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QUALITATIVE COMPUTING IN THE STUDY OF URBAN MEMORY¹

Martha de Alba,

Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México

Introduction

The purpose of this work was to make a methodological dissertation about using qualitative analysis software, such as Atlas-ti and Alceste, in order to study urban memory in elderly people: How these methods contribute to analyze narratives about ancient experiences of the cities? What are their limits approaching psychosocial processes that have continuity in time and space, as the memory of our life in a big city?

I will present some results of a qualitative study (in narratives of the city) conducted with 40 elderly adults over 60 years, residing in 4 neighborhoods of the metropolitan area in Mexico City. The main objective was to analyze urban collective memory, the experiences and social representations of the people who have lived in this city for the last 5 or 6 decades.

Before tackle the methodological aspects and the strategies of analysis as well, I see the importance to clear up some concepts, such as the experiences, the representations and the memory of the city that we used in the research.

Social representations, collective memory and urban experience

The social representations (Moscovici, 1961) of the space (Milgram y Jodelet, 1976) allow us to understand the meanings of the places, according to the characteristics of the social identity of the actor, who can take different positions in the social structure. In that

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matter, the space as an object of a social representation involve the knowledge of the essential characteristics of the territory analyzed, as well, the individuals or social subjects that constructs that representation, according to their interrelationship (their occupational shape, legal status in relation to the space, etc).

In this way, the focus resides on the elderly people representations of the city; people in different positions in the social structure (socioeconomic status), since several places of residence (located in the center and periphery neighborhoods), from value patterns associated with gender differences. The social status, geographic location and gender differences are the anchors and, according this theory, restrict the construction of the representations of individuals.

The relationship between social representations and practices should be seen as dialectic and changing over time. Our ideas support, generally, our actions; while we can enrich our thought system. In the case of territory, practice makes reference to the uses that individuals and groups make of the spaces, the inner activities. I use the term "experience" instead of "practice" to denote the set of behaviors and uses of the space, as actions, taking their definition in the context of the meanings that the space and actions have for the social subjects occupying it.

The concept of experience, in this case, relates with the phenomenology of the everyday life of Schutz (1962), not only by the fact that the action is significant, but because, for this author, the everyday accumulated experience constitutes the knowledge roots and the biographical situation of the subject, the main stating point for its location in the world (physical and social) and their interpretation. We could say that the experience is going to be integrated by the social representations system of the subject through his life. But, in Schutz's case, the social representations, such as socio-cultural determinants, are handled by the subject according to the manner in which he is located in the here (spatial) and now (temporality) of the situation in which is taking place. The man plans his action in the world in terms of the way he sets his interpretation, parting of his biography (cultural

background, accumulated experiences, pre-established patterns of action, social position, means of social learning, etc.).

In this research, in particular, we would say that each person has constructed social representations of the city from several sources (other social representations, specialized information, media etc.), among which is his personal biography, the same that have been enriched by the experiences lived of the city, as a whole or fragmented, in different spaces in which his life has went by (neighborhoods, work places, major affective moments). Likewise, his role in the city has been related with his biographical situation, located in an urban context in each life phase.

The description of the relationship citizen-city as a life experience is not new. Has been the object of study and reflection for those sociologists or philosophers whom witnessed the growth of the industrial cities, from the late nineteenth century, as Simel, Spengler or Heidegger (Choay, 1965), for example. For the representatives of the Chicago School, the city led an urban personality or a way of been and thinking, specifically of the inhabitant of the city; so the street or neighborhoods where conceived as laboratories where it can be observed the lifestyles of different social groups that made up the increasingly diverse U.S cities (Grafmeyer y Joseph, 1979).

In defining the urban experience, Ledrut (1973) dismisses the separation between city-object and inhabitant-subject, because he considers the experience of living a city and its field significance include both; the city and the inhabitant. The significances do not exist in the city by themselves; but depend on the practice of the urban space made by men in certain time and culture. The city makes sense in the user practice, as well in an economic, political and socio-cultural context which produces a development of its own.

