, "When the thieves watch someone distracted from outside of the bus, they get into for mugging" (P97 Clock: M 30). At any time and place, there are offenders. "I can feel that the only one that surveils me is the thief" (P31 Clock: M13), said a man, referring to this feeling.

The invisibility strategy is revealed in attitudes, just mention few, such as "walk where there are many people" (P65 Clock: M 25); "preferring crowded places" (P11 Clock: H 4); "do not talk to anyone on the street and never do favours to strangers" (P97 Clock: M30); "walk fast without paying attention to the others´ problems" (P51 Clock: M20); "do not stop when someone approaches to ask for information on the street", "ignore greetings" (P17 Clock: M8); "do not answer questions to strangers" (Clock P 3: H1); "do not wear a skirt" (P62 Clock: M 23); "no use jewels" (P16 Clock: H6), "do not use a cellphone in the street" (P56 Clock: M22), "do not use electronic devices and carry the bag in the front, not in the back" (watch P21: M 10), "to have coins in the pockets in case a homeless ask you for money, do not sleep on the bus and never leave in view valuable things (P97 Clock: M 30).

The clocks show that the body is the primary means by which everyday space-time is appropriated. Nevertheless, this appropriation is not always the reproduction of social patterns but there are practices to contest it. Women, for example, do not experience space passively but actively produce it, define it, and appropriate it. The daily and conscious use of protective strategies shows that women domesticate urban space with courage and audacity. We found some women who develop several skills to manage the risk, read the signs of

threat, and use the scenarios of the city. They constantly seek to build autonomy and, more importantly, by pursuing that they make the urban space "available" for other women. "Spatial confidence" of women can be interpreted as like feminist geographers have shown in other contexts, a manifestation of power that is socially reinforced when women go out and reclaim public space instead of staying at home (Koskela, 1997; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Wilson & Little, 2008).

4. Objects matters. Surveillance and actants

It is impossible to elude the relevance of objects and things in surveillance practices[2]. As the clocks of everyday practices show, the presence or absence of certain things drives people implicitly or explicitly to raise questions such as:

- Do I have to protect this thing? How can I protect it?
- Does this object help me in my protection strategy? How could I incorporate it into my security practice?
- Does this object bothers or intimidates me? How do I avoid it and if I cannot evade it what can I do to manage the discomfort of its presence?
- Serves this thing to observe and control? Should I ignore it?

The answer to these questions are actions or inactions such as: answering the phone in the street or on public transport, do not go to a certain place because there is no illumination, waiting for the bus at a specific location because there are no surveillance cameras, to be dressed in a particular way, the definition of meeting points with friends, to choose a transport means, decide at what time come back home if one has the laptop, etc. That means that the objects are active participants in the micro-regulations involved in the appropriation of urban space.

We return here to Latour because he has shown that objects are essential to understanding the durability and reproduction of social interactions. He states that the social theory explains the durability of social ties by appealing to the "society", or "social norm", "social laws", or "structures", or "social customs", or "culture", or "rules" and by supposing that these abstracts realities have enough steel in them to account how social ties are composed. "It is, indeed, a convenient solution but does not explain where the 'steely' quality of social ties comes from". He argues that without taking into account the objects´ role, the social theory reproduces tautological explanations in which society is holding literally without nothing or for magical forces. Things, in terms of Latour and actor-network theory, are actants, that is, these are

[2] We refer to all sorts of things and objects used to display specific surveillance strategies. In all the scenarios of interaction, people make mention of security cameras; car alarms, homes, places of work; bars; bolts; Keys; Fetishes of Good Luck and Prosperity (Aloe Vera Plants, Laurel Grain, Horseshoes, Bible, Religious Images, Altars); broken glass bottles embedded in the top of the walls; motion detector lights; chairs in public transport; chairs in restaurants, bars, lounges; the window on the bus; Transmilenio; taxi; bicycle; car; the exit of passengers; trained dogs and dogs in general; electronic devices; iPod; laptop; projectors; cell phones; portfolios; backpacks; lockers; curtains; emergency exit; clothes; shoes, jacket, trousers; skirt; pockets; Jewelry; doorbells; guard post; money; Street; sidewalk; police stations; motorcycles; bus stops; safety glass; desk drawers; entry card; Computer; wallet; closed rooms; open rooms; list of emergency telephone numbers; closed set; helicopters; knives; parking lots; pepper spray, hand sanitizer, etc.

