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New House, New Furniture, New Room: Children's Pandemic Landscapes of Care in Chile

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Abstract

Standing at the intersection between geographies of care and children's geographies, we present three ethnographic stories (emerging from three ethnographic studies) through which we argue that, as a result of pandemic confinement in Chile, children's places within their landscapes of care shifted in a twofold sense: First, given the de-mobilisation and spatial concentration of spaces of care at home, children's place became closer to adults,' suspending the usual spatial segregation that separates them. And second, in tandem with this new proximity that we refer to as in-person family relationships, new possibilities for the involvement of children in family care practices emerged. This rearrangement of children's places within landscapes of care brings to the fore two interrelated aspects of family care from children's perspective. First, the kind and amount of in-person family time spent in a shared space in "normal" times was not enough from the perspective of children's needs and interests. And second, even though children are usually seen as subjects of care, they are people who care for others and who are able to take on more caring responsibilities than the ones that they usually are expected to.

Keywords

children's geographies; COVID-19; geographies of care; Global South; landscapes of care; mobilities

1. Introduction

As COVID-19 expanded across the globe and a pandemic was declared in March 2020, governments around the world established emergency measures that varied in kind, severity, and length, reflecting on diverse

cultural, economic, geographical, and political contexts. In most countries, schools shut down for significant amounts of time, and teleworking and varied forms of social distancing were encouraged, either requesting or mandating that people "stay at home." Altogether, this resulted in drastic changes to children and families' everyday routines, spatialities, and caringscapes (Bowlby, 2012), given the concentration of most daily activities at home and the resulting downscaling of mobility scopes or *de-mobilisation* of everyday family life.

Research on the impacts of COVID-19 on children has focused on the realm of mental health (Andrades et al., 2023; Mac-Ginty et al., 2021; Zhen et al., 2022). While this is a key aspect of the crisis, wider impacts on children's everyday lives have been under-studied (with exceptions such as Andres et al., 2023; Cameron et al., 2023; Chamberlain et al., 2021; Garthwaite et al., 2022; Potter et al., 2024a, 2024b; Rojas-Navarro et al., 2021, 2022), and little attention has been paid to how the spaces and mobilities that sustain family life and shape their caringscapes were disarticulated, re-articulated, and re-signified in the process of staying at home. Therefore, this article aims to deepen our understanding of how children and families experienced and were impacted by the pandemic in diverse specific geographical, cultural, political, and economic contexts around the world (Cameron et al., 2023; Cortés-Morales et al., 2022; Suleman et al., 2021), not only in compartmentalised spheres such as education and mental health but also in the wider context of everyday life and family care, where all dimensions are weaved together in time-space and through mobilities (Jirón et al., 2022). We approach this aim with a focus on children's perspectives and positions within care relationships, seeking to contribute to a conceptualisation of care as multidirectional in which children are not seen exclusively as subjects of care, but as people who can care for others too (Ergler et al., 2022; Kallio & Bartos, 2016; Kullman, 2014; Vergara del Solar et al., 2024).

In "normal" pre-pandemic times, children's geographies have shown how children's lives are articulated through various forms of movement that connect them to people, places, services, and resources that are key for sustaining their lives, wellbeing, and care (Murray & Cortés-Morales, 2019). In contexts such as Chilean cities, care infrastructures are usually precarious and rely on individual resources, informal labour, family and social ties, as well as the different places that constitute families' caringscapes and carescapes (Bowlby, 2012), which are geographically scattered and need to be articulated through individuals' movements. In this context, everyday mobility is understood as fundamental for accessing and articulating family care (Jirón et al., 2022). Therefore, and bearing in mind the inequalities that shape families' carescapes, corporeal mobility is also problematised by geographies of care, particularly in relation to childcare, in terms of the time, energy, and physical and economic costs that they involve for families and societies: children getting to a school that is not necessarily near home; parents going from school to work in a sometimes completely different direction; children being picked up and looked after by grandparents, aunts, neighbours, or childminders after school; doing the shopping, and so on. All these things happen in dispersed places that families need to put together again and again as an intricate puzzle of everyday care, based on changing needs and available material resources and social networks.