Taking back the concept of collective memory by Halbwachs (1950, 1925), as theoretical framework, allow us reconstructing the past experience of the city from a narrative in the present. For the double influence of Bergson and Durkheim (Huici, 2007), Halbwachs develop a social theory of the memory, combining the phenomenological experience from the past with the determinants of the social structures that shape their experience and

memory. This dual perspective, individual and social, is what we want to address in this research by studying the stories of the senior residents who lived the transformations of the city in the last decades. Their life trajectories are personal and social at the same time, not only for socially shared evoked memories, but because their socio-cultural possessions have shaped their representations throughout his life, their feelings and individual experiences included.

Telling the story of the place where people have lived is telling the story of our lives. Hebbert (2005) mentions that the urban history has focused mainly on studying the memory of the spaces of power, considered as a tragedy scenario; but, believes that it is necessary to also address the comedy ones, those urban territories where take place the everyday life drama. Is from this perspective that in this paper we were interested in overlap between the story of a life's person and how remembers the city. How to study, then, the city's collective memory?

Is this point where the link between theories of collective memory and social representations, is important to me, at least in three aspects. First, for Halbwachs the collective memory is a reconstruction of the past from the subject's situation at present. The memory works similarly to the social representation, in the sense that it is a symbolic construction that takes direction in the person thought system inserted in different social groups, culture and in a certain historical time. Secondly, collective memory gives continuity to the social categories of performance at the moment of build a social representation of an object. The social memory refers to the process of anchoring this in the past that characterizes the representations. Third, Moscovici proposes that social representations are addressed from the definition of a subject and an object of representation: Who represents what? In the case of study the collective memory, we can establish the same starting point: Who remembers what? From here comes the central question of this work: What social representations and collective memories had constructed the elderly adults of Mexico City, from their life experiences? The city is an object of representation and memory, elderly adults are those who build representations and memories of it.

Subject/Object of representation: the ancient people and the city.

The city as object of representation or as a central theme of the residents' memory is considered here as the product of societies and their modus operandi, not only as the material frame of existence. Not only care the memories of the city in terms of structure and shape, but also in terms of their cultural expressions, social and historical dynamics. The objective of this research is the study of the representations, experiences and memory of Mexico City from a subjective point of view, we can not obviate the economical, political, demographical or cultural dynamics that have marked the development of this metropolis, particularly during the last five decades where have taken place the adult life of this residents over 60 years old. My intents are not to make a deep analysis of the urban space occurred in the capital city in this period; my interest lies in highlighting the general characteristics of Mexico City, that are widely recognized in the literature about this it: a) Economic growth at the industry level, b) Political centralism and social co-opting by PRI parties, c) The process of modernization of the city, d) Population growth and urban expansion.

Mexico City memory in the twentieth-century has been studied from different points of view and places: modernists spaces (Garay, 2004, 2002; Ballent, 1998; Zamorano, 2007), village anchored in the metropolis (Safa, 1998; Portal, 2006; Licona, 2003), nineteenth-century working class residencies (Boils, 2005), peripheral neighborhoods (Lyndon, 1999; Nieto, 1998, Nivon, 1998). Most of these studies address the urban memory rooted in a particular territory and bounded in Mexico City, and some other (Gracia-Canclini, et al, 1996) are about the memory and the imagination of the metropolis as a whole.

This paper aims to study representations and memory of the city as a territorial entity, usually from the specific experiences of residential places at the level of neighborhood division or working class residencies. The path of life, in its various components, (residential, educational, labor) will allow going from the neighborhood to the city, both in imagination and in the practices of urban territory use.

Among the many actors involved in building the memory of the city, I chose the "elderly" residents (adults over 60 years), because they have accumulated a long experience of city life. Contrary to the politician, the developer or architect; the ordinary resident should not defend, in principle, a particular view of the city (founded on an ideological commitment), but their memories emanate from an accumulated experience multiplicity in the everyday living space.