mindless participants in the action without which social actions would be in the air. (Latour, 2005)

This is coherent with what we found in the clocks of everyday surveillance practices, in which, for example, the protection of objects (cell phone, laptop, car, bicycle, house, land, personal stuff in general) activates practices, forms of relationship with others and, of course, produce a particular landscape. In fact, Bogotá's scenery is composed of a wide range of actants settled to deter crime: grilled stores warning that there are few opportunities to steal there, barking dogs in the streets and on the rooftops of the houses alerting the presence of strangers, walls with embedded broken glasses; lampposts crowned with speakers and sirens to warn when something happens in the neighbourhood; sentinel and surveillance sites, etc. All these are actants amid a network of associated objects targeting to promote safety.

5. Performativity, speech acts, and spatiotemporal appropriations in surveillance.

One dimension that emerged from the analysis of clocks, is the relationship between the spatiotemporal practices of securitization with the verbal expressions that people use to talk about how to be safe. In fact, in every single action or ordinary plan (to say hello and goodbye, talking about criminality and violence, in the recommendations to the children, the alerts given to the visitors, in conversations before bedtime, in the plans for the next day, etc.) persons often pronounce expressions, comments, and warnings about how to be protected and elude the dangers of the city. These expressions can be understood as speech acts that may have several purposes like describing something, conveying socially accepted meanings, and regulating actions.

These speech acts play a central role in the creation of realities since the people's actions are founded, among other things, on the constant repetition or quotation of verbal expressions or utterances. That has been studied by John Austin (1962) to Judith Butler (1993, 1997) by way of Guattari and Deleuze (2002) and Derrida (1977), who have termed such a capacity of language to produce realities as the performativity of language. For Judith Butler, the performative speech acts take place in the framework of a regime of truth. She understands that performativity is not an individual act in which one single person creates reality by naming objects but, rather, a social interaction grounded on the repetition of verbal speech that, under certain circumstances, reinforces and reproduces subjectivities and ways of acting. The performative power of speech acts, then, is derived from the ritualized repetition of the norms within a regime of representations and power relationships, which seeks to reproduce, in the case of Butler's interest, a body, sex, and genre regime that she terms heteronormativity.

Among the expressions found in the clock of practices, the most common speech act was "to give papaya" ("he gives papaya", "we do not give papaya") which means giving opportunity that something negative happens. Although the use of this expression is widespread in everyday language and is used for multiple circumstances, one of its main uses is related to personal safety. When someone "gives papaya" means that this person is neglecting the basic "rules" of behaviour that avoid her becoming a victim of an assault, a robbery, or burglary.

"Give papaya" is an expression that has several possible translations: allow something to happen as a result of negligence, carelessness, make blunders, overconfidence, or because oneself exposed unnecessarily to the risk.

This expression has the power of "explanation" and justification of the occurrence of something wrong. People say, just to mention a few examples: "He was mugged because gave papaya", and "I have never been assaulted because I never give papaya" (P98 Clock: H27). "At the beginning, I was several times mugged in the street but now I do not feel any afraid because I give not papaya to the homeless, street vendors and beggars" (P19 Clock: M9). This use of the term creates a representation according to which there are many sources of danger.

By using this utterance ("You have been muggled because you gave papaya", which is the normal answer given even to the police when people denounce a theft) the individuals are explaining in a simplistic but effective way the insecurity. This kind of expression prevents the person to take distance from the insecurity problems and makes she think about the phenomena (subjects committing criminal acts) as the explainers of insecurity instead of thinking about the processes and relationships (economic, social, political, cultural ones, etc.) that constitute of insecurity.

Additionally, this expression serves to re-victimize somebody who has been subjected to aggression. Indeed, to say that a person was assaulted or raped because she gave papaya means that the victim is guilty because of his or her inability to warn of the danger or because she or he was put in a favourable situation for the attackers. The skirt was very short, he walked alone in a dark place, she was sitting in the wrong seat on the bus, they did not put the backpack on a safe site, he forgot to lock the door, you forgot to activate the alarm, she put the money in the same pocket, etc, are expressions aiming to lay the blame on who has been the victim. Thus, the "explanatory" power of giving papaya leads to reinforcing the idea that it is not possible to appropriate in an alternative way the urban space otherwise one is invoking the dangers. Any alternative practice of appropriation means "tempting fate", "putting yourself on a silver platter", or "poking your nose where it doesn't belong."