In Chile, the pandemic was lived in the context of the aftermath of the social unrest of October 2019, when everyday mobilities and spatialities had already been interrupted, and where the pandemic constituted an excuse for continuing some of these repressive measures, as we explain later. The pandemic measures instilled in Chile forced a complete rearticulation of their landscapes of care. During this time, care, education, work, entertainment, leisure, physical and emotional development, and social interaction were all (supposed to be) concentrated within the boundaries of children's homes. It is in this out-of-the-ordinary context that this

article reflects upon three ethnographic stories that have emerged from three research projects in which the authors have been involved, conducted between 2020 and 2024 in different cities of Chile, which we will describe in more detail later.

Based on these stories, we argue that, because of severe and long confinement in Chile, children's places within their landscapes of care shifted in a twofold sense: first, given the de-mobilisation of everyday life imposed by pandemic measures in Chile, and the concentration of spaces of care and all kinds of activities at home, the usual spatial segregation of children from adults in their everyday activities was temporarily suspended. This required families to rearrange the home space to accommodate their different needs and activities according to their material and social possibilities (Rojas-Navarro et al., 2022). And second, in tandem with this new proximity that we refer to as in-person family relationships, new possibilities for the involvement of children in family care practices emerged, challenging assumptions about what children should or should not do in terms of caring for others and for themselves. This shifted children's place in the sense of their position within care relationships.

At the same time, this rearticulation of children's places within landscapes of care unveiled two simple but significant aspects of family care from the perspective of children. First, the kind and amount of in-person family time spent in a shared space in "normal" times was not enough from the perspective of children's needs and interests. And second, even though children are usually seen as subjects of care—those who need to be cared for usually by mothers—they are people who care for others and who can take on more caring responsibilities than the ones they usually are expected to have.

Our discussion is empirically situated in the context of the Global South, Latin America, and particularly Chile, and stands at the intersection between geographies of care and geographies of children, youth, and families. From this interdisciplinary intersection and this geographical and cultural context, we aim to contribute to wider global discussions around the impacts of COVID-19 on children and families' everyday lives from a geographical perspective, and around care from a spatial, mobile, and geographical point of view, emphasising the place and perspectives of children in care relationships. Within this framework, our article highlights the significant and interdependent relations between family care, space, and mobilities. In this sense, we argue that, at the same time that the pandemic aggravated the so-called care crisis, it also alleviated families from the demanding need for mobility that care involves in normal times. In doing so, it also made families aware of what other scholars have called the im-possibilities of care (Rojas-Navarro et al., 2022).

In Section 2, we discuss some of the main conceptualisations of care from a spatial and geographical view and how these may apply to understanding children's places within landscapes of care. Section 3 presents some of the most relevant empirical observations around children and families' pandemic experiences at a global scale, briefly situating our discussion in the Chilean pandemic context, to then give way to the projects and stories that underpin our reflections in Section 4. After presenting three stories from three children and families in different Chilean cities, Section 5 unfolds lines of reflection on where to approach these stories. We conclude by discussing the main points that we identify in relation to the rearticulation of children's places in pandemic and post-pandemic landscapes of care.

