

Everyday Experiences of Women in Mass-produced Housing in the Metropolitan Area of
Guadalajara, Mexico

By

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Geography and Environmental Studies

Carleton University Ottawa, Ontario

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Abstract

Mass-produced social housing complexes are an outcome of a neoliberal approach to housing that has driven the expansion of urban peripheries in Mexico since the early 2000s. This thesis addresses this research gap by asking the question: what are the effects of the neoliberal project of mass-produced housing complexes on the everyday lives of women? This research draws from feminist research methodologies and uses a case study approach to understand the social and spatial conditions in which women's daily lives unfold in a social housing complex in Guadalajara, Mexico. While I demonstrate how the impacts of this housing model are gendered, I also discuss the places and circumstances that structure women's use of space in the context of mass-produced social housing. I argue that the configuration of mass-produced housing complexes fails to support the complex and multi-dimensional nature of women's everyday lives.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank the women that live in *Hacienda Santa Fé* that graciously participated in this research. Without your voices, this project would not have happened. Although my time as a grad student is over, I am excited at the opportunity to continue my friendships with all of you.

Second, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Jill Wigle for your guidance throughout this process. Your support and care were essential for this accomplishment; it not only helped me pursue my research but also feel valued. I could not have done this without you. Having worked with you has been an enormous pleasure. Also, thank you to Dr. Edith Jiménez Huerta, for your valuable insights on my work. Thank you for bringing my attention to new directions to make my work stronger. I am also grateful to my committee members, Lisa Mills and Pablo Mendez, for reading my work and prompting a great discussion of a topic I am passionate about.

Third, thank you to my friends at DGES. From Erin, whose patient support has been essential to navigating grad school, and to my fellow grad students. I am also grateful to my friends Rianne Mahon and Rob Ryan. Your friendship and support have made my experience at Carleton and in Ottawa very pleasing.

Finally, I would like to my family for their affectionate support. Thank you to my mom, Adriana, and to my brothers Cristóbal and Pablo. Thank you for listening to my ideas and believing in me. Without you I would have never had the courage to do this work. And thank you to my dad, Margaro, for inspiring me to care about social justice and work hard.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Background

I first came to know about *complejos habitacionales* (housing complexes) through the photography exposition “Two Million Homes for Mexico” by Livia Corona Benjamin. In this piece, the artist explores the social and political implications of mass housing production over the six years of Vicente Fox’s presidency (2000-2006). Her photographic series reflects the “ubiquitous grids of ecological and social intervention on a scale and of consequences that are difficult to grasp” (Corona, 2014, para. 2). She is not only interested in showing the built environment and the transformation of landscapes, but also the in-situ alterations through which people have reinvented their everyday spaces. Corona’s work poignantly shows how the initially homogenous, monotonous, and repetitive landscapes of new housing complexes are not frozen in either time or space. At the time I saw the photographic series, as a newly graduated urbanist, it struck me how urban planning in this context was reduced to just the production of houses. Moreover, the sheer scale and *ad nauseam* repetition of identical houses in peripheral locations impressed me for its depersonalization of housing. Looking at these photographs of thousands of identical houses raised questions for me regarding not only the transformation of peripheral landscapes but also about their implications for how urban life is experienced. These photographs spurred my aspirations to research the lives of residents in such housing complexes. I wondered about the aspirations, frustrations, and perspectives they had of their own dwelling and living spaces.

Mass-produced housing complexes have led the expansion of urban peripheries in Mexico since the early 2000s. This mode of housing production is focused on the quantitative production of private houses, neglecting other factors necessary for the development of adequate urban

habitat. For some, mass-produced housing complexes are a clear expression of neoliberal urbanism (Salinas Arreortua and Pardo Montaña, 2018). For others, they represent “decades of economic liberalization, which has entailed the greater involvement of foreign capital, an attempt by the state to redefine its role in national development and a strong emphasis on the private sector as the force that will bring prosperity to the country” (Inclán Valadez, 2013, p. 14). This quantitative approach to urban housing production has not only drawn the attention of academic research, but it has also attracted contemporary artists such as Corona and others to explore, document and represent this socio-spatial reality.

In an effort to explain the physical expansion of cities in Latin America, researchers have investigated further the massive construction of *complejos habitacionales* in urban peripheries. As in the case of this research, practically all the knowledge about *complejos habitacionales* has used a case-study approach, where usually, the selected complex is deemed to be representative of this form of urbanization. A large portion of the literature concentrates on explaining the processes that gave rise to this kind of urbanization: structural adjustment policies, the flexibilization of regulatory frameworks, and greater autonomy for municipalities (Esquivel Hernandez, Maya Perez, and Cervantes Borja, 2005; Harner, Jiménez-Huerta and Solís, 2009; Monkkonen, 2011a; Salinas Arreortua and Pardo Montaña, 2018). These studies have played a key role in highlighting the impact of a neoliberal approach to social housing in Latin America. They have also focused on describing the effects of this housing approach on the territory. However, they have not paid sufficient attention to the impacts of this kind of urbanization for residents themselves, especially women.

The studies that have focused on the effects of market-driven urbanization on urban dwellers have centered their attention on the spatial process of enclosing urban functions into

“enclaves,” with a particular focus on the effects for social segregation and fragmentation (see Capron, 2015; Janoshka, 2002). These scholars have demonstrated that mass-produced housing developments are playing an influential role in the increase of urban spatial segregation by economic status (see Garcia Peralta et al., 2012; Janoschka et al., 2017; Monkkonen, 2012; Rolnik et al., 2015; Sabatini, 2013; Salcedo, 2010; among others). These analyses of spatial segregation have focused on the homogeneity of the developments, linking this to the fact that the households eligible for the loans required to purchase these houses all share a similar socioeconomic profile (Monkkonen, 2011). While insightful, these studies have not often engaged with the effects of social segregation and isolation on urban women or youth.

A small part of the literature has gone further in describing the effects of spatial segregation in terms of the erosion of local social connections and the loss of social cohesion. For Sabatini and Wormald (2013), the spatial segregation of housing is intensifying processes of social disintegration and undermining community relationships. Furthermore, for García et al. (2006), developments are often “too big to build up informal neighborhood contacts” (p. 139). Although these studies provide valuable insight into the ways in which social relations are structured in mass-produced housing developments, they fail to value the emergence of new points of encounter between neighbors of *complejos habitacionales*. In other words, they fail to recognize that social relations are not static but continuously changing according to contextual circumstances (Moser, 1998).

Reviewing the ways in which researchers have addressed recent trends in the social production of housing, it becomes clear that they have neglected to adequately analyze how the mundane elements of daily life are structured inside large housing complexes. It is this research gap that I address in my thesis, following feminist scholars’ use of qualitative tools to approach

cities on a scale where the issues and tensions of women's daily lives can be visibilized and valued (see Ciocchetto, Gutierrez, and Ortiz, 2014; Falú, 2013; Healey, 1997; Jirón, 2007; Katz and Monk, 1993; Montaner and Muxí, 2017; Ortiz Guitart, 2007; Pratt, 200; Soto Villagrán, 2018).

From a research perspective, looking at feminist contributions to the fields of urban geography and urban planning, it was also clear that the distinctive experiences and realities of women could also be a fundamental category of urban analysis for the study of mass-produced social housing in Mexico. Feminist scholars have argued that women have a different way of using space and time. However, the existing literature on the study of mass-produced housing complexes does not go far enough in elucidating the precise effects they have on women's daily lives. Existing literature hardly considers gender or women's needs in their analyses of these new urban landscapes. As a case in point, press articles and academic literature have named *complejos habitacionales* as “*ciudades dormitorios*” (dormitory cities). Although the location of these places indeed pushes residents to spend long periods of time outside of their dwelling spaces, simply referring to these neighborhoods as “dormitory towns or cities” fails to adequately capture the complex, lived reality that Livia Corona so clearly portrayed in her photographic documentation. In her photographs, we can see people altering the monofunctional and monotonous housing design in using their houses as an economic asset, transforming their dwelling spaces according to their needs and building social networks. Consequently, there is a need for a better explanation of the intersections of women's distinctive geographies and mass-produced housing in Mexico. This research aims to contribute to filling this research gap by exploring how women's daily lives are structured in and around mass-produced housing complexes.

To explore these research concerns, I employed a case study approach focusing on women living in a mass-produced housing complex in Tlajomulco, Mexico. Their accounts of living in a

complejo habitacional in Tlajomulco served as a key analytical thread that weaves together different elements of this thesis. Tlajomulco is one of the most recent municipalities integrated into the “second periphery of Guadalajara’s Metropolitan Area” (Cruz Solís, 2015). Tlajomulco is a valuable case study of mass-scale housing developments because this kind of urbanization has led the urban expansion of the municipality since the early 2000s. Mass-produced housing complexes in Tlajomulco also align with the most predominant elements of this approach to social housing (e.g. financing model, location in the periphery, lack of urban infrastructure).

Guadalajara reflects the transformation of the production and acquisition of urban housing that is changing the spatial pattern and morphology of many Mexican cities (Monkkonen, 2011). These changes started to become evident in metropolitan Guadalajara in the early 2000s: social housing complexes started to appear in the south and northern peripheral municipalities of Guadalajara (Reyes, Torres, and Becerra, 2014). Around the same time, the City of Guadalajara had a dramatic decrease in population while the population and territorial extension of peripheral municipalities in the metropolitan area increased significantly. The development of Tlajomulco de Zuñiga is a crucial part of this broader pattern.

According to the department of land-use planning in the municipality of Tlajomulco, an average of 18,415 houses were built annually in Tlajomulco between 2000 and 2015 under the category of *fraccionamiento*¹ (subdivision), another term used by Mexican legislation to refer to a housing complex (Ayuntamiento de Tlajomulco de Zuñiga, 2018a). The *fraccionamiento* category encompasses a wide range of housing prices and characteristics. They can be open or closed, horizontal, and with various dimensions and housing typologies (Nuñez, 2007). In Tlajomulco, the

¹ *Fraccionamiento* is understood as the division of a piece of land into blocks and lots, which requires the drawing of one or more public roads, as well as the execution of urbanization works that provide urban services (SEDESOL as cited in CONAVI, 2010).

size of *fraccionamientos* can vary from relatively small (with only six houses) to large (with thousands of homes). The peak of *fraccionamientos* development for social housing in Tlajomulco occurred between 2003 and 2006, which corresponds with the development of *Hacienda Santa Fé* and *Chulavista*, the largest *complejos habitacionales* yet in Tlajomulco. Linked to the mass construction of houses in Tlajomulco, this municipality had the highest rate of population growth in the entire country in 2010 (INEGI, 2015). The population increased from 123,618 in 2000 to 416,626 in 2010, that is to say, an increase of 237% of its population in only a decade.

Both of these housing complexes were developed by *Proyectos Inmobiliarios de Culiacán* (PICSA), owned by the Mexican social housing company HOMEX. This company is undoubtedly one of the most significant contributors to the multiplication of social housing complexes in the peripheries of many Mexican cities. By 2002, HOMEX was building 5,000 houses per year. Around that time, the Equity International Investment Fund² invested in HOMEX, and by 2008, HOMEX was building and selling 60,000 houses per year (Rolnik, 2015). By 2019, over 1,000,000 Mexicans were living in housing built by HOMEX (Marosi, 2017). The company also developed massive housing complexes in Brazil and opened offices in Egypt and India (Marosi, 2017). However, amid the apparent success of increasing homeownership levels in Mexico and the prosperity of investors' profits, HOMEX declared bankruptcy in 2014. The bankruptcy was largely due to two factors. First, the deficiency of HOMEX housing conditions started to emerge along with residents' widespread complaints about their houses. For instance, complexes were built on flood lands in Ciudad Juárez and wetlands in Acapulco (Marosi, 2017).

The experience of residents in housing complexes in Tlajomulco is consistent with many other clients across Mexico who did not get what they were promised. HOMEX, like other

²The Equity International Investment Fund is a private firm that focuses on the real state in emerging markets. It is own by Zell, a Chicago Real state billionaire (Marosi, 2017).

developers, faced challenges as the whole model for the provision of social housing started to change. Second, in 2013, President Enrique Peña Nieto announced that government housing loans would prioritize vertical housing over the mass-production of single-family houses, resulting in a considerable impact on HOMEX's production. When this shift arrived, HOMEX's stock price fell to \$1 USD per share (Marosi, 2017). Furthermore, the company was also involved in a fraud scandal, with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission accusing HOMEX executives of disseminating fraudulent sales figures of more than 100,000 homes to boost revenues by \$3.3 billion (Marosi, 2018). To date, HOMEX has faced few consequences related to these allegations, and the company is now back with a "new approach" and building homes for middle-class clients (Marosi, 2017). As their website announces, HOMEX is nowadays investing in designing places with "the security, style, wellness, and the quality of life that families are looking for" (HOMEX, 2019).

Despite Tlajomulco being an exemplar of the mass-produced housing model of the early 2000s in Mexico, it remains under-researched. Few researchers have addressed the case of Tlajomulco. There is a recent study by Reyes, Torres and Becerra (2018) that centers on residential satisfaction of a housing complex in Tlajomulco. This study focuses on a survey of 60 residents and their different levels of satisfaction concerning housing characteristics, the immediate environment, and the general housing complex environment. While insightful, this study does not discuss the precise factors underpinning the dissatisfaction of residents. For instance, the study explores if residents were satisfied with the security of the housing complex but without adequately exploring the elements that create a feeling of insecurity amongst a high percentage of residents.

1.2 Research Objectives and Questions

Stemming from these concerns, the overall goal of this research is to provide a better understanding of women's experiences in mass-produced housing complexes. The central question of this thesis asks: What are the effects of the neoliberal project of mass-produced housing complexes on the everyday realities of women? The purpose of this central question is to link women's complex geographies with the spatial configuration of mass-produced housing complexes. To help answer this question, three sub-questions serve to guide the research. First, what is the relationship between women and space in everyday life? This question aims to explore women's distinctive uses of space. Second, what are the emblematic spaces of *complejos habitacionales* of importance to women in their everyday lives? The purpose of identifying the emblematic spaces of women's everyday lives is to discuss the places and circumstances that structure women's complex geographies in the context of *complejos habitacionales*. By emblematic spaces, I am referring to the places where women carry out their daily activities. Through the identification of these spaces I aim to reveal the diversity of activities that women have to manage on a daily basis as well as the kind of spaces produced by a neoliberal approach to housing. Third, what are the implications of mass-produced housing complexes for women's experiences of the city? This final question aims to excavate some of the more significant effects that living in a *complejo habitacional* has on women's daily lives in relation to the broader city.

While this thesis aims to demonstrate how women's multiple roles and tasks produce distinctive needs and use of space and time, it also aims to elucidate some of the features of neoliberal urban planning with particular consequences for women. Following Harvey's (1989) idea that the built form of the city physically channels many social processes, this research analyzes how a neoliberal built form may "channel" women's ways of living in challenging ways. I do this

by paying attention to the views of women themselves in terms of their own understanding of housing as it relates to their everyday experiences in the city. Accordingly, this thesis uses the narratives of women as an analytical framework for examining the often invisibilized, mundane issues that shape their daily routines (Jirón, 2007). Through paying attention to the practices and rhythms of everyday life, this research aims to place equal value on the needs and requirements stemming from all spheres of life, for example, including waged work, care work, household maintenance and community participation (Ortiz, 2017). Finally, I will argue that the location and configuration of *complejos habitacionales* have gendered effects on the everyday lives of residents, focusing on women. I will demonstrate the ways in which women often shoulder the costs of this neoliberal approach to social housing production.

1.3 Thesis Structure

The structure of this thesis is as follows. This chapter serves to introduce my research interests, outline my research questions and to provide an outline for the remainder of the thesis. Chapter two outlines the theoretical framework used to guide my approach to conceptualizing and analyzing women's experiences in mass-produced housing complexes in Mexico. This chapter also examines how mass-produced housing complexes and urban growth in Mexico are linked with the neoliberal phase of capitalist development. In addition, this chapter examines the importance of challenging the traditional public/private dichotomy that has been used to define gender roles and urban spaces. Finally, I present the importance of “everyday geographies” as a tool for understanding the complexity of gendered spatialities in the city. Chapter three outlines my research approach, methods and related methodological considerations. This section details the methods used in this research, including in-depth interviews, participant observation, and focus groups. Moreover, this chapter justifies my choice to deploy a feminist methodological (and

epistemological) approach and also outlines several ethical issues and limitations that I faced throughout the research process. Chapter four lays out the context for my case study, namely, the housing complex *Hacienda Santa Fé* in Tlajomulco, Mexico. This chapter provides key background information on the case study community as well as the history of this massive housing project and the dimensions that make this *complejo habitacional* an exemplar case of market-driven housing policy in Mexico. This background is accompanied by quantitative data shared with me by government officials that participated in this research, as well as official data from the national statistics agency (e.g. INEGI) and the National Institute for Women (INMUJERES). In addition, I weave into this chapter participants' narratives of the history of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, as well as my own observations and experiences from visiting the complex. These narratives help to present the perspectives of female residents in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, as well as describing some of the more general issues related to the mass-produced nature of a *complejo habitacional*.

I then turn to my substantive analysis in chapter five. The first part of this chapter engages in a discussion related to the first question of this thesis, which seeks to identify women's complex geographies. Considering the specificities of women's everyday lives, this section provides three vignettes that serve as mini case studies which demonstrate the complexity of women's geographies. The second section then expands on some of the themes that affect women's lives in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. I discuss the emblematic spaces identified in women's lives to address the second research objective of this thesis, which is to explore the relationships between women's uses of space and living in a mass-produced housing development. They are organized according to common themes that encapsulate what these spaces are about and the intangible elements that define them as "emblematic": social reproduction, places to shop, places to study, places to work, and places for social networks. The emblematic spaces reveal not only the diversity of activities

that women manage and negotiate in their everyday lives, but also the kind of spaces produced by a neoliberal perspective on housing. The third section of this chapter explores a theme with a significant impact on the everyday lives of women in *Hacienda Santa Fé*: mobility. This part also includes a brief discussion on the erosion and consolidation of social networks. Finally, the concluding chapter discusses the broader implications of my research and possible directions for future research to address the gendered nature of housing, urban development and space.

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I outline my theoretical approach to exploring women's experiences and the gendered impacts of mass-produced housing complexes in Mexico. I begin by briefly explaining how the neoliberal phase of capitalist development has influenced housing policies and urban landscapes in Mexico. I examine how the Mexican state has adopted a quantitative approach to social housing as well as its impacts on peripheral growth patterns, characterized by significant socio-spatial disparities. Second, I explore the debates on women's urban experiences of everyday life. I use this section to challenge the traditionally used public/private dichotomy that has been used to define gender roles and urban spaces. Third, I present the "everyday" as a tool for examining the invisible and problematic aspects of daily life in mass-produced housing developments.

2.2 Neoliberal Urbanism

Contemporary urban planning is embedded in what scholars call the "neoliberal" phase of capitalist development, a phase characterized by the extension of markets and competitiveness along with "state downsizing, austerity financing, and public service 'reform'" (Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 381). Peck (2013) refers to the contemporary state of neoliberalism as "roll-out" neoliberalism. This stage consolidated in the early 1990s as a reconstitution of the neoliberal project characterized by states introducing regulatory reforms, modes of governance, and state forms that actively benefit the consolidation of market-led urban development. According to this idea, the city is a crucial arena for "neoliberal forms of policy experimentation and institutional restructuring" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p. 358). Moreover, Peck (2013) insists that the forms and consequences of neoliberalism can only be revealed in conjunctural and specific ways. In other

words, the neoliberal project is not a general idea that lands ‘purely’ in every place. This research takes conceptual distance from a monolithic and abstract approach to neoliberalism to instead think of it as a *path dependent process* produced and reproduced by specific actors (e.g. institutions, jurisdiction) according to “in here” situations (Brenner et al., 2002). Before examining the particular path that such a process has followed in Mexico, I would like first to address some of the macrostructural context in which local manifestations (and spatializations) of neoliberalism are embedded.

Coming back to Peck’s (2013) notion of “roll-out” neoliberalism, it is important to note that this phase is characterized by institutional and regulatory forms that provide a framework for the growth of the neoliberal project. That is to say, state power is actively involved in the advancement of neoliberalism in what Peck (2013) calls a “regime of state-facilitated market rule” (p. 132). Under these circumstances, neoliberalism has played an important role in underpinning the forces that produce, manage and regulate urban space. Rolnik (2013) has likewise suggested that the neoliberal project has “nowhere been greater than in housing and urban policies” (p. 1059).

To understand city space as a site for capital accumulation, I introduce here Harvey’s (1989) concept of “entrepreneurial urban governance,” which has shifted the forces that organize city space. Entrepreneurial regimes induce cities at a variety of spatial scales (neighborhood, community, suburb, central city, metropolitan region) to attract global investment capital. Entrepreneurial governance also implies that cities, localities, and urban regions compete with each other for global investment flows in a myriad of ways. For instance, this may involve speculative investments in urban infrastructure, city image-making, and more importantly for this research, in “cutting social and environmental regulatory standards and eroding the political and institutional collectivities upon which more progressive settlements had been constructed in the

past (and might again be in future)” (Peck et al., 2002, p. 385). Consistent with entrepreneurial ways of governance, localities have flexibilized their regulatory frameworks in order to attract property-led development. In many cases, cities come to plan in fragments, focusing on the development of specific places rather than far-reaching or comprehensive urban planning that seeks to articulate the city or urban region as a whole. This planning in fragments is particularly visible in metropolitan areas where different municipalities govern urban space and territories. Notably, in order to attract capital through fast-track construction permits and procedures, peripheral municipalities in Mexico have allowed urban development on inadequate land. Localities in need of revenues from land development ended up flexibilizing their regulatory frameworks, which granted housing construction permits in extensive areas of their territories.

To identify the threads of neoliberalization as a macro process impacting the local scale and point out the serious socio-spatial problems that have resulted from entrepreneurial urban governance in Mexico, it is necessary to introduce here the concept of *actually existing neoliberalism*. From the perspective of Brenner et al. (2002), “actually existing neoliberalism” is a concept that views neoliberalism as a “historically specific, ongoing, and internally contradictory process of market-driven socio-spatial transformation, rather than as a fully actualized policy regime, ideological form, or regulatory framework” (p. 353). This conceptualization provides a useful basis for examining the path that the neoliberal process has assumed in the Mexican context. It is also useful to examine specific transformations and contradictions that have resulted in the production of particular social and geographic landscapes in urban Mexico. This thesis uses this concept then to approach the neoliberal project of mass-produced housing complexes and the “in-here” circumstances that facilitated their growth. To understand more effectively the emergence of *complejos habitacionales*, there is a description of the political and institutional changes that

have set the framework for the rise of mass-produced social housing in the metropolitan peripheries of Mexican cities in the following section.

2.2.1 *The “Actually Existing Neoliberalism” of a Housing Policy Model*

My objective in this section is to explore the process of neoliberalization in the context of urban Mexico, with a particular focus on institutional housing reforms that have produced the “in here” situation of *conjuntos habitacionales*. It is important to note that since neoliberalism is a process rather than a fixed end-state, I see the shifts, as well as the “macro” effects noted in the above section, as related elements that are tightly interwoven in practice. In this sense, one transformation provides the framework for the next.

In the Mexican case, the ascendancy of neoliberalisation emerged in the aftermath of the economic crisis of 1982 when agents of global neoliberalism, such as the International Monetary Fund IMF and the World Bank, provided the framework and influenced Mexico to adopt austerity policies associated with structural adjustment policies and the so-called Washington Consensus. These adjustments focused on “free trade, financial deregulation, market orientation” (Garcia Peralta, and Hofer, 2006, p. 133) and had a major impact on housing policy and the construction industry. In the urban context, the World Bank proposed that the state focus on ameliorating the efficacy of the market (by centering on the financial aspects of housing production, the simplification of regulatory frameworks and market deregulation) and leave aside their role in the construction and maintenance of social housing (Esquivel, Maya, Cervantes, 2005).

Around the same time, entrepreneurial urban governance in Mexico began with the reform of the Constitutional Article 115 in 1984, which empowered the autonomy of the local scale of government. Increased power was given to municipalities to manage, decide, and act on their territories according to local realities and needs. In a nutshell, municipalities were granted the

capacity to 1) manage zoning regulations and urban development plans, 2) provide input in the creation of regional development plans, 3) authorize, control and monitor land use 4) intervene in the regularization of urban land tenure, and 5) issue construction license and permits (Mexican Const., Article 115). That is to say, Mexican municipalities were enabled to be innovative and compete by investing in infrastructure, or as I describe below, flexibilize regulatory frameworks in order to promote “local economic development” by attracting capital from the private sector housing industry.

Peck (2013) further engages Brenner’s concept of “actually existing neoliberalism” as a neoliberalism that will always be frustrated; it cannot be found in a pristine state because it will always be path dependent, immersed in specific contexts, yet, “it has the capacity to inspire, direct, and prioritize programs of socioeconomic transformations and state restructuring” (p.145). Inspired by transnational neoliberalism³ then, the Mexican state reformed its housing policies and housing finance systems in two ways. On the one hand, government lending agencies for housing expanded and increased the number of loans provided. For example, the National Worker’s Housing Fund (INFONAVIT⁴), which previously played a significant role in determining the location, architecture, and pricing of houses, was turned into a purely financial institution (Garcia Peralta et al., 2006; Salinas-Arreortua, 2018). On the other hand, more housing started to be built speculatively by the private sector (Monkkonen, 2011b). The subsidized credits supported by INFONAVIT were able to guarantee housing demand for developers. In short, the state assumed the primary role as an economic facilitator for housing production and acquisition, while private developers were in charge of executing the physical construction of housing. Supported by the

³ The Chilean model of private sector housing provision was influential in Latin America (Salinas-Arreortua, 2018).

⁴ INFONAVIT is the leading financial entity that subsidizes housing ownership for formal workers in Mexico.

state, the conceptualization of housing as a commodity replaced the vision of housing as a social good and as a means to activate the financial sector of the country (Salinas-Arreortua, 2018).

Going back to the “in here” situation of Mexico, notably, most Mexican cities have historically struggled with providing an adequate supply of formal land and shelter for its increasing populations (Harner, Jiménez-Huerta and Solís, 2009). Combined with low income levels, this lack of adequate – and affordable – land supply has meant that in Mexico, like many other countries of Latin America, irregular settlements account for most urban housing production. Between 30 and 60 percent of the population has obtained land informally in Mexican cities (Jiménez-Huerta and Cruz-Solís, 2014). Monkkonen (2011) had also noted that, after the 1990s, more housing is “built on speculation by private companies and purchased with mortgages than through the incremental building process that traditionally housed most of the country” (p. 672). The incremental process refers to households producing their own dwellings outside formal regulation. In this sense, the proliferation of informal housing had been one of the main reasons for urban expansion until a couple of decades ago. Since the adoption of the neoliberal model of housing production in the 1990s, dwelling provision for the lower-income households has followed a particular approach that has created significant changes in the production of space in urban Mexico (Harner et al., 2009). However, I want to underline here that whereas market-driven housing accounts for a significant amount of contemporary urban housing production, this approach fails to “provide housing for all.” Although the housing supply in Mexico did have unprecedented growth since the early 2000s, and the expansion of informal settlements has reduced during the same time period, they continue to be an important part of urban Mexico. The loans provided by state institutions are targeted at the middle, lower-middle, and lower income workers with formal employment (Connolly, 2009; Gilbert and De Jong, 2015). For the mass-

produced social housing studied in this thesis, the loans focus on those Mexicans who have sufficient income to qualify as a potential “client,” leaving out a large part of the population. It is estimated that the 30-40 percent of the Mexican population that earns less than three times the minimum wage (notably, the poorest households) are still excluded from these formal housing developments (Connolly, 2009; Esquivel et al., 2005). Those households with no access to loans are therefore densifying irregular settlements (Jiménez-Huerta and Cruz Solís, 2014).

This production-oriented model emphasizing large-scale housing provision is known to be geared to profit margins rather than creating suitable urban development for urban livelihoods. It is marked by “public policymaking towards the abandonment of the conceptual meaning of housing as a social good” (Raquel Rolnik, 2013, p. 1059). Consistent with this view, housing is seen as a product of investment, as a strategy for the economic development of the country, and as a commodity wherein housing needs are solely envisioned as an unattended demand for private ownership (Rolnik, 2015). In Mexico, state policy and discourse has also depicted the struggle to reduce the housing deficit as more efficient when using a mortgage to purchase a finished house rather than the arduous process of self-building over time (Monkkonen, 2011b), or self-managed cooperative housing.

Such solutions to housing deficits had their boom in Mexico during the Presidency of Vicente Fox Quesada (2000-2006), with the government’s stated priority on enabling Mexicans to fulfill the dream of homeownership⁵. The resulting approach centered on measurable impacts that fostered rapid housing construction. At the 82nd General Meeting of INFONAVIT, Fox (2002) mentioned in his speech:

The construction of affordable housing is the challenge to which we are all committed, which is why I am calling on the construction industries to apply new technologies that lower

⁵ “*Trabajando juntos estamos haciendo realidad el anhelo de millones de mexicanas y mexicanos de tener su casa propia*” (Fox Quesada, 2002).

building costs, without losing quality or safety. I call on local governments to increase territorial reserves and simplify the paperwork involved (p. 2).

Influenced by the structural adjustment policies and neoliberal urban policies mentioned above, the Fox administration devised a massive plan of providing housing credits that would foster and secure housing demands. Again, in his INFONAVIT speech in 2002, Fox emphasized that the supply of credits would bring considerable economic benefits to the country. He calculated that by 2003, 1,500,000 people would work directly or indirectly in the housing sector (Fox Quesada, 2002). Notably, developers built 2,350,000 homes between 2000 and 2006 (Corona, 2011). Furthermore, his discourse was calling for local governments to simplify construction processes to attract developers to their territories. It is important to note that this approach continued beyond the Fox administration, and more than 12,400,000 houses were built in Mexico between 2005 and 2010 (Fuentes and Hernandez, 2014). While this neoliberal reform has produced an increase in the availability of private housing for the working class (Harner et al., 2009), behind the mask of the impressive numbers lie serious socio-spatial problems that in many cities are taking shape in the form of peripheral urbanization.

Since the private sector's primary purpose is to generate profits, projects of large-scale developments cheaply built on low-cost land were the more suitable to compete for loans and clients (García Peralta et al., 2006). Therefore, in order to align with this market logic, the developments are usually designed according to very precarious characteristics: allocated in residential, monofunctional areas on the extreme peripheries of cities, they usually lack urban infrastructure such as public transport, water, sewage systems, proper roads (Salinas, 2018) and urban services (e.g. health, education). Their design prioritizes the use of private transport⁶, the

⁶ However, as further discussed in chapter 5, many of the "beneficiaries" do not own a car, rather they are dependent on public transport.

houses are usually single-family and monotonous; and houses are small, ranging in size from 45 to 75 m² (Esquivel et al., 2005). Even if the planning of these complexes focused on the production of private space in the form of individual houses, the design of the houses fails to address the daily needs of residents and fails to consider a gender perspective in the overall design (Ciocoletto, Gutierrez, and Ortiz, 2014). In short, the design of the houses and complexes tend to assume that people are more or less the same, they are based on a standardized individual with standardized needs that “fall short of considering individual circumstances of the ‘clients’” (Janoschka and Salinas Arreortua, 2017, p. 44). Clearly, the housing typologies do not take into account the diversity of needs, perspectives, and realities of the “beneficiaries”. Instead, this represents a formulaic approach geared to mass production and maximizing profits.