Method: How to study the subjective aspects of the city and the life trajectories?

The methodology used is qualitative, based on in semi-structured interviews about collective memory and social representations. The interview guide that developed city and biography aspects from the past to the present:

❖ From the past...

- Social frames of memory (Hallbwachs):
 - Time: personal (life stages) and historical (city past)
 - Space: city, neighborhoods, particular places
 - Groups: family and community context, education and job trajectory
- Sketch map of the spatial memory
- Family genealogies and biography

❖ To the present...

- Their daily life in the city
- Their social representations of the city

The concept of life trajectory is retaken from Cavalli and Lalive d'Epinay (2006), to whom studying the "parcours de vie" (life trajectory), involves analyzing the development of human life in its temporal extension and its socio-historical contexts. The life trajectory of

an individual can be found in a set of specific trajectories corresponding to different fields or areas in which the person develops. Such paths may be more or less related, they are presented in a relatively orderly sequence, reflecting positions, transitions or events experienced by the subject.

The criteria used in the neighborhoods chosen, matched the hypothesis of the existing differences of the social representations construction, memories of the city and urban experiences according to three social and geographical aspects: socio-economic resources, the gender and geographic location (center-periphery).

As the first point, a member of our research team, Dr. Salomon Gonzalez², conducted a socio-spatial analysis consisted, at first, in locating AGEB³ of the metropolitan area of Mexico City (Census 2000, INEGI⁴) which had a high proportion of ancient adults; there were at least 500 people over 65 years old. These AGEB were categorized according to levels of marginalization (CONAPO⁵), used as an indicator of social differentiation. The results of these tests were projected on a map of the metropolitan area, allowing us to locate the AGEB suburbs and municipalities.

The location criterion was governed primarily by the decade of incorporation of the suburb and municipality, where AGEB were located in the previous classification. To do this, we rely on the results of Negrete, Graizbord and Ruiz (1993), they show the process of "physical expansion of the metropolitan area and gradual annexation of surrounding political-administrative units" (p. 13). We selected two of the most discriminating AGEB marginalization levels (high and low) by district and municipality from the forties to the eighties. From the choice of 2 AGEB in 5 districts or municipalities (Central City, Coyoacán, municipalities of Naucalpan, Nezahualcoyotl and Ixtapaluca), we proceeded to observe the correspondence between AGEB and neighborhoods, was considered more appropriate

² Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Cuajimalpa, Mexico City.

³ Areas geoestadísticas básicas in spanish.

⁴ www.inegi.org.mx

⁵ The marginalization levels were created by the Consejo Nacional de Población in order to design public policies and social programs. www.conapo.org.mx

to work per neighborhoods, because this concept, similar to the working class residencies refers to a social life within its territory, where they can be more easily identify.

The field trips led us to select the following neighborhoods: Tepito, Narvarte (central city), Pueblo de los Reyes, Romero de Terreros (Coyoacán, incorporated into the metropolitan area in early 1950), Bosques de Moctezuma, Satellite City (Naucalpan, incorporated municipality in 1960), Evolución, Bosques de Aragon (Nezahualcoyotl municipality incorporated in 1970), La Cañada and Unidad Habitacional Los Héroes (Ixtapaluca municipality incorporated in 1980).

I decided to do 10 interviews per neighborhood, 5 men and 5 women, mainly due to the type of interview and their duration; minimum of half an hour and a maximum set by the informant's own speech and their availability (there were interviews of approximately 4 hours).

Analysis strategies: preliminary results

Here, we present the preliminary results of the analysis of 40 interviews conducted with 20 residents over 60 years old, living in to central neighborhoods, one popular (Tepito) and other middle class (Narvarte), and 20 living in 2 periphery popular districts (Evolución) and middle class (Ciudad Satélite) also. Half men and half women.