2. Children's Places Within Landscapes of Care

Geographies of care have focused on how care is continuously made and re-made possible across different spatial relations (Middleton & Samanani, 2021, p. 31). The concepts of caringsacapes/carescapes (Bowlby, 2012), landscapes of care (Milligan & Wiles, 2010), and care ecologies (Bowlby & McKie, 2019) aim at problematising the manifold spaces in which care takes place, considering the different aspects or stages of care (Tronto, 2015). These concepts emphasise diverse dimensions of care, such as the informal and formal character of care practices signalled by the corresponding differentiation between caringscape, the spaces of informal care, and carescape, the spaces of formal care (Bowlby, 2011, 2012); the need to understand these diverse dimensions as relational and interdependent, as in the notion of care ecologies (Bowlby & McKie, 2019); or argue for a relational, multi-directional and multi-layered understanding of care, as in landscapes of care (Milligan & Wiles, 2010). Multi-directionality refers to a focus on the interdependent and reciprocal nature of care, in which a network of actors become involved in "multidirectional flows and connections" (Milligan & Wiles, 2010, pp. 737–738). The multi-layered character of care, in turn, refers to the diverse and overlapping dimensions that shape care relationships, in addition to spatiality: care practices are then articulated with norms, values, and human and spatial relationships, giving rise to landscapes of care. These are defined as the spatial expressions that result from the interaction between sociostructural processes and structures, shaping the experiences and practices that constitute care (Milligan & Wiles, 2010, p. 739).

The notion of landscapes of care also highlights the relevance of temporality in terms of past experiences, future expectations, everyday rhythms and routines, and life course, as well as the social, political, technological, and economic cycles that shape them (Milligan & Wiles, 2010, p. 740). However, the temporal dimension of care has scarcely been considered in articulation with space, even in geographical approaches (Bowlby, 2012). An exception in this regard has been the geographies of childcare, which have shown the circular relation between gender inequalities, spatial patterns, and paid-work structure in Western households and childcare (Bowlby, 2012). This temporal-spatial approach unveils the fact that, from a spatial approach, care practices occur in diverse places; there is a need to move between these, and that movement takes time. Therefore, what allows and, at the same time, hinders care are the mobilities that articulate specific landscapes of care.

The mobile nature of care also refers to change over time in terms of the material, social, practical, and emotional changes that constantly transform intergenerational care (Middleton & Samanani, 2021, p. 31; Plyushteva & Schwanen, 2018). This mobile and temporal dimension encompasses the timescales of everyday routines and rhythms, the individual lifecourse and intergenerational exchanges, collective memories, and social change (Bowlby, 2012). A temporal-spatial approach to care contributes to a more complex understanding of intergenerational and interdependent care relations. On the one hand, a focus on space highlights the spatial distribution and segregation of generational or age groups when observed from an everyday scale, so that children, adults, and the elderly occupy differentiated places, both physically and in terms of positions. On the other hand, a temporal approach reveals forms of reciprocity that occur across the life-course between generations, both on the individual and everyday scale and in the collective, social realms. While the intergenerational character of care is acknowledged from a life-course perspective, children are usually defined as people who need to be cared about and cared for by others, and very rarely as people who care about and for others in their present too. This is linked to a specific—Western, white,

and upper class—definition of childhood in which a careless childhood is a good childhood. Therefore, discussions around care tend to position children as subjects of care (in need of being cared for), problematised in relation to women as caregivers, as in the case of geographies of childcare. The stories presented here aim to question this passive positioning of children, arguing for an understanding of care relations as fluid, distributed, and multidirectional, in which children care for and about others in diverse forms. And not only when economic and family circumstances require them to become "carers," but also as children who care for and about their families, friends, pets, and territories on an everyday basis (Ergler et al., 2022; Kallio & Bartos, 2016; Kullman, 2014). As pointed out by Kallio and Bartos (2016), adults need to take notice of the ways in which children engage in caring practices and politics so that we can deconstruct presumptions that prevent their caring agencies from being realised. In this regard, a geographical approach to children's caring agencies should emphasise their place within landscapes of care not only in terms of the physical places where they become engaged in caring practices but also in the sense of their positionalities. Here, we highlight Evans' notion of "sibling caringscapes," which suggests a need to consider "the feelings and subjective positions of different actors involved in caring pathways" in addition to (and in relation to) caring activities and routines (Evans, 2012, p. 830).

Within scholarship around landscapes of care, therefore, we identify the need to think about care from a mobilities perspective and incorporate children's perspectives in our understanding of care from a geographical point of view.