The built form promoted by this approach to housing is now producing particular problems and challenges. The following chapters will address the question of how the built form “channels” daily practices for women, such as commuting, maintaining social networks, accessing waged work and higher education, among others. Through this lens, I therefore explore the implications of this specific form of neoliberal urbanization for women in urban areas. In this way, this research visibilizes how women and communities actually live the precarization of housing conditions.

The mass-produced, peripheral location, and private ownership characteristics of the model are not exclusive to Mexican cities. Programs with these characteristics have been replicated in many Latin American cities, affecting the right to adequate housing (Rolnik, 2013). This approach to affordable housing is widely known as the “Chilean model of housing production” (Caicedo, 2006; Rodríguez y Sugranyes, 2006; Siclari, 2012 as cited in Salinas Arreortua et al., 2018). Mexico took inspiration from the Chilean experience, a country with a long trajectory of subsidizing homeownership. In turn, the Mexican case inspired the Brazilian program *Minha Casa*

Minha Vida, which in March 2009 provided subsidies to low-income formal workers to buy 1,000,000 houses built by the private market (Rolnik et al., 2015). The landing of this model in different parts of the continent echoes the ascendant regime of transnational fast social policy (Peck, 2002) circulation. It is an easily exportable model because its standardized characteristics are coherent with neoliberalism. However, it is worth mentioning that an obstacle for the replicability of the model is that not all countries have financing institutions for housing credits such as the INFONAVIT. In Mexico, the adoption of this model was facilitated by specific political and a legal reforms: the political reform included the adoption of financial strategies dictated by international institutions, such as the World Bank, and the legal reform involved the modification of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, which facilitated the privatization of social land (Salinas Arreortua et al. 2018). In conclusion, the advent of neoliberal urbanism has reorganized how many lower income urban households (e.g. those with access to loans) access urban housing, and by extension, inhabit the city. Below, I explore further how this model of mass-produced housing has reconfigured urban landscapes and peripheries.

2.2.2 Expanded City: Peripheralization of Social Housing

Following the housing model described above, private developers looked to the outskirts of Mexican cities to develop these mass-produced social housing complexes. In the context described above, suburban peripheries became an important target for neoliberal policy (Brenner et al., 2002). Writing about Mexico City, Gilbert and De Jong (2015) identify two phases of growth in the peripheries: (1) the self-built urbanization lead by residents establishing their dwelling in irregular settlements and (2) the more recent surge of mass-produced housing by the private sector. It is important to note that neither of these forms of peripheral expansion should not be seen as

“natural” urban growth but rather as the outcome of specific urban policies and development processes (see Connolly, 2009; Harner et al., 2009; Rolnik, 2015).

For Brazilian urbanist Raquel Rolnik, the expansion of urban peripheralization associated with the second phase of growth identified by Gilbert and De Jong (2015) has benefited the consolidation of what she calls “popular territories.” Rolnik (2015) understands popular territories to be slums, peripheral urbanization, informal housing, and mass-produced housing complexes in peripheries. Popular territories are then heterogeneous and dispersed across different locations in the city. This consolidation has changed the geography of poverty and social vulnerability with more complex and heterogeneous ways of defining the place of the poor. For Rolnik (2015), we can no longer think of popular territories from the dual perspective of the center/periphery. I take up this thread in my research to transcend the idea of the periphery as a space dependent or defined by the central city. If we think about the city from this dual perspective, it can result in oversimplifying metropolitan dynamics and obscuring realities and processes that do not fall into the neat boundaries of this dichotomy. Instead, my research views the center and periphery as “intertwined in the production of the metropolis” (Holston and Caldeira, 2008, p. 21, as cited in Gilbert et al., 2015).

The consolidation of popular territories in the peripheries of Mexican cities, as stated before, is the outcome of specific institutional and constitutional changes. Salinas Arreortua et al. (2018) recognize two shifts that boosted the second phase of peripheral growth identified by Gilbert and De Jong (2015): 1) the state consolidating the demand for privately developed housing, and 2) the legislative shift that promoted the privatization of social land located in peripheries. In the above section of this chapter, I addressed the first shift. I now turn to addressing the second

shift, namely, the legislative reform of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution that provided the framework for urban expansion.

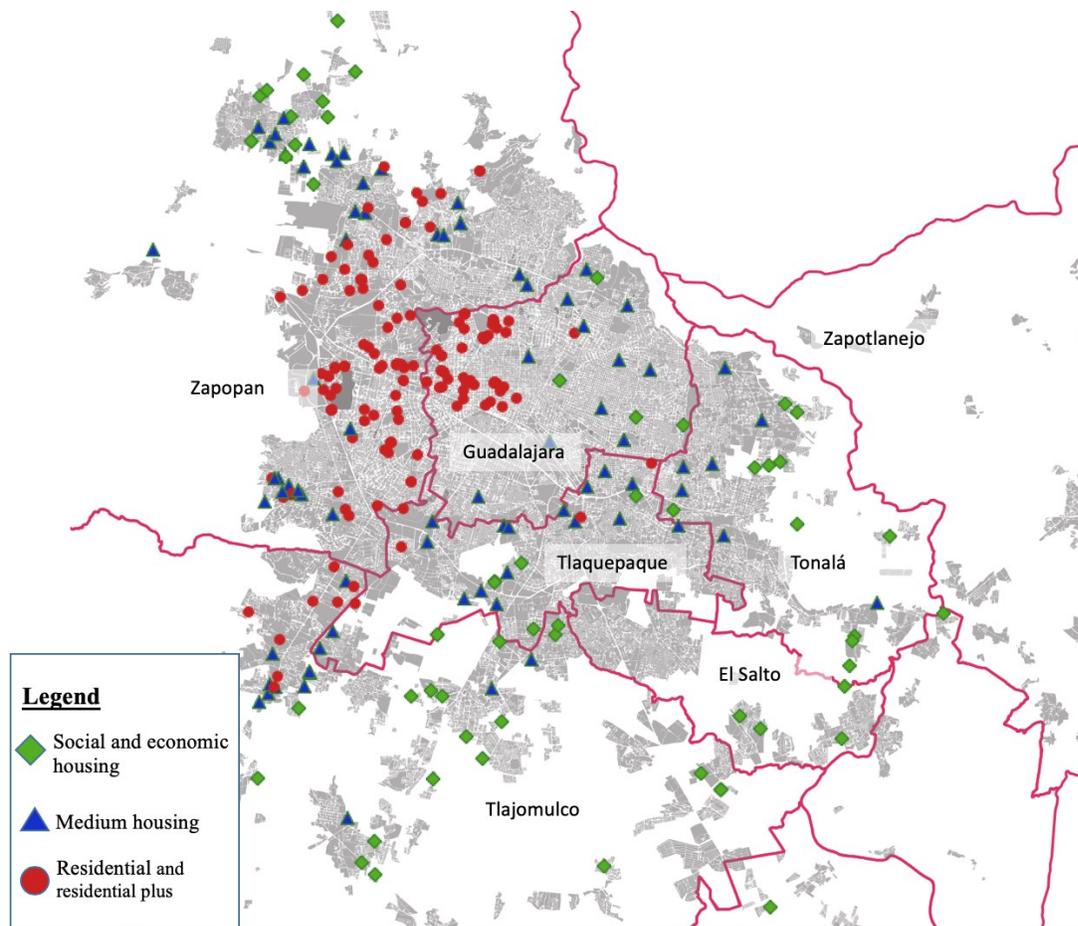
The Mexican Constitution recognizes three types of property: private property, public property, and social property. In turn, social property is composed of *ejidal* property and *communal* property. In 1992, Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution was reformed. The stated purpose of such reform was to make the agrarian sector more efficient and to set the conditions for the injection of private capital by allowing *ejidatarios* [peasants] to privately sell or lease their lands (Maya et al., 2005)⁷. According to Salinas Arreortua et al. (2018), different levels of the government saw social land tenure as an obstacle for real estate development and private markets. Hence, the increasing availability of *ejidal* land for private development, facilitated by this reform, was largely beneficial to housing developers.

Using the phases of peripheral growth delineated by Gilbert et al. (2015), this research focuses on the second phase of peripheral growth, and in particular in Guadalajara, Mexico's second-largest city, where mass-produced housing complexes are leading the city's expansion. In the years following the *ejidal* land reforms and housing financialization reforms, Harner et al. (2009) documented the shift from the first to the second phase of peripheral growth in Guadalajara: by 1990s, 68.3 % of newly built developments were under the development category "social interest" mass-produced housing as opposed to 18.8% of developments built informally (the rest 12.6% is under the category of "higher income"). That is to say, social-interest housing developments saw an important increase and led the expansion of the city. It is important to note here that, outside of housing complexes, the territorial expansion of the metropolis has consistently followed a horizontal low-density model.

⁷ This reform has been seen as one of the strongest signs of Mexican neoliberalization (Inclán, 2013).

Figure 1 depicts the location of social housing market in Guadalajara’s Metropolitan area in 2017. To date, new social housing is still located on urban peripheries, indicated with green diamonds in Figure 1. By georeferencing new social housing, it becomes clear that this housing policy concentrates most of the social housing in peripheral locations, marked by socio-spatial segregation based on income. The use of the term “socio-spatial segregation” in this thesis refers specifically to the physical separation of social groups in urban space based on income (Rolnik, 2015). The spatial form that class differentiation takes in Guadalajara is characterized by social housing located in monofunctional locations with poor transportation connections, and deficient infrastructure, work and education opportunities.

Figure 1: Housing market in Guadalajara Metropolitan Area 2017



Source: DIME Dinámica del Mercado Inmobiliario Guadalajara, 2017.

The location of housing is particularly relevant if we follow Rolnik's (2015) statement that peripheral urbanization under contemporary conditions of neoliberal restructuring follows an urbanization model that concentrates economic and human development opportunities in restricted areas of the territory. Janoschka (2002) has also addressed this urbanization model by naming the Latin American city that follows the tendency to physically separate urban functions as a "city of islands" (para. 47). A characteristic of this model is that it spatially isolates housing from other uses in an enclosed urban landscape. For Janoschka (2002), this model not only fragments the territory according to its functions, but also disperses infrastructure which hinders the possibilities for low-income households to access and use diverse "islands". This physical isolation of functions also reinforces the use of private car as the standard way to connect with the broader city (Capron and Esquivel, 2015). While real estate developments for low income households in the periphery provide access to homeownership, living there also undermines access to economic and human development opportunities, which are unevenly distributed across the city. People, particularly women, are then forced to face significant challenges in their daily lives. The commodification of housing, along with socio-spatial segregation and the division of space by function, impacts the livelihoods opportunities of residents in peripheral housing complexes. Following the above, this research examines the specific implications that such an ordering of urban space has on women's lives.

As described here, the city planned and developed under such a disarticulated vision produces uneven geographical development: large parts of the city are being developed as monofunctional housing complexes, disconnected from their surrounding environments, located in the farthest peripheries and lacking in sufficient infrastructure (García Peralta et al., 2006;

Janoschka et al., 2017). The inadequate provision of urban services⁸ and disconnection from other parts of the city leads to exclusion from urban life (García Peralta et al., 2006), especially for women. This is because, for women, the spatial consequences of living in a monofunctional environment means moving more in comparison to men in order to fulfill the duties associated with the gender division of labor (Massolo, 1992 as cited in Soto, 2018). This fragmented production of housing ignores that “housing is not only a place surrounded by walls but a space that provides both shelter and the means for social reproduction” (Janoschka et al., 2017, p. 48). Ignoring housing as a means for social reproduction has particular implications for women because this work is typically attributed to them due to the persistent gender division of labor.

In summary, the neoliberal urbanization model concentrates economic and human development opportunities in restricted areas of the territory. However, it also follows a blind spot in conventional urban planning – the disregard for women’s needs and social reproduction – that can be problematized as sexist planning (Soto, 2014). In other words, cities have been built ignoring the specific needs and experiences of women, and until recently, the practice of planning has been dominated by men (Ortiz Guitart, 2007). All of the above affirms the salience of establishing urban housing production as a feminist object of study and concern, a task I take up with this research. Finally, while the peripheralization of social housing may help to elucidate some of the spatial implications of mass-produced housing policies, other analytical tools are necessary to understand the impacts of this type of housing for its so-called “beneficiaries.” In the next section, I discuss some of the conceptual tools that I use in this research to account for the lived experiences of women under a commodified and monetized perspective of urban housing production.

⁸ By urban services, I am referring to dignified access to urban infrastructure, such as public transport, sewage systems, and proper roads to access the housing complexes, among other urban amenities.

2.3 Women's Complex Geographies and Everyday Urban Experiences

As the Argentinian feminist anthropologist, Rita Segato (2016) has suggested, gender relations are - despite their categorization as a separate analytical field – pervasive and omnipresent in social life. For her, this separation is a political and epistemological error because the question of gender is “the cornerstone and center of gravity of all forms of power” (Segato, 2016, p. 198). Although gender relations are present in the lives of the “beneficiaries” of quantitative housing programs, they have rarely been conceived as other than a purely descriptive mention of women's role in housing developments. Despite significant contributions to urban research from gender and feminist perspectives, urban projects such as mass-produced housing complexes are still planned as “gender-blind” endeavors, ignoring the specific needs and experiences of women. Within this context, it becomes important to incorporate gendered perspectives in the production of urban knowledge and to discuss the neoliberal project of quantitative housing production from a feminist perspective.

2.3.1 *Complex Geographies*

Studies of gender relations are necessarily caught up in questions of socially constructed gender roles that assign spaces around binary concepts such as private/public and home/street (Muxí, 2017). Some scholars argue that the structure of public/private spheres articulates gender relations, and it is precisely in the public sphere where it is defined what is appropriate for each gender (Segato, 2016). Under this perspective, women belong to the private, reproductive, and interior spaces while men's place is in the public, productive, street, the city space. According to Gilroy and Booth (1999), cities have been configured in space through this pervasive but questionable dichotomy. This notion of separate spheres for men and women has influenced urban

planning, for example, when the zoning of cities is discontinuous with monofunctional areas of business, residential, commerce, as so forth (Bondi, 1998 as cited in Ortiz Guitart, 2007).

According to the above and given that men are deemed to be the subject of the public/exterior sphere, public spaces have often been planned in a gender-blind way centered on masculine interests and requirements (Ortiz Guitart, 2007). This dichotomy coheres with a gendered division of labor in which men are assumed to be the “breadwinner” and women the “home-makers” (Falú, 2013). These dichotomous perspectives articulate a series of spatial representations that naturalize the presence of women in private, interior, reproductive and immobile spaces, thus obscuring women’s existence in the city (Soto, 2017). Feminist scholars have argued that such a dichotomous perspective of urban space must be overcome because women exist in both private and public spaces, and they constantly redefine, contest and negotiate their place in them (Ortiz Guitart, 2007). For instance, this dichotomy is challenged as more women enter the labor force across their life course (Pratt and Hanson, 1993). In that sense, this dichotomous conception of gender relations neglects the fact that women have been and are present in the public sphere (see Falú, 2013; Montaner and Muxí, 2017; Soto, 2018) The urban exterior and public sphere are actually spaces where women perform their everyday life. Women’s productive and social reproduction activities are not confined to the private space of the home; they extend to other emblematic spaces of the public sphere, as this thesis explores.

The reality of contemporary everyday life is more complex than the social roles imposed by dichotomous notions of the private/public, exterior/interior dichotomy. As demonstrated by a more nuanced examination of women’s everyday lives, these spheres are not unidimensional or disjointed from one another; rather, they are relational and present in different moments in the everyday lives of women. Gilroy et al. (1999) have pointed out that people often combine activities

(e.g. leisure, family/social life) and that “everyday life cannot be understood, for men and for women, as encompassed wholly by the reproductive or the productive arena” (p. 308). The reality of everyday life proves that the boundaries of the private/public, productive/reproductive spheres are constantly blurred and challenged. This research follows Fincher’s (2004) invitation to go beyond this false dualism and recognize that these binary concepts are not dichotomous realms but relational elements of everyday life. Given the extent to which this research is concerned with the complexity of women’s everyday geographies, gender relations, and urban planning, I also rely upon the key concept of “everyday life”— a feminist concept used both as a source of information, analytical lens and a methodology to study the spatialization of gender relations. I turn now to explain my use of this concept in my thesis.

2.3.2 Everyday Life

“Everyday” refers to what people do and live daily: the places they live, shop, work, relax and relate to others, also, how people connect those spaces and activities (Jirón, 2007). This thesis draws on Healey’s (1997) recognition that daily life is not organized in a linear way divided by conventional notions of the public (work)/private (home) dichotomy, but as an integrated whole composed of living, working, caring and relaxing, among other activities. As such, it is indispensable to conceive of urban space as a relational category for daily activities (Salazar, 1999). For Healey (1997), little regard has been paid “to the challenge of accomplishing daily life, partly because this has so frequently been rendered invisible – labeled as the private sphere and women’s world” (p. 129). Since the movements, activities and temporal qualities of daily life can be either facilitated or frustrated by the spatial organization of the city, this represents an appropriate analytical lens for examining the implications of a neoliberal approach to housing for female residents’ lives. This understanding of the “everyday” is then a useful theoretical concept

for examining the invisible and problematic aspects of daily routines not always taken into account by conventional decision makers or planners (Jirón, 2007).

Following this line of inquiry to link the effects that the spaces produced by a market-driven quantitative housing program have on women's lives, it is necessary to approach them from an everyday perspective. This approach not only has the potential to break down and disentangle traditional categories of "woman" and "man" (Pratt and Hanson, 1993), but also the capacity to "challenge more straightforward readings of housing programs in either largely positive or largely negative terms....and distinguish multiple facets of an often unqualified and limited portrayal of the housing 'beneficiary'" (Charlton and Meth, 2017, p. 91). In addition, to analyze the housing program from the perspective of female "beneficiaries" also requires attention to the everyday negotiations that women undertake within and beyond their dwelling spaces alone. To focus on their daily lives is also a way to put attention on how women construct in physical and symbolic ways the different spaces they inhabit (Soto, 2018). In other words, attend to women as active agents of urban processes. In this thesis, I use these conceptualizations to shed light on not only the exploration of how *complejos habitacionales* play a role in structuring everyday women's experiences, but also on the practices that women have to challenge, resist and cope with the socio-spatial effects of the built environment. As highlighted in the following quote by Lykogianni (2008), to approach the use of space and place from an everyday perspective enables an understanding of human agency.

In the context of geographical debates, the study of everyday life starts from the subject's everyday spatio-temporal practices and experiences, aiming to show not only how they are organized by socio-spatial relations and structures, but also how people's (everyday) actions (re)produce and (trans)form these relations and structures. In this line of thought, space/place is understood as particular constellations of social relations and practices, with local and supralocal determinants, meeting and weaving together in a particular locality (p. 133)

As Ortiz Guitart (2007) points out, to analyze everyday life implies giving equal consideration to the needs coming from paid work, care work, leisure, social networks, community work, and so on across different stages of the life course. By giving equal value to all components of daily life, women's contributions to domestic and household economies (traditionally relegated to the private sphere) are acknowledged and visibilized. Furthermore, a focus on everyday life allows for a focus on the daily needs of women at different urban planning scales, from larger interventions at the centralized level of government to the neighborhood planning scale (Segovia et al., 2017).

Finally, Ciocoletto et al. (2014) argue that people assemble their everyday life with a myriad of interrelated activities. Thus, these activities need interrelated spaces to support them. For example, Segovia (2016) observed that women's access to public services that support social reproduction enables their capacity to access labor markets, be economically independent and have an equal distribution of use of time by gender⁹. As such, focusing on the everyday life of women helps to shed light on the contradictions and tensions that emerge from a housing approach and built environment solely focused on the design of private, individual space without taking into account the broader urban context and women's complex geographies. With special attention to urban space as a relational category for everyday life, the next section provides an overview of three key elements that constitute the complexity of women's geographies: social reproduction, waged work and community work.

2.3.3 *Social Reproduction*

Social reproduction “is the stuff of everyday life as well as the structuring forces that constitute any social formation [...]. Its spatiality is similarly varied; it has no single scale such as the household or the community but rather is everywhere bound dialectically to production” (Katz, 2008, p. 18)

⁹ With this perspective, there is a territorial dimension that needs to be taken into account when implementing programs and policies of care (Segovia, 2016).

Following Lawson and Klak (1990), I define social reproduction as the “process of maintaining the labor force through the provision of basic needs such as childcare, food preparation, and home maintenance at the household level” (p. 311). From this perspective, women have multiple bonds with social reproduction, the first by caring for children and, the second by being social reproducers of labor daily, and consequently, reproducers of society itself (Babb, 1986, as cited in Lawson et al.,1990). It is important to note that these kinds of responsibilities are not static in the lives of women as they change over their life course position (Pratt et al., 1993) (e.g. childbearing, responsibilities for young children, other relatives, grandchildren). Moreover, social reproduction activities are also related to the socioeconomic level of households, as it is women from lower-income households who dedicate the most time to unpaid work (Soto, 2018).

In Mexico, the burden of social reproduction falls disproportionately on women. It is documented that 88.82% of the people responsible for unpaid work are women (INEGI, 2015). As shown in Graph 1, the share of time dedicated to paid formal work between women and men is nearly equally divided, with a gap of 8 hours per week (INMUJERES, 2018)¹⁰. However, women spend 36.52 more hours a week doing “domestic activities,” while men spend only 12.18 hours in comparison (INEGI, 2015). This data helps us visualize the fact that women spend more time working than men (Moser, 1998) contributing to household economies through care work and waged work. This data supports Katz and Monk's (1993) contention that “the participation in the labor force has not been matched by significant declines in women’s share of the work of reproduction” (p. 273). In spite of women significantly increasing their participation in waged

¹⁰ The weekly hours dedicated to domestic activities were taken from the 2015 National Survey of Time Use; 2015 is the most recent data available. However, the weekly hours dedicated for work were taken from the 2018 National Survey of Occupation and Employment, (45.8 weekly hours for men and 37.86 weekly hours for women). The average change in the share of weekly hours dedicated to work between 2015 and 2018 is not significant. Therefore, I decided to chart the work data for 2018.

work, men have not adjusted by taking on more household tasks (Moser, 1998). The lives of women, as the data on Graph 1 shows, are structured by the challenges of balancing paid and unpaid work – challenges that are exacerbated in Guadalajara by mass-produced housing complexes.

Graph 1: Gendered comparison of weekly hours dedicated to domestic chores and waged work in Mexico (2015/2018)



Source: Inmujeres based on the National Survey of Time Use, 2015; Inmujeres based on the National Survey of Occupation and Employment, 2018.

The chores referred to as “domestic activities” are specified in more detail in Table 1. When disaggregated, it is clear that these activities are not performed only within “domestic space,” but also extend to the broader neighborhood and city. These activities require women to move around the city. The disaggregation of women’s unbalanced share of reproductive work enables a better analysis and understanding of women’s everyday geographies. In this sense, women use and move around in urban spaces not solely for themselves, but rather for other members of their households in carrying out care work (Salazar, 1999). For instance, all of those domestic activities mean that women have different movement patterns compared to men. Sánchez de Madariaga (2015) has introduced the concept of “mobility of care” in order to recognize and assess care work and integrate it to the design of transport.

Table 1: Average weekly hours spent on domestic activities by sex (2014)

Average weekly hours spent on domestic activities by sex on 2014		
Domestic Chores	Male	Female
total	12.18	36.52
cooking and meal preparation	2.92	8.36
help in the kitchen	2.3	6.43
house cleaning	4.08	9.63
laundry	1.73	4.95
house shopping	2.34	2.79
house management	1.13	1.16
utilities payment and procedures	1.14	1.17
housing repairs	1.89	1.13
children and family care	4.83	11.21
care of persons with physical or mental limitations	5.4	10.44
care of persons with chronic illness	8.62	11.14
care of persons with temporary illness	6.95	11.37

Source: INEGI, 2014 as cited in INMUJERES, 2018.

In addition to women's complex everyday geographies in diverse spaces of the city, it is important to note that their disproportionate share of the reproduction work in the household also involves a closer relationship with so-called "domestic" spaces. Pratt et al. (1993) have noted that women tend to look for work close to home, and are therefore dependent on very local job opportunities, which may limit their employment choices. Given the gendered character of social reproduction, the geographic implications of women's activities as caregivers in urban spaces such as *complejos habitacionales* requires further research. While some of the *complejos habitacionales* have been referred to as "*ciudades dormitorio*" [dormitory towns] it is mostly only men who sleep there. These so-called "dormitory" spaces are actually the places of women's and children's daily lives. Labeling housing complexes as "dormitory towns" invisibilizes women's presence in them and neglects the paid and unpaid work performed in the places of proximity to their homes. Further, to accomplish the integration of all the variables and spaces which comprise daily life, an

organizational and management effort is often required. This management effort continues to fall disproportionately on women (Healey, 1997). As I have outlined here, reproductive work is geographically relevant to my study because it reveals the gendered aspects of urban experiences. Moreover, the juggling that women have to do in order to balance domestic activities and waged work make housing a crucial component to everyday life and social reproduction (Katz, 2008). Space and place are then crucial in the mediation of women's complex geographies (Pratt et al., 1993).

2.3.4 Income Generating Activities

As shown by Graph 1, although female work has often been conceived as a "component wage" of household income or assigned a secondary position in the labor market (Pratt et al., 1993), "women, both young and adult, married and single, with or without formal education, are today among the main providers in many urban poor households" (González de la Rocha, 2001, p. 91). This research looks at women's paid activities from the places where it is performed: in or outside the house. First, the work women perform outside the space of the home has proven to be diverse; thus, it would be impossible to categorize the paths of working women as the same. However, for all women, the configuration of urban space has implications for the opportunities they have to access decent waged work. Besides, as Pratt et al. (1993) have noted, employment is conditioned by variables such as domestic responsibilities, marital status, and life course position, among others. Indeed, Salazar (1999) observed that for working (outside the household) women with children, the most common strategy to mediate their productive and reproductive activities was to work in the neighborhood area. For Falú (2013), women that reside in urban peripheries that are not yet "city" but merely "occupied territory" have restricted possibilities of developing their personal and economic growth, but still, they contribute to the community and the urban

economy. In this case, the peripheral location of housing increases the time and costs of everyday mobilities outside the neighborhood and, due to its residential character, has scarce formal work opportunities inside the community. In addition to life course positions and responsibilities for social reproduction, housing location is another element that hinders women's access to the labor market.

Housing is also important in other ways. Following Moser's (1998) research on urban poverty reduction and assets, housing is the most important productive asset for the urban poor in the sense that it provides an opportunity for home-based enterprises, which are "especially important for home-bound women" (p. 11) or when other sources of income are reduced (e.g. when women are excluded from formal sector jobs). Lawson et al. (1990) found that household-based production is largely led by women because it allows them to combine income-generating activities with social reproduction tasks. Likewise, González De la Rocha (2001) not only argues that petty commodity production relies on women, but also represents an important source of household income. Considering that the potential of shelter as a productive asset is important to women, this research is interested in how the configuration of mass-produced housing complexes supports (or not) the use of housing as a social and economic resource.

As Wigle (2008) noted, although housing is a key productive asset for low-income households, in the case of the informal settlements in Mexico City that served as her case study "location exerts an influence on the use of housing as a productive asset of the urban poor" (p. 215). That is to say; not all places provide the same opportunity for using housing as a productive asset. Wigle's (2008) research shows that the income generated by home-enterprises was associated with access to a clientele with higher disposable incomes and therefore linked to socio-spatial segregation. In one of her case study communities, a relatively centrally located community

with better access to socio-economic diversity, the earnings derived from using their houses as a productive asset was more significant than the earnings in a more peripheral community with access to a more homogeneous client base. The disadvantage was related to being bound to a client base with a similar socio-economic situation.

All of the above raises questions about the potential to use shelter as a resource to generate income for new residents of *complejos habitacionales*. More specifically, the peripheral location and socio-spatial segregation of *complejos habitacionales* may undermine the opportunities for using housing as a productive asset. However, it is also true that the need for residents to generate income combined with the mobility limitations to access work outside of the community may provide opportunities for transforming the original residential zoning of *complejos habitacionales* into mixed use communities with home-based enterprises.

2.3.5 *Community Work*

Drawing from Miraftab's (1998) work on the feminization of urban development processes in the developing world, women are often agents of social change within and beyond the household. Ranging from survival or political consciousness, women have had a role in the construction of contemporary urban landscapes. It is women who often resist and transform the spaces imposed on them (Miranne and Young, 2000). For Miraftab (1998), gender plays an important role in housing and neighborhood development because "urban dwellers are able to survive because of women's innovative strategies within the household" (p. 291). Women's contributions go beyond the household to public and community life, they are responsible not only for social reproduction (e.g. care of children, elders, sick relatives) but also for the community (e.g. creation of communal kitchens, family gardens, community stores, improvement of neighborhood facilities), especially with cuts in social programs (Falú, 2013). The key role played

by women in community development programs comes as no surprise given their traditional role as organizers and managers of the household (Moser, 1989 as cited in Healey, 1997, p. 111).

Women's paid, unpaid, and community work shows that the reality of contemporary everyday life is far more complex than the social roles imposed by the private/public dichotomy. However, the ways cities have been planned is based on the separation of productive and reproductive activities, which in turn has produced neighborhoods, streets, mobility systems and services that do not respond to women's needs (Soto, 2014). According to Healey (1997), where women live, the support facilities and services available to them and their access to mobility have a significant effect on the "disproportionate burden of the juggling act between formal work, family care and household work responsibilities" (p. 103). The material conditions of urban infrastructure can then contribute to gender inequalities (Soto, 2014). Therefore, the spatial planning of the city can provide a helpful context to manage daily life or can constrain and frustrate daily life strategies. In this sense, the distance and precarious transport systems that separate mass-produced housing complexes from other areas of the city as well as women complex geographies turn daily mobility into a significant element of discussion to understand the effects that a neoliberal perspective on housing has on urban women. Since mobility is one of the everyday experiences that most affects urban livelihoods (Jirón, 2007; Hanson, 2010 as cited in Soto, 2017), this research is also concerned with the links between gender, mobility and neoliberal urbanization, as discussed below.