The complexity of biographical interviews requires different kind of analysis. We decided to combine Atlas-Ti and Alceste software's for a complementary text analysis. At fist, we completed a semantic analysis based on researcher's interpretation of text contents by a codification process, using Atlas-ti. It helped to have a "deep open knowledge" of our material, responding to this kind of questions: "What are the topics that set up the urban memory of the 'old' residents? How these topics correlate themselves?"

Atlas-ti has been used to apply categories to our open interviews in order to observe qualitative differences on the construction of urban memory by sex, place of residence, age, social status, etc. All interviews were standardized according to the following list of codes and sub-codes:

- Collective memory of urban space
 - ❖ Mexico City past experiences and descriptions
 - ❖ Neighborhood narratives
 - ❖ Residential trajectories
- Trajectories
 - ❖ Job
 - ❖ Education
 - ❖ Family
- Life stages
 - ❖ Child
 - ❖ Young
 - ❖ Adult
 - ❖ Signor
- Mexico City today
 - ❖ Social representations of the city
 - ❖ Daily life
 - ❖ Health
 - ❖ Family network

This analysis allowed us to observe the speeches about the city for each stage of life, for each person as a member of a neighborhood or gender. We found, for example, there were differences by gender and social status in the city's past experiences related to the neighborhood of residence. The upper middle class women, for example, had greater access to education and were devoted to the home after marriage. Women of the working class neighborhoods combined always precarious works and the care of the house and children. The men recalled the city from their job trajectory, in terms of educational attainment.

In a second step, the french software Alceste (lexical d'Analyse d'un texte simple énoncés) help us to realize a statistical analysis using word co-occurrence frequency. This exploratory analysis respond to the following questions: "What is the type of vocabulary each group has? Which memory of the city matches with each group vocabulary? The differences by gender, socioeconomic status or geographic area, are linked to the groups detected by the software?

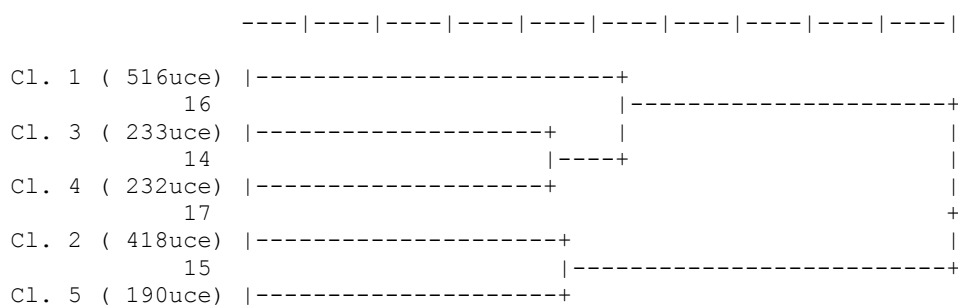
While this program classifies the text by word co-occurrence frequency, independently of the researcher's category system, we consider that this method could be useful to discover words' associations, suggesting new themes that cannot be observed on a semantic discourse analysis.

To carry out the Alceste analysis we selected segments from a text corresponding to Atlas-ti codes about the past experiences and descriptions of the people of Mexico City. We briefly expose how the software works in order to understand the results. Once we have our text ready to be analyzed, Alceste carries out successive splits of the text, distinguishing principal words (nouns, verbs, adjectives...) from secondary words (articles, prepositions...). Then the software takes only the root of the principal words, excluding the declensions. After that, the program creates UCE, elementary context units, which are composed by series of about 10 principal words, recognizing sentences ending with a dot, comma dot. For instance, the next sentence is a UCE composed by 4 principal words: "**Istanbul** is one of the most **interesting cities** I have ever **been** to". From the words co-occurrences in the UCE, the program classifies vocabulary through a descendent hierarchical analysis, based on Benzecri's statistical theory. Alceste's main principle is that each class shares the same discursive "universe" or semantic context (Reinert, 1993).