3. Children and Families Pandemic Landscapes of Care

Between March 16th 2020 and April 30th 2022, the global average for school closures was 142 days fully closed and 151 days partially closed (Andres et al., 2023). For school-aged children, this meant an important restriction of their social worlds beyond the household (Cameron et al., 2023, p. 1109)—except for its virtual spatialities (Galpin et al., 2023)—and their sense of place (Webber et al., 2024). This had especially challenging consequences for children living in already constrained spatial and economic circumstances (Andres et al., 2023). Lockdowns were a universal phenomenon experienced in particular ways. In some countries, children were completely "incarcerated" during the first weeks of the pandemic (Play England, 2022) so the home-built environment was determinant of children's lockdown experiences in terms of how compromised their agencies and wellbeing were (Cameron et al., 2023).

Research has shown the manifold and dramatic challenges that lockdown and general pandemic measures involved for families, especially for women with children who saw their already unequal care workload increase after their usual care networks vanished (Rojas-Navarro et al., 2021, 2022). While not ignoring this problematic and more visible side of pandemic life, scholarship has also shown that families also perceived certain benefits from lockdown, unveiling a "brighter side" of COVID-19 (Errázuriz & Greene, 2020). On the one hand, in some cases, cities and homes were inhabited in unusual and fun ways (Freeman et al., 2022; McDuie-Ra, 2023; Potter et al., 2024b), as well as spaces being repurposed to accommodate multiple activities that used to be performed outside the home (Errázuriz & Greene, 2020). On the other, for those families in which parents were able to work from home, this also meant having more time to be together, which was appreciated by many children and parents (Cameron et al., 2023; Chamberlain et al., 2021). In some cases, this was viewed as an opportunity to do more things together and strengthen family bonds (Cameron et al., 2023). This ambiguous experience of lockdowns as both restricting and enabling coincides with Bowlby's (2012) discussion of the

connotations of confinement as both unwanted restraint and limitation, and as a feeling of "safety within the confines of one's own home" (Bowlby, 2012, p. 2108).

In Chile, pandemic measures lasted long enough for people to become used to this way of living, so for some people, going "back" to business as usual was even more difficult than confinement itself. This needs to be understood in the context of the aftermath of the October 2019 Chilean social unrest. This political, spontaneous movement—started by secondary students—was the result of decades of structural inequalities established by the dictatorship (1973–1989). The social unrest had already interrupted children and families' mobilities and spatialities because of the massive protests and the violent police repression and governmental authoritarian measures that followed (Anigstein et al., 2021; Cortés-Morales & Morales, 2022a, 2022b). In March 2020, children living in this country were just beginning a new school year (which runs from March till December), after the spatial and mobile restrictions as well as temporary school closures experienced in October–November 2019, followed by three months of summer holidays.

In this context, the right-wing government of the time established authoritarian measures to combat the pandemic, giving continuity to some of the previously established repressive measures. For example, the nocturnal curfew was extended from October 2019 until May 2021, and lockdowns were extreme compared to other countries in Latin America and elsewhere. Children were not supposed to go out at all. It was only in August 2020 that a permit was created for children to go out twice a week. Most parks and natural areas, however, remained closed for much longer, and schools remained closed for 10 to 18 months depending on each school's ability to comply with health regulations. The likelihood of children staying at home during lockdowns, however, varied according to families' ability to work from home and socioeconomic status in an acutely unequal country (Rojas-Navarro et al., 2021), which adds up to the fact that families with children all over the world were economically more dramatically affected by the pandemic than those without (Collard et al., 2021).