2.3.6 Connecting Complex Geographies: Mobility and Urban Transport

The three elements outlined above (social reproduction, waged work and community work) construct in some ways the everyday lives of women and, ergo, their everyday uses of space. The different way in which women use urban spaces compared to men means that they also have

differential movement patterns. For example, women blend paid work with family, they travel short and interconnected distances, and they use their time in a fragmented way in contrast to men who use time in a more linear way (Falú, 2013). Transportation planners have referred to this way of moving through the city as “chained trips,” which is a trip that includes a stop on the way to another destination. Moreover, Salazar (1999) noted that the rhythm of social reproduction work largely defined women’s mobility in Mexico City: they move to places for daily supplies (*tortillería*, market, *tianguis*, children’s school), and they mainly move to places reachable by walking. As described by Soto (2014):

Women move more on foot and in public transport. They have proportionally fewer driving licenses than men and drive less. Women travel in cars as passengers more frequently. They move less for work and more for shopping and chores associated with care work. They tend to live closer to their workplace (p. 205).

As a case in point, the housing complexes built under a market-driven and productionist logic have been developed with a focus on private space construction (e.g. single houses) that prioritize the use of private transport, without taking into account the complex web of places and activities that comprise women’s daily lives. This focus on private mobility constrains the daily life for women which depends on public transport, walking and access to local work opportunities.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has explored how contemporary urban development, embedded in the neo-liberal phase of capitalist development, is marked by the commodification and privatization of space. This is also reflected in Latin America’s housing policies, especially in terms of housing approaches that prioritize market considerations over the construction of urban habitat (Janoschka et al., 2017). Since the 1990s, Mexico has proven to be a key referent in the mass-production of social housing, confronting its housing deficit by the state assuming the primary role as economic facilitator for housing production, and leaving private developers in charge of designing and

executing the construction of housing and the planning of massive social housing complexes. Throughout this chapter, I discussed a variety of scales: from transnational policy mobilities to the national, metropolitan, and municipal implementation of social housing programs, and the neighborhood scale of women's everyday lives. All of the above was necessary to reflect on the links between mass-produced housing complexes and the realities of everyday life.

This neoliberal approach to housing provision has significantly changed the production of urban space and how people access housing in Mexico. It has markedly consolidated the peripheral expansion of cities – an expansion characterized by social and spatial segregation based on income, and the concentration of economic and social development opportunities in only certain areas of the city. Furthermore, monofunctional residential areas are also seen as an example of gender-blind urban planning because they produce a city based on the private/public division of life (Ciocolleto et al., 2014). This configuration displays a disregard for women's needs. Furthermore, we have seen that the question of housing has far-reaching implications for people and communities. However, these implications are lived differently by men and women. These effects have a gendered reality, and women's accounts of them remain an unexplored territory in the research and policy literature. Accordingly, this research aims to fill this gap by analyzing women's daily experiences in mass-produced housing complexes in the Mexican context.

The question of women's complex geographies is central to the analysis of their everyday lives. Women's everyday life is largely defined by the intersection of multiple activities as caregivers, waged workers, and community work. As noted in this chapter, where women live holds an important weight in constraining or facilitating their lives, as women are “still constrained by time, space, and segmentation of social relations” (Miranne et al., 2000, p. 12). Moreover, to encompass the complexity of women's everyday lives, and open up the conventional dichotomies

of private/public, productive/reproductive, center/periphery, mobility/immobility, women's urban experiences need to be addressed from an everyday perspective. Finally, throughout this chapter, I have emphasized how a neoliberal perspective on housing intersects with the complexity of women's geographies, underlining the imperative of reflecting on urban spaces through a feminist lens. The theoretical elements outlined in this chapter facilitate such an analysis, and I apply them in the remaining chapters of this thesis. Such an analysis can also contribute to a broader political project of transforming socio-spatial and gender inequalities in urban Mexico.

CHAPTER 3: Methodological Framework

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter describes the methodological framework chosen for this research. Each consideration outlined below contributed differently to my research. First, I address the rationale for choosing the case study method for my thesis. In this section, it becomes apparent that a case study approach is a suitable research approach for excavating the effects of mass-produced housing projects at the scale of everyday life because “the foremost concern of case study research is to generate knowledge of the particular” (Yin, 2016, p. 68). Second, I discuss the feminist methodological considerations that are pivotal to this research. My research and analysis are grounded in feminist scholarship and approaches in terms of both the research area that I chose to examine as well as the methods used to pursue my research objectives. A feminist geographical lens proved to be the most useful perspective from which to research the linkages between housing and women’s realities because, as reviewed in the previous chapter, this analysis is based on the idea that the concepts of space, place, and gender are interrelated. After this discussion, I reflect on three key concepts that foreground feminist approaches and have served as a strategy to work in a feminist way throughout this research: positionality, situated knowledge, and reflexivity. Third, since an extensive research approach requires multiple sources of evidence, I take some space in this chapter to explain in detail my research methods and the use of in-depth interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. Fourth, I explain how I organized and analyzed my data. The coding of data allowed me to assemble the residential histories of women living in the housing complex *Hacienda Santa Fé*, which were then used to comprehend the particularities of housing linkages with women’s complex geographies. Finally, I discuss several ethical issues and limitations that I faced during the research process.

3.2 Case Study Approach

This research project explores the links among housing, neoliberal urbanization, and gender for women living in the periphery of Guadalajara's Metropolitan Area. In explaining the “how’s” and “why’s” of housing and the spatial issues that influence the everyday life of women, this research required a case study approach. For Yin (1994, as cited in Gray, 2004), a case study is an empirical inquiry that “investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p.13). Recognizing that this work is trying to uncover the relationships between a social phenomenon (e.g. mass-produced social housing) and the spatial context (e.g. Mexican urban areas) in which it is occurring, a case study approach is appropriate because this research seeks to understand not only everyday phenomenon in depth but also the contextual conditions in which they occur. Moreover, a case study approach facilitates a nuanced study in order to support Peck’s (2013) idea that neoliberalism is not an “all-purpose, omnibus explanation of the contemporary condition” (p. 152) but instead has different paths and contradictions across “particular settings, circuits and fields” (p.150). Thus, even if mass-developed housing policies and forms have clear and substantial commonalities across different localities (e.g. *Minha casa Minha Vida* in Brazil), *complejos habitacionales* in Tlajomulco do not just follow a "global template". Rather, my approach seeks to emphasize the “extraordinary variations that arise as neoliberal reform initiatives are imposed within contextually specific institutional landscapes and policy environments” (Brenner et al., 2002, p. 353). An extensive research approach therefore helps to tease out the specific paths that *complejos habitacionales* followed in Tlajomulco as well as the particular results that such perspective on housing has in women’s everyday lives. Likewise, this research marks an important path for the analysis of mass-produced housing by focusing on its gendered

dimensions and impacts. To do so, I sought to uncover the complexities of women's everyday lives and their particular needs in terms of time and space. Such a task is best achieved through empirical work and a case study approach.

3.3 Feminist Methodologies

Before focusing on each method's contributions to my research, I would like to address the perspective from which the methodology is conceptualized. To explore women's everyday lives and uses of space; I chose a feminist methodological (and epistemological) approach. Starting from the position that spaces and places are experienced differently by different people (Bondi and Davidson, 2005), a feminist approach is clearly pivotal for this research. Such a perspective helps to denaturalize the geographical processes that produce social differences, among genders and women themselves. In addition, feminist geography views the concepts of space, place, and gender as interrelated: gender relations and identities are constructed in and through space and place (Bondi and Davidson, 2005). This perspective provides a useful basis for examining urban spaces as a relational category for daily life, and therefore I see feminist geography as an appropriate lens from which to analyze the experiences of urban women in the context of neoliberal urban planning.

In particular, my research focused on how everyday life is facilitated or constrained by the particular configurations of *complejos habitacionales*. To do this, I focused on the emblematic places that construct – and are constructed by – women on a daily basis. However, this research also agrees with the proposition that no method is inherently feminist – what makes them feminist is rather the epistemological perspective from which methods are employed (Johnston, and Madge, 2016; Moss, 2005). This refers to “the way in which projects are conceptualized and how we as researchers act as people (ethically, politically, emotionally) while engaged in the process” (Sharp, 2005 as cited in Johnston et al., 2016, p. 79). Under these circumstances, feminist scholars have

shown different ways and strategies to produce knowledge and work geographically. From building rapport with participants to interviewing them, compensating them, and reporting back findings, I sought to integrate a feminist perspective on each step of this research. In the following paragraphs, I review three key concepts that foreground feminist approaches and served as a strategy to work in a feminist way throughout my research: positionality, situated knowledge, and reflexivity.

3.3.1 Positionality, Situated Knowledge and Reflexivity

Following Kobayashi's (2005) argument, positionality is far more than the space occupied by a researcher, positionality is about the acknowledgment of this occupation as "active, engaged and contested" (p. 36). For this reason, multiple and shifting elements of my identity were actively involved in this project. For my research it made a difference that I am a woman, that I grew up in the same urban area where my case study is located, that I am a public transport user although I have access to private transport. It makes a difference because I chose (and fully recognize) these parts of my identity and experiences as part of my research process. For instance, my choice of the research project arises from personal experience. The above elements of my identity have played a vital role in shaping and raising the geographical questions addressed in my research project. Likewise, the recognition of my positionality strongly depends on the geographical concept of situated knowledge (Kobayashi, 2005). Rose (1997) has remarked that "researchers are entangled in the research process in all sorts of ways, and the demand to situate knowledge is a demand to recognize that messiness" (p. 314). Hers is a call to the researcher to not only situate themselves in the place where they write from, but also calls for ongoing reflexivity on the circumstances that shape and produce knowledge. As a means to situate knowledge, feminist geographers have advocated for reflexivity. For England (1994 as cited in Dowling, 2016) reflexivity is a process of

constant, self-conscious scrutiny of the research process and the self as a researcher. For me, this raises a few critical questions. In what ways am I an insider, outsider, or "in between" concerning my research topic and community? What problems may this cause? What assumptions underlie my interpretations? What are the power dynamics that enable this research? Why am I and not a resident of *Hacienda Santa Fé* writing this research? Who will benefit from this research? While I do not fully address all of these questions here, acknowledging Rose's (1997) premise that "we cannot know everything, nor can we survey power as if we can fully understand, control or redistribute it" (p. 319) does not absolve me from working ethically and reflecting on these questions inherent to any research project and the process of knowledge production.

Accordingly, I would like to take some space here to position myself. I am a Mexican woman pursuing a master's degree at a Canadian University. To go back to my hometown to study a peripheral community represents a power imbalance that separates me from the participants or the residents of my case study community. The privileged relation that I have with participants entails access to material resources, the opportunity to occupy a place as a researcher, and the power to produce knowledge about them. On account of these dynamics, I tried to use reflexivity to avoid reinforcing this position by superimposing my middle-class, Western (-trained) narratives on the women I was working with. In addition, I tried to be especially vigilant that the research process did not objectify the participants, obscure their agency or re-victimize them as "subjects of the researcher's privilege and power" (Miraftab, 2004, p. 602). During my field research, I tried to minimize these imbalances in various ways: by letting the women choose the time and setting of the interviews, and by allowing them to guide parts of the conversation and the interview walks, among other things. Moreover, I used an "in-depth" template (described in greater detail below and presented in Appendix A) to reflect on my interactions with the participants after each

encounter and on my research results. I also had a field diary that enabled me to remain aware of any issues arising with the women who participated in my research. These reflections helped me identify elements from my personal experiences that influenced my relationships and rapport with community members. For example, some of these women were Catholic and single mothers. Being raised in a Catholic family context by a single mother allowed me to empathize and connect with parts of their own narratives. Finally, it is necessary not only to acknowledge my position of power according to the material situation of the researched but also, echoing Kobayashi's (2005) concerns, to recognize that the power to situate myself is also a form of privilege. Positionality is, therefore, only a starting point for me to make a difference in the transformation of knowledge production. In the next section, I review in greater detail the methods used in this research, focusing on the ways that each method contributed to my research objectives, the limitations I encountered, and how I used a feminist lens to conduct each method.

3.4 Research Methods

In the interest of analyzing the linkages between women's everyday lives and housing, this research used multiple sources of evidence. Furthermore, the case study approach requires multiple sources of evidence (Gray, 2004). Different methods contributed differently to the project and allowed access to data in various ways. Here, I describe each method, its contribution to my research, and the challenges faced when employing them. Table 2 is an overview of how each method links to a specific research issue. Following Warshawsky (2014), the use of multiple methods serves to “fill empirical and theoretical gaps, add needed context, incorporate multiple truths, triangulate different sources of data off of each other, and produce the generalizable and the particular” (p.161). This research included a mix of methods to explore a range of specific issues. While the participant observation and walks in the neighborhood were used to document the spatial

configuration of the *complejo habitacional*, the interviews and focus groups were used to reveal the influences of such spatial configurations in women's daily lives. As outlined in the previous chapter, this project builds on existing research. Academic literature reviews were a significant method that allowed to identify the absence of women's experiences within this field of inquiry, and to contextualize the case study within the macro-consequences that mass-produced housing has brought over time. For example, through the use of the concept of "actually existing neoliberalism," interviews with government officials contributed to elucidate the path of mass-produced housing in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (GMA). As described in Table 2 and below, interviews, focus groups, and participant observation allowed this research to examine and triangulate the complex configuration of women's daily lives, identify the spatial components of social reproduction, and the socio-spatial characteristics of a mass-produced housing complex. In doing so, this research aims to situate women's everyday lives in the context of the configuration of *complejos habitacionales*.

Table 2: Research methods and related research areas

research technique (how)	participant group	research area (what)
in-depth interviews	residents	life story; background information; community and support networks; household management strategies; emblematic places of everyday life; everyday mobilities: "how's" and "why's" of commuting, resources, destinations; care responsibilities; waged work activities.
	community leader	community background; community networks; community organization; perceived issues of <i>Hacienda Santa Fé</i> ; social cohesion; the process of assigning a <i>representante de cluster</i> [cluster steward].
	government officials	<i>Hacienda Santa Fé</i> history and background; community participation processes; official challenges perceived in <i>Hacienda Santa Fé</i> ; the context of proliferation of complejos habitacionales in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area; current programs and initiatives for <i>complejos habitacionales</i> (local and federal).
community observation	residents	identify everyday life activities; spatial characteristics of <i>Hacienda Santa Fé</i> ; walks to prompt discussion of everyday life; identify small-scale spatial elements present in the everyday.
focus groups	residents	identify and discuss the emblematic places of everyday life; discuss commonalities and differences; discuss mobility routes; discuss the fear of insecurity; perception's of safety.

Source: Compiled by author.

3.4.1 Semi-structured Interviews with Women Living in Hacienda Santa Fé

Interviews allow researchers to collect people's life stories, enabling an understanding of interpretations, experiences, and the spatialities of social life (Dowling, Lloyd and Suchet-Pearson, 2016). Of particular importance for this thesis are the in-depth interviews conducted with government officials and women residing in the housing complex *Hacienda Santa Fé* over 13 weeks in May, June, July, and August 2018. To ensure the confidentiality of participants in this research, all of them have pseudonyms.

I conducted a total of eleven in-depth semi-structured interviews with nine women living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. To deconstruct the categorical grouping of "women," participants were selected in consideration of their age and life-cycle position, time living in the housing complex, women in one or two-parent households, work situation and spatial relations with their workplace

(inside or outside the housing complex). Given that women's daily lives comprise a complex range of activities that vary across each particular life story, as outlined in the previous chapter, it was crucial that the interviews reflected to some extent these varied experiences. The city, as illustrated by the participants in this research, is not experienced equally by a women head of household as a young student. These experiences can be molded by elements that fall outside the scope of this research, therefore, I decided to choose the participants according to the following variables: age and life-cycle position, time living in the housing complex, women in one or two-parent households, and work situation. Furthermore, I took into consideration the ownership status of the household based on three tenure categories of residents: owners, renters, or squatters. Thus, to elucidate the particularities entangled in women's daily lives in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, I considered these primary "classifications" that influence life experiences and experiences of housing.

I recruited participants using a snowballing method. I took advantage of personal contacts in the community not only to find participants but also to build an initial rapport with the women. Being introduced by a neighbor facilitated the trust of participants in me and the research project. My initial contact, a woman who has been living in the complex for the past fifteen years, was informed of my selection criteria and asked to provide information about the project to other potential participants. As addressed in the limitations section of this chapter (p. 67) securing participants in housing complexes like *Hacienda Santa Fé* in Tlajomulco was a challenging task because of the strong presence of organized crime in these places. However, securing participants was possible thanks to my initial contact and her enthusiastic involvement in this research. She was immensely helpful by encouraging the women she knew to participate in the project.

Given the short period that I had available for fieldwork, I chose to work with a small number of participants. This decision allowed me to dedicate more time to each relationship. Since

I am interested in the complexities of everyday life, it was essential to go into detail about their life stories and the context in which experiences occur. Furthermore, I was not interested in one-time interviews of a large number of women whom I would never see again after the interview encounter. My interviews with them followed an interview guide (Appendix B, C and D), where I mostly asked about their life histories, their arrival at the housing complex, and how their lives have adapted to their new neighborhood. I also asked about their relationships with the community, the emblematic places that are present in their daily lives, and their household management strategies. I usually had two in-depth interviews with each participant. The first one was mostly intended to build rapport and was used to learn about: the background of moving to *Hacienda Santa Fé* and their arrival at the complex, their household composition and housing tenure (owners, renters, squatters), and their overall perceptions of their neighborhood. Also, the first interview with each participant aimed to have an initial exploration of women's relationship with the space they inhabit. The second interview was then used to learn about: their daily activities, their wage earning and social reproductive responsibilities, the organization of their trips outside and within the housing complex (e.g. time, economic resources, alone or accompanied), and their concerns and perceptions when traveling within and outside of the complex. In addition, the second interview provided insight for answering my research question pertaining to the implications that the configuration of *complejos habitacionales* has on women's mobility and access to the city. The residential stories of the participants were used to comprehend the particularities of housing linkages with women's geographies.

Following Elwood and Martin (2000), I gave the participants the choice of where they wanted to have the interviews to make them feel empowered and also to examine their choices. The interviews were mostly conducted in the participants' living rooms, but one took place in a

café near a participant's university. Since the women that participated in the study do not have the same time as other social groups (due to the fact that they have to combine paid and unpaid activities on a daily basis), I did not want the interview to be a burden to them, thus, the participants usually set the time for the interview. They generally chose a time where they would be alone or at least only small children would be present. The only times I would express my time preference was if participants wanted to meet late in the evening or at night, as I did not agree to such scheduling due to my personal safety on the two-hour journey return home afterwards. The interviews spanned between 20 minutes and two hours. Conducting the interviews in the participants' homes provided insight into what Elwood and Martin (2000) call "micro-geographies of the interview", a concept that refers to the "relationships of the researcher with the interview participant, the participant with the site, and the site within a broader sociocultural context that affects both researcher and participant" (pp. 649-650). Each interview was then also an opportunity for participant observation. For example, participants inviting me to enter their homes provided an excellent opportunity to observe household dynamics and how the household is spatially organized related to the size of the house¹¹. Furthermore, I learned during the period of my fieldwork and these home-based interviews that the houses did not have running water, which prompted conversations about other everyday problems residents confront due to the precarious planning of the complex. All of this was also an opportunity for them to show me the concerns they had about the material characteristics of their houses, they showed me the places where deterioration of the houses rapidly shows due to the initial use of cheap building materials by HOMEX. Participants' answers then connected to the site where the interview was conducted. For example, the shortest interview lasted only 20 minutes because all members of the family (5 members in total) were at

¹¹ A usual complaint of the participants was insufficient space for all the members of the household for privacy. During the interviews, they would show me why they perceived their spaces as "tight."

home at the time of the interview and the husband of the participant kept contributing to her responses. Under these circumstances, the interviewee was not at ease to expand on her responses. As a result, the interview went by significantly faster compared to the others. Although this interview was somehow frustrated by multiple factors (e.g. the impossibility of finding the time when all members of the family were out, the difficulty of meeting in another location), I learned through this experience that all of the house seemed to be considered communal space. The micro-geographies of the interview space itself therefore shed light on the constrained relationship of the participant with the site and the broader sociocultural context that affected her autonomy.

In the interviews, participants were asked to speak about their everyday life experiences, and some of these experiences were negative ones. Moreover, when I asked about the emblematic places¹² present in their daily lives, some of these places were seen as a sort of memory vessel that reminded them of traumatic experiences they were living or had lived. Such places included, for example, a hospital where one of the participants spent half of her week taking care of her son, or the house next door where the participant's daughter was violently murdered. Their spatial memory of these places was obviously negative, however, as far as I know, none of the participants felt so distressed that they declined to talk about these experiences. In fact, as expressed by some of them, they even felt somewhat relieved by being able to articulate (confidentially) experiences they often kept to themselves. Still, I tried to mitigate any uneasiness or discomfort when discussing these experiences by ensuring participants felt adequately informed throughout the research process about my research interests and rationale and by stressing upfront that participation in the project was voluntary and confidential (I took measures in place to ensure the identity of participants was

¹² The emblematic places were addressed in both the interviews and the focus groups. The use of “emblematic spaces” is further discussed in the focus group (p. 56) section of the present chapter.

protected). Moreover, I made sure they understood that they could withdraw from the interviews at any time.

I intended the interviews to be a dialogue in which women could feel comfortable to express their experiences. By the end of many interviews, the conversations got diverted from the planned interview themes towards general concerns participants had at the moment of the interview. I did not try to force these conversations back to the interview guide because, as expressed by some of these women, they did not often have the opportunity to express their everyday problems. My status as a young female researcher seemed to encourage the women to open up to me about their issues. Still, "off-script" commentaries brought benefits to the research; I had the impression that it made the participants feel empowered by directing the conversation themselves, which in turn, helped to build a relationship of trust between the participants and myself. Second, it gave me insight into some of the links between the location of the housing complex and the life course position that I did not foresee while preparing for the interviews. To point out an example, I once stayed a long time after the interview to talk to a participant's daughter about my undergraduate experience in Jalisco's public university, as the young woman was considering applying to the same university. However, her concerns about choosing a university were not only related to a personal preference or career choice, but also to practical issues such as: how much time and money would it cost to get to the campus, how long and at what time would she have to walk through the complex to reach the bus stop, where was the bus stop located, or how late would she return from university. Diverting from my interview guide allowed me to learn that her place of residence limited her educational and career choices.

Fortunately, I also had the opportunity to meet a community leader from one of the clusters in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. Her role in the community was to be a cluster steward [*representante de*

cluster] and the liaison between the community and the municipality. This encounter was valuable because this woman gave me insight into how the community organizes itself to solve daily issues, such as water shortages, security, vacant houses, and the maintenance of park and common areas in each cluster. Throughout these conversations, I also learned something about the internal governance of each cluster.

A way of showing appreciation for the women's involvement in the research was compensating them for their time. I tried not to mention the compensation until after the interviews to avoid individuals participating in the research only for this reason. After the interviews, however, I was able to compensate the women with a \$10.00 CAD (\$150 MXN)¹³ gift card to spend at the nearest supermarket. Overall, these interviews with women allowed me to gather data regarding the circumstances that structure women's complex geographies in the context of mass-produced housing complexes, as well as being able to contextualize the different factors that affect their experiences such as age, household composition, life course position, preceding housing location, among other.

3.4.2 *Interviews with Government Officials*

In addition to the interviews with women and women leaders residing in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, I also interviewed three local and one federal government official. I contacted them with a brief letter of introduction to the project and the benefits of their participation. Some of them were invited to participate by email, taking advantage of the fact that the professional contact information of such participants is publicly available through the municipal website of Tlajomulco de Zuñiga, and the website of INFONAVIT. Others were invited by directly visiting the offices of

¹³ This amount was considered reasonable by one of my key informants from the community. Furthermore, this amount was feasible within the context of my research funding.

the municipality of Tlajomulco to ask for an appointment. I did not compensate their participation in this research because government workers and public officials cannot accept such compensation.

The purpose of interviewing government officials at the municipal level was to gain the “official perspective” on housing complexes in Tlajomulco. The questions I posed to them sought to learn about the planning processes in the municipality, what issues regarding the *complejos habitacionales* are a priority for the municipality, and whether or not the municipality responds to residents' demands. From the perspective of "actually existing neoliberalism," these visits also allowed me to contextualize the paths that enabled the proliferation of mass-produced housing complexes in this municipality. Tlajomulco has been in the spotlight for its rapid growth of social housing and for having one of the highest rates of vacant housing in the country. It was essential for the fieldwork component of this research to learn how the municipality manages its planning decisions and its social programs. Furthermore, during my visits to the planning office, I was able to observe how the office is inundated with construction applications for new social housing complexes. They also provided helpful quantitative information used to contextualize my case study.

A public worker of the INFONAVIT graciously accepted to be interviewed by me. The questions I asked sought to obtain information on this housing approach from a macro perspective, and what elements the INFONAVIT the interviewee sees as “negative outcomes” from mass-produced housing complexes. Consequently, during this interview, the dialogue focused mostly on INFONAVIT’s endeavors when dealing with vacant housing. I also asked about current programs or initiatives that the institute has for the betterment of housing in Mexico. Finally, I taped all of my interviews, and I obtained informed written consent before starting each one.

3.4.3 *Participant Observation*

Even if this is not an ethnographic case study, being in the community allowed me to interact with women and their families and have informal conversations with them. These interactions contributed enormously to my understanding of diverse contextual issues within the community. As a result, participant observation was a significant source of data collected in this research. Being able to be in *Hacienda Santa Fé* on an everyday basis, commute there, visit the women at different times of the day and, accompany them to do errands allowed me to research the implications that the configuration of *complejos habitacionales* has on the scale of the everyday. Likewise, through my daily experience in the community, I was able to grasp the difficulties that the participants referred to in their interviews. It allowed me to see the emblematic places where they performed daily activities. For example, the participants talked about their walking routes, especially about fear and perception of safety on an alley in their cluster that had poor lighting and was a place where gang members usually gathered. While their descriptions were rich in detail, the ability to actually experience the walk there, both alone and accompanied, gave me a deeper understanding of the embodied feelings and sensations they referred to in our interviews. Furthermore, these “walking interviews” allowed me to see valuable elements that they did not address in the interviews. For example, one afternoon I accompanied Emilia to bring lunch to her daughter during her school break. It was a 10-minute walk, however, for Emilia, this errand took longer because she usually stopped to talk to neighbors in the street. During our walk, she stopped to greet a street vendor who is also her friend and talk about her work; they were strategizing on how Emilia could ask for a raise. Joining Emilia on her walk enabled me to perceive that this walk was more than a simple errand. She used this walk as an excuse to break the monotony of the day and her domestic enclosure. Moreover, Emilia was using a space initially

designed for transit and movement, "the street," as a place to encounter neighbors. I saw that these walks are the way Emilia maintains her social network inside the complex. This "active" component of the interview seemed to prompt her to talk about her social network in the complex, a subject ignored during our interview in her living room. Being able to talk about her friends during the walk seemed to bring up small-scale spatial elements very present in her daily life. Emilia's walk is a reflection of Woodiwiss's (2017) idea that the stories we tell about experiences "are not sitting ready and fully formed in our memories waiting to be brought to the surface from where they can be articulated to those who care or are willing to listen" (p.18). The case of Emilia is a clear example of how her "story" of daily encounters was articulated only after we took that walk together.

In a similar manner, observation of the neighborhood along with the journey to get to the complex from my house allowed me to gain personal understanding of the space surrounding the housing complex that the women mentioned in our conversations (e.g. the services offered, the nearby shops, the public space, the bus stops, the recreational/entertainment places). Traveling to the housing complex from my residence in a central area of the city would take me up to two hours and cost between \$1.60 CAD and \$2.26 CAD (\$24.00 and \$34 MXN) in a multimodal commute that involved walking, multiple buses, trains, and moto-taxis. If I did not travel on public transport to access my research site, I would not have experienced the difficulties of traveling for two hours in a precarious transport system (some of these women made a similar journey every day).

Given the smaller number of participants involved, my research process invariably involved building close relationships with research participants. I would often stay after the interview to socialize with them and accompany them on their routines inside the complex. To give an example, I went with them to shop for whatever they needed in nearby stores, pick up their

kids from school, take their kids to the nearby park, and they sometimes walked me to the bus stop to "make sure I took the right bus and I felt safe." Similarly, I went on a couple of weekends to have breakfast at the food cart one of the participants had outside of her house. In addition, two participants invited me to special family gatherings on different weekends. These casual encounters allowed me to have insight into how life unfolds and how residents manage their everyday life. By observing them, I was able, for example, to see how some of the women heavily rely on support networks and how these support networks consist of other women. In order to accomplish their paid and unpaid activities they usually rely on other women (e.g. a younger sister, a neighbor, a friend, a co-worker) to help with their responsibilities related to social reproduction (e.g. child-caring, house-cleaning). There was a strong sense of community among some of the women who are also mothers and who have experienced the difficulties of being a mother and living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, often far from their immediate family.

I took all of these opportunities to make personal observations about women's experiences in the housing complex, their socio-spatial relations within and outside the complex, their support networks, their relationships and interactions with their families and neighbors, among other things. I recorded these observations in a journal in the form of notes, and usually the same evening they were transcribed into a word document to identify the key themes would help me answer my research questions. Spending time in the community on a daily basis and then putting my observations into field notes helped me disentangle the complex fabric of the everyday for women in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. This data was then analyzed and cross-referenced with interview transcripts and focus group material for my case study. In closing, the data gathered from participant observation was particularly relevant for identifying women's uses of space. By accompanying women on their daily endeavors, I was able to observe when, how and why they move.

3.4.4 Focus Groups

During the last weeks of my fieldwork, after the interviews, I carried out focus group discussion with the participants. The discussions were divided into two sessions after the attendance at the first focus group attempt was insufficient for a proper discussion. I then realized it would be impossible to agree on a time when everyone could come because everyday responsibilities of these women made free time scarce in their lives. A total of 6 women participated in this activity. I was clear from the beginning that complete anonymity was not possible due to the small number of participants in the focus group. Anonymity issues were minimized by stressing that the participation in the study was voluntary and that they had one month to withdraw from the study afterwards. I attempted to be transparent about not being able to guarantee anonymity. Additionally, since these women rarely separate from their parenting responsibilities, I had to prepare an activity for the children for both sessions to ensure that the children were entertained with another activity while the women participated in the focus group. I was able to provide snacks to make the session more comfortable for everyone. To my surprise, I was not the only one to bring refreshments; one of the participants also brought homemade refreshments to share.

The activity for the focus group was inspired by a blend of mobility and body mapping methods utilized by Col.lectiu punt 6 (2017) in their project “The everyday life of women nightshift workers in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area”. In their experience, a map is drawn up that allows people to decodify the territory they inhabit. I take Risler and Ares's (2013) definition of mapping as an act of reflection in which the map is a tool to approach social and subjective geographies. This exercise aimed to create a space to discuss and problematize their collective experiences of living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. I used the focus groups to identify women's

emblematic places of everyday life in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, as well as encouraging the expression of personal narratives and highlighting the commonalities among places and everyday narratives.