These utterances are twinned with other expressions that are referred to using distrust as the attitudinal principle of spatiotemporal appropriation and interpersonal relationships. "The best defence is distrusting other people" (RelojP118: H 31), stated a respondent in the clock of practices. In a context plagued by expressions about what means "to give papaya" and a high mediatization of insecurity events, the constant distrust is essential because "there are thieves who do not look like thieves" (P103 Clock: H30) or because "all are suspects" (Clock P 9: M3). That attitude is not just among ordinary people but especially among those who have as a job to be distrustful, i.e., the guards, watchmen, policemen, janitors, etc. In all cases, distrust implies that people are asking directly or surreptitiously for "credentials" of being a good person to others who they interact with.

Moreover, the attitude of permanent distrust is linked with the acceptance of vigilance, especially, amongst those who consider themselves good citizens. They accept that

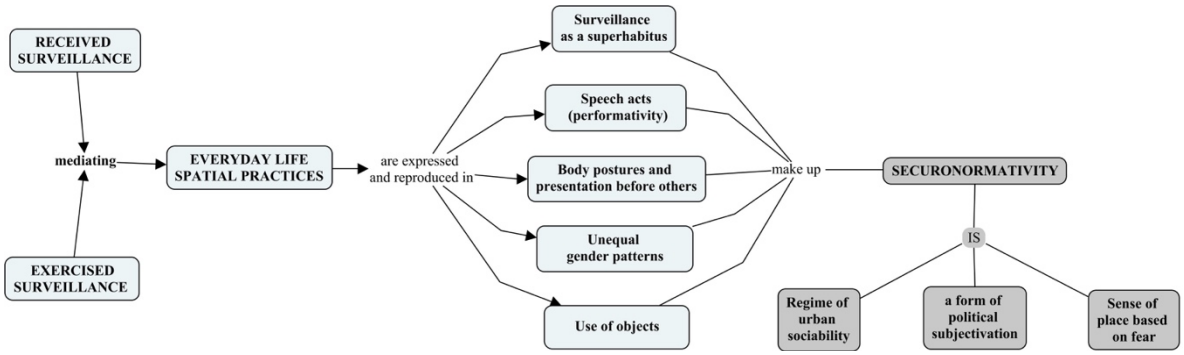
mechanism of surveillance as normal and deem an unguarded place as unsafe. The logic of this acquiescent attitude is that the surveillance mantle everyone and that is good because it includes those who are actually dangerous. The common utterance "if you have nothing to hide, you have nothing to fear" serves to reproduce and justify the favorability toward surveillance.

These utterances seem to be mere constative speech acts intended to describe what people do when they are in every place of interaction. However, these speech acts show the solidification and approbation of surveillance showing precisely the kinds of effects of the repetition of utterance with regulatory content and meaning. That is precisely what the performativity of language signifies. Butler says "performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate "act," but, rather, as the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names. (Butler, 1993, p. 13).

Reassembling a concept about everyday conflictivity: the securonormativity.

According to the findings of the everyday practices of surveillance, we can say that the securonormativity defines a regime of urban sociability in which, at the same time, arises a distinctive political subject and a sense of place marked for the fears, interdictions and mistrusts.

Figure 3 Reassembling the securonormativity



Source: Elaborated by the author

We introduced the term securonormativity to designate a dimension of urban sociability in which surveillance practices play a central role in social interactions. We understand these practices of surveillance as the expression of a series of informal regulations that permeates the scenarios of everyday life and that, thanks to its repetition and its acceptance, give life to a form of being in the city. To use Simmel´s definition of sociability, we can say that the regulation incarnated in the everyday practices of surveillance gives life to "the play of associations of people". Simmel proposed the following categories: a) with-one-another, in which prevails cooperation; b) for-one-another, in which predominates altruism and the feeling of responsibility and care for others; c) in-one-another in which people predominates the apathy or the blame of other; d) against-one-another in which there is an active attitude

of mistrust and suspicion towards others; e) through-one-another ruled for the selfishness, the ambition and the competition between the people (Simmel, 1949 p 254).