4. Bringing Pandemic Stories Into Presence

Our reflections emerge from three different research projects conducted in Chile, in which the authors have been involved, working together in some of them. While the three studies are independent of each other, they share some themes and methodologies, as well as the context and special time when they were conducted. Particularly, we reflect upon the stories of three children and their families—each of them a participant in one of the projects—whose ways of rearticulating their caringscapes were significantly different according to the cities where they lived, their economic and material resources, family and social networks, and their positions within wider carescapes (Bowlby, 2012). At the same time, the three stories make visible the shared challenges, strategies, and meanings encountered and deployed by families. In this sense, this article does not intend to report on the empirical analysis of these different projects, which have been published elsewhere (Henríquez et al., 2024; Jirón Martínez et al., 2020; Leyton et al., 2023; Pinilla et al., 2023; Vergara del Solar et al., 2024), but to illuminate a wider discussion around children's shifting places within landscapes of care in pandemic and post-pandemic times and territories, in Chile and elsewhere.

María's story emerges from "The involvement of Children in the circulation of family care. A case study in three Chilean cities," an ongoing project (2022–2025) that has conducted in-person ethnographic research with 21 children (10–13 years old) and their families from different socioeconomic backgrounds in Santiago,

Valparaíso, and Concepción. Mateo's story is part of "An interdependence, social networks, gender approach to understand daily activity-travel and mobility of care in Chilean cities," conducted between 2020 and 2023 in Santiago and Concepción, focusing on the everyday mobilities of adults who cared for others, through virtual, remote and in-person ethnographic methods with 23 participants—Mateo's mother among them. Fernando's story emerged from "Families in times of COVID-19: families' experiences, challenges and replies in social inequality contexts," conducted in 2020–2021 in different Chilean territories using Indeemo and virtual interviews with children and adults from 38 families, aiming at recording and analysing how they were experiencing these times. Each project had ethical approval from its main researcher's academic institution.

4.1. María

María was eight years old in 2020 and living in a city on the central coast of Chile with her parents, brother, and dog. Her maternal grandmother lived nearby and was also present in her everyday life. María's mum was a doctor who worked at a hospital and her private practice. Her dad worked from his home office for a multinational company. Both parents worked full-time and had high incomes. María and her brother attended a private school located a 5-minute walk from home. At the time of the study (2022), María was still walking to and from school with her dad and dog, but she was planning to do it on her own or with her brother the following year.

In 2019, María and her family had just returned to Chile after living abroad for a year while her mother was conducting postgraduate studies. To finance this, her parents had sold the house where they lived. On their return, they bought a two-bedroom flat near the sea. Even though the flat was considered small, María and her brother were younger, too. They shared a bedroom and had plenty of outdoor places to play nearby. Before the social outbreak and the pandemic, the family used to go out cycling, visiting friends, to the beach, to the park, or to eat out. In 2020, when the pandemic began, the flat suddenly became a very small space in which the children felt limited. In María's words: "We had to move into my grandma's house so that we had more space for walking. When it was summer [in the flat], we could only watch TV and that kind of thing because my imagination was blocked."

The family's need for a greater and outdoor space led them to leave the flat and stay with María's grandmother, initially for a couple of weeks, but in the end, they stayed a whole year. María talks about this change with joy; she draws her grandma's house on a map and explains the intricate spaces within the house and the different levels of the garden full of plants and fruit trees, where she was able to walk and play on her own or with someone else. Moving to her grandmother's house was a relief for the whole family. In addition to the spatial aspect, María was very happy living with her grandmother, who actively cared for the children and the whole family while the parents worked. It was also a relief for María's parents, who were used to counting on the work of a maid who had previously cleaned the house, cooked, and looked after the children Monday to Friday since they were babies. With the pandemic restrictions in place, she could not work with them anymore, and María's grandmother being there allowed them to keep working as they usually did.