The discussion that emerged from this exercise helped to disentangle the messiness of everyday life, and the perceptions women had of each emblematic place and paths they navigate. Through this discussion, I learned what places are important to them and why, what places they have affection for, they identify with, disdain or avoid and how they connect them. For example, through learning about the places these women took pride in, I was able to identify that the places they value the most are those of joint or collective use: the park that they help maintain; the kitchen one upgraded with her hard work; and, the religious symbol donated to the cluster's altar in remembrance of her daughter. Likewise, through their personal narratives, I gained knowledge of how they connect and move through their emblematic spaces. Participants moved alone and accompanied, in day and night, by foot, on bicycles, public transport, rideshares, and private car. To hear of their commuting experiences, it became clear that mobility played an essential role in the everyday lives of all of the participants. Furthermore, I learned about their everyday activities and responsibilities, triangulating with some of the data gathered in interviews.

The maps consisted of individually illustrating the spaces they inhabit and the routes that constitute their daily networks. They also represented how they experience the spaces they use daily (Col.lectiu Punt 6, 2017). Two key questions guided this activity: what places can they identify? Where in their body can they locate them? After that, they illustrated them on paper. They drew the movement routes between them, indicating how did they move through them (walk, bus, private car, Light Rail, rideshare), and how did they feel when moving across this network. They color-coded the places and paths regarding the places where they spend most of their time,

the places that they liked/disliked the most, and where they felt most comfortable. Figure 2 illustrates the first session of the focus group.

Figure 2: Participants during focus group session



Source: Author, 2018.

They drew their maps and routes inside the scale of a body. According to Col.lectiu Punt 6 (2017) to work inside their body silhouette allows connecting personal and private experiences with public space and the urban setting in which they live. By thinking of themselves in relation to the individual map their daily movements create, they were able to connect the intimate and personal sphere with their neighborhoods and broader city. For example, Adela drew the garden outside her house. Despite the small space at the front of her house, she felt proud of the transformations she made to her entrance by planting cane sugar and a *guayaba* tree. These elements are part of her personal experience with the neighborhood because as she said, she arranged her garden to feel more at home, to remember “*el rancho*”¹⁴, and to make the sidewalk

¹⁴ With *el rancho* she refers to the countryside where some of her husband's relatives live. She mentioned feeling affection and nostalgia for this place.

less ugly. Furthermore, choosing where in the body they drew specific spaces allowed participants to prioritize their emblematic spaces and routes. For example, Adela and Belén drew their feet at the center of their maps (see Figure 3), signaling they walk every day to do their tasks: to go to work, pick up the kids, gather the cardboard, visit each other. For them, walking and proximity is crucial for their everyday movements.

Figure 3: Map fragments of Adela and Belén



Source: Author, 2018.

As shown in Figure 4, after they finished their drawings, the women were able to elaborate and discuss their content. With every women's map and testimony, I tried to tease out the commonalities and differences between each map. They discussed if those commonalities had to do with the fact that they were all women or that they were living in *Hacienda Santa Fé* or both. This activity helped to articulate their spatial relation with the housing complex and with the broader city. They brought out the elements of space that increased fear, their access to public transport and, the sexual harassment they face every day, among other things.

Figure 4: Participant explaining her map at focus group session



Source: Author, 2018.

Mapping their bodies, walking routes, and emblematic places allowed them to think collectively about the perceived issues, one of the advantages of using focus groups as a research method. This activity proved to be a powerful instrument to open up a cooperative dialogue among women, a dialogue that encompassed multiple ways of experiencing being a woman and living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. Everyone listened to their neighbor's experiences: there were young students, single mothers, and mothers from a two-parent household. From these personal experiences, they not only learned that they all have been through difficult experiences when moving in and out of *Hacienda Santa Fé* but also how each of them confronts those issues in a daily manner. Placing individual personal experiences into a collective discussion made some patterns more evident to all of us. For example, a common trend in all of the narratives was encountering the fear of violence and insecurity in public transport.

Taking some time to reflect on the elements (e.g. time, places, sensations, responsibilities) that compose their daily lives, also helped to disentangle the experiences that are so intrinsic to

everyday life yet were not raised during the interviews. For example, when reflecting on her walking routes, one of the participants had different sensations about her walk to work depending on certain times of the day. At nighttime, this place made her subject to sexual harassment, fear, robbery, while during the daytime, when more people were around, it felt like a safer space. The above is an example of how the design of places in *Hacienda Santa Fé* does not respond to the diversity of everyday life, including its gendered and temporal dimensions (e.g. safety and daytime versus nighttime). Despite this place not fitting her needs, this woman still needed to use that space to get to her work on a daily basis. Through these focus groups activities, I was able to gather data that responded to my aim of identifying the emblematic spaces of women's everyday lives. Furthermore, their drawings and comments helped me elucidate on the difficulties they face when they try to connect the different activities of their everyday life in the spaces of the complex and the broader city.

3.5 Data Organization and Analysis

Data collected through the interviews, participant observation, and focus groups and field notes were all digitally recorded and transcribed before being analyzed. I transcribed the interviews in the days following each interview in order to identify gaps in the conversations, key themes to deepen, problems or difficulties during the interviews and recommendations for myself to better follow-up interviews. Throughout the fieldwork process, I also made use of an in-depth case template (see below) as a preliminary analysis exercise in which the first common themes and research issues were identified. Subsequent to this process, the analysis was then undertaken manually by organizing the data according to my research questions. I color-coded the data into three main categories: elements that compose/characterize women's geographies (emblematic places), the implications of the location and spatial configuration of *complejos habitacionales*, and,

context. After the first coding was finished, I created a Nvivo project and recoded each category identifying the narratives that were repeated and emphasized. The Nvivo stage of coding allowed me to detail the crucial themes of the main categories. I re-coded the data with a more exhaustive identification of implications of living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. I identified the following clusters of data: context (their neighborhoods before they moved to *Hacienda Santa Fé*, how they moved to *Hacienda Santa Fé* and *Hacienda Santa Fé* over time), care activities, waged work, household decisions, education, participation in the community, social networks, perceptions of security, presence of vacant houses, strategies on identified issues, monofunctional uses of the complex, mobility and, other useful data that did not fall into this categories. This way of coding was beneficial to this research because it allowed me to systematically organize and triangulate the data from the diverse methods described above.

3.5.1 “In-Depth Cases” Selection

The in-depth case templates (see Appendix A) corresponded to a participant. I designed this template based on the "Final Template for the Elaboration of Comparative Case Studies" of the Latin American Housing Network (Ward, Jiménez-Huerta and Di Virgilio, 2014). First, this template helped me to clarify the essential data collection points for each participant throughout the fieldwork process. Through this template, I identified and systematized the relevant data according to my research questions, and consequently, the data and methodological gaps that I could work on in my next encounter with a given participant. Second, the interview’s metadata section of the template allowed me to reflect on the methodological issues of each interview. That is to say, all the information around data collection, for example, interview quality, issues, and problems of each encounter and recommendations on how to work out those problems in future interviews. As a novice researcher, this was a significant part of the process to ensure research

rigor and a way to mitigate fieldwork shortcomings. Commenting on every encounter I had with participants was a tool to bring into practice the feminist reflexivity component of my work. Though these notes, I would scrutinize myself as a researcher and the power relations present in each encounter, and the ways this could influence participants and results. I would then respond to these notes with ideas to mitigate those power imbalances. For example, though these reflections I noticed that my attempt to not be invasive in terms of their personal issues came across as being cold or indifferent to their situations. Hence, I prepared myself to provide more personal feedback when discussing difficult experiences. However, I had to be sensitive to not turn my research relationship into a counseling one. This method also helped me to characterize and contextualize each participant's life history. In this way, I was able to identify the variables that made each "case" distinct from each other (e.g. age and household life-cycle position, women in two-parent households or any other considerations that may deconstruct the categorical grouping of "women"). It certainly helped to identify and process the intrinsic variables of each particular case, in terms of both commonalities and differences. It also allowed me to go into much more detail in describing the socio-spatial relations of each participant and the elements that give complexity to women's geographies: household dynamics, housing characteristics, social reproduction responsibilities, work-life experiences, life course position, among others. Finally, this method also functioned as an initial data analysis tool where preliminary codes emerged from similar patterns observed in each "case."

3.6 Ethical Issues and Limitations of Research

Due to the specific context *Hacienda Santa Fé*, I faced several ethical issues and limitations throughout the research process. Working with women who are vulnerable in some aspects of their

lives required me to be aware and sensitive to the issues they faced. The ethical considerations of this project were reviewed and approved by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board¹⁵.

Through reflexivity notes made on my field diary as well as on each “in-depth” template, I believe that I was able to identify and address the ethical concerns that arose from this research. The first limitation I encountered with the methodology is that part of my initial methods included a photo-diary project with the participants. However, as soon as I arrived at the field and met my first participants, I ran into early warnings about insecurity and organized crime operating in the case study community. In close conversations with a key informant, I realized that a photographic project on the housing complex would be an inappropriate task for myself and the participants and would put us all in a position of personal insecurity. In *Hacienda Santa Fé*, one out of every four houses are vacant, and as participants informed me and local media reports regularly relate, organized crime and gangs operate inside the housing complex. Some of the vacant houses are used as “*refrigeradores*”¹⁶ (El Diario NTR, 2016), security houses or clandestine collective graves¹⁷ (El Financiero, 2018; El informador, 2018). Additionally, participants told me they did not feel safe bringing phones or cameras into the street. In this context, it was clear that the personal security of myself and the participants would have been jeopardized if we went about the neighborhood taking pictures. Instead, I decided to follow participants' recommendations and keep a low profile in order to avoid being seen as an intruder by the broader community. The participants feeling at ease and preserving their security was of utmost importance to me. Therefore, I choose to redesign part of the methods for this research. The consequent lack of pictures pushed me to be

¹⁵ Project #108828.

¹⁶ A popular name for these houses is “*refrigerador*” (refrigerator) because burglars put away stolen objects inside them for a while in order to “cool them down” and sell them at a later time.

¹⁷ During the first weeks of my fieldwork local prosecutors found 7 corpses in two vacant houses in the adjacent housing complex of *Chulavista*. Furthermore, by the time I left the field, in one of the vacant lots adjacent to my case study site, a trailer with 157 corpses was found.

more descriptive in my field notes and to be more sensitive and aware when observing the housing complex surroundings. Still, during the last weeks of my fieldwork, I felt more comfortable and was able to take the few pictures which appear in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

The well-being of the participants had a great significance for me in this research process. Although I was engaged in building relationships of trust and care with the participants, it was challenging to build rapport with participants who had a very busy routine. For example, I first attempted to conduct a focus group session with all the participants on a Sunday afternoon. Despite all of them confirming their attendance for the activity, only one woman showed up. I then understood that participants confirmed their attendance out of politeness, but they were busy on Sunday afternoons because this is the only day they had available to visit relatives in other parts of the city, or be with their husbands and families, or to shop for groceries for the week. After this experience, I decided to hold the focus group on two different days and schedules in order to accommodate their routines. I also shortened the time I initially allocated for the activities to avoid taking too much of their time. I always tried to be flexible with the research schedule to accommodate participants' schedules. I knew some of these women had more than one job and were constantly juggling to fit all their daily activities and responsibilities, therefore, several times the interviews got canceled or delayed due to their lack of time. In such cases, I had to be patient and reschedule without making them feel bad for canceling or obligated to accept being interviewed.

An additional limitation to maintaining a relationship of trust and confidence with participants during the process of signing the consent form. The period of my fieldwork overlapped with the local, provincial, and federal election period of 2018, which I believe influenced the mistrust they showed when I asked them to sign the consent form. I tried to soothe their doubts by

stressing that this form was meant to protect their personal information and the statements they shared with me. I reviewed several times the language and terminology I used to explain my research interest to them to make myself clear. In an effort to being clear about my research, I also talked about my own experiences that led me to my research interest (e.g. being a public transport user, being from Guadalajara, living far from my university in my undergrad years). Some of the participants asked me to give them a couple of days to read the consent form carefully on their own or ask a relative for advice. Moreover, Emilia, one of the participants, was illiterate, which increased her uneasiness with signing a document that she could not read. I learned that Emilia was not able to read when I planned the date for her interview. Usually, participants would ask me to send a text message to arrange the interview; hence, I did that with Emilia. However, she responded with a voice note asking me to send voice notes instead of written text messages. I mitigated this situation by reading thoroughly every paragraph of the consent form and then explaining the purpose of each section. Furthermore, with the intention of not making her feel embarrassed by this situation I told her that she could sign orally. In the end, she was able to write her own signature on her consent form.

3.7 Presenting my Findings

After the analysis of the data, I presented the findings to the participants to garner additional feedback. I shared the study with the help of “time geography maps”¹⁸ (see Appendix E). These maps help visualize participants’ paths and movements in the city. With them, it was easier to contrast participants’ emblematic spaces with the spatial configuration of their housing complex. These visual accounts of their routines were provided to participants in the presentation of research results in July 2019.

¹⁸ They were commissioned to Valeria Rincón, a local artist and friend from Guadalajara.

Three goals motivated this aspect of my research. First, to provide some continuity of relationships that I formed with participants during the summer of 2018. Second, to provide some initial findings and evidence of the research to participants in a creative way that might also produce further insights. It was essential for me that participants could see themselves in the maps as well as the stories they shared with me. Third, this method helped me to inquire if my interpretations of the findings were consistent with their experiences of living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. Unfortunately, I could only visit *Hacienda Santa Fé* two times. Thus, I could only provide illustrations to five participants. The first visit I had planned in June 2019 was frustrated due to a shooting between police and civilians in *Jardines del Edén*, a housing complex close to *Hacienda Santa Fé*. As participants commented, in the past year, they have observed an escalation of violence related to organized crime.

I saw each participant separately, and they all responded well to my initial findings. I showed them the illustration and briefly explained the discussion of emblematic spaces and mobility from my draft results. Overall, they were excited to see their daily routines in a drawing. Contrary to the perspectives sometimes they have of their routines, the women were surprised to see how busy they are and how much work they do for their families. Moreover, Adela was pleased to see her *guayaba* tree and her food stand. When I finished talking about the findings, I asked if they had any feedback or comments. Participants said that they actually relate to the issues I presented or know someone that related to them. Some of them contributed with comments on how they experience those issues or how some things have changed during this last year. I incorporated these insights into my analysis.

3.8 Summary

On my last visit to the housing complex during the fieldwork period of 2018, I met with Adela to share a can of soda. Over the farewell conversation, Adela, who also organizes the rosaries for her cluster, told me that her group would dedicate the next rosary to the success of my thesis. On the next day, her daughter, Belén, texted me “do not disappear”. Although some believe that real friendship is not possible in the researcher-researched relationship (Wise, 1987 as cited in Letherby and Jackson, 2003), for me, these actions reflect that connections and affective bonds can happen spontaneously during the research process. Sympathy and empathy existed in our relationship, and that was one of the most valuable elements of the fieldwork component of this thesis. Still, I do regret that the short period I was able to spend in the field made it impossible to further engage in community actions that would bring positive changes to the neighborhood. I was incapable of making promises to the participants that this research would bring tangible benefits for them anytime soon. Furthermore, not being able to help them in situations they were enduring was sometimes difficult to face. Adela was searching for justice for her daughter’s murder in the complex, Sara had recently suffered a sexual attack on the street while coming back from work, Graciela had to quit her job because she spent most of her days and nights in the hospital looking after her son. Despite their difficult situations, all of these women were incredibly generous in sharing their personal narratives of *Hacienda Santa Fé*. The involvement of different women in this research helped deconstruct the homogeneous profile of the social housing “beneficiary” and shed light on the importance of hearing the narratives that women have of a housing project guided by the logic of neoliberal urbanism, at least in the Mexican context. Moreover, their narratives highlighted the reciprocal relationships that have emerged amongst women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* and the ways in which they support each other when they share common issues.

In the end, all of these methods contributed to my understanding of the case study community and to respond to my research questions. The use of multiple methods allowed me to identify the gendered patterns of the specific context of my case study community. The interviews with participants provided an examination on the personal circumstances that shape women's geographies, their backgrounds, and their daily concerns (e.g. age, household composition, life course position, preceding housing location). The participant observation component of the fieldwork enabled an examination of women's relationship with the spaces they inhabit. Finally, through the focus group discussions, I was able to identify the emblematic spaces in the everyday lives of women. In the following chapter, I attempt to provide the context of my case study, *Hacienda Santa Fé*, by making use of the quantitative data shared with me by the government officials that participated in this research, as well as official data by the INEGI and INMUJERES. Furthermore, I bring women's accounts into my description and analysis of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, as well as my own experiences visiting the complex. Together, these elements set the stage for the analysis that follows in chapter five.

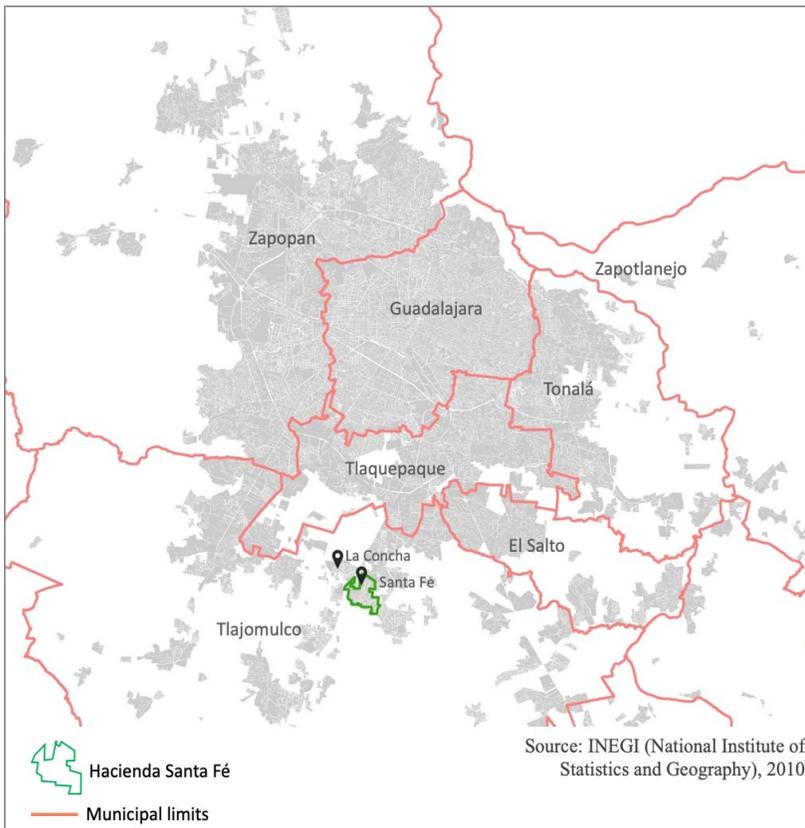
CHAPTER 4: Case Study

4.1 Introduction

This thesis is grounded in a particular territory perceived to be a national exemplar of the mass-produced housing model of the early 2000s in Mexico. The following section is an attempt to provide a contextual frame of reference for this territory, the housing complex *Hacienda Santa Fé*, located in Tlajomulco de Zuñiga (see Figure 5). In chapter two I discussed the more abstract and macro-level accounts of the local manifestations of neoliberalism. However, it is essential to recall that this is a study based on an actual place inhabited by people, and therefore, I seek here to place and excavate these “macro-neoliberalism’s” in the specific context of my case study community, *Hacienda Santa Fé*. My aim here is to analyze how neoliberalism “touches down” in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area (GMA) and how this is linked to *complejos habitacionales*. In keeping with feminist geography’s focus on subjective and everyday experiences of place, I weave into this chapter participants’ narratives on the history of *Hacienda Santa Fé*. These narratives help to present not only the perspectives of female residents in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, but also underline issues in other mass-produced *complejos habitacionales*. Through these narratives, the value of highlighting the complexity of female residents’ experiences of these specific places becomes clearer. I have given these voices a pseudonym and presented some basic background information on each woman in Appendix F. In addition, this chapter elaborates on the history of this massive housing project and the particularities that make this *complejo habitacional* a representative case of the market-driven housing policy in Mexico. This chapter demonstrates how uneven urban development is produced and reproduced in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area in recent times, and more specifically, in the municipality of Tlajomulco de Zuñiga. In other words,

this chapter describes the environment in which the women that participated in this research “ground” the activities that constitute their daily lives.

Figure 5: Location of *Hacienda Santa Fé* in the Metropolitan context

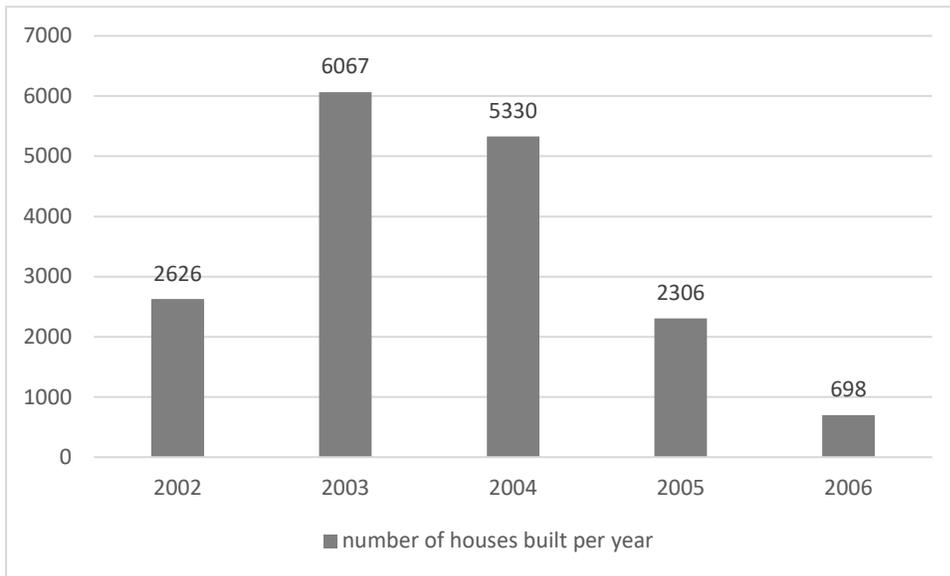


Source: INEGI (National Institute of Statistics and Geography), 2010

4.2 The Physical Characteristics of Hacienda Santa Fé

The housing complex *Hacienda Santa Fé* was built at the peak of the massive-scale development boom in Tlajomulco between 2002 and 2006 and was as one of the first complexes of its kind in the municipality. This development now has 17,053 houses distributed in 49 subdivisions (henceforth referred to as clusters) (Ayuntamiento de Tlajomulco de Zuñiga, 2018a). Each of these clusters was progressively developed in 14 construction stages over 5 years (see Graph 2).

Graph 2: Number of housing units built per year, *Hacienda Santa Fé*, (2002-2006)



Source: Ayuntamiento de Tlajomulco de Zuñiga, 2018a.

Hacienda Santa Fé displays the typical characteristics of mass-produced social housing complexes across Mexico. It follows, for example, a standardized project formula of identical small houses with dimensions ranging from 60 to 90 m² built with prefabricated and low-quality construction materials. It is a closed housing complex with horizontal housing, which means that walls surround it. Within the complex's walls, each cluster is also enclosed by walls, which means there is a physical barrier (see Figure 6) between each of the 49 clusters. To walk or drive inside the complex, residents have to bypass the walls. Although the clusters have walls, there are no security guards or gates that prevent or control the entrance to *Hacienda Santa Fé*. Figure 6 shows a fragment of the HOMEX Master Plan for *Hacienda Santa Fé*, illustrating many of these characteristics, including how the walls cut-off roads and sidewalks, thus hindering inner connections between clusters and residents. In Figure 6 we can also appreciate the size of the houses, and the single entrance that each cluster has. Figure 6 also depicts the monofunctional plan

of *Hacienda Santa Fé*; highlighting its emphasis on building residential units as a mass-produced commodity instead of building adequate communities for residents.

Figure 6: Excerpt from *Hacienda Santa Fé* master plan



Source: Adapted from Google Streetview, 2013b; Ayuntamiento de Tlajomulco, 2018c.

The design of these kinds of housing complexes introduces significant issues for residents' daily lives, especially women. HOMEX clients across Mexico have expressed disappointment with the characteristics of their houses, from the design of the houses and their neighborhoods to the low-quality materials used to build them. The most common complaints that the women of *Hacienda Santa Fé* expressed regarding the physical characteristics of their houses include water leaks inside the units and poor insulation and ventilation. They express frustration when realizing that the roof was not made for the house to expand with a second floor. Marcela, a participant that enlarged her one-story house to a second story, had to invest considerable resources in order to prepare the roof for the construction of a second floor. They also complain about the sound and

privacy issues related to the cheap materials of the walls separating the attached housing units. In some cases, the walls do not insulate noise emanating from a neighbor's house. As Sara told me:

I think they design these houses as 'provisional.' It is like they [the developers] said 'here, there you go' ... However, one day, this house is going to fall on us. (Sara)

Regarding the design of the complex, clusters are connected to the main roads through a single access road, which hinders walkability inside the complex. Pedestrians are forced to walk around the clusters in order to get in and out of them. In some cases, residents of the complex have taken the "walkability" issues into their own hands by building doorways in these walls to connect their clusters to the main avenues nearby. Figure 7 shows one of these improvised doorways, "*la Puerta del Diablo*" [devil's gate], as residents have named it. This passageway was opened by residents of cluster 22 in a private vacant lot in order to connect the cluster with La Villa Avenue, which has a secondary school, convenience store, and bus stops. Without this passageway, residents would have to walk approximately two kilometers to reach these community facilities and services, which are especially relevant to social reproduction. The low walkability of the *complejo habitacional* poses particular challenges for women because a significant part of activities related to social reproduction take place by foot in the proximity of their dwelling spaces, as highlighted by Salazar (1999) in her study of women's daily lives in Mexico City.

Figure 7: “La Puerta del Diablo”, an improvised doorway to increase walkability, Hacienda Santa Fé



Source: Google Street View, 2013a.

Figure 8 is a comparison over time of the transformation of *Hacienda Santa Fé*'s emplacement. By comparing three moments in time, Figure 8 reveals the fragmented way in which housing plots developed: every cluster is part of a puzzle that is never put together as a whole because of the internal physical barriers (walls) dividing them. Figure 8 also shows how the land adjacent to *Hacienda Santa Fé* urbanized in 2016 following the same housing production model. These *complejos* were developed in fragments leaving a few agricultural plots in between. *Hacienda Santa Fé* is now the most populated complex in Tlajomulco, with 8,635 residents, representing 20.9% of the municipality's total population (Ayuntamiento de Tlajomulco de Zuñiga, 2015).

Figure 8: Comparison of three moments of development, *Hacienda Santa Fé* and environs (1993, 2003, 2016)



Source: Google Earth, 2016; Ramon et al., 2018; SITEL, 2003.

Many residents have also expressed disappointment with the development of the areas surrounding the complex. Interviews with residents reveal that they were not aware of the massive scale of the eventual build-out of the housing complex and its surrounding areas. For example, Gloria, a married mother of four children who moved to the *Hacienda Santa Fé* in 2005 in order to live independently from her in-laws, expressed her feelings of deception with this issue in this way:

We were told that they were only developing something like ten clusters. Supposedly, they were designed to be private clusters, but when the time came... I just started hearing that they were building more houses, just like that 'have you seen there are building more?' 'Yes, they are building more houses on that side, where there was a pond'. Look, they drained a pond, a lagoon...something like that to build *Lomas de Tejeda*. I think they started seeing that it was a huge business. They were giving out cheap houses to whoever. Also, with a lot of [payment] options...so, the same development company must have said: 'we found our cash cow!' So, they built a Guadalajara inside *Hacienda Santa Fé*. (Gloria)

For Candelaria, a woman who arrived in *Hacienda Santa Fé* in 2002 with her husband and two sons, her family was the first to move into her cluster. They moved to *Hacienda Santa Fé* because they wanted a house and more space to raise their children. They came to *Hacienda Santa Fé* because they wanted to live in a quiet suburban neighborhood.

We thought that, well... my husband was told that this would be the last *fraccionamiento*. That is to say, that this would be the last cluster because all of the rest were not built yet. A little after we moved, cluster 13 started to be developed, and we saw that they kept developing more until this became massive (Candelaria).

Moreover, *Hacienda Santa Fé* is located on former *ejidal* [communal] land. Approximately 215 hectares of *Hacienda Santa Fé* are private property, 130 hectares are from the *ejido Concepción del Valle* and 18 are from the *ejido Lomas de Tejeda*. The occupation of *ejidal* land was only possible due to changes to Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution in 1992, allowing for the privatization of social property (e.g. *ejidal*), as addressed in chapter two. Regarding the location of *Hacienda Santa Fé* in *ejidal* land, Candelaria's family, as described before, was the first to arrive

at her block 17 years ago. She remembers how everything looked so "rural" when they first arrived in 2002. For Candelaria and her husband going to *Hacienda Santa Fé* was a way of getting out of the city to a quiet residential landscape:

Before the town of *La Concha*¹⁹ was gorgeous, you could see all the people riding horses. Back then, there were not many *fraccionamientos* [housing complexes] in the area, just *Hacienda Santa Fé*. The rest was land for agriculture, and it was so beautiful. That was what my husband used to say, that he loved the smell, the smell of cultivation. So we came here because it was outside of the city, but now it is another story. (Candelaria)

In contrast to Candelaria, Adela, a woman who moved to *Hacienda Santa Fé* in 2004 from a central neighborhood in Guadalajara, the "rural" aspect of the complex was not a positive one. Adela came to the complex because her husband obtained a loan and consistent with their income, *Hacienda Santa Fé* was the only affordable option.

At the entrance of Aloph Horn Avenue, there were even cows! Everything was so ugly. Everything was really ugly, to be honest. It was ugly because you enter the complex and it was pure dirt. So, at that time, it was very very hot, we didn't even have trees, nothing, there was nothing here. (Adela)

The arrival of massive housing complexes and new residents to a once-rural setting drastically changed the daily life of the existing residents of that area, altering their relationship with the metropolitan context. The following testimony by Candelaria narrates how the massive arrival of residents to *Hacienda Santa Fé* disturbed the inhabitants of the neighboring *pueblo* Santa Cruz del Valle:

In *Santa Cruz* people stoned the bus and made us get off because they said those were their buses. Full buses were arriving from (*Hacienda*) *Santa Fé*, so they made people get down from them. It happened to me once, I had to get off the bus with all my children, and I was scared. But it was the only (bus) route we had, and it was so slow. Yes, it was really slow. (Candelaria)

¹⁹ *La Concha* is the closest *pueblo* to *Hacienda Santa Fé*. The location is illustrated on Figure 5 (p. 84).

4.3 Hacienda Santa Fé: a National Leader in Vacant Houses

Mexico ranks in second place as the country in Latin America and Europe with the most vacant housing (González & Jiménez-Huerta, 2018). However, before delving into the contribution of *complejos habitacionales* to the high rate of vacant housing in Mexico, it is first important to distinguish between the relevant terms used to define vacant housing. Table 3 describes the different kinds of vacant housing and its characteristics based on research of González (2016) regarding vacant housing in the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara²⁰.