But what kind of association we are talking about? According to the clocks of practices, securonormativity is composed of at least five intertwined or associated dimensions: surveillance intentionality, spatiotemporal appropriations, body performance, speech acts, and the use of objects. None of these dimensions of action comes before the other but rather they are an assemblage that shows the complexity of the regulation of which the securonormativity is made of. There is nothing in this set of dimensions that could be considered the central one or the excludable one without risking that the whole set of associations lose sense.

In the context of securonormativity, the permanent search for protection and an attitude of defence set up subjectivities founded in mistrust and indifference that are, at the same time, the negation of other social skills and ways of behaving like cooperation and solidarity. The surveillance intentionality is reinforced and materialized in the individual spatial practices which are not just movements between sites but rather practices accompanied by speech acts without which the sense of action is not understandable. The speech acts, a far cry from being strictly individual, are regular quotations that guarantee the acceptance and reproduction of the surveillance rules. Together with spatial practices, intentionality, and speech acts, securonormativity is composed of a corporal dimension. It comprises diverse body performances or ways to appear before others that people execute seeking to accomplish a strategy of surveillance. Completing the web of relationships that make up the securonormativity, we have the objects and things without which it is not possible to know, think, or even talk about surveillance. This is not a banal dimension of the securonormativity because, in a context of a high rate of thefts, people´s actions are related to the protection of something and the use of objects to apply surveillance strategies.

The securonormativity, being a form of urban sociability based on suspicion towards others, becomes a form of political subjectivation, in the sense that the informal rules that give life to the securonormativity enter into the terrain of social and political values defining what is acceptable conduct toward the other.

Additionally, securonormativity is a sort of vicious circle of technical and social inventions intended to widen the surveillance and monitoring that make them a normal part of the functioning of all spaces. The design and the appropriation of the city integrate "solutions" to the question of how to surveil others and how to be safe. Hence securonormativity is a major challenge for the enjoyment of public and private spaces in a city like Bogota. The merging of rules of surveillance and the contact intention of searching for security in all spaces of the city shape a sense of place similar to what Yi-fu Tuan called topophobia (Tuan, 1974).

With the use of the clocks of daily practices, we sought to unbox the content of the surveillance strategies and we found that they are an assemblage of intentionality, objects, space-time appropriations, gestures, body attitude, and speech acts. We called this

assemblage securonormativity. The use of this methodology allowed us not only to escape from the almost obligatory references to the Focoultian panopticon aiming to analyze how people are watched from the outside but also to explore what people do to exercise surveillance and how it is related to the forms of social interactions in the city.

The securonormativity is becoming a regime of sociability and a force of political subjectivation that represents a crucial challenge because it blocks the possibility that the city can be an enjoyable space and also because the securonormativity triggers the saturation of monitoring practices-technologies and the extensions of mistrust. Although the case analyzed here refers to the Colombian capital, the studies of critical geopolitics and political geography about everyday life, fear and surveillance confirm that they are powerful forces in the organization of space and social relations in several places, including the Global North (Alexander and Pain, 2011; Appadurai, 2006; Katz, 2007; Sparke, 2007) Thus, the securonormativity is an issue that can promote a global critical dialogue not only about the existence of surveillance and fear but also about people's practices to manage insecurity and produce senses of place and sociabilities mediated for surveillance.

The de-scaling of securonormativity is a task that marks the political and scientific horizon for the political geography of cities in the sense that this task can contribute to avoiding the fear and mistrust that becomes the fashioners of space. This task takes on special relevance in a country like Colombia which is in the middle of a process of peacebuilding and reconciliation and that has to struggle with criminality and with the social division created by the conflict expressed in multiple prejudices and daily violence. De-escalating the securonormativity depends on, of course, reducing criminality because this is the main source of fears and worries among people. Depends, by following the argument of critical urban geopolitics (Dalby, 2003; Graham, 2008; Pain, 2009) and the research about the imaginaries of security in Colombia (Peña, 2019), also upon making visible and acting to respond to the hegemonic geopolitical ideas about security that penetrate everyday life. But, as the analysis has shown, the inundation of surveillance is a kind of vicious circle that could be contested by permitting alternative appropriations of the space, a way of talking about the security problems, and, of course, alternative ways of acting before the others. This is an exercise of resistance that can be found in women´s practices when they decide to defeat the rules of securonormativity by using the city in an unusual form: wearing what they want to wear, going out when they want to, claiming that they do not need a man to be respected in the public space. Their message, as graffiti in Bogota, stated, "We [the women] want to be free and not brave on our way back home".