After living at grandma's for a year, the family bought and moved into the house where they have lived until the present, located in an upper-class neighbourhood in the same city. Living in the new house during the second year of the pandemic, when some restrictions were lifted and it was possible to go out at certain times and days, the family started going out on cycle rides and walks together whenever they could. María

expresses nostalgia about that time when her parents were more at home and they made time for going out, playing board games, and so on. María and her parents had the impression that when they went back to "normal," going to school and working in person, life became busier than ever, and they were not able to maintain pandemic routines that they enjoyed, such as daily walks and weekly cycle rides. At the time of the study, María expressed concern about her dad, who worked too much, never went out to do exercise, and was never able to sit with them for dinner without looking at his phone, mirroring the worries that her parents had about her and her brother during lockdown. Things that were key for her family during the confinement seemed to dissolve once they returned to in-person school and work.

4.2. Mateo

The second story is that of Mateo and his mum Katherine, a middle-income single-parent family who lived in a city in the South of Chile. His father and extended family (maternal grandparents, aunt, and cousins) lived in the same city and were all involved in his everyday care arrangements in different ways. Mateo was five years old at the time of the study and when the pandemic began. Katherine worked as a social worker in an organisation outside of the city, which meant she travelled about an hour to get there. They lived in a two-bedroom flat in the city centre and had already experienced mobile and spatial disruptions to their daily routines with the social outbreak, as the park nearby was the epicentre of the local protests.

With lockdown, both Mateo and Katherine's activities became virtual. He had just started kindergarten, which, in the Chilean school system, prepares children to learn to read, write, and perform basic mathematical operations. This meant that children as young as Mateo had to adjust to online lessons and do homework during the confinement. At the beginning, Katherine had to share her laptop with her son. Both worked and studied at the dining table, which they had to clear for mealtimes. This arrangement had its challenges. Beyond the problem of sharing the computer, the laptop on the table was too high for Mateo, who was barely visible on the screen for his teacher to see him. First, they put a tower of cushions on his chair, so he was a bit higher, but this was not comfortable enough, considering the long time he spent there every day. At the same time, Katherine struggled to work without her computer during the mornings. After a while, they had to rearrange their space and resources: Katherine bought a tablet for Mateo. They also got a desk and chairs, which they placed in the dining room. This way, Katherine worked on her laptop on the new desk, and Mateo sat on a new adjustable chair at the table with his tablet.

Katherine had to distribute her attention between her work and Mateo's online schooling, being tuned into his lessons and reacting fast whenever he needed help—with materials, sharpening pencils, replying to questions, connecting to Zoom, participating in class, and so on. In turn, this period required Mateo to learn to do things by himself, things that used to be done for him by others, such as getting a glass of water or snacks, turning on the TV or tablet, and finding things to do when he was bored once school was over. Despite the complexities of spending the whole day together in this limited space, Katherine appreciated the proximity that this time allowed them:

> This is a new thing, being with them, and I think that, despite the tiredness that this double presence, being there but not being, generates in us, mothers, I am grateful, because I had never spent so much time with Mateo.

This unique situation came to an end in 2021, when Katherine had to go back to in-person work, while Mateo's school remained in virtual mode. At the beginning, his grandparents supported them, as they were still doing online work. His grandfather would pick him up every morning and take him to their house, where Mateo connected to classes while they worked, as his mother had done previously. In the evening, they would take him home, coinciding with Katherine's return. However, after a while, they also had to go back to in-person work. This meant that his everyday life and care arrangements were a puzzle that they had to sort out every day in a different way, according to who was available to be with Mateo: some days he would go to his aunt's house, where a nanny looked after his cousins too; other days he would be with his dad, who was unemployed at the time; and when there was no other option, he would go to work with his mum.

4.3. Fernando

The third and last story, from a low-income family, is that of Fernando. He was 15 years old when the pandemic began and lived in Santiago with his parents, Marcela and Alberto. They had migrated there from Venezuela two years earlier, as many other families had, because of the political and economic crisis in that country. Having gone through many different jobs, Marcela and Alonso were working as inspectors for the public transport system, but they became unemployed as soon as the pandemic began.