Table 3: Classifications of vacant housing in the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara

vacant and abandoned	Vacant houses located in any urban context: large housing complexes in the periphery or inner-city areas. The older neighborhoods and <i>pueblos</i> inside the city have abandoned houses that are old and obsolete.
vandalized	They are located in housing complexes as well as in other parts of the Metropolitan Area. They differentiate by the degree of vandalism they present: broken windows, weed growth, graffiti. They are often used as dumpsites.
dismantled	Only the house structure because the rest has been stolen. They do not have windows, doors, bathroom, and kitchen furniture. They do not have electric installations or water and energy meters. In general, this situation is common in social housing developments.
deteriorated	Houses with a certain degree of deterioration such as broken windows and weed growth. However, the interior or exterior of the house has not been vandalized yet.
administrative procedures	Houses that are involved in specific administrative procedures for not having paid their mortgage loans. Usually, the borrowing institution notifies the borrower to pay past-due payments. When the last notification is reached, and the client has not responded, the borrowing institution takes ownership of the house.
taken	Houses that have been "rescued" by a borrower institution (public institution like INFONAVIT or commercial banking). A typical case is that the INFONAVIT takes ownership of the houses when borrowers do not pay. Once the house is taken, the institution auctions them off.
for rent or sale	Unoccupied houses for sale or rent.
seized/confiscated	Housing that is in the process of being seized by an institution, commercial banking or even the municipality if it lacks payment.
under the last stage of construction	Houses that are almost ready to be inhabited or were left abandoned during the construction process.

Source: González, 2016.

²⁰ González (2016) is a researcher interested in documenting the distribution of vacant housing in Guadalajara. Since there are many variables to take into account when a house is vacant, González made the distinction and classified those variables for the case of Guadalajara's Metropolitan Area.

González's (2016) detailed definitions prevent this research from generalizing the problematic of high rates of vacant housing in mass-produced housing complexes. Coming back to the case of Guadalajara's Metropolitan Area, Tlajomulco is a municipality with one of the highest rates of vacant houses in the country. González's detailed classification of what is considered vacant housing is particularly useful for the case of *Hacienda Santa Fé* because all of these kinds of vacant houses are present in the complex²¹. The high rates at which residents are abandoning their homes demonstrates the poor livability of housing complexes as well as the inability of some residents to pay back their loans.

As shown on Figure 9, the signs of deterioration and vandalism in houses of *Hacienda Santa Fé* stand out when walking in the streets. Every two or three houses is vacant, most of them were once inhabited, but now they are abandoned. According to the National Housing Inventory (INEGI, 2016), 40% of houses or an astounding 66,758 out of 1,965,265 private housing units were vacant in Tlajomulco (INEGI, 2016)²². In fact, 73% of the total number of vacant dwellings in the municipality are located in social housing complexes (González, 2016). Of this 73%, it is the larger complexes of *Chula Vista* and *Hacienda Santa Fé* that concentrate the highest rates of abandonment. Between these two complexes, there are a total of 14,123 vacant properties, which amounts to 24% of abandoned houses in Tlajomulco.

²¹ Except for new housing/under the last stage of construction.

²² However, according to El Informador (2019) the local government has recently admitted to having 57,000 vacant houses at present.

Figure 9: Examples of vacant houses in Hacienda Santa Fé



deteriorated



dismantled



vandalized



dismantled



deteriorated

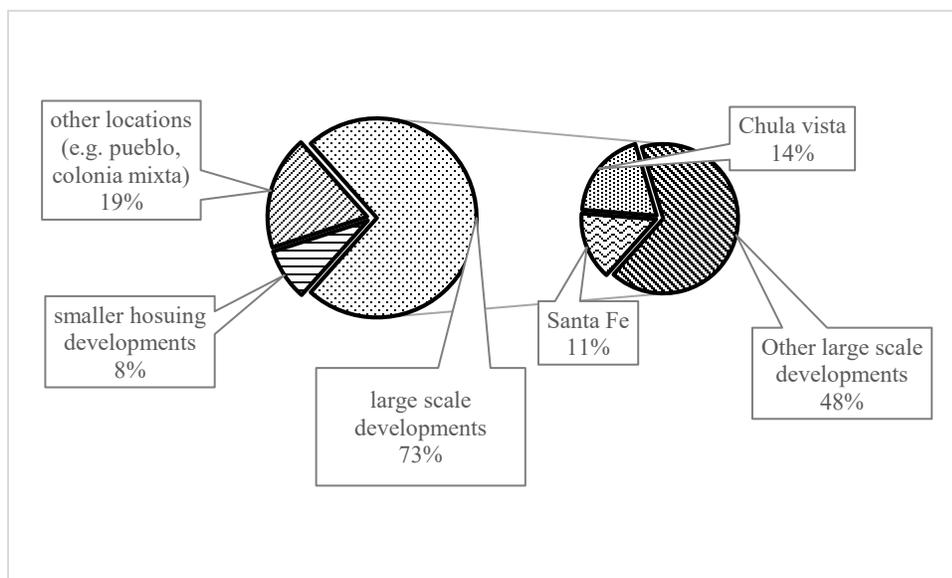


deteriorated

Source: Author, 2018.
Houses categorized using typology developed by González (2016).

Chulavista and *Hacienda Santa Fé* are the two large-scale developments with higher numbers of vacant houses. However, as shown in Graph 3, other large-scale developments of social housing have 48% of the vacant houses in Tlajomulco. The housing complexes with the highest rates of vacant houses following *Hacienda Santa Fé* and *Chulavista* are *El Capulín* (8.4%), *Villas Terranova* (4.97%), *Silos* (4.72%) and *Lomas del Mirador*²³ (4.6%). There are nine other large-scale developments with less than 4% of vacant houses in each.

Graph 3: Vacant houses in the Municipality of Tlajomulco, GMA (2010)



Source: Adapted from González, 2016.

The high rate of vacant houses in *complejos habitacionales* has adverse effects on communities. First, organized crime/gangs occupy vacant houses to use as security houses or clandestine collective graves²⁴ (El Informador, 2018; El Financiero, 2018). According to the Jalisco Institute of Women (n.d.), vacant houses and empty plots represent a barrier for women's

²³ *Lomas del Mirador* is an example of houses that were abandoned during the construction process, in the 14th phase of this complex, there are 1,000 abandoned apartment units and only 30 families live there (Martínez 2019).

mobility because women perceive them as dangerous. As a response to the situation, residents have organized neighborhood security meetings to address these problems. In some cases, neighbors block the windows and doors of vacant houses to prevent others from entering, as shown in Figure 9. In other cases, along with the INFONAVIT, they mark them as “registered” to signal to squatters that neighbors are surveilling these vacant spaces.

Dolores is a woman who arrived at the cluster 14 years ago; she became a “cluster steward” after she saw the problems related to insecurity. In the following quote, Dolores describes how she started to know her neighbors and to get organized to stop squatters from “invading” her block:

When all of that started [vacant houses], I saw the landscape and I thought no, I cannot allow that if houses are vacant, at least in my space, on my block, I cannot allow that squatters come to live here *como perro sin dueño* [a dog without an owner]. I saw them leaving their children and saying, ‘go, go to the street and see what you can get, what you can steal,’ so I thought to myself, I can’t. What I did was, with my neighbors on this block, when the vacant houses started, we started to maintain them, clean them, mow the lawn, and stuff like that. I didn’t want to have *paracaidistas* [squatters] across the street, or *mariguanos* [pot smokers] or nothing like that. So, all of the neighbors, we understood, with talks and meetings that ...at least in this block, we were not going to let them squat. In this block, there is not a single *paracaidista*. I started to gather neighbor’s phone numbers to talk, and that is how it started. Before the *paracaidistas* would come to invade a house and nobody would say anything, but it is not like that anymore. (Dolores)

Dolores’ way of starting to think about how to take care of “her space” is consistent with previous research (see chapter two) documenting how women often resist and transform the spaces imposed upon them (Miranne & Young, 2000), and how gender plays an important role in community development (Miraftab, 1998). Dolores mentioned to me that she did not want her children to be raised in an environment that she considered negative. Therefore, her concern for “not allowing houses to be abandoned” because they bring “*mariguanos*” and “*paracaidistas*” led her to organize and manage the space beyond the scale of her household.

Dolores and the rest of the women that I interviewed had a negative perception of vacant houses, especially when the squatters are not known. However, empty houses have been an

opportunity for households to access temporary housing; families that do not have the means to obtain formal housing (buy or rent) have been occupying vacant houses. In some cases, many squatters are often relatives of owners, as Marcela explains:

[People that do illegal things] are mostly people that squat. Here at the corner, there are *paracaidistas*, the women from the convenience store, she is a *paracaidista*, down here there is another *paracaidista* and up there [at the end of her block] there are two more. They are children; the ones up there are the children of another neighbor that doesn't want to pay rent, so they just squat in the house across her mom's house that has been vacant for a while now. (Marcela)

Indeed, a participant of this research, Belén, was a *paracaidista* [squatter] herself. She arrived in 2004 to *Hacienda Santa Fé* with her mother, her father-in-law and her two siblings. Since then, Belén and her siblings have occupied houses in the same cluster where her mother lives. In contrast to the negative perspectives that other residents have of vacant houses, Belén told me that it allowed her to enhance her housing situation. "Borrowing" a house has freed her family from the previous situation of sharing a crowded room with her in-laws. Furthermore, she found this house in the same cluster as her mother and in-laws which means her support networks are nearby:

When I got together with my husband, I went to live at my mother-in-law's house. I was there for nine years until I told him that it was time to rent, for the children. That is when we left to rent. We were... oh no, my son was not there, we were four, plus her mom and my brother-in-law. We were six then, right? Six. (Belén)

How was that experience? (Paulina)

No, well...no. No, it was horrible. Really, because in one room we slept with my children, and in another my mother-in-law, and my brother-in-law slept in the living room. Besides that, to be honest, I never felt comfortable. So it was horrible to live like that, horrible. Because you can't do what you want, for example... If I shower and leave the bathroom in my robe, or something comfortable like that... to easily change into my clothes...I don't know. Also, I could not be in shorts or comfortable clothes because my brother-in-law was always there and no, like that it's not comfortable. (Belén)

As illustrated by Belén's testimony, vacant houses can also be a resource that some families use. For some, vacant houses can be an asset against extreme poverty in times of need, even as they are

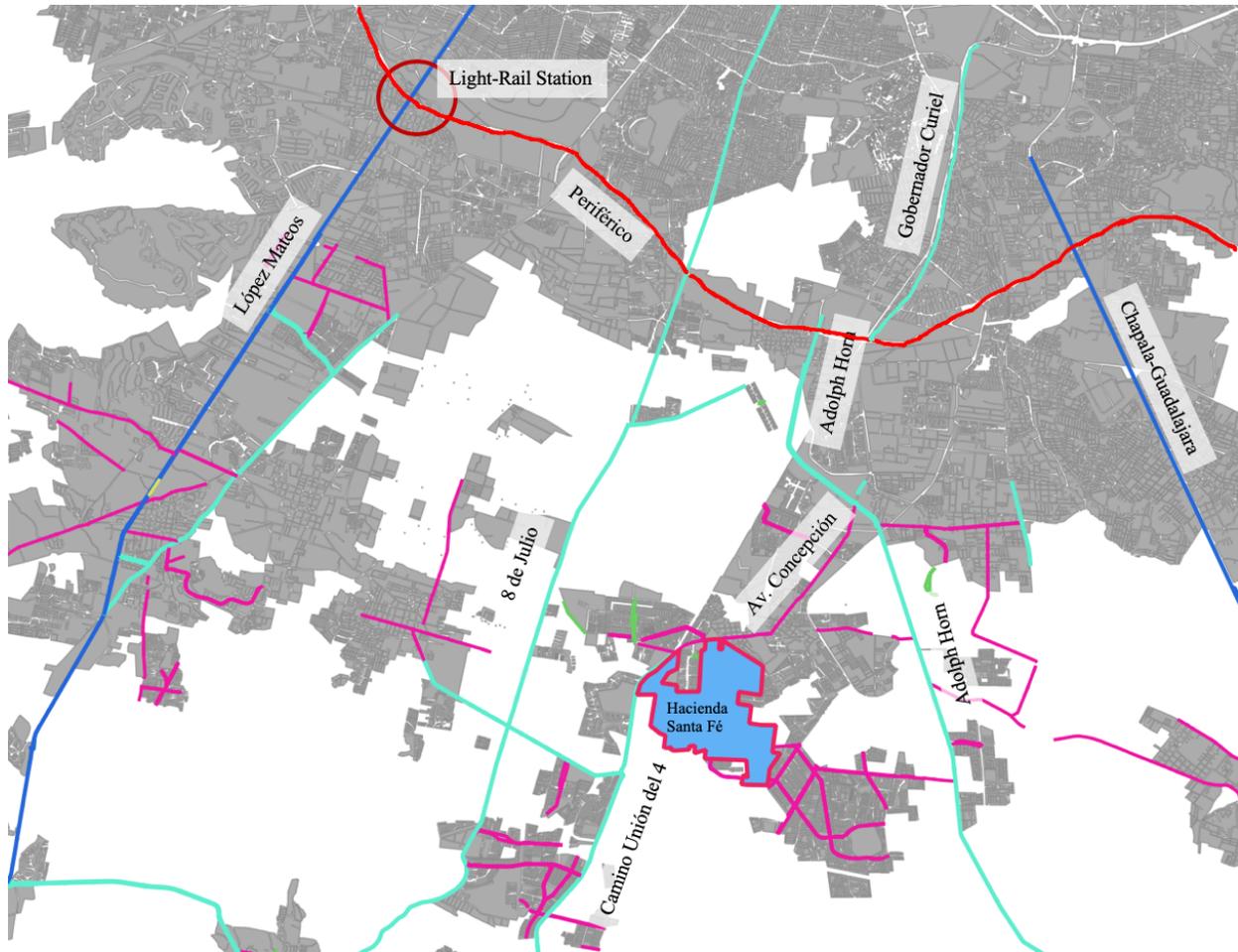
opposed by others in the same community. After a year from my initial interviews, I went back to visit Cristina, a woman head of household with three small children. She has been renting a house in *Hacienda Santa Fé* since she separated from her husband. When I visited her, she told me she was pregnant and did not have a job at the moment because the school kitchen where she works was on summer vacation. Cristina was two months behind on her rent. Her economic stress was so high that Cristina was preparing to occupy a vacant house she identified in a nearby cluster with her sister-in-law. She showed me a door that she bought for the empty house and her plans for fixing up the house step by step. She also expressed fearfulness and worries about moving to a very uncertain situation with her children. Even if vacant houses functioned as an asset in her time of need, the lack of a formal rental agreement also created vulnerability.

4.4 Getting to Hacienda Santa Fé

The following section represents my experience and observations of the economic and physical barriers of mobility that residents from *Hacienda Santa Fé* have to overcome in order to manage their daily lives. As in the case of many of the *complejos habitacionales* that comprise Tlajomulco's landscape, traveling to and from *Hacienda Santa Fé* entails a long, multi-modal trajectory that demands multiple resources (e.g. time and money). As shown on Figure 10, there are only two major roads that connect *Hacienda Santa Fé*'s with the rest of the Metropolitan Area: Adolph Horn and *8 de Julio*. Adolph Horn is an avenue that connects to the *Periférico*, a major road in Guadalajara that goes around the GMA, to the town of *Cajititlán*. The street, *8 de julio*, starts in the center of Guadalajara and finishes in the town of Tlajomulco de Zuniga. Arriving by car is the most straightforward way of getting to *Hacienda Santa Fé*, from the *Periférico*, several traffic signs indicate the directions to get *Hacienda Santa Fé*. However, the avenues and the

Periférico itself are often congested because those routes are the only ways to access Tlajomulco's housing complexes.

Figure 10: Road network to get to *Hacienda Santa Fé*



Source: Author, 2018 based on road hierarchical network by Tlajomulco, 2018d.

When I traveled by public transport, I used different ways to get there. During fieldwork visits, I took different bus routes, according to the participants' recommendations. The bus route choice depended on my point of departure; however, the *Periférico* is a key arterial road for anyone going to *Hacienda Santa Fé* because most of the buses that go all the way to *Hacienda Santa Fé* cross or follow this road at some point. To reach the community from central Guadalajara, I would travel on the light rail until its final stop at *Periférico Sur*. From there, I would have to cross the

Periférico on a pedestrian bridge to get to the bus stop (Figure 11). This bridge runs over an intersection of two roads that lead to the highway. Therefore, the roads carry heavy truck traffic. It is a large bridge that entails a long walk to cross and climb the ramp²⁵. Due to its configuration, the bridge has many blind spots, for instance, people standing on the bus stop cannot see people crossing the bridge. All of the above make the change of route from the light rail to a bus very uncomfortable. I avoided using this route after dark and often waited until another person was crossing in order to not to cross the bridge alone. During peak hours, the pedestrian bridge had abundant foot traffic, and there were always people to walk with. However, this long walk did not feel safe when I was traveling at off-peak times. The bus stop across the bridge then functions as a busy and chaotic terminal for many routes that distribute light rail passengers to diverse areas of the southern GMA. From here, there are a couple of buses that go in the direction of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, a decision that is taken in conjunction with the time and money one is willing to spend. First, the way to get to *Hacienda Santa Fé* would be to take any bus going toward *Avenida Concepción*, however, these buses do not enter the inner circuit of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, therefore, from the entrance of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, I had to walk or get a moto taxi. Second, the cheapest way would be to wait for one of the buses that directly enter *Hacienda Santa Fé*, however, this often meant waiting for the bus for up to an hour. Third, during peak hours, people often ask around the bus stop, and if they find someone going towards the same direction, they might share a taxi or an Uber.

²⁵ In an effort to make this bridge universally accessible instead of stairs there are ramps that increase the walk significantly.

Figure 11: Bus stop outside the light rail station in *Periférico*, Guadalajara



Source: Google Street View, 2019a.

When in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, the moto-taxis were usually waiting next to the bus stop, in the supermarket parking lot, and they charged \$0.67 CAD (\$10 MXN) to take passengers to the entrance of any cluster or \$1.33 CAD (\$20 MXN) to go inside a cluster. Participants advised me to take moto-taxis only when necessary because they consider them dangerous, they drive fast, and there have been many accidents in them. I used them a couple of times when I took the bus route that left me outside of the complex. On average, I would spend between \$2.00 and \$5.00 CAD (\$28 to \$68 MXN) on a round trip to *Hacienda Santa Fé* from a central neighborhood to the GMA. When I spent less money, as a rule, I spent more time walking or waiting for buses, whereas the days I spent \$5.00 CAD (\$68 MXN) I took moto taxis or took an extra bus that would get me faster to the cluster that I was visiting. Even on the days I chose to spend \$5.00 CAD, it would still take me at least one hour to get to *Hacienda Santa Fé* from a central neighborhood.

Regardless of the route taken, I had to pass through corn crops or large empty lots with cows eating grass before arriving at the housing complex (see Figure 12). Once past the *Periférico*, the landscape fills with the repetitive architecture of housing complexes. Closest to the most important avenues (*8 de Julio* and Adolph Horn) are middle-class, gated housing complexes. Once the bus turns onto the smaller roads, the "*mini-casas*" start to appear. On these roads, there is one medium-size housing complex after the other²⁶, and in between them, there are shops such as pharmacies, supermarkets, and street vendors selling food from carts at the entrance of the housing complexes.

Figure 12: Empty lot next to *Hacienda Santa Fé*



Source: Author, 2018.

²⁶ *Hacienda Santa Fé* and *Chulavista* are still the most extensive housing complexes of *mini-casas* in Tlajomulco. The rest are medium-sized complexes.

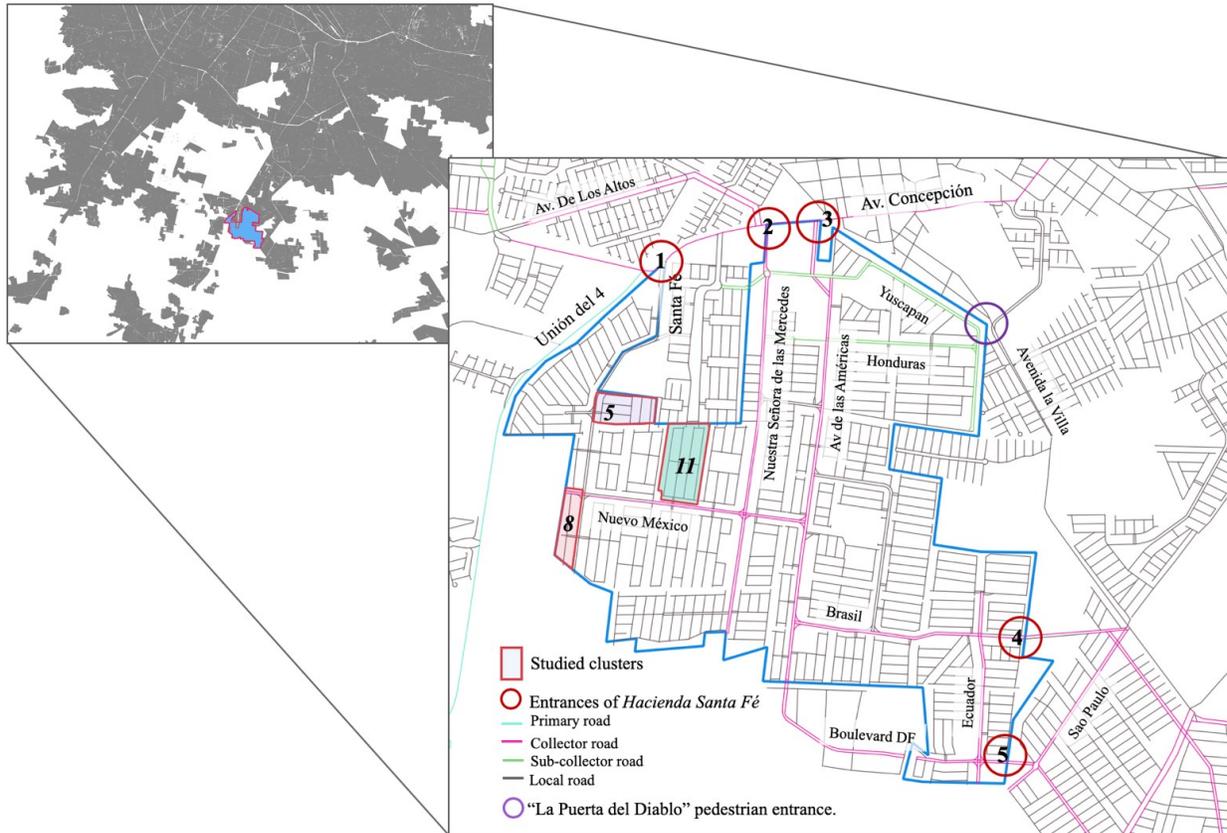
The main entrances of *Hacienda Santa Fé* are found at the intersection of *Camino del 4* and *Concepción* avenue. The entrance in *Concepción* avenue (marked with number three on Figure 14) is crowded with small businesses of all sorts, street vendors, a supermarket, a couple of department stores and pharmacies. Since *Hacienda Santa Fé* is not a gated community, the commerce and small business continue on the main avenues inside the complex. The west entrance (*Concepción* avenue and *Camino Unión del 4*) of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, marked with the number two in Figure 14 and portrayed on Figure 13, has a large empty lot that holds a weekly *tianguis*, and employment fairs with companies recruiting assembly line-workers and private security guards.

Figure 13: West entrance of *Hacienda Santa Fé*



Source: Google Street View, 2019b.

Figure 14: Road network of Hacienda Santa Fé and case study clusters



Source: Author, 2018 based on road hierarchical road network by Tlajomulco, 2018d.

4.5 Hacienda Santa Fé over Time

As stated before, *Hacienda Santa Fé* is one of the oldest housing complexes of the area, 16 years have passed since the first houses were built. Many processes over time have altered the urban image of the complex from its original design, such as modification of housing units, installment of home-enterprises and businesses, and the abandonment of housing units by residents. Today, *Hacienda Santa Fé* has a very deteriorated urban image – the large number of vacant houses and the neglect of street and sidewalk maintenance over the years are evident as soon as one enters the complex.

The inner circuit of main roads in *Hacienda Santa Fé* has small businesses on commercial premises or houses that residents have modified according to the business needs. The design of the houses facing small streets inside each cluster, instead of facing the larger avenues, form long sections of the roads flanked by walls in between each cluster entrance. This barrier creates a physical distance between neighboring clusters, which, according to Capron and Esquivel (2015) deepens isolation and social distance – both between clusters and with the rest of the city. All of these walls were covered with graffiti tags until they were painted with murals made under the auspices of a local government program called TRAZA. This program aspired to establish Tlajomulco as the most extensive urban art gallery in Mexico, promoted by the organizers as “more than murals, we are building communities through the use of art” (Ayuntamiento de Tlajomulco, para. 5) Despite the beauty of the murals, they do not change the discomfort of walking on a deserted sidewalk flanked by walls, as represented on Figure 15.

Figure 15: Boulevard Nuevo México, one of *Hacienda Santa Fé*'s main avenues



Source: Author, 2018.

The sidewalks also lack proper lighting and tree maintenance²⁷, which form many blind spots along the way. Each entrance of the clusters is more or less the same, they all have a sign with the cluster number, and none of them is gated. Recent renovations by the Department of Citizen Participation of the local government [*Dirección de Participación Ciudadana*] include "parklets" at the entrances, consisting of a couple of benches (see Figure 16). These two interventions (TRAZA and parklets) are representative of the kind of programs that the municipality implements regarding the built environment of the complex. Despite these efforts to improve the public image of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, they do not address the larger problems regarding the built environment produced by a formulaic, neoliberal housing model. Another issue is that parklets are usually an affordable and quick manner to increase public space in a city. This "efficiency" has made parklets a popular intervention and they have replicas in many cities around the globe. However, in the case of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, they were installed next to an actual park with benches and playgrounds (parks in clusters are usually next to the entrances). This configuration has made the benches at the entrance unattractive for residents to use. None of the women I interviewed had made use of Tlajomulco's parklets or thought of them as beneficial.

²⁷ Trees are not well maintained and pruned consistently to keep the sidewalks visible.

Figure 16: Parklet at the entrance of cluster 22



Source: Author, 2018.

When entering each cluster, there is the impression of entering a quiet place. During the weekdays, the people I saw on the street were mostly on their way to go in, or on their way out of the complex. When arriving during the week to conduct my field research, I would often see a few neighbors gathering in the park to talk beneath the shadow of a tree, or boys playing football. On weekends, it was common to see streets blocked by chairs and tables or *brincolines*²⁸, signs of gatherings and parties. Despite the quiet impressions that I had of the cluster as an outsider, participants mentioned that gang members gathered in the inner alley or in the park at certain times of the day. The presence of male outsiders in the cluster alarmed some of the residents. For instance, Emilia, a 37-year-old mother who has lived in the complex for over 14 years, expressed fear at the presence of *malandrines*, which has contributed to her perspective of living in a

²⁸ *Brincolin* is a bouncing house/inflatable castle that people rent to entertain children at parties.

dangerous place. Emilia's testimony points out that the presence of "strange" men has changed her relationship to the neighborhood by letting her daughter spend less time outside the house.

I said no, it is really dangerous nowadays. That is why I tell my daughter 'If you are going out, go early and come back soon because it is dangerous'. (Emilia)

Inside the clusters, most of the houses are, at least in appearance, residential. There are a few houses that have been adapted as convenience stores or *papelerías*. All clusters have a community park in the center or a *terrazza*. Usually, the parks have a game area for children with swings and a soccer field. Some of the clusters have pedestrian alleys that connect them from the inside, so residents do not have to walk to the main roads in order to go to the next cluster, usually the cluster that has these inner alleys are the ones that have an attraction point inside them: a school, a church, sport complex, or a LICONSA²⁹ store.

Initially, the sub-divisions of *Hacienda Santa Fé* were solely filled with housing units, without taking into consideration its surrounding environment or the development of urban amenities. The monofunctional characteristics of the early stages of development in *Hacienda Santa Fé* imposed many difficulties in the daily life of residents. As several different residents told me:

Everything was desolate; there were no buses, no convenience stores where we could buy things, no butcher shops, nothing of the sort. No schools, neither high schools nor middle schools, nothing like that. This was *Hacienda Santa Fé* when we first arrived... there was not any of that. We also had power outages very often. (Graciela)

We did not have any services. The closest convenience store was in a different cluster. Also, the bus stop was in *La Concha* [the closest town at that time]. I mean, it was quiet, but far from everything, from every service. Route 171 was the only bus route, but its final stop was in *La Concha*, and from there, you had to walk [around two or three kilometers]. (Gloria)

When I first arrived here...well... there were not many ways of public transport, just one. There was one convenience store but very far. We had to walk a long way to do groceries. (Candelaria)

²⁹ LICONSA is a company subsidized by the Federal government of Mexico. Its function is to industrialize and commercialize milk bags at very low cost for people in social vulnerability.

As the testimonies of Graciela, Gloria and Candelaria highlight, the unfolding of their everyday life was bound to the monofunctional planning of their housing complex. Their narratives illustrate how this perspective of housing as a private, individual space does not take into account the surrounding environment and the need for spaces that support the accomplishment of daily life. The distress they experienced when they first moved was also significant. To the extent possible, residents have organized to introduce lacking social infrastructure or other amenities and services. For example, Graciela was part of the parents group that fought to bring a new *primaria* to *Hacienda Santa Fé* when her children were about to enter school. Marcela was part of the group that started the first *tianguis* of the complex, because she wanted a job near her children.

The landscape nowadays is very different from the descriptions of the original complex that Graciela, Gloria, and Candelaria related. Now, commerce and small businesses proliferate on *Hacienda Santa Fé* avenues. The rise of supermarkets, a cinema complex, departmental stores, and chain convenience stores is consistent with Duhau et al. (2007) remarks on how globalized modalities of consumption have flexibilized and adapted to integrate popular sectors and broaden their market. These flexible modalities are now present in *Hacienda Santa Fé* and in women's patterns of consumption. At present residents usually shop at the local stores around the complex, unless it is a specific good (e.g. school supplies, wholesale merchandise for resale).

Hacienda Santa Fé dwellers have also participated in reshaping the built environment of their neighborhood. None of the participants were satisfied with the finished product that was delivered to them when they bought the house. Women's discontent with the standardized constructive aspects of their houses is representative of the failure of the housing model to consider the diverse needs of "beneficiaries". Residents have modified the original design of many houses. Some of them have minimal alterations while others have undergone significant transformations

to the point that it is hard to recognize there was once a *mini- casa* in the place of a two-storey house (see Figure 17). The homogeneous design of the same housing unit for every family is not so evident at the present moment than it was initially. The transformations range from modifying the house for household needs to adapting the construction to incorporate a business. Figure 17 represents these two angles of adapting a house in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. The poor quality of housing construction along with the needs of commerce and services on proximity of the houses have underpinned adaptations of the houses. However, the poor quality of the houses has hindered some residents' possibilities for modifying their houses. Gloria told me that it has not been possible for her household yet to build the extra room they want because any money they manage to save goes towards fixing minor deficiencies (that arise regularly) in the original house.