The strategy of building new urban sociability should be based, as Boaventura de Souza Santos has shown by analyzing the social movements (de Sousa Santos, 2009), on the knowledge, power, and ethics axis. As for knowledge, it is necessary to make circulate a new notion of security to contest the common statement on which is founded the concepts, objects, understandings, representations of it, and the surveillance. Rather than being the cause or originator of securonormativity, personal practices are also the effects of a given discursive practice or a group of statements that this study has detailed. Moreover, knowing how practices to manage insecurity are rooted in language, in the body, in the use of spaces, times and objects, would permit to promotion of alternative public security policies that forget the

dimension of the daily strategies that people deploy to deal with insecurity. The security policies in Latin America resort to traditional means to promote security without analyzing how complementary, contradictory or problematic are or not the daily practices of securitization employed for people. In Bogotá, when the government and the private sector (Chamber of Commerce) try to analyze the everyday life dimension of insecurity they resort to the typical studies on the perception of security. This is more a tool to assess the acceptance of the government and police than a survey interested in people´s strategies of securitization. There are no campaigns, programs and public policies aimed at intervening in everyday vigilantism or introducing new meanings about the use of certain city spaces and times, for example.

The task of building new urban sociability has to do with the power axis because securonormativity refers -like the power- to the manifold practices, rules, and relations that govern human beings. The practices of a person are an effect of power relation and that entails recognising and questioning how diverse institutions and the control apparatuses are reproducing securonormativity by establishing what is permissible from the forbidden in the construction of a space of security. The axis of power is fundamental to show that this kind of sociability is also an effect of the dynamics and contradictions of the capitalist society in the sense that capital accumulation uses fear to promote consumption and has created a whole industry of security and surveillance.

Finally, the axis of ethics, in which individuals give form to their selves, to their lives, by forming their identity of themselves, is a fundamental part of the construction of new urban sociability. Secunormativity is an essential dimension of people´s identity because this helps to configure what an individual says about "what is important" or "how to act" by following a kind of moral obligation or simply a norm, a series of rules. This paper has precisely shown what kind of rules organizes the mode of subjectivization resulting from permanent surveillance.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented conceptual elements about spatial practices that begin to attract attention in studies of conflict, peace to reconciliation. I have also introduced a tool usable for conflict at the level of everyday life: the clock of spatial practices. This is a complementary tool to ethnography to collect field data and create textual databases on various practices. In this conclusion, we insist on what it would mean to think spatially about reconciliation because there is not a scholarly community discussing this subject.

To begin with, approaching reconciliation from a spatial perspective involves bridging the gap between discussions on everyday peace and theories of reconciliation. Within the realm of reconciliation, we should investigate how rebuilding social and political bonds, addressing collective memory, engaging in restorative justice, and seeking reparation all have spatial dimensions, and how all are place-grounded. These tasks necessitate the reconstruction of physical spaces, the creation of new senses of place, and the development of alternative spatial representations to those shaped by conflict. When applying the concept of everyday peace to the study of reconciliation, it is important to explore how the spatiality of

reconciliation manifests in various settings and how these settings contribute to establishing an environment conducive to reconciliation.

Moreover, it is crucial to recognize that reconciliation is both a product of spatial practices and a means of transforming power inequalities within geographical contexts. A geography of reconciliation should focus on comprehending how reconciliation is socially and spatially produced and reproduced across interconnected places and scales, spanning from individual and local levels to citywide, regional, and national contexts. By contextualizing reconciliation within specific settings, this perspective enables us to examine the role of human agency in daily acts of reconciliation generation. It sheds light on how local actors negotiate and foster reconciliation as part of their narratives, practices, and strategies within diverse urban spaces and territorial scales.

Understanding the specific mechanisms that contribute to reconciliation is essential for explaining why actors adopt differentiated stances towards diverse people and how these contrasting experiences of tolerance, solidarity, hospitality, indifference, tension, and fraternity influence the potential for (re)producing reconciliation in each particular context. The question of agency also brings forth considerations of accountability and legitimacy. It pertains not only to understanding why and how certain individuals choose to engage in reconciliatory actions but also to examining who receives recognition for these actions and in what manner.

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