Before the pandemic, they lived in a shared accommodation with 70 rooms, each of them occupied by a person or family group, all the inhabitants sharing only a couple of bathrooms. They were grateful they managed to move out just before COVID, as many people had died there during the first months. At the time of the study, they lived in a shared house with five rooms and two bathrooms, the three of them sharing one room. During the first weeks of the pandemic, they tried to stay at home, following regulations and Fernando's grandmothers' worried advice from Venezuela. They got food boxes and clothes from their protestant church and Fernando's school. However, they needed to pay rent, and the landlady was unwilling to accept any late payments. This forced them to find a way of getting an income despite the risk of contagion. They decided to make and sell *tequeños*, a Venezuelan snack, in the streets of Santiago.

The routine they created during this time implied a series of daily spatial rearrangements within their room, as it was the same space in which they slept, studied, and cooked/worked. In the mornings, they put away their beds so that Fernando had space to connect to online lessons on the family's laptop. Meanwhile, Marcela would clean the room and Alonso started cooking. After school was over, they would have lunch and go out together to sell *tequeños* at a metro station. All their activities were performed together in that room (except for buying ingredients and selling food), transforming the space once and again between a bedroom and a place for studying and cooking. While they all acknowledged the precarity of their circumstances, they also expressed feeling grateful for being together all day long, having spent their whole days apart before the pandemic, when Marcela and Alberto would leave the house before Fernando woke up for school, and come together in the evenings only for a bit before going to sleep.

5. Lines of Reflection

Based upon the previous stories and broader discussions that emerged from the three studies that underpin this article, we suggest three interwoven lines of reflection for thinking about how landscapes of care and children's positions within them have shifted as a result of pandemic confinement: the blurring of

divides; a move from in-person work/school to in-person family relations; and re-signifying mobilities and care.

The first line suggested refers to the blurring of diverse, well-established divides, such as family/work, productive/reproductive activities, public/private realms, and adult-child activities and spaces. This blurring resulted from the dramatic reduction of the places in which everyday life occurs and the condensed spatiality of home as the hosting place for the everyday activities of all family members. In Chile, restrictions lasted long enough for these circumstances to become a new normal that families got used to, even those who found themselves in very difficult positions. Under these circumstances, activities and intergenerational family members had to find ways to share the home-scape, giving way to their re-positioning within landscapes of care.

The condensation of time, space, care, work, education, and leisure at home had the effect of family members spending more time together than they had ever done. While we acknowledge the challenges and trauma brought up by these circumstances, especially for people who have a heavy care workload, we focus our reflection on the tension between this conflict and the nostalgia and gratefulness expressed by some people in relation to what this time allowed. This involves both emotional and practical dimensions around care: There was a feeling of being emotionally closer to each other associated with the physical proximity triggered by lockdowns. At the same time, there was a practical relief given by the temporal suspension of spatially extended and scattered landscapes of care; as all forms of care concentrated mostly within the home, there was no need for parents to navigate the usually bumpy paths of childcare. We have called this shift a move from in-person work/school towards in-person family relationships. John Urry (2007) argued that the need for in-person relationships that required corporeal mobilities was something to be empirically investigated rather than taken for granted. In this sense, while it is widely acknowledged that in-person work and learning dynamics are usually the ideal, less has been discussed about the need for in-person family relationships, not in relation to distant family members but within nuclear family homes. The stories emerging from our three studies suggest that the pre-pandemic normal in-person amount and quality of family interaction were not enough for children, and they appreciated spending more time together.

Children being spatially positioned in proximity to adults at home acquired different roles. For example, observing their parents' work demands led them to identify emotional and self-care needs in their parents; new home articulations meant that new actors were present bringing with them new care needs and capabilities; also, children getting involved in everyday caregiving activities, such as cooking, cleaning, feeding pets, or other work. This observation also coincides with the findings of Rojas-Navarro et al. (2022), in which most people living with children under 12 reported that children had increased their participation in household chores and direct care activities during lockdown. At the same time, this children-adult proximity meant that less corporeal mobilities were needed to articulate their everyday landscapes of care.