Figure 17: The diversity of transformations of the original "mini-casa" design, *Hacienda Santa Fé*



Source: Author, 2018.

When participants reflected about what has changed over the years in *Hacienda Santa Fé* they mostly commented on the variety of shopping options they now have. Consistent with Duhau

& Giglia's (2007) research on shopping patterns of popular sectors of the urban periphery of Mexico City, residents of *Hacienda Santa Fé* now have options to satisfy their shopping needs between traditional -and sometimes informal- ways of shopping (e.g. *tianguis*, in-house stores), and globalized modalities of consumption (e.g. supermarket chains). Markedly, these changes and micro-alterations have mostly benefitted residents' shopping needs. However, recognizing that people do more than shopping in their daily lives, the monofunctional characteristics of the original design are still an obstacle for the success of other activities of the everyday (e.g. education, work, health care).

4.6 Summary

According to Yin (2015), "the case itself is at center stage, not variables" (p. 68). In this chapter, I have outlined the socio-spatial context in which this research is based, namely, the housing complex *Hacienda Santa Fé*. I described the physical characteristics of *Hacienda Santa Fé* and outlined some of the key issues associated with these characteristics and housing approach, including the problem of vacant houses and the complex's evolution over time. I also narrated my personal experiences traveling to and from *Hacienda Santa Fé* in order to trace the mobility challenges that residents from *Hacienda Santa Fé* face in their everyday lives in order to move in and out of their neighborhood. By contextualizing the place where women experience their everyday lives, the chapter details how the mass-produced approach of social housing has landed in Tlajomulco de Zuñiga as well as the place-based factors that influence women's experiences. In this way, this chapter serves to make connections between the spatial characteristics of *Hacienda Santa Fé* and the social analysis that follows. Consistent with my case study approach, this description of *Hacienda Santa Fé* reflects the multiple methods adopted by this research:

participant observation, interviews with participants and government officials, quantitative data from official sources, and a review of academic literature regarding vacant housing.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion of Women's Everyday Lives

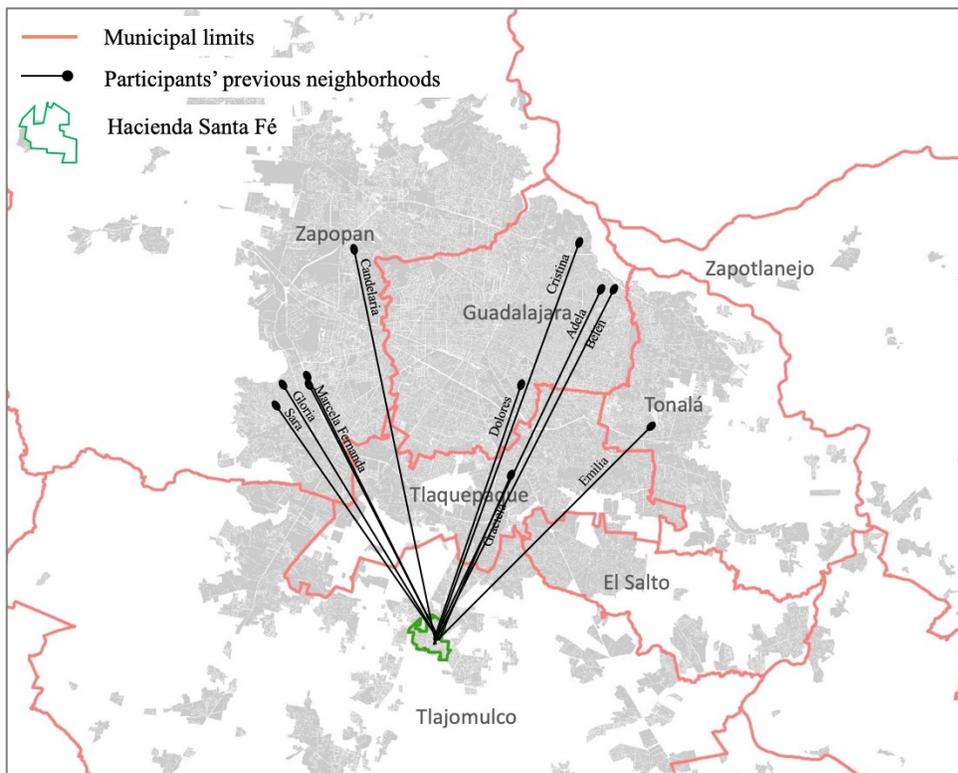
5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I delve further into the spaces created by mass-produced housing complexes and their effects on women's everyday lives. The way to uncover the implications of living in such places was to spend time with the "beneficiaries" and listen carefully to their relationship with their place of residence. To hear diverse women narrate their daily practices allowed me to notice different ways of living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. This chapter presents the findings from my semi-structured interviews, focus groups discussions and participant observation. The ensuing analysis focuses on some of the most significant elements that affect women's everyday lives in relation to living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. The findings are organized in three sections that encapsulate the main themes identified.

First, in order to analyze the implications of living in a mass-produced housing complex, I identify women's complex geographies, which is the first research objective of this thesis. In other words, the aim is to explore how women's daily lives are structured in and from the housing complex. Considering that everyday life is different among women, I provide three vignettes of mini-case studies that evidence the complexity of women's geographies. These vignettes follow the journey of a regular day in the life of three participants. In this sense, exploring the spaces that women use and the ways in which they connect them enables an exploration of the multiple ways in which a place is known, used and appropriated by its users-inhabitants (Aguilar et al., 1998). Second, I discuss four emblematic spaces present in the everyday lives of participants. The places for social reproduction, to shop, to study and to work were the most relevant themes discussed by participants in relation to the activities they perform on a daily basis. Third, due to the typical location in the peripheries of cities, I discuss a theme that has become characteristic for mass-

produced housing complexes across different latitudes: mobility. Furthermore, when observing the routines of women it became apparent that an important problematic of everyday life in *Hacienda Santa Fé* is how to connect these emblematic spaces. In this part, I will discuss the experiences that women had with mobility and how it affects certain aspects of their lives, such as the maintenance of social networks. As explored below, I found that the characteristics of participants' experiences in *Hacienda Santa Fé* varied depending on different contextual factors such as age, household composition, life course position, access to multimodal ways of transport, previous housing location and situation³⁰ among others (see Figure 18).

Figure 18: Participant's previous neighborhoods before moving to *Hacienda Santa Fé*



Source: interviews data, 2018; INEGI, 2010.

³⁰ All of this basic information is available on Appendix F.

5.2 Ways of Living and Complex Geographies in Three Vignettes

5.2.1 *Emilia: Everyday Life on the Inside of the Complex*

Emilia is a 37-year-old woman who lived in the complex for over ten years. She lives with her husband and her 14-year-old daughter. Her husband does not participate in any of the daily social reproduction chores of the household and he works at a factory most of the day. In contrast, Emilia spends most of her time inside her house as she works from home, babysitting her neighbors' children. Emilia was able to start doing this because other working – and often commuting – mothers in the complex are in regular need of sitters. At the time of the interview, she was taking care of two children, a newborn baby and a disabled boy. She expressed that she does not like taking care of children because it is a lot of work and low pay, yet Emilia says that since she did not have the opportunity to study, this is the only way for her to earn money. For her, childcare is an attractive way to earn a bit of money and have a "distraction" from being alone in her house for long periods of the day.

Emilia's day starts at 5:00 am. She wakes up at this time to lock the door after her husband leaves for work. Shortly after he leaves, the neighbor from across the street brings her baby over. Maria, the mother of the baby, recently finished her maternity leave at work and was in need of sitting help from 6:00 am until 1:30 pm during the week. Maria picks up her baby around 2:00 pm, and after that, Emilia has a small break to take her daughter to school until the next child arrives. From 3:30 to 6:00 pm, she takes care of a seven-year-old child, so the mother can have time for herself and workout at a nearby gym. Every day, around 4:00 pm, Emilia walks again to her daughter's school to bring her snacks, bringing along the child that she takes care of in the afternoons. Her daughter's school is in the cluster next to hers, therefore it is a short 15-minute walk. Emilia likes this walk, even if it is not entirely necessary (she could send snacks in her

daughter's backpack). She prefers to do this walk to distract herself and to break the monotony of the day and her domestic enclosure. During this walk, she stops to greet neighbors, and usually buys herself a snack from her friend's stand on the sidewalk nearby. Their conversations revolve around the weather, the neighborhood, and general information about their day. In line with Soto's (2013) research findings in Mexico City, Emilia sees this walk as an opportunity to be outside, talk, socialize and get to know what is going on outside her house. Shortly after this walk, Carolina, the mother of the boy, picks him up. Then Emilia has to run out and pick up her daughter and then wait for her husband to come home around 9:00 or 10:00 pm. She serves him dinner, and right after that, she goes to bed.

Emilia arrived in *Hacienda Santa Fé* because her husband secured an INFONAVIT credit to buy a house. They came to live here from Tonalá, a municipality from the first periphery of the eastern metropolitan area (referenced on Figure 18, page 105). Emilia resents that she did not participate in the decision of buying a house in Tlajomulco, as she would have chosen to get a house in a complex in Tonalá because it is closer to her family network. As Emilia expressed in her interview, she regrets being away from her family, and misses attending family reunions and being close to her sister who has always been her support. When asked about whether she would prefer to move back to her old neighborhood, Emilia said:

Honestly, yes, because there we were together on a daily basis, we always got together in family reunions and all that...even though we still do, but I just can't be bothered to when I think about the buses... the buses that sometimes are fast but sometimes are as slow as donkeys, so I just say 'no' (Emilia)

This kind of decision still makes Emilia feel frustrated because, according to her, it was challenging to arrive at *Hacienda Santa Fé* without knowing anybody and without any social network. Emilia confessed to feeling trapped in her situation, and she could not go back by herself to Tonalá. Besides, one Friday afternoon that I visited her, Emilia expressed to me her frustration

of not being able to attend her aunt's birthday in Tonalá because her husband only "gave her permission to go one day." The time and money to go there without staying overnight made Emilia decide to stay home instead. Otherwise, she would only have a couple of hours with her family before she had to head back home. Walks aside, Emilia barely leaves her home. She spends most of her days inside her unit.

5.2.2 *Marcela: Challenging the Private/Public Dichotomy*

Marcela is a 42-year-old woman that has been in *Hacienda Santa Fé* for 16 years and works as a janitor at a school 20 minutes away from her house by car. She lives with two of her children and her husband. According to Marcela, she prefers to be the only one dealing with social reproduction activities. Marcela splits most part of her time between two places: her job and her house. Her day begins around 6:00 am; she gets up at this time to get herself and her 5-year-old son ready for the day. Every morning, all of the family leaves the house at the same time. Mario, her husband, drives the family car and drops everyone off along the way to his work. He started driving Marcela to her job not long ago, hence, it now only takes her 20 minutes (by bus it is more than an hour commute) to get there. When she used to take public transport, she woke up at 5:00 am to leave her house before 6:00 am in order to catch a bus on time. She would like to change her job for less tiresome work that is better paid. However, she stays there because she has benefits such as a health plan and she can bring her child with her. Marcela takes her son with her for the first couple of hours of her shift, and at 8:30 am she takes a break from her work to give him a light breakfast and drop him off at his kindergarten, which is right across the street from her work. His classes finish at 2:30 pm, and Marcela then takes another break to pick him up and feed him once again. He follows her around eating lunch while she finishes her shift at 5:00 pm. If Marcela has errands to do, she goes right after her shift accompanied by her son. These errands usually

include paying the household landline and internet service, going to a neighboring housing complex to meet with a client (she sells make-up products by catalogue) or food shopping for the day. Marcela dislikes her daily commutes because she is afraid of being robbed on the bus and has to bus with her small son, which is a burden that gives her much trouble. According to the following quote, moving with a small child on buses is a tiresome activity for Marcela, and sometimes she even has to carry him:

If I get out of my job at 4:50 pm, I can grab a seat and come home comfortably; but if I get out at 5:00 pm on the dot or five minutes past five, oh no! Then I'm faced with super-crowded buses... sometimes I have to be standing all the way with my child... As soon as we get into the bus, my child falls asleep, and that's a whole challenge. It is a burdensome commute... I also feel scared because around 5:00 pm I have been robbed. Someone stole my wallet, and they accessed all of my (bank) cards. I carry several food vouchers in my wallet, my son's [20-year-old son that works in the same factory as his father], my husband's and mine.... So they used all of my food vouchers and also, they emptied my debit card; I had just deposited some savings. They stole like \$843 CAD (\$12,000 MXN), and they spent it all. I recovered a part, but anyways, at that time of the day... that incident marked me. Till this day, I feel terrified. (Marcela)

When Marcela arrives home from work, she puts her son down for a nap or lets him watch television while she does the house chores. She starts doing laundry, cleaning the floor and cooking dinner and lunch for the next day. After a while, she pauses these chores to help her son with his homework. Next, she lets him watch television again while she finishes the tasks she started earlier. At 8:00 pm the son eats dinner and she bathes him and puts him to sleep. While he sleeps, Marcela continues cleaning the house and preparing everybody's food for the next day. She prepares six lunches in total for: her husband, her father-in-law, her daughter, her son (Marcela has another son who does not live at home anymore) and a colleague of her husband (she sells lunch to this colleague). Every night she also irons uniforms for herself, her husband and her small son, and polishes shoes. Marcela told me her kitchen was at the center of her emblematic spaces. She

explained that she always has the kitchen on her mind, which means this is the space where she spends most of her time:

From the school [her job] I arrive directly, no-layovers, to the kitchen and I stay there until 11:00 pm. Don't envy me, please! (Marcela)

Marcela expressed her enjoyment of her Saturday mornings. Saturday is the day her husband goes to visit his mom and takes their children with him. She does not go with them because she does not have a good relationship with her in-laws. Marcela stays to walk to the *carnicería*³¹ and the *verdulería*³². She stays to enjoy the walk because she does it alone, she can go at her own pace and shop at her own rhythm, not worrying about her son. Even if she is performing an activity for her household, for Marcela, going to the *carnicería* on a Saturday is not seen as a chore, it is instead a rupture of her weekly and daily routine. She considers it to be a rupture with her role as the mother of a small child and an opportunity to encounter her neighbors and socialize. The freedom of taking her time to compare prices, check items on sale, see items aisle by aisle, are things that she cannot do when accompanied by her children. She stops to greet and have informal talks with neighbors and sellers that inform her of what is going on in the spaces outside of her daily routine.

I go and chat with the butchers, yes, I chat... from there I go with the guy from the vegetable stand, oh no, no [chatting with] him because his wife doesn't like that. That is my weekend tour: *carnicería*, *verdulería*, and Soriana [supermarket] (Marcela).

As detailed in her routine, being responsible for small children binds Marcela to her motherhood responsibilities for most of her day. Her son's needs are present throughout the activities that compose her day: during her waged work activities as well as in the tasks dedicated to the maintenance of her household. Even during our interviews, her son's needs would continuously interrupt the conversations. In Marcela's life, her care or "private" responsibilities are part of her

³¹ Butcher shop.

³² Vegetable shop.

wage earning or “public” life. His needs modulate the shape her day takes. In addition, Marcela's routine is clear evidence of women's disproportionate responsibility for social reproduction activities. Besides her work shift, she also has to strive to maintain the well-being of her household. In line with Segovia's (2017) claims, Marcela's everyday life allows us to comprehend how her care responsibilities construct her experiences and perceptions of urban space (and time) in a different way than, for example, her husband. Marcela's way of living in the city is a call to see public and private space in a relational way.

5.2.3 Sara: Young Commuter

Sara is 18 years old; she lives in a two-bedroom house in *Hacienda Santa Fé* with her parents and three brothers (she shares a bedroom with two brothers). She spends most of her time outside the complex, either at her job or at her high school. Weeks before I met her, Sara had a horrific incident on her commute back home that made her quit her job and she has not found another one yet.³³ Nevertheless, she chose to narrate the everyday life she had when she was working. For her, the period in which the interview took place was a period of transition, a time to figure out, along with her parents, what to do next with her working activities. Sara leaves the house at 6:10 am accompanied by her mom to take a bus to *Chulavista*, which is in the opposite direction of her final destination, however, going there increases her chances of being able to get on a bus at that hour. Usually, at that time of the day, buses do not stop at the bus stop near her home because they are already overcrowded. In the *Chulavista* terminal, however, if luck is on her side, she can catch a bus that takes her straight to her job at a call center. If not, she takes a bus to the light rail station in *Periférico Sur* to take another bus from there. Right after her shift, she takes

³³ Sara was abducted when walking on a pedestrian bridge on her way to the bus stop. She was drugged and woke up in a park in a different area of the city. She revealed the generalities of this incident and expressed her desire not to discuss any further details of her abduction.

a bus that leaves her at *Periférico*, a few blocks from her *prepa* [high school]. During the term her classes would finish at 8:00 pm, and at this time she walks out to the *Periférico* to catch a bus home. Although, if no friend is there to walk those couple of blocks with her, she prefers to wait outside her *prepa* for a different bus route that takes her to the nearby mall *Las Fuentes*, where Sara waits for another bus home. Even if this wait takes more resources (economic and time), she prefers it because she feels safer waiting for the bus right outside her high school and in the mall, instead of walking to *Periférico* alone. She perceives the walk to the *Periférico* as dangerous. Sara then takes the bus towards *Hacienda Santa Fé* that drops her off at the entrance of the complex. Since by that time it is already dark, she only walks home if she made previous plans to walk with a friend or finds someone that can accompany her on the walk. Otherwise, Sara takes another bus for a 5-10-minute ride to her cluster. She prefers the bus when she is alone, not only because she perceives that walk as dangerous, but also because by that time she feels already exhausted and wants to get home as soon as possible. Sara considers all of those walks, along with the pedestrian bridge that goes to her high school, and the bus rides, as "risky spaces". She often modifies her movements because of her perceptions of fear and risk.

As soon as Sara arrives home, she has dinner, takes a shower, and goes to bed. Typically, she would take six buses in total per day. Despite her student discount for public transportation, according to her, a quarter of her salary is spent on buses. From Monday to Saturday, she has this routine, which she defined as exhausting. Still, she does it every day because, for her, living in *Hacienda Santa Fé* means long commutes.

Sara chose to find a job away from *Hacienda Santa Fé* because, according to her, the pay is usually better. Sara believes that, for students, it is easier to find better job opportunities in different neighborhoods. Furthermore, she chose to register at a high school far from *Hacienda*

Santa Fé because she feels it is better for her future to surround herself with youth from other parts of the city, as she describes in the following excerpt.

For example, I feel that my peers [high school peers] are more focused than the ones I had here in the *secundaria* [middle school]. Because here in the *secundaria* everyone was like ‘What do you want to be when you grow up?’, ‘I want to be a mother.’ I have several friends of my age that already had babies, and it's like Woah! Also, over there it is different; everyone is like ‘I am eager to study; I have to finish high school with good grades because I want to apply for nursing school.’ Or for medical school, everyone is like that... however, I think ‘Oh my god, and what about my grades?’ It's like if you get involved with different people and different ways of thinking, there are many things that you can pick up from that. For example, down there, the majority of my friends have attended extra-curricular classes since they were kids. However, here, to go to these kinds of classes, oh boy! Getting into classes like that is hard. (Sara)

For Sara, working and studying to better herself far from *Hacienda Santa Fé* reflects her desire for surpassing the limits imposed on her by the social and spatial configuration of her neighborhood. Sara also recognizes that some of her peers from *secundaria* (that are also her neighbors) preferred not to continue with high school because not all of them wanted to have the same routine that Sara faces daily. Educational infrastructure has increased since the construction of *Hacienda Santa Fé*; however, this expansion has occurred mainly in the private sector, particularly for secondary and college level education. Public schools close to the complex are often overcrowded and not everyone can pay for the private ones. Many of Sara's friends had to start working right after they graduated from *Secundaria*. She explained the case of a friend of hers that quit high school because of the commute:

Yes, it was like ‘Oh no, it's too far, better not.’ A friend from middle school was accepted at the *Vocacional* [a technical high school in Tlaquepaque]. So, it was like, from here she went all the way there, but she gave up during the second semester. She said, ‘No, I'm not going to study anymore.’ So, she left school. (Sara)

On Saturdays, Sara likes to hang out with her boyfriend, walk around the center of Guadalajara with her mom, and once a month she goes to the center to buy *transvales*³⁴. Sara has also

³⁴ *Transvales* are discount tickets students buy in certain locations for public transport.

encountered that other difficulties arise when living in *Hacienda Santa Fé* intersect with her studies. With a routine like hers, she does not have much time left for studying, such as preparing for tests and finishing homework:

In my first term, I struggled a lot with my technology class. As I told you before, we did not have computer labs here, I started with all that over there. I did not have a computer. Moreover, I finished my classes at 8:00 pm and my teacher used to say 'at 11:00 pm the online platform will close, you will have to upload your homework before it closes'. I only arrived home at 10:00 pm and at that time the cyber cafes are already closed. I tried to explain this to my teacher, but he gave me trouble for it. (Sara)

According to Sara's experience, the bus system, along with the design of the complex add to the problem of getting ahead. She expressed that besides her specific problem with her computer lab, she has a lot of trouble completing homework and studying from home because of the scarce time she has after her daily routine.

As demonstrated by their various routines, Emilia, Marcela, and Sara's everyday lives show how the planning of monofunctional residential areas and the geographical separation of tasks poses challenges in these women's lives. Their routines are filled with moments and spaces that blur the separation of so-called paid/unpaid work, private/public activities that are sometimes still embodied in traditional planning. Still, in line with Soto (2018), these women actively construct their daily lives in the spaces they inhabit, physically and symbolically. For example, Emilia finds ways to break her domestic enclosure and socialize with neighbors; Marcela negotiates her motherhood responsibilities on urban space beyond her household (on the bus, at her work, and so forth); and Sara finds spaces in the city that give her the study and work opportunities that she desires. Despite their daily efforts to overcome the constraints of living in a *complejo habitacional*, it remains true that the insecurity they face every day along with the mismatch between the spatial configuration of the city along with the mobility needs of urban dwellers increases the difficulties for women juggling their multiple activities of everyday life,

which has repercussions for quality of life and personal and professional decisions (Segovia et al., 2017).

Furthermore, Marcela and Emilia's narratives are accounts of the ways in which many women's lives are inscribed by a context of privatized and exclusionary care systems (Segovia, 2017)³⁵. For Emilia, the privatization of care means she has a secure demand for her childcare business. For Marcela, it means she is left alone with the responsibility of rearing children and maintaining her household's well-being. The time that being in charge of the care of her household entails, as expressed by Marcela, constrains the possibilities of her finding better-waged work and continuing her studies (she wants to finish high school to qualify for better work opportunities).

5.3 Emblematic Spaces

As I demonstrated in the above vignettes, the lives of women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* portray how the articulation of daily life is shaped by spaces and connections that need to be considered in a relational way. Women are constantly looking for spaces to support them in their daily lives (e.g. a place to work where they can still take care of their households and children, a place study, a place to leave children while they work). However, as the vignettes demonstrate, the way mass-produced housing complexes are planned has implications for the spaces women need to support themselves in their everyday lives. In the following section, I now address the second research objective of this thesis, which is to explore the relationships between women's complex geographies and living in a housing complex developed under the neoliberal urbanization logic outlined in chapter two. With the term "emblematic spaces", I am referring to the places where these women carry out their ordinary routines. These are physical places in which social relations are embedded, but the elements that make them "emblematic" are not always physical. They can

³⁵ As reviewed on chapter 2, the burden of the privatization of care systems falls disproportionate in women.

be routes, rooms of their houses, places of memory, shopping places, and others. These places can also change their significance according to the time of the day.

As discussed in chapter two, I chose to analyze the spaces of the everyday lives of women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* because they reveal the links between women's socially attributed roles, their complex needs and uses of time and space, and a housing model shaped by neoliberal urbanization. The emblematic spaces reveal not only the diversity of activities that women have to manage on a daily basis, but also the kind of spaces produced by a neoliberal approach to housing. The spaces where these women construct their everyday lives are a reflection of how contemporary life is far more complicated than the social roles imposed by the notion of a private/public dichotomy – a dichotomy also reflected in the planning of *complejos*. These emblematic spaces, as well as every element of the everyday, are interconnected with each other – they are interactive and layered. For example, the bus stops can be looked at merely as spaces of connection; they connect work with home. However, they are emblematic spaces themselves because women have to adjust parts of their daily routines according to the location, time of the day, and physical design and structure of the bus stops. The bus stops, then, are emblematic spaces because of the need to connect places by public transport.

My interviews, community walks, and mapping exercises in focus groups constitute the primary data for this part of my research and underpin the identification of the emblematic spaces of residents. During the focus groups, participants not only illustrated the physical spaces and routes that compose their daily lives, but they also added a layer of how those spaces interact with each other, and how they felt about each of them. Participants articulated their main spaces which I here organized according to common themes that define them as “emblematic”: social reproduction, places to study, places to work, places for social networks.

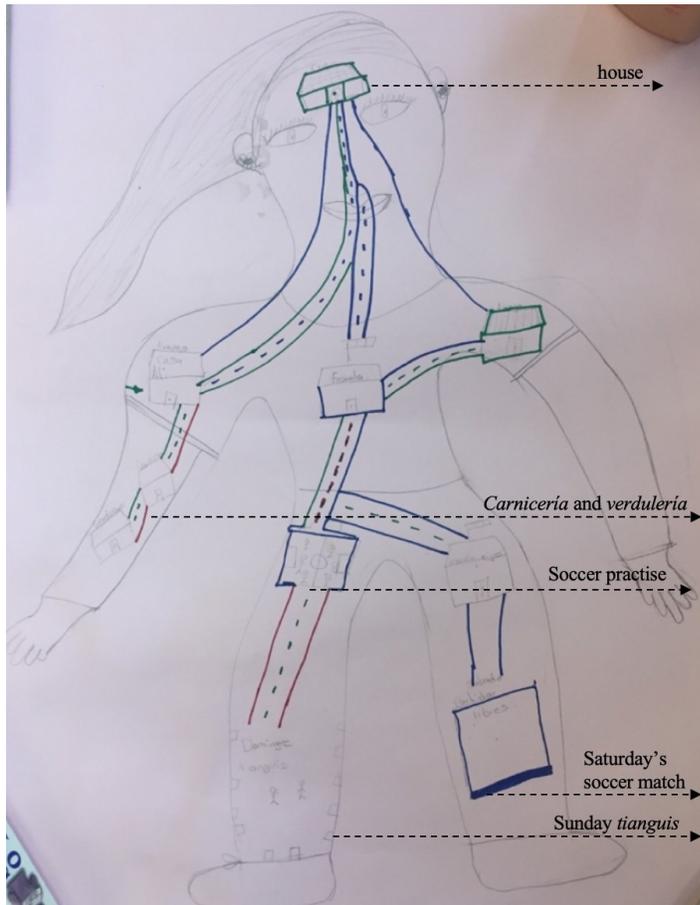
5.3.1 *Places for Social Reproduction*

The women that participated in this research were undoubtedly the primary caregivers of their households. In line with the evidence presented in chapter two, women in Mexico carry a disproportionate share of social reproduction activities. Consistent with Katz et al. (1993), the entrance of women to waged activities has certainly not diminished the domestic chores attributed to them, and this is very much the case for *Hacienda Santa Fé*. The usual domestic chores included cooking, house cleaning, paying utilities, managing household money, buying groceries, supervising children's schoolwork, washing and ironing clothes, sewing, and taking care of sick relatives. Looking at the spaces where these activities take place shows that social reproduction for women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* is not solely confined to the private space of the home; instead, it extends to other places of the “public sphere.” The reproductive chores of daily life demand a relation with exterior space, such as grocery stores, hospitals, clinics, schools, soccer fields, parks, relatives homes, or the *tianguis*³⁶. As Soto (2013) has observed, the house space goes beyond the boundaries of the physical emplacement of the house. The extension of the house space beyond housing is particularly relevant in a context of the fragmented production of housing which ignores that “housing is not only a place surrounded by walls but a space that provides both shelter and the means for social reproduction” (Janoschka et al., 2017, p. 48). For example, in Figure 19, the map of Cristina, a single mother with three different jobs and three kids ranging in ages from 3-9 years, the emblematic places where her activities related to social reproduction take place go beyond her house. She illustrated her children's school, the *tianguis* on Sunday, the *carnicería* and *verdulería*,

³⁶ “In Mexico markets on public roads that rotate in different places throughout the week are called *tianguis* (mobile weekly markets). In them, people can buy various products for everyday consumption such as fruits, vegetables, spices, seasonal foods. However, usually many other products are sold like clothes, medicinal herbs, shoes, bags, imported products, CDs and DVDs, and so forth” (Duhau et al., 2007, p.42).

the daily football practices of her kids, and the Saturday football matches (marked on Figure 19). Furthermore, all of these places are intertwined with her waged activities, including the two houses where she cleans and her morning job at a school kitchen.

Figure 19: Cristina's map of daily routines, *Hacienda Santa Fé*



Source: focus group data, 2018.

For participants responsible for the caring of small children, like Cristina and Marcela, the places to perform social reproduction activities were the most prominent themes in our conversations. In contrast, in the routines of younger participants, such as Fernanda (22 years old) and Sara (18 years old), activities of care were not as important, at least not yet. Consequently, the emblematic places related to social reproduction vary across their life course position. For Fernanda and Sara, whom both live in their parents' house, it is their mothers who assume the

domestic responsibilities. For them, their everyday experiences were very different from other participants since they are mostly responsible for earning money for themselves and paying for their studies. However, this is not true for all young women in *Hacienda Santa Fé*; for instance, Cristina's has a 20-year-old sister who moved to her house when she separated from her husband. Cristina's sister has absorbed her reproductive tasks to help adjust to her new economic circumstances. She helps Cristina take care of her children and the house while Cristina goes out to work. Cristina's example is a reflection of how women's support network for caring activities is also gendered. She relies on other women in her family (primarily her sister but also her mother and ex-mother-in-law) to help with childrearing and the maintenance of her household.

For participants with care work activities present in their everyday life, the articulation of those tasks with their waged work was a troublesome task. For example, the case of Marcela describes the daily experience of a mother whose responsibilities for caring for her small child and other household members have a determining influence over her waged work. Furthermore, Graciela is a woman that lives in *Hacienda Santa Fé* with her husband and three children. She has to arrange her paid work activities according to her family needs. For Graciela taking care of a sick relative is part of her weekly routine. Recently she decided to abandon her job because the time she had after commuting and working every day was not enough to take care of her son. Graciela takes her son to the hospital in *El Álamo*³⁷ on Wednesdays and Saturdays for hemodialysis treatment. They have to be in the line at the clinic before 6:00 am to be able to secure an appointment. The first bus only starts at 5:30 am, which is not enough time for the trip; therefore, they have to stay overnight at the clinic to be in the line on time. Caring responsibilities for Graciela

³⁷ *El Álamo* is an important intersection of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. The *Carretera a Chapala* and *Lazaro Cardenas* road intersect at this point, it is a transfer point. It is located 20 km away from Susana's home.

take precedence over other activities, including her wage-earning activities. Her husband is now the only contributor of income to the household. For Graciela, living in a residential environment that lacks medical services for her son has pushed her to travel to other places of the city and to sleep two nights each week at the hospital, which in turn prevents her from seeking waged work.