Alceste shows several results of the descendent hierarchical analysis: lists of words included in each class (with frequencies of occurrence of each word to the class and throughout the text analyzed, with Chi square as an indicator of the degree of association of the word to that class), fragments of UCE most representative of each class, factorial analysis of correspondences, and so on.

Alceste categorized into 5 classes (see Figure 1) all UCE, which formed the corpus of 40 interviews on the memory of the city of ancient adults. The tree that shows the descendent hierarchical analysis, read from right to left, indicates that the vocabulary of classes 2 and 5 is related, opposed to the "universe of discourse" which are classes 1, 3 and 4 .

Gráfica 1. Hierarchical descendent analysis



The contents analysis of the classes (word lists) allow us to interpret the contrast between the first ramification of the tree, and the gap of the next level of ramification, seen, for example, the close relation of classes 3 and 4, while class 1 is a subset of words in itself.

The Figure 2 summarizes the hierarchical structure given by the descendent analysis, adding the list of words ordered by their degree of association of each class (chi-square value). I also add the resulting labels from the interpretation of the contents of the classes, made from the lists and the most representative UCEs, where there are fragments of the discourse in which the words of the class are inserted. Figure 2 also includes the percentage of UCE that includes every class, allowing us to observe the amount of text that occupied each universe of discourse. At the end of each listing are the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, with their degrees of association to the class.

Hierarchical descendent analysis

Descriptive memory: Testimony

Socio-affective: Nostalgia

Modernization process and Public Transportation

Sociocultural life of the City

Urban Modernization Cl 5 (11.96%)	Metropolitan transportation Cl 2 (26.31%)	The money: job and consumption Cl 4 (14.60%)	Family walk Cl 3 (14.66%)	Best time of the city Cl 1 (32.47%)
111.28 San	183.68 Camión	99.28 Dar	70.54 Llev+	81.23 Época+
96.51 Siembra	117.93 Camione+	79.83 Comprar	49.59 Salir	74.06 Ciudad+
73.72 Terreno+	110.03 Tranvía+	51.94 Hija+	49.39 Mamá	45.27 Vida
69.60 Llano+	104.19 Pasab+	51.37 Pesos	47.59 Cada	43.00 Bonita
69.28 Zona+	61.15 Tren+	48.61 Señor+	43.65 Parque+	38.23 Vivir
66.65 Rosa	57.89 Estación+	45.88 Televisión	39.85 Jugar	36.68 Ciudad de México
60.51 Juan	49.87 Línea+	44.06 Mamá	39.00 Día+	30.57 Problema+
59.20 Polanco	48.14 Tomabamos	43.40 Andab+	37.31 Paseo+	28.50 Recuerdo+
54.19 Puras+	48.03 Bajab+	41.13 Cara+	37.14 Herman+	20.93 Interes+
51.77 Hacienda+	47.80 Villa	40.06 Alcanz+	35.98 Chapultepec	20.28 Agrad+
51.77 Baldío+	43.60 Tomaba+	29.34 Patron+	34.67 Hijo+	20.19 Gente
44.35 Milpa+	40.24 Camin+	29.34 Pobreza	34.33 Jalab+	18.29 Cambi+
39.45 Casa+	37.46 Metro+	24.77 Barat+	30.39 Domingo	Carct. Entrevistado
36.93 Maíz	33.87 Peralvillo	Carct. Entrevistado	28.30 Comida	39.27 Satélite
33.03 Edificio+	33.22 Lleg+	76.37 Tepito	20.76 Familia	26.71 Preparatoria
32.26 Avenida+	28.19 Trolebus	81.71 Comerciantes	20.21 Campo	20.74 Licenciatura
29.15 Perifer+	Carct. Entrevistado	45.46 Primaria	13.51 bonito+	
29.15 Pueblito+	8.08 Evolución	22.26 Sin Escolaridad	Carct. Entrevistado	
Carct. Entrevistado	45.24 Sin Escolaridad	14.28 Sexo: femenino	10.30 Evolución	
24.14 Narvarte			3.99 Satélite	
129.88 Secundaria			37.84 Ama de casa	
46.22 Pensionado			4.88 Sexo: femenino	
28.68 Sexo: masculino				

Urban modernization versus Socio-cultural life of the city

One first observation is that Alceste separates the vocabulary that corresponds to the urban modernization and the creation of new forms of daily mobility, from another different vocabulary, the subset of classes 1, 3 and 4, refers to the socio-cultural life of the city.