The relief experienced by some families in practical and emotional terms because of the reduction and de-mobilisation of their landscapes of care evidences the tight relationship between care and mobilities. As previously discussed, time and space are articulated around care through mobilities, and the de-mobilisation of most care relations during lockdown meant that there was more time to spend *caring for* other family members. At the same time, this new configuration of care de-normalised the need to be away from home and apart from each other every day, most of the day, to comply with work and education

commitments. Consequently, and ambiguously, the demobilisation of everyday life and landscapes of care questioned and re-valued the need for corporeal everyday mobilities at the same time. It also meant that families—children and adults alike—became aware of what Rojas-Navarro et al. (2021) refer to as the im-possibilities of care.

6. Conclusions

The stories we have shared here illuminate some of the ways in which pandemic spatial reconfigurations impacted the rearticulations of landscapes of care and children's places within them. While all stories share the fact that material and spatial reconfigurations were needed to accommodate pandemic carescapes and caringscapes, possibilities for spatial reconfigurations mirrored the inequalities that characterise Chilean society. In this sense, while one family was able to move into a relative's bigger house and later buy their own house, another family had to accommodate all their needs within the space of one room, rearranging its distribution for day and night use. This is probably the most significant problem that emergency policies should prioritise in any future crises of this kind. But looking beyond these dramatic material differences, in the three stories, we observed the blurring of the usual divides that differentiate public/private, productive/reproductive, and children's from adult's spaces. This blurring came in tandem with children positioning differently in their care relations, which allowed them to spend more in-person time with their families. They became aware of a lack of in-person family interactions in pre-pandemic and post-pandemic times, at the same time that allowed them to perform more caring for activities in relation to themselves or others, observing and/or participating more in parents' re/productive spaces.

The demobilisation of everyday life and landscapes of care was experienced in ambiguous ways by children and families. While challenging in terms of making space and time for concentrating all activities at home (Clery & Dewar, 2022), it was also appreciated in terms of providing more in-person family time. The observation that children in Chile now miss certain aspects of lockdown is consistent with studies conducted elsewhere (Chamberlain et al., 2021). The shifting carescape of the pandemic in which spatial confinement was presented as tantamount to caring for ourselves and our families allowed for more time for domestic chores and spending time with family. This unveiled the possibility of living differently, denaturalising the everyday segregation between work and family, children and adults, and its associated mobilities and costs. Salin et al. (2020) have discussed how families' pandemic coping strategies operated at different levels: macroenvironmental, relationship, and individual. However, these categories do not refer to spatial strategies like those observed in the three stories presented here. Altering spatial conditions constitutes a kind of coping strategy that moves between these three levels, given that families' spatial circumstances are to a significant extent shaped by macrosocial factors, constituted through and at the base of family/social relationships, and they greatly influence individual possibilities for actions, attitudes, and decision-making.

Better understanding how children experienced confinement during the pandemic and how their places within landscapes of care have shifted as a result of those experiences is key for their wellbeing in post-pandemic cities in at least two ways: On the one hand, their pandemic spatial experiences are shaping how they inhabit and signify their territories—for many children "going back to normal" means that they are just starting to know the cities where they live after the pandemic. On the other hand, we need to learn as much as we can from this phenomenon so that we can better plan and react to future events of this kind, alleviating their negative

impact on children and families. The reflections in this article refer not only to times of global crisis but also contain relevant questions about care and everyday life for children in "normal" times. Demobilising children's lives and families' landscapes of care led them to explicitly value corporeal movement, but also to wonder whether we were moving too much. In this regard, geographies of care and children's geographies need to come together to inquire about how children are being re-positioned in their landscapes of care. This means investigating how they experience and signify going back from the (not always) protected space of home, and from the virtual relational space, to moving about in cities and territories they inhabit but that they are only just beginning to recognise, in territories that have never been planned and designed with their needs and interests as a priority.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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