The way in which other participants satisfy their medical needs is through visiting the “free” doctors at the pharmacies. As in many areas of the city, it is common in *Hacienda Santa Fé* to have pharmacies that offer the free consultation services of a family doctor for medical issues. Moreover, for Cristina, none of her jobs provide health insurance benefits. Therefore, she resorts to the strategy of having a garden of medicinal herbs that she uses whenever she needs a remedy for herself or her sons.

Themes related to the kind of spaces for social reproduction that women would like to have in their everyday life emerged in several conversations. The cluster steward, Dolores, as well as the women from the association “*casa amigos del doctor Alan, A.C.*”³⁸ as well as government officials brought to my attention the lack of daycare facilities in the complex. Women’s care tasks play an imperative role in shaping their uses of urban space, which in turn influences the relationship that women have to municipal services, such as childcare facilities and schools. Consistent with this, the lack of public institutions for care services in *Hacienda Santa Fé* reproduce and reinforce women's burden of being entirely responsible for social reproduction. Furthermore, the lack of childcare along with the need for households to have at least two wages,³⁹ and the commuting times to work, is having effects on children. They all mentioned a crisis of “abandoned children” in the housing complexes of Tlajomulco. As Dolores related to me:

³⁸ *Casa Amigos del Doctor Alan, A. C.* is a non-profit organization based in *Hacienda Santa Fé*.

³⁹ According to Dolores, the steward, nowadays most households in *Hacienda Santa Fé* need at least two incomes to meet household expenses and to pay their mortgages.

Nowadays, it is impossible; there is no way that in a family with two or three children the housewife doesn't work. The two parents cannot stop working; they have to work. We have to work, both of us, because it gets impossible. I have two of my children in university and one in kindergarten, and one is in a private school, so it is a lot more work, it is a lot. If only one [of the parents] works, it gets impossible. Besides that, we have to eat, pay for the house, have the children at school and all that, here we are. I can say this [*Hacienda Santa Fé*] is a place of low-income because to fulfill the food needs of a whole family is complicated. (Dolores)

As illustrated by Dolores' testimony, households need the economic contributions of women's waged work. In line with the persistent economic hardship linked to neoliberal structural reforms from the 1990s, families require the participation of more household members in the labor market (González De La Rocha, 2001). The lack of places where children can be safely looked after has not stopped women from contributing to households with waged income, as often they must do so out of necessity. Women expressed concern about neglecting their children. The non-profit association "*Amigos del Dr. Alan*" reported that people started calling these children *los niños de la llave*. Usually, this refers to older kids in charge of taking care of their siblings. These kids have keys of their house around their neck that mothers hang when they leave for work. Likewise, the administrator of LaBASE⁴⁰ at the time of my visit expressed that the children that come to the community center are kids from the surrounding cluster that have absent parents because they are outside of the complex most of the day working and commuting. Regularly, kids arrive themselves or parents take them to the activities and leave them there for most of the day. In addition to the above, commenting on the need for waged work by women, Dolores mentioned the scarce time that mothers working at Guadalajara's electronics manufacturers have for their children :

It is the same [same as before, people have to move to Guadalajara to find good jobs] because now all mothers work at this company, the majority work at *Flextronix*⁴¹, or in that kind of jobs, so what happens then? Since we are the ones living the furthest, it takes time. If you

⁴⁰ LaBASE is a community center managed by the Tlajomulco municipality, where they offer cultural activities for children and professional workshops for adults (screen printing, electricity, welding).

⁴¹ This a multinational electronic manufacturing company with a manufacturing site in Guadalajara.

finish your shift at 10:00 pm, you arrive at your house at 11:00 pm, 12:00 pm or 12:30 pm, and it is two hours, two and a half hours that you lose commuting...but there are more work opportunities like that, often we see them in the employment fairs, from labs and that kind of work there is hiring, and then you start seeing the ladies with white robes, that means *Flextronics*. The housewives leave at dawn or at night to work, and I think that gets complicated because, just imagine, they arrive too tired to feed their children or take them to school. All that is consuming for moms, and for the children who stay alone at night. (Dolores)

Dolores' insights are indicative of the implications of housing location for working mothers. The emergence of the *niños de la llave* confirms that *Hacienda Santa Fé* fails to meet the needs of working women, in both, the original and current state of the complex. The narrow possibilities that working mothers have in *Hacienda Santa Fé* is an example of what Katz (2008) has called "hostile privatism" towards social reproduction. The *niños de la llave* situation is an example of the disastrous consequences of the tendency to "offload responsibility for social reproduction onto individuals and households" (Katz, 2008, p.28) by neoliberal states. The design and planning of the original monofunctional housing project, even after being somewhat adapted by residents, does not facilitate social reproduction. The price these women have to pay in order to work has profound implications for their households. The location of "opportunities" away from their houses, along with the lack of support for working mothers, reinforces urban inequalities and restrains women's access to appropriate waged work. Finally, the precarization of labor for these women points to what González de la Rocha (2001) calls a "crisis of social reproduction for the excluded, disposable urban majorities" (p. 94).

5.3.2 *Places to Study*

Residents often expressed aspects they would like for their futures; especially the importance of their children's education to succeed in life. Marcela, for example, did not want her daughter to work as a janitor like she did. The mothers I interviewed make significant efforts to give their children access to a better education: Cristina takes her kids to a school far from her

house that has better teachers and a soccer program, and Candelaria used her husband's contacts to get their sons registered at the *Secundaria* she thought was the best. Furthermore, young women themselves are undertaking steps to attain social mobility. Such is the case for Sara and Fernanda, two young women who work and study. Although having a university degree is a difficult achievement for all, Sara and Fernanda faced specific challenges related to their gender and housing location. Fernanda has to commute for one and a half hours to get to her school in central Guadalajara. She does this on Saturdays because during the week she works at a granola factory. As in Sara's case, Fernanda spends most of her time outside of *Hacienda Santa Fé*: her commute to school starts with two options, she can either take a bus and then the light rail or take just one bus to go all the way to the center. Although it takes more time to catch only one bus, she usually prefers to do it because she can save the money from the light rail ticket. When I asked her why she registered at a university in the center she said:

Well... I was looking, but they were all above \$132.62 CAD/month (\$2,000 MXN), and since I am paying for my own school...well, I was looking for something more accessible, obviously. So now where I am studying, I don't pay much. I know it is really far, but either way, close to my house, none of the schools have the career I want [pedagogy]. (Fernanda)

Fernanda describes her commutes to school and work as very uncomfortable: the buses are crowded, she has to stand up all the way and, she feels unsafe. She wishes that after standing up all day at her job, she could come back sitting on a bus, but there are rarely seats available. Fernanda also described the need to remain alert at all times of men taking advantage of the crowded space to grope women, a common occurrence, according to her. She also thinks bus travel is annoying because it gets hot inside the bus. When Fernanda disembarks from the bus, she still has to walk home from the entrance of the complex because the bus system has limited connections to the inner clusters. She arrives home exhausted from her routine. Fernanda desires to have more time for herself and for exercise or to take walks out of enjoyment, not need. The uncomfortable

experience of Fernanda illustrates the difficulties she has to face in order to access education when her place of residence is in the periphery of the city. The bus system, along with the housing complex design, add to the hardship of Fernanda's effort to obtain a university degree.

Meanwhile, as delineated by Sara in the above section, going to a school known to have a higher academic level and having friends from other parts of the city is a way to "better herself." However, for her future decision of which career to study when she graduated from high school, Sara choose a campus with a location that does not force her to come home after dark. She wants to apply to the University of Guadalajara⁴², which has several campuses across the city, but since Sara relies on public transport, the location of the university campus is crucial to her choice of degree. Besides, she stills needs to have waged work in order to pay for her studies and ancillary needs (e.g. transport, lunch, clothes, and school supplies). Her choice is based on wanting a campus that would not mean spending more time moving than inside the classroom. Sara and her mom feel it would not be possible to study certain careers because they are too far from *Hacienda Santa Fé*, and that implies danger for her. They are concerned that Sara could be kidnapped again, suffer sexual violence, or robbed. For them, the risk of leaving when it is still dark or coming back late at night is more significant than other variables considered when choosing a career. Sara is now trying to adjust her career aspirations to the range of mobility options that do not involve long or unsafe commutes. Her range of choices were significantly constrained by the fear of being outside and "alone" at specific times of the day. For Sara, then, these obstacles may result in exclusion from higher education or at least her desired career pathway. Consistent with Moser's (2009) research in Ecuador, Sara's narratives exemplify the ways in which the fear of personal security in public spaces reduces "the opportunities to accumulate human capital associated with better

⁴² The public University of the State of Jalisco.

education” (p. 235). Both experiences display the difficulties that young women from *Hacienda Santa Fé* face when they want to access education. The obstacles they have to overcome in order to access education are related to their gender (exposure to sexual violence on public transport) and the characteristics of their housing situation (lack of higher education, precarious transport system). Their dependency on a precarious system of public transport intertwined with their fear of sexual violence results in unequal access to education opportunities. Sara’s residency and her dependency on restricted mobility exacerbate urban inequalities. Jirón (2007) has observed two kinds of exclusion that can be seen in Sara’s case: being spatially confined to the periphery with its vulnerabilities and having fewer possibilities of accessing the benefits of the city. Moreover, the two young women are the participants whose emblematic places of the everyday expand the most across the territory, a finding consistent with the gender and mobility research of Soto (2013). In Sara and Fernanda’s case, the opening of the limits of their daily movements is explained by their studies and working aspirations, as well as the fact that they do not have children or any dependants.

On the other hand, participants’ issues with schools for their children relate to Katz’s (2008) observations that “education is at the center of social reproduction at the city scale” (p. 21). Until 2017, Tlajomulco ranked first as the municipality with the greatest number of provisional classrooms⁴³ in the GMA. Out of the 734 provisional classrooms in the GMA, Tlajomulco had 186 (Razo, 2017). Sara spoke of this when describing her elementary school:

They put up pop-up canopies, and the teachers would have a board there under the canopy... and we studied there. With pop-up canopies and chairs. After that they built like four provisional classrooms, right? (Sara).

⁴³ A provisional classroom is usually a room built with sheets of metal and limited space.

The high number of provisional classrooms in *Hacienda Santa Fé* is how the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (SEP) is trying to tackle the educational shortage in Tlajomulco. It is also evidence of how the master plan of complexes such as *Hacienda Santa Fé* failed to include sufficient schools to satisfy the number of resident families. If education is at the center of social reproduction, as Katz (2008) contends, the master plan of *Hacienda Santa Fé* and other such complexes clearly neglect its importance, abetted by little municipal planning oversight of housing production. Their current difficulties concerning education highlights how the original planning of *Hacienda Santa Fé* did not consider enough school for all the children that would populate the complex as well as the need of residents for higher education. Both deficiencies in the planning of the complex are posing particular challenges for women at different stages of their life course. Young women are struggling to obtain a university degree and mothers of young children struggle to provide them with education. This is an example of how the spaces envisioned by *Hacienda Santa Fé* planners do not support women's daily lives.

5.3.3 *Places for Work*

Waged work is a fundamental part of contemporary everyday life; all of the women that I interviewed had at least one job. As Dolores said above, households need multiple income earners, especially when they have children and are paying a mortgage. In the National Intercensal Survey of 2015, 97% of women in *Hacienda Santa Fé*⁴⁴ over the age of 12 years were counted as economically active⁴⁵ population (INEGI, 2017). The high percentage of economically active women provides clear evidence that they are essential contributors to household income. Furthermore, the high percentage of women participating in the labor market in *Hacienda Santa*

⁴⁴ This percentage encompasses *Hacienda Santa Fé* and adjacent complexes.

⁴⁵ The economically active population is made up of all people aged 12 and over who carried out some type of economic activity, or who were actively looking to do so, in the two months prior to the week of the survey (INEGI, 2017).

Fé is consistent with what González de la Rocha (2001) views as women's central position in household economies. The participants in this study found work cleaning houses, working at electronic assembly factories, as cooks, janitors, or by adapting to the micro-commerce opportunities in the neighborhood or by earning income from home-based enterprises.

Gender also influences the type of work of each income earner of the household. Women preferred to work closer to home, and it is the men who had more flexibility of movement to look for opportunities beyond the proximity of the housing complex. For instance, Marcela once told me "*aquí no hay hombres*" [there are no men here], with this expression she reflected on the fact that husbands are out most of the day and tend to commute further and work longer shifts. As described in Emilia's day, her husband is out from 5:00 am till 9:00 or 10:00 pm. Since men have not taken on more household tasks in their daily lives, they are more flexible to move further away for extended periods. The greater freedom of movement that they have is reflected in their daily movements and waged work choices. Consistent with Falú (2013), men in *Hacienda Santa Fé* use time more linearly (usually home-work-home) while women use it in a fragmented way (home-children school-work-groceries-children school-home). In general, the emblematic places for wage-earning activities for the women I interviewed are closer to home when compared to their husbands. This is consistent with Soto's (2014) finding that women move less for work and more for activities related to care activities.

An example of a participant who prefers to take jobs in the proximity of Hacienda Santa Fé is the case of Gloria, who as well as Cristina, is an informal worker in the kitchen of a nearby school. Despite not having employee benefits like health insurance or paid vacations, she still has a preference for keeping this job because her boss is "approachable," and she can miss work if she has to take care of her mother or deal with a situation with her kids. Her job schedule, as well as

her supervisor, provide her with the flexibility she needs to take care of her family, even if she works informally. Moreover, Belén found a job as a janitor at a rehab clinic near the entrance of the complex. Working close from home gives her the possibility of commuting on foot and saving money on public transport tickets. She walks around 30 minutes to get to her job. She does not consider that there are good working opportunities around the complex, but she stills look for jobs nearby because she thinks that a higher wage would be spent on public transport anyways. When asked if there was another reason for limiting her search to the neighboring areas, she said:

That way I also do not neglect them too much [her children]. Or if there is an accident, I can get back quickly. If I get a job further away how would I move around as fast? How? So it is helpful to me to be close to home. So helpful. (Belén).

Again, Belén 's testimony is a case in point on how women limit the range of their working possibilities because of their caring responsibilities. For Marcela, her children are also an essential consideration when looking for a job. In her case, she first started working when her family moved to *Hacienda Santa Fé*. The debts her household assumed to buy the house reduced their net family income; therefore, she started looking for formal jobs. Since then, she has mainly worked in the proximity of *Hacienda Santa Fé*:

I had to look [for a job], I tell you that we needed to pay everything we owed so I looked for a job here to not overlook/neglect my children. (Marcela)

What about looking for jobs in other neighborhoods? (Paulina)

Yeah, but Pedro and Fernanda were small, and I did not have the courage to leave them alone and well my house... it did not have protection⁴⁶. At that time, we did not have the outer door. Everything was exposed. So, I did not have the courage. Therefore, I started looking for jobs right here and thank god I got a job cleaning a house, and that is how I started.

These insights on places of work from Gloria, Marcela, and Belén demonstrate how domestic duties shape women's productive opportunities in particular ways. They are concerned

⁴⁶ By *protecciones* she means metal bars on the outside of the windows in order to prevent people from entering the house.

about neglecting their child, and in spite of working in the informal sector or earning low wages, they prefer to be near the housing complex to supervise and control their households. Their testimonies are consistent with Pratt's (1993) observation that women are dependent on very local job opportunities. Not only do reproductive responsibilities influence the kind of jobs the women from *Hacienda Santa Fé* have access to, but also the geographical separation of tasks of the original design of the complex has restricted these possibilities. Slowly, more commerce and work opportunities are starting to emerge in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. However, participants mentioned that the work opportunities in the proximity of *Hacienda Santa Fé* fall short of satisfying their waged work needs. They usually are strenuous, low paid informal jobs that contribute to their economic vulnerability, especially for women that do not have higher education. In some cases, this situation contributed to participants' economic dependency on their husbands, which increased the hardship of leaving abusive relationships. Thus, the results concerning the emblematic spaces of waged work outside of the household suggest that the lack of waged work opportunities have very gendered effects. Although it is hard for all residents to find decent work opportunities, women's access to labor is further affected due to their higher need of working in proximity to their households.

5.3.4 *Working From Home*

Families in *Hacienda Santa Fé* have diversified their income using their houses as a productive asset. The installment of home-enterprises has transformed their domestic spaces as well as the urban image of *Hacienda Santa Fé* at large. Unlike the case of communities researched by Moser in Ecuador (1998) and Wigle in Mexico City (2008) households in *Hacienda Santa Fé* cannot count on assets such as renting out rooms, plots or parking spaces, mainly due to the reduced size of the houses, their location and insecurity. Instead, families have diversified their

income by creating home-based enterprises. As a result, home for most of the houses I visited in *Hacienda Santa Fé* is also a place where wage-earning activities occur: Dolores sells *menudo*⁴⁷ on her driveway on Sundays; Adela sells *tortas ahogadas* on the weekends from a cart outside her home, Candelaria sells *pozole* on the evenings and paints religious figures for sale; Emilia cares for children in her home; Gloria sells shoes by catalog; and Marcela sells make-up by catalogue and homemade cakes. As portrayed in Figure 20, in the unfolding of everyday life, houses in *Hacienda Santa Fé* are used for far more than residential purposes alone. These activities underline how housing “represents more than shelter to ensure physical well-being” (Hardy et al., 1990 as cited in Moser, 1998, p. 4). Moreover, all of these activities have contributed to the consolidation of *Hacienda Santa Fé*.

⁴⁷ Pork belly breakfast soup, typically for weekends.

Figure 20: Home-based enterprises in *Hacienda Santa Fé*



Shoe repair shop.



Adela's stand for tortas ahogadas



Candelaria's figures.

Source: Author, 2018.

As addressed in Chapter two and observed in the case of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, home-based enterprises are largely led by women. The need of working women to be in proximity to their households for their caring activities, along with the need to earn an income, has prompted women from *Hacienda Santa Fé* to use their household space for productive activities, blurring the geographical boundaries between the dichotomies of paid/unpaid work and private/public spheres. Unlike the design of the housing complexes based on the division of spaces for work and care,

women are using their homes as a resource to generate income. Furthermore, the initial lack of stores in *Hacienda Santa Fé* has provided an opportunity for the opening of businesses, especially in the early stages of the development, because there was no actual competition. In this manner, when Marcela realized that there was a lack of affordable bakeries that offer birthday cakes close to *Hacienda Santa Fé*, she saw an opportunity to undertake a cake-making business. She makes cakes and jelly, and her sister sells them on the streets. She started this activity at a time of difficulty when she was pressured to pay back money that she owed, and her husband's income was not sufficient to pay for the credit for the house and living expenses:

I started like that; I tell you that there was nothing like that around here. There was going to be a party, and I was the one in charge of making the cake. In that period, I needed to go all the way to Guadalajara to a baking supply store in *Copérnico*. So, we went to my brother-in-law's birthday, I made a loaf of bread, and, as I tell you, there was nothing here before, no store, no *cremerías*, nothing. So, I made the bread and filled it with whatever was available, I don't remember what I put inside. And since there was no whipped cream, I just sprinkled icing sugar on the top and *Uy, mija!* It was a total success. Since it was a success and I had to think where to get money to pay my debt I started doing that bread and fruit jelly. I started making those and thank god they sell well. (Marcela)

Marcela's quote reveals that her cake-making business started during a period of economic hardship. Back then, there were not many job opportunities near *Hacienda Santa Fé* or public transport needed to look elsewhere. Furthermore, Marcela was at a young stage of her domestic life course (she had two small kids) which reduced her possibilities of commuting distances or times. Marcela then used her home and skills as a resource to earn income and relied on the support of her sister as an asset to succeed in her income-raising strategy. In this sense, findings show that emblematic space of "home" is proven to be used by women for more than shelter. Their narratives point out that the use of home as a resource to generate income in *Hacienda Santa Fé* is also gendered. The original lack of stores in the complex facilitated the emergence of home-based enterprises, especially in the case of women.

Adela's business from home confirms González de la Rocha (2001) claims that domestic production of goods are activities that are not to be taken for granted: they require an investment of time, labor and money. Adela sells *tortas ahogadas* on Saturdays and Sundays on her driveway. On Saturdays, she has to take a bus at 5:00 am to buy the traditional meat for the *tortas* at the *Atemajac*⁴⁸ market. The market is 30 km away from *Hacienda Santa Fé*. However, she prefers to shop there because she can find the best deals for the meat she needs. Adela goes there early in order to be back on time to start selling at 8:00 am. Adela buys the rest of the ingredients from the stores near the complex. Adela is out with her cart until 2:00 pm or 3:00 pm depending on sales. Adela sees this activity as a complementary contribution to the household economy; however, acknowledging the routine she has on weekends, it is clear that this activity takes effort, time, and money to invest. Adela told me she always needs to find the cheapest meat because she is worried about maintaining a low price for her *tortas*, otherwise her neighbors would stop buying. When I visited her on July 2019, the tomato price had considerably risen, therefore, she stopped selling for a while, until the prices went down again. As well as in Wigle's (2008) case study, Adela's narrative shows that being bound to a socio-economic homogeneous client base was a disadvantage for her business. Her *tortas* were considerably cheaper than the prices you can find in other areas of the city. In the same manner, a little after the interview Dolores decided to stop selling *menudo*:

The meat went up, and the costs to me did not pay me as before. Families came here with five members and bought \$2.00 CAD (\$30 MXN) of *menudo*, so I wondered how with thirty pesos? But I saw the little ones I gave them more, so my husband said 'why do you give them more?', 'because they are not going to eat, look at the children', and sometimes they came to buy just the broth of the soup, no meat. Then it was not sustainable, the gas, for example. Costs increased a lot, people did not buy as it should be and I, I tell you, could not be a bad person. Of course, I did not give it away for free but if I gave them more than what they paid for. I already gave them or sometimes they came with a large bucket and 'I have

⁴⁸ *Atemajac* market is also the traditional market for the kind of meat used in *tortas ahogadas*. Since there are a lot of meat vendors, she can get a better price for it.

\$3.33 CAD (\$50 MXN), and please fill the bucket with broth', and I bought water. I bought bottled water for the *menudo* so the costs increased here so I could no longer afford it, and I looked for it a lot, but right now it's expensive, you go, and a plate of *menudo* is often \$4.66, \$5.32 CAD (\$70, \$80 MXN). So people here want to eat with little money but good, pleasant and very cheap. (Dolores)

In this sense, although the lack of options to eat inside her cluster has provided her with the opportunity to sell from their houses, the social homogeneity of *Hacienda Santa Fé* keeps their business in a vulnerable position.

Clearly, the creative strategies of Adela, Marcela, Dolores, and Candelaria have their limits. I do not want to create the impression that these households are surviving due to the economic strategies women adopt. These strategies, as viewed in Adela's experience, are precarious and are not a substitute for reasonably-waged work. Following González de la Rocha (2001), the domestic production of goods "can complement but cannot replace wages in an urban capitalist society" (p. 93). Working from home is a way for these households to cope with the precariousness that characterizes employment opportunities in the proximity of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, or even in the broader city. Producing goods from home is also a way woman have changed the geographical separation of tasks enforced by the monofunctional use of space that was initially designed. The need to have commerce and services in the proximity of their houses have prompted these women to use their houses as a resource. Finally, from the ways in which women of *Hacienda Santa Fé* use places, it becomes clear how they are continually challenging the traditional dichotomy of private/public spheres that tends to define what is appropriate for each sex and tends to divide city space by separate functions. Their routines show how more often than not, everyday life integrates productive and social reproductive activities in the same space.

5.4 Mobility

One of the principal characteristics of the neoliberal approach to housing production is the location of social housing in the outskirts of cities. The location of housing along with the lack of integral planning to connect them with the city has imposed particular difficulties for residents. Therefore, mobility issues are a common challenge that residents of housing complexes share. Table 4 outlines the resources that residents of social housing complexes in Tlajomulco spend on their daily commutes. According to the Client Satisfaction Index (ISA)⁴⁹ carried in 2016 by INFONAVIT, on average a worker head of household from a social housing complex in Tlajomulco spends 109.40 minutes and \$3.95 CAD (\$57.60 MXN) commuting to work each day. The index also indicates how the cost of commuting before and after their move to the area, which in the case of Tlajomulco is an average of 54.40 minutes and \$2.58 CAD (\$37.70 MXN). The differences between before and after moving to Tlajomulco demonstrate that mobility challenges increased after moving to a peripheral social housing complex.

Table 4: Mobility times and costs, before and after moving to Tlajomulco

		Average commute head of household	Average commute other members of household
time (minutes)	before	54.40	40.90
	after	109.40	89.30
expenses	before	\$2.58 CAD (\$37.60 MXN)	\$2.22 CAD (\$32.90 MXN)
	after	\$3.95 CAD (\$57.60 MXN)	\$3.46 CAD (\$50.80 MXN)

Source: INVONAVIT, 2016

Consistent with the Client Satisfaction Index, Adela told me that to go to work cleaning a house where she earns \$16.8 CAD (\$250 MXN) daily, she spends a total of \$4.18 CAD⁵⁰ (\$61

⁴⁹ *Índice de Satisfacción del Acreditado (ISA)*.

⁵⁰ On her way to work she shares an uber with other neighbors for \$1.68 CAD (\$25 MXN), then takes the train and a bus for \$0.47 CAD each (\$7 MXN). On the way back she gets a ride to the train, thus she only takes the train for \$0.47 CAD (\$7 MXN) and a moto taxi for \$1.00 CAD (\$15 MXN).

MXN) daily. That is to say, she spends 25% of her daily salary on public transport to go to work. Overall, participants of this research expressed how mobility had a significant impact on their lives. When I asked participants if there were any conditions they would change in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, most of them mentioned ideas to improve public transit: a metro, a light rail line, more bus routes, more buses, buses that only take passengers in *Hacienda Santa Fé* (and not from other large housing complexes like *Chula Vista* or *El Mirador*). In short, they would like to have better connections to the city and broader urban context. These preferences are consistent with Jirón's (2007) observations that mobility can unite urban fragments, but also has the capacity to further divide urban space into disconnected fragments. This echoes Ureta's (2008) finding that the "increasing importance of mobility in the managing of daily life also means the development of the opposite phenomena: immobility or the lack or deficiency of capabilities to move when wanted, which appears as a central aspect of social exclusion in contemporary societies" (p. 270). Analyzing the movements of the women that participated in this research, it becomes clear that immobility is a factor that limits their daily activities.

Mobility and immobility reveal the difficulties for women to link the emblematic spaces of ordinary life. The spatial planning of the *complejo habitacional* and its location concerning the Metropolitan Area escalates the burden that women face when trying to juggle waged work, home-based enterprises, care tasks, and studies. In the following section, I will describe the difficulties the women of *Hacienda Santa Fé* face in order to connect their emblematic spaces, as well as the consequences of immobility for their lives. This section aims to respond to the ways in which mobility issues affect women living in a *complejo habitacional*. In the subsequent paragraphs, the consequences of a precarious transport system from a gender perspective become clearer.

As Adela recognizes in the following quote, people from *Hacienda Santa Fé* are used to the idea of always arriving late to their destinations:

I work close to the *Mercado de Abastos* [the food terminal]. However, sometimes I take an Uber⁵¹ to the light rail station and from there I just take the train. It is also crowded, but at least I know that I'll get on, unlike here with the buses don't even stop. At least not early. Most people here arrive late [to their destinations] because from *Chulavista* and *Mirador* the buses arrive very crowded. (Adela)

Although the precarious connection that *Hacienda Santa Fé* has with the metropolitan area affects all residents, the impact on their lives is not homogeneous. Mobility experiences are lived differently by men and women (Jirón, 2007). It was also lived differently by me when visiting the complex and among the participants of this research. These differences vary across the intersections of the life course, access to multimodal ways of transport, available resources (time and money), and reasons for intra-city movement. Due to the fact that commuting was an extensively discussed theme throughout the fieldwork, I consider these experiences to be an essential category of analysis because mobility is a practice that modifies how people “live the city”. It is also important to the understanding of “uneven accessibility and its impact on existing social exclusion in urban centers” (Jiron, Langué, & Bertrand, 2010, p. 21). Hence, mobility practices are crucial to people's relationship with the city, especially for women.

The different experiences that women from *Hacienda Santa Fé* have when moving in their neighborhood and to the city beyond are closely related to the emblematic spaces of everyday life. As the emblematic places change across their life course position, their mobility needs, and experiences change too. For example, the movements and the reasons to move of Sara and Fernanda have a more extended geography compared to women with children. The young students have a closer and more active link to central spaces of the city as they move to study, work, or go

⁵¹ Adela mention later that outside the elementary school uber cars are waiting for passengers (usually mothers who have just left their kids at school) to share a ride to the light rail station.

out with friends. On the other hand, the case of Marcela, a mother of a small child, reflects the daily experience of a woman whose caring activities have a determining influence over her daily movements: she never travels alone and adapts her movements to her son's school hours. Despite experiences diverging across the life course, work situations and overall household economy, all of the women that participated in this research had in common the fact that they were dependant on public transport (and on their foot for short distances) for their daily movements. In line with the above, the lack of alternative ways to move reduced the possible places where they can go without car.

When I asked participants about the situations that they disliked the most in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, they all mentioned the bus services. They described the public transport system as crowded ("the way drivers ride makes me dizzy"); chaotic (because of how drivers rush on the road); dangerous (because some of them have suffered robberies on the bus and because of their exposure to violence and insecurity); and unreliable (they do not come as often, they do not come on regular times). For instance, Cristina mentioned that the biggest problem for her is related to the time she loses at the bus stop: the uncertainty of not knowing if a bus will pass, or if it will stop.

It is a paradox that women are dependent on buses to move while the original design of *Hacienda Santa Fé* did not even take into consideration public transport. As illustrated in chapter four, the physical division of clusters does not facilitate bus access, which in turn, forces residents to take long walks to get to a bus stop. Furthermore, bus stops are usually located on the main avenues next to long walls, thus increasing their isolation and insecurity. Ironically, each housing unit has a parking space for private cars. In such ways, the original project prioritized the use of private cars without acknowledging the existence of public transport users and their needs (see

Figure 21). For instance, there is only one entrance per cluster, and they are usually not connected on the inside for buses or pedestrians, all houses have a parking space that is often underused, and walls flank sidewalks with no shade. Furthermore, paths show signs of deterioration, such as weed growth and broken pavement.