This exploratory analysis shows that the experience of the transformations of form and urban structure, of their resources regarding on housing, transport and services correspond to a descriptive memory, where the resident rebuilds his memory of the city as a witness of the environment changes. As someone who witnessed the transformation

of a rural landscape in urban and the technological transformation of the routes: from tram to bus, bus to subway.

In opposition to this descriptive or testimonial memory, appears a vocabulary that speaks of the socio-cultural life of the city's past with nostalgia. In the discourse emerges a socio-affective memory that locates the best of the city in the past, mainly in the stages of childhood and youth. It is a memory focusing on tours of the city with the family, in the forms of entertainment and consumption of past decades.

Are these memories so far apart as indicated by this analysis? Both are part of general discourse about the past of the city. The truth is that ancient respondents used a different vocabulary to talk about one aspect and another of the metropolis who lived in the past. We will describe in detail the contents of the descriptive urban memory, in contrast to the socio-affective memory of nostalgia; trying to observe what separates and connects.

Urban modernization and daily mobility

Between the oldest (born in 1918) and the youngest (born in 1950), elderly residents experienced Mexico City's strong process of expansion and modernization during the 20th Century. Between 1920 and 1940, the city grew from 906,063 to 1,757,530 habitants. From 1940 the population increment was accelerated and vertiginous, reaching the 5,392,809 habitants in 1960, to 14,454,925 in 1980 (Peniche, 2004). The 2000 census reported 18,396,677 million of habitants, increasing to 20,137,152 in 2010. The greater growth in the city took place between 1940 and 1980, not only in population but also in territorial extension. The new housing sectors were given, either legally (residential developments) and illegal (invasion of communal lands) in increasingly distant to the center.

In this context, a question arises: What memory recreates the ancient adults who witnessed this urban transformation?

The testimonies of urban modernization contained in class 5 refers to the process of construction and city growth in past decades, the memory of the people who were

involved in the urban area, the gradual disappearance of a rural landscape, haciendas, farms, stables and ranches, which kept farming activities.

In this memory appear the names of some streets as urban development axes: San Juan de Letrán, which underwent several name changes and stretches from "calle de niño perdido" to the technical "Eje Central Lázaro Cárdenas" which lead to the current fast route of 5 lanes. Insurgentes avenue ruled the urban expansion and prestige to the south (modern buildings, facilities and neighborhoods of middle-high status) and north of the metropolitan area. Popularly known as "the longest avenue in the world". Periférico is referred as the symbol of the fastest circulation roads that were dominating the urban landscape of Mexico City.

The software also shows relevance of the memory of residential neighborhoods which were the symbol of modernity at that time; some have become areas of prestigious business offices and, less residential land use. Polanco is associated to the city's Jewish population. La Zona Rosa as a center of entertainment, bars, restaurants, boutiques, from the seventies. Lomas de Chapultepec is mentioned as the first suburb of the city for entrepreneurs and politicians from the forties. Satellite City: project controlled of planning urban development by one of the most renowned architects. The new city became a simple middle class residential subdivision, city style bedroom, for obscure reasons of corruption.

The socio-demographic characteristics of respondents who are most associated with this status indicate that the testimonial memory development and modernization of the metropolis is typical of ancient adults, mostly men, who had an intense daily mobility for work or study. Are discourses that describe how the urban area grew over the years, spreading at the new construction rhythm, subdivisions and neighborhoods, circulation roads that allowed more and more far reaching.

Class 2 contains a speech expressing the metropolitan travel experiences itself, be linked to the changing urban landscape and described according to Class 5. The metropolitan trip that inspired the memory of the city is described in 4 types of vocabulary: transport

(buses, trams, trains, subway, subway lines, stations, walking), the destinations in the city (Virgen de Guadalupe's Church, Peralvillo, La Viga, Xochimilco, Zócalo, Tacubaya, Obregón, Universidad, Facultad, Observatorio, Anaya, Monumento, Iztapalapa, Lecumberri, centro, Chapultepec, Candelaria, neighborhoods, suburb, Merced), roads (avenues, streets, driveways, Circunvalación, Jesus Carranza, Calzada de los Misterios) and the city dweller mobility actions (went, came, back, took).

It is important to notice that the avenues and places of destination or origin which marked the paths are within the limits of the Distrito Federal and surrounding municipalities in the Estado de Mexico, although metropolitan area occupied the territory of these municipalities since the late fifties. The absence of the territory of the Estado de Mexico in the memory of the city is not due a lack of practice in that territory; 20 of the respondents come from there. The kind of places remembered as a destination suggests that the memory is focused on trips to emblematic places such as the walking places, of consume, labor and education, all located in Mexico City. The travels to metropolitan areas linked to the everyday experience seem forgotten of the city's past.

The modernization of transportation becomes relevant in the memory of the city, as shown by fragments of UCE in this class:

“There were some iron wagons, those were the wagons, they went to La Villa and there they had their station beside of La Villa, and made the tour again, from La Villa to Zócalo and from Zócalo to La Villa”.

“When I arrived to the city there were cobbled streets, the sidewalks of cement but half street was cobbled, here in front the bus passed that was the Circuito Hospitales, there were the Roma-Mérida, the terminal was here in the corner...”

“After that came the trolley, it was all electric because the train was electric but like slower and after they put in those which are like buses, trolley, then they take off the trams, the buses of that line of Peralvillo-Cozumel”.

“One of the first subway stations was Pino Suárez”.

It is emphasized that the most associated variable to this class belongs to respondents who did not have any instructions. This finding is important because the content analysis

showed the educational trajectories of respondents are related to career paths and upward social mobility. By this means, those who had higher education or graduate school, had access to well-paying stable jobs that allowed them to acquire a car and gradually move away from public transport. Contrariwise of the ancient adults who did not received trained and exercised precarious jobs, which prevented them from owning a car, which became a sign of status in the context of the city's modernization process.

Nostalgia for the socio-cultural life of the city: youth, consumption and family

The step of 5 to 18 million people in 40 years (1960-2000), the increase of vehicles and the opening of fast roads, the changing rhythms of everyday life, joined with the aging process of the interviewees, seem to have created a rift between the past and present in their urban experience. The memory of the old city dwellers became nostalgia.

Nostalgia, according to Halbwachs (1925), beautifies the past to escape from the present situation of who builds the memory. Analyses using Atlas-ti about the experiences of the city of seniors in this area suggest that the current metropolitan area of Mexico City is an aggressive environment for them. Our respondents opposed an actual city less favorable whit the past city more beautiful and enjoyable. However, Alceste's results indicate that nostalgia is not equal for all respondents, but differs according to the neighborhood, sex and education levels.

The women's city memories are associated with the topics of money (how to earn and spend, poverty) and family outings in the city. In turn, there is another differentiation in terms of these female memories: while the memories of family outings are not related to the residents of any neighborhood in particular, the memory over economic resources is more important for older residents of Tepito.

It do not seems strange that the residents of a working class residence with a commercial vocation rooted in decades; the memory of the city is rebuilt from the purchasing power of the cost of living the different ways to earn money. The 10 respondents in Tepito carry on a trade activity throughout his life within the streets. These respondents, like others

who also contribute memories in this category, described a social landscape of migration and poverty, not just in their division, but the city in general. Remember the arrival in the city of poor peasants in search of better opportunities. Many were employed as laborers, or developing various trades on their own. In fact, informants recall the transition of economic activity in Tepito, which increased from a mix of trade and crafts to concentrate on an intense commercial activity that invaded the streets with imported, in recent decades, products from China.