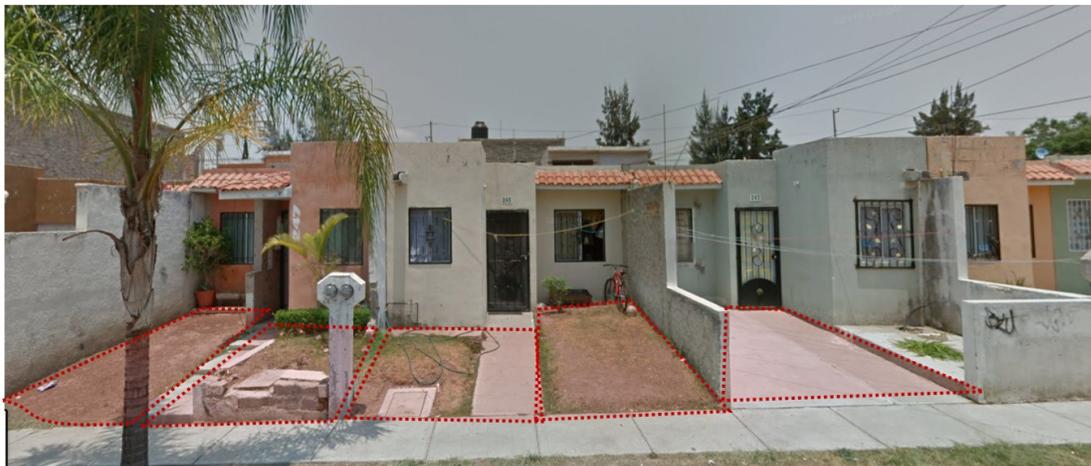
Figure 21: Car-oriented design, *Hacienda Santa Fé*



Entrance of cluster 13



Adjacent street of a housing complex flanked by the rear side of houses.



All houses in *Hacienda Santa Fé* were built with a parking space for private cars.

Source: Author, 2018; Google Street View, 2013c.

The overall precariousness that characterizes the public transport further isolates women further from accessing the city and its opportunities. Spatial mobility is a social practice that grants access to "activities, people, and places" (Jirón, Langue & Bertrand, 2010, p. 24). As addressed in the discussion of emblematic spaces for work, the dependency of women from *Hacienda Santa Fé*

on a precarious bus system has a clear connection with their exclusion from specific working opportunities. However, it is not only women's household responsibilities, the planning of the complex, or the technical characteristics of public transport that prevent women from accessing the city in an equal manner. The fear of violence and insecurity in the streets was also a theme reflected extensively by participants.

5.4.1 *Fear of Violence and Insecurity*

All of the participants, regardless of their life course position, reflected on the role that insecurity and violence had on their daily mobility or lack thereof. Consistent with Soto's (2017) findings, the following quotes verify that the fear of violence is one of the factors that most impact the mobility of urban women:

The buses are always racing each other. They are always rushing or driving angrily. Also, I know everyone pays the same, but the yellow seats are supposed to be privileged for them [persons with disabilities]. I tell you, that really bothers me, also, for example, people do not fill the vacant spaces in the middle of the bus. I've seen people cramped and squeezed at the front. There have been times that I have had to bear a man's butt on my face! Moreover, I think 'Oh my god! I am so pissed!' But what can you do? Nothing. Just resist and bear it...and sometimes... you also have to live through groping, there is man that... flatly just... they have enough space, but they anyways pass by and get their body really close to yours, and it's like 'oh, no!' Disgusting men that show no respect. Also, that just makes it all really tiresome; it bothers me. (Cristina)

When the bus is cramped, there is always the guy who gropes or...or there was one time that someone opened the knapsack of a man in the bus. (Fernanda).

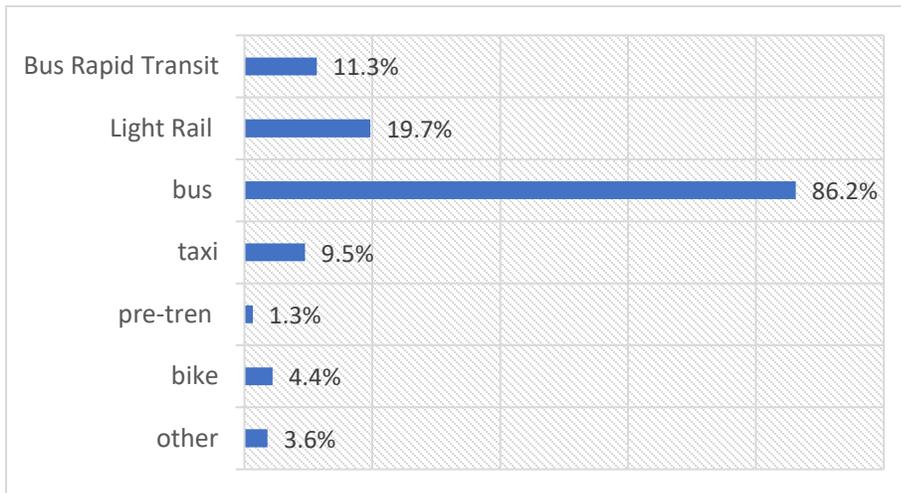
Since she used to wear *morrales* [a side bag] that were long, because it protected her (from groping). And when she wanted to protect herself, when someone could do something, she put the *morral* there to prevent men from coming to close. That was really ugly for her. (Gloria telling how her daughter rides public transit)

In addition, the testimonies of Gloria, Fernanda, and Cristina are consistent with the quantitative data presented on Graph 4, from the report, "Diagnostic for Diffusion and Prevention of Violence

Against Women in Urban Public Transport of Jalisco” (Insituto Jaliciense de las Mujeres, 2015)⁵².

It is on the bus systems where women have suffered the most from sexual violence, which is the type of public transit that residents of *Hacienda Santa Fé* use the most.

Graph 4: Type of public transit where women suffered sexual violence in Jalisco



Source: *Insituto Jaliciense de las Mujeres, 2015.*

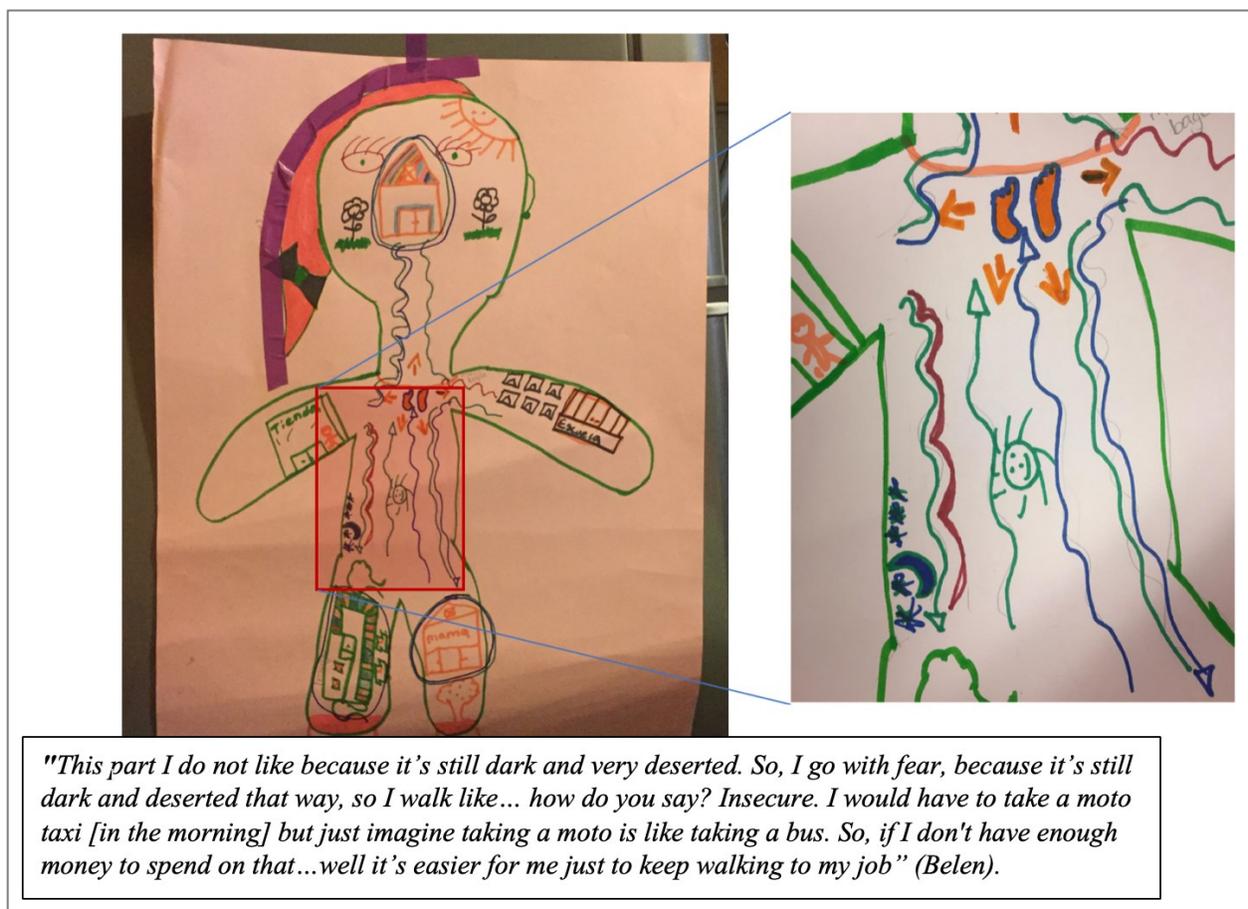
Furthermore, the fact that when the bus gets too crowded Gloria's daughter uses her bag to put distance between herself and masculine bodies is an indication that she sees the crowdedness of bodies on public transport as a threatening situation. Many bodies in crowded spaces facilitate sexual harassment and violence. This perception of insecurity and risk on public transit, as Soto (2017) suggests, and women's narratives corroborate, has implications for women's access to mobility. Despite women experiencing recurrent violence on buses, the fear of violence and insecurity is not exclusively related to the use of public transport. Participants also mentioned they fear walking in the streets of the housing complex. For example, during the focus group, Adela mentioned that her morning walk on Saturdays made her feel insecure and uncomfortable.

I put it in red because when I leave at 5:00 am it is deserted. So, I feel fear because nowadays there are many *malandrines* [miscreants/scoundrels] around here at night, right? (Adela)

⁵² According to the *Instituto Jalisciense de las Mujeres* (2015), the survey involved 1,027 women, from which 42% (435) were online and the rest (592) in neighborhoods of Jalisco.

Adela's uneasiness to walk the streets relates to the fact that it is still dark. In the same manner, in Figure 22, Belén used the color red in her map of daily routes⁵³ to express her fear of walking through an alley on her way to work every morning, when it is still dark. She painted the same alley on color green when she comes back at the middle of the day. Both of these women marked their routes in red when they walk during dark times of the day, which signals how fear and safety affects women's mobility at night or early morning.

Figure 22 Belén's map of daily routines



Source: Author, 2018.

⁵³ Participants drew the movement routes between the emblematic spaces of their everyday lives. They indicated how they move through them (walk, bus, private car, light rail, rideshare), and how they felt when moving across this network. They color-coded the places and paths regarding the places where they spent most of their time, the places that they liked/disliked the most, and where they felt most comfortable.

Similar to how Gloria explained how her daughter protects herself using her bag, other participants also had strategies related to the fear of violence, the fear of being attacked, mugged, sexually harassed and even kidnapped. Table 5 outlines the strategies that women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* use when they are faced with insecurity on the streets. Overall, the narratives outlined in Table 5 provide a description of how the fear of violence and insecurity carries particular weight in consideration of when, where, and how women move in the city. Table 5 shows the ways in which women adapt their movements in order to feel more secure. Each of these narratives expresses a consequence of facing fear every time they go into the public space. All along their quotes it becomes evident that insecurity makes women commute differently than men. These testimonies prove that sexual violence on public transport or when walking constitutes an obstacle for equal access to mobility systems (Soto, 2017). Unequal access not only involves not moving, but also spending more time and money. As portrayed in the quotes by Sara, Adela, Fernanda and Cristina, women tend to change the way they move. They are often obliged to spend more resources in order to connect their emblematic spaces. Women often take an extra bus or a taxi instead of walking because of the fear of being on the street alone. Sometimes, as Fernanda reveals, they also prefer to wait for specific routes that do not come as often but are safer. It is relevant here to recall Sara's dilemma on which university career to choose. As previously discussed, her choice was dependent on her exposure to violence and insecurity on the streets and public transport. Such is an example of those women who limit their trip choices as a response to the fear of violence and insecurity. Moreover, in Fernanda's quotes it is visible that women also built reciprocal relationships when facing insecurity. Since a factor that exacerbates fear depends on whether they are moving alone or accompanied, she arranges meeting times with her friends to walk together in routes that they consider dangerous.

Table 4: Principal effects of fear of violence and insecurity

	participants testimonies		
change route	Well, look, the bus... I sometimes catch around the corner. But it is really hard to catch it there because they are already crowded, busy, really jammed, so they don't stop. So when they do stop there is like 10 of us waiting and running and yelling "Run, here comes the bus!" and well... not everyone can get in. So what I sometimes do to not be in that situation, fighting, I walk all the way to the schools, down there, close to the other avenue and I wait for the bus there. (Cristina)	I go to the bus stop then is 5:50 p., at that time there is a half-empty bus that I can catch. But if it is already six, the buses are really jammed. So when I see that it's 6:05 or 6:10 <i>Chin!</i> I am running late, so I take a bus all the way to <i>Chulavista</i> [that's the opposite direction of her final destination]. And from there I can catch an empty bus. I grab it empty because they start there... so I take it, they leave from there so I can grab a seat and commute more relaxed, more comfortable. (Cristina)	
constant state of alert	What I do is keep my phone, my wallet, everything inside my backpack and not take them out until I arrive at my house. It is as if they don't look at me as appealing [in the sense of having something to rob]. (Fernanda)	Honestly when I leave the house alone, while I leave the cluster, I first look that way, up there. Because people that you have no idea can suddenly appear from there. Because back here there is a space that connects with the water tanks, where the <i>albañiles</i> (construction worker) can jump in. (Gloria)	In the avenue, you can see more people. However, I still don't walk on the sidewalks. If I'm walking till the next corner or something like that, I keep going in the middle of the street. If I see a car coming, I go to the side. Because they can hide on the driveways. I feel fear because what if someone appears in the avenue, then I do what? (Gloria)
change the way of moving	When I was going to the gym and I finished at night, well I felt fear. Almost every time I go out of the gym when dark I preferred to take the bus to come home. It was really dark, and there is always the chance of some crazy man appearing on the street.... (Fernanda)	I got off the bus outside the Soriana [entrance of the complex], and sometimes I would meet a friend, and we came walking together. Otherwise, I would take a bus. I prefer instead of walking because in the entrance, the one by the primary school, there is a small wall next to the sidewalk and people used to jump in from there. I heard some burglaries happened there. So I did not like to come back alone, I say no, not me. Besides, I would feel tired to do it. Better I took a bus. (Sara)	From my high school, I tell you, it was only three blocks, and it was dangerous because they said young women were being kidnapped there. So, the worst was last semester, around the time I would start my classes around 3:00 pm to 4:20 pm or something like that. The regular starting time for everyone it's at 2:00 pm. So at the time, I arrived the streets were alone, and I was walking like really fast. Or my friend and I set up a meeting time 'I wait for you on the bridge' because we stopped working at the same time 'I see you on the bridge, you just arrive, and we walk together towards the school.' Or I would say to her "hey, where are you?", 'I am just leaving.' 'Ah, ok I am two stops away from you, when I am around your stop I'll tell you which one is my bus so you can hop in,' and that way we would ride the same bus. (Fernanda)
other strategy	Hmm, they are the same [people] that we know from the neighborhood, they are drug users and all, but they don't mess with you. At least not with me, I go by, and they greet me 'good morning m' am, good afternoon.' What can you do right? The best you can coexist with them... right? It is better just to go along. (Adela)		

Source: Interviews data, 2018.

However, for some of the women that I interviewed immobility was not an option. For example, Belén continues to move early in the morning despite her discomfort and fear of insecurity (at least if the reason for moving is work). Like her, other women expressed resignation that this is a burden they have no choice but to face. For example, Sara has normalized the fact that living in *Hacienda Santa Fé* means long commutes:

We are here on the outskirts, where there is nothing, and for everything, we have to fight. Either I struggle or I go live somewhere else or something because it's a screwed-up situation [*esta cabrón*]. But I only have a year left (Sara).

Thus, participants did not see staying home as a strategy to avoid being attacked on the streets. They would rather stay at home as a strategy to protect their houses from being robbed. They feel insecurity when they go out and leave their houses (and sometimes children) alone. For them, going outside for an extended period of time represents an opportunity for someone to enter and rob their houses. Cristina and Belén's quote demonstrate how her fear to leave her house alone exacerbates isolation:

They look for empty houses with no one home to break in and steal. So, I tried not to go too often to Guadalajara, and if I went, I went and came back on the same day. (Cristina).

No. I don't really go out because of this...because of the insecurity that we have here. Because there have been several times that houses get mugged, even during the day. So, you don't know anymore, you don't know if you should go out or not. There is always someone at home here. If it's not me, it's my husband but there is always someone here. (Belén)

5.4.2 *Social Networks and Everyday Life*

The final implications of the mobility systems that women have access to in *Hacienda Santa Fé* are related to the maintenance of family networks. Besides work, another reason that spurs women to move in the city is to visit their families and friends. For some of them, their social networks are located in other parts of the city. Before *Hacienda Santa Fé*, these women used to live in other neighborhoods far away from *Hacienda Santa Fé*, where in some cases, their families and friends stayed. Participants talked about how the physical distance between them and their

relatives and friends in other parts of the cities has influenced those relationships. For example, Belén narrates a weekend trip filled with difficulties that she and her husband made to visit his grandmother:

It's ugly, the other day we went to see my husband's grandmother, and I won't lie, on the way back we can take only one bus, route 50. Well we went early to see her so by 3:00 pm we were already on the bus stop to come back because we did not want to catch it late and crowded...well we finally caught the bus at 4:30 pm. Also, we did not even catch the one we wanted, instead we took the 50b, we went down to another place, and from there we took the 619 because that is the only way to get here! So, we arrived home at six. I am telling you, *no manches*, it takes way too much time. (Belén)

She described her journey as frustrating. When residents are faced with such journeys in their everyday routines, many of them are not willing to do it again on weekends. Also, for Adela, the metropolitan reach of her social networks and her dependency on public transit raises the difficulty of maintaining those relationships:

I am used to it now [living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*], and to be honest I barely go that way anymore [her previous neighborhood]. My mom used to live there, but she died, may she rest in peace. So, it is too far... two hours spent to see them [her sisters]. (Adela)

Adela further discussed this situation in the focus group. Other women that participated (Belén and Marcela) agreed with her and her experience encouraged them to comment on their situation as well:

Adela: I barely go visit my sisters; they live in Santa Cecilia [a neighborhood on the east side of Guadalajara]. It takes me two hours to go and two more to come back. I just stay there for a little while because otherwise, I would arrive at night here.

Belén: Furthermore, from five to six buses are crowded.

Adela: Yes, it is mostly because of buses, they are really crowded and don't always stop. It is really far [Santa Cecilia]. And when I go, I leave my house at 10:00 am and arrive there at 12:00 pm, 12:30 pm... then my sisters ask me 'why don't you come to visit us anymore?' No, because of nothing (sarcasm).

Marcela: For the same reason you don't come to my house [she advises Adela to respond to her sisters].

Adela: Yes, I tell them ‘it is the same journey one has to travel from here to there than from there to here. Why don’t you ever come to see me?’ My sister used to come because she wanted to rent her house [I guess she has a house in *Hacienda Santa Fé*], so she used to come here but now that the tenants pay the rent through bank deposit she doesn’t come by anymore.

Marcela: My sisters are the same.

This kind of immobility related to visiting family was a common theme among participants. For Emilia, the matter of losing previous social connections with her family is an essential factor in her dislike of her home and neighborhood. As described in the first section of this chapter, she misses her family’s reunions and, as described in the following quote, she also yearns for their support:

My older sister and I were almost neighbors, like six houses apart. Also, she was the one who came with me to the clinic when I was pregnant. [...] But now I have to be alone [...] Now I feel calmer about it, I do not... well... I have to get used to it, I can’t just cry and cry everyday right? But yeah, I feel calmer now, I have to stay here with my daughter and my husband, I said to myself I have to make an effort. (Emilia)

Emilia’s feelings of social and physical isolation from her family have also affected her relationship with her husband since she resents his decision to buy in *Hacienda Santa Fé* and wishes to go back to be near her family support. Moving to *Hacienda Santa Fé* has meant a loss of supportive relationships and increased her dependency on her husband. Moreover, her testimony highlights how the presence or absence of affective networks affects mental health. Which is a relevant issue considering that, as outlined by the above and below quotes, many families in *Hacienda Santa Fé* are struggling to maintain consolidated networks they had before moving. Similarly, for Marcela, moving to *Hacienda Santa Fé* did not represent any difference in her relationship to her family since they live in the neighboring state of Michoacán. However, living far from her previous neighborhood has debilitated her friendship network. She has lost daily

connections with friends, although she still makes an effort to keep in touch and maintain those relationships:

Over there I had a group of friends. I could even call them sisters, and here I don't have that. Here people are very different. I tried, I still have those friends, now there's only two with whom I talk... on the phone mostly. We see each other once a year. But before... yes, my social life was *uffff* so good! Since I came to live here, well, that changed a lot. For instance, there we would go together to drop off our kids to school, we came back and had one day a week to have breakfast together and on Fridays afternoon we would hang out, every Friday for a coffee...we were a group of five, and then we were ten. But the close relationship was between three of us, or four, and that was really, really nice. The rest were just friends. (Marcela)

As their testimonies clearly state, the territorial distribution of family and friends along with the location of their own homes seems to have debilitated the social networks they had before moving to *Hacienda Santa Fé*. The spatial isolation that *Hacienda Santa Fé* has in relation to the rest of the city is having negative implications for the maintenance of affective networks. Overall this finding points out that moving to *Hacienda Santa Fé* has had negative implications on participants' consolidated social networks.

Despite the rupture of social networks rooted in their previous housing location, participants' narratives also point out the recomposition of new social networks inside the housing complex. From brief interactions when walking next to neighbors to the bus stop to more organized neighborhood associations, participants testimonies note the emergence of new relationships when sharing interactions in specific points of encounter. These interactions also emerge in spaces of social organization, as residents to organize security meetings, religious activities, cleaning groups, initiatives to bring new schools and a *tianguis*, among other initiatives, in order to transform their built environment and improve their daily lives.

Another point of social encounter between neighbors is related to religion. After Adela's donation of the statue of the Virgin to her cluster park, neighbors built a small chapel for the Virgin

with the municipal provision of building materials. Since that tragic event, Adela started organizing a rosary among the Catholic neighbors, which is now a tradition in her cluster. Each month a neighbor hosts the rosary inviting the rest of the neighbors and providing any food and beverage they can. Every year, in the anniversary of her daughter's murder, Adela hosts the rosary in the cluster's park, next to the Virgin's altar. This is now a yearly event that residents from her cluster look forward to participating and book their rosary. The rosaries connect the Catholic neighbors of the cluster, and the small chapel is its spatial manifestation. As Aguilar et al. (1998) have noted in other housing complexes, the emergence of resident-built chapels and altars brings a sense of identity to the place.

Women identified insecurity is a pressing problem that permeates all clusters in Hacienda Santa Fé. During my visits to the community in 2018 and 2019, I noted in my conversations with participants and in my personal experiences travelling to the complex, an acceleration in the levels of daily violence. In the face of the significant increase in fears about property security and personal safety, neighbors have organized security groups where they stay in contact to alert the cluster if they see something strange. Also, as addressed on Table 5, the fear of walking alone on the streets of the complex result in women coordinating their walks with other neighbors or friends to walk accompanied, which can be seen as a strategy of interaction that has spurred friendship networks among neighbors.

Women have also strategized collectively to take over the care of specific spaces. Cristina, for example, was part of a group of women that cleaned a nearby park to avoid "*mariguanos*" gathering there. Her group also asked the municipality to provide cleaning supplies and install public lights:

Well, it is mostly the ones [women] who have children and use the park. We, the women who have children, worried because before there was a group that gathered there and [the

park] was empty. Since the liquor store is right there, and no one was at the park, well they gathered. Now it is very, very rare that people gather there, maybe three or four. But before there were groups of 10 or 15 youngsters. They gathered to *loquear* [get high/drink] so as a result, we asked for the park to be fixed with lighting. (Cristina)

The overall deterioration of the urban image of *Hacienda Santa Fé* brought together concerned mothers about the spaces their children have to play. They organized with their available resources to clean the park, and demand maintenance from the local authorities. After that first intervention, they now have a chat group where they share information for mothers, such as current social assistance programs and events. Thus, the worry that some mothers share towards their children's upbringing is fostering them to know each other and appropriate a space they consider theirs (e.g. park for children). Through this practice they are also challenging the insecurity and degradation of public space imposed upon their neighborhood. Unfortunately, Cristina has found it difficult to continue participating in the cleaning campaigns because of increasing time constraints, and her pressing need to earn income led her to take another job as a house cleaner. Her case confirms Moser's (1998) observation that although coping households may support each other, economic crisis can also "push some households beyond that point at which they can sustain such reciprocity" (p. 13).

Finally, the lack of schools, urban amenities, and services has also encouraged neighbors to organize meetings and actions to bring what they need to their clusters or the general housing complex. In the scale of the cluster, they organize to clean the streets and parks, handle vacant housing, or when they have water shortages to pressure the authorities and buy weekly water tankers⁵⁴. In the scale of *Hacienda Santa Fé* residents have made ties with residents from other clusters in order to achieve larger projects, such as the construction of a new primary school or the

⁵⁴ During the fieldwork period, the cluster where Adela, Marcela and Belén live had a water shortage for two weeks, therefore, they started a group chat where they discussed possible solutions to that problem.

installation of a weekly *tianguis*. In this sense, the overall lack of urban infrastructure has prompted neighbors to know and support each other to bring the services they need. By doing so they are highlighting the ways in which the federal plan to “enable Mexicans to fulfill their dream of homeownership” (Fox Quesada, 2002) actually neglected the needs, realities and “dreams” of the beneficiaries.

The above examples show how, although moving to *Hacienda Santa Fé* has had the effect of eroding social networks beyond the local community, new ties of trust and cooperation are also forming in housing complexes, but this is often ignored by existing literature. Although her research was conducted in the context of informal settlements, the reconstruction of social ties in *Hacienda Santa Fé* are consistent with Moser’s (1998) thesis that reciprocal relationships are important in the consolidation process of settlements. Women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* are proving to be a crucial part of this consolidation. As highlighted in the above paragraphs, they have an active role in transforming the social and physical landscape of their neighborhood.

5.5 Summary

The findings of this project reveal the complex implications that neoliberal urbanization has for women's daily lives. Through the discussion of women's uses and needs of space, this chapter has addressed my research questions. With the help of this analysis, I have described the effects that the neoliberal project of mass-produced housing complexes is having on women’s everyday lives. For instance, through the exploration of women’s relationship with space it became clear that housing is a central component of social reproduction (Lawson et al., 1990), but, ironically, the ways in which mass-produced housing complexes are planned does not accommodate or support social reproduction tasks and the distinctive everyday geographies of women. Before analyzing the specific effects of living in a mass-produced housing complex, I

provided three stories that served to explore women's daily geographies. The stories of Emilia, Sara, and Marcela served to portray women's socio-spatial relations in everyday life in the context of *Hacienda Santa Fé*. Their narratives were presented as a way to display the "everyday" as an analytical lens that visibilizes the often invisible, mundane issues that shape women's routines (Jirón, 2007). In this work and through the narratives of the women that shared their stories with me, my research also shows how social differences can be studied in daily life. These vignettes illustrate how the emblematic spaces (e.g. house, work, school, friends, shops) in the lives of women relate to each other in the course of a day. They also reveal that in the task of connecting emblematic spaces women often find frustration to accomplish their daily activities. Women living in mass-produced housing complexes are constantly accomplishing their daily lives in a context of disconnected or insecure or precarious activities, sites and places not supportive of the interrelated nature of their daily activities.

The second part of this chapter highlights key themes related to "ways of living" to problematize the spaces where women perform their daily activities. By identifying emblematic spaces, my analysis explores the kind of places produced by a neoliberal perspective on housing as well as the diversity of women's needs. This underlined some of the implications that living in a *complejo habitacional* has on women's lives when they need to access specific spaces (e.g. work, education, health, care services). The results from this part reveal that living in a mass-produced housing complex has wide-ranging, gendered effects. First, the deficiencies in the planning of the complex pose particular challenges for women who want to provide education to their children. Second, the location of the housing location, as well as their gender, imposes particular challenges for women who want to pursue higher education. Third, the original monofunctional design and planning of the complex does not facilitate the accomplishment of tasks related to social

reproduction, which in turn reinforces urban inequalities and restrains women's access to appropriate formal waged work. Fourth, although women have diversified their household income by creating home-based enterprises, being bound to a socio-economic homogeneous client base was a disadvantage for the income-earning potential of these businesses. Being bound to this kind of client base relates back to the socio spatial-segregation based on income that characterizes this housing model. Remembering the “city of islands” (para. 47) described by Janoschka (2002), home-bases enterprises in the enclosed landscape of *Hacienda Santa Fé* are physically separated from other “islands”.

The third section of this chapter explored the ways that women connect (or not) the emblematic spaces on their everyday lives. My analysis here demonstrated how the original design of the complex favors the use of private transport, while studies and participant narratives emphasize that women depend on public transport or walking to commute or perform everyday activities (Soto, 2014). This research provides evidence of how mobility is a practice that modifies how people live and work in the city. For instance, the fear of violence and insecurity in public transport and the streets has led women to change their routines, stop going to places, and even modify their ways of moving, career choices and spend more resources (time and money). Moreover, through this theme I addressed how the peripheral location of mass-scale housing complexes along with residents’ dependency on a precarious transport system has affected social and family networks.

Throughout this chapter, it becomes increasingly clear that woman's particular needs have unique implications when living in a mass-produced housing complex. The characteristics of a *complejo habitacional* intersecting with women's uses of time and space are producing particular challenges for social reproduction, economic activities, access to education as well as the

maintenance of social networks. Despite some variations, throughout this chapter, it remains clear that the articulation of everyday tasks for women of *Hacienda Santa Fé* is a troublesome achievement because of the location of each place and the difficulties to connect them. Finally, this chapter served to highlight some of the ignored voices by this housing approach by discussing the links between women's complex geographies and the spatial configuration of mass-produced social housing.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

The aims of this research were to examine: 1) women's distinctive uses of space; 2) the places and circumstances that structure women's complex geographies in the context of mass-produced social housing complexes; and 3) the particular implications that living in a mass-produced housing complex has on women's experiences of everyday life. I conducted my research through a case study approach of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, Tlajomulco