Respondents generally perceive a loss of purchasing power, opportunities for young people to find employment, a deterioration of living conditions. They attribute the causes of political corruption and mismanagement of the economy. Corruption is not only mentioned with respect to government employees and politicians, but in daily practice for every citizen. Senior respondents have the impression that the people of Mexico at that time was more honest, "more beautiful", with less crime; and even the thieves and drug users had more respect, they were more discreet, robbed the rich only and without violence.

It is also important in this class the reference to the electrical appliances to which the respondents had access throughout their life. For example, mention that the radio and television were not available to most people, even less the poorest. Over the years these devices "were getting cheap and everyone had a radio," and later television. There are stories of those who were able to buy TV in the fifties or early sixties, allowing the neighbors saw the news. Some of them pay to watch popular shows or football games.

Family outings in the city, at different life phases, from childhood until the time that respondents have young children, are other aspects of city life that respondents remembered with nostalgia. It is primarily about recreational activities on weekends during holidays, which respondents were to parks (Alameda and Chapultepec are the most common) to have picnics or outdoor play. Also mentioned the cinemas, theaters and evening activities such as ballroom dance or visit the traditional Garibaldi Square. Socio-

economic characteristics most associated with this class belong to housewives, mostly uneducated.

Finally, the memories of the most beautiful time of the city evoked in class 1, belong to the youth of the ancient respondents: “the best years of the city are the best years of my life”. “The time that I remember as the most wonderful was when as a teenager, I suffered everything that I could ever possibly can from 12 to 16, I always have been in the streets”. “Because there I had the love of my life, I wish return to live that time again, when I was 18 years old, I would like that really, and change some things”.

Respondents from upper middle class of the division of Satellite City are the ones who remember their youth combined with certain forms of entertainment: dancing, soccer, bullfighting, inns and block parties made in the street with the participation of neighbors. They miss a city where celebrated greater unity and cordiality among people when circulating down the street. Where, in his view, people dressed more elegantly, before it became fashionable the denim and long hair in men.

Final discussion

Regarding that the purpose of this paper is to consider about the combination of methods for the study of urban memory observed through biographical interviews. We have seen that bringing together these methods expands the knowledge about the qualitative data analysis.

The Atlas-ti software allow to order the long free narratives about the city in categories and codes, and later focusing the analysis according to the time (development stages, life phases of the senior people), space, (city, neighborhood, areas or specific places) and the biographical trajectories (work, family, education, housing).

To carry out a deeper and detailed analysis of the major topics that comprise the memory and the representations of the city, we decided to conduct a quantitative analysis of co-occurrences using the Alceste software. To do this we only took fragments of discourse corresponding to the memory code of the city. As we have pointed out, this second

method allowed us to distinguish socio-affective memory from a descriptive memory. The first, more feminine, is linked to nostalgia for the socio-cultural life of the city lived in past decades, particularly at the stage of youth. The second, more masculine, refers to the witnessing of the modernization process. There was evidence also of differences of urban memory by urban residential zone, socio-economic status and educational attainment.

Despite their advantages, both methods are limited in the urban memory study. This has to do with the difficulty in understanding the complexity and dynamism of the city. For instance, the space has suffered a major transformation to be capable to analyze it. Its geographical nature was transformed on oral descriptions. These limitations can be overcome by new Atlas-ti and MaxQDA version incorporating the spatial dimension in the analysis through georeferencing via Google Earth.

However, the temporal dimension of the discourses and the processes that they describe, like the memory of the city, is still pending in the methodologies used in this work, such time is static. How can we give to the discourses of the stages of life continuity in time?

Alceste software has additional limitations: loss of a percentage of the analyzed text when a great amount of text is required and it can analyze words only, images and geographical data are excluded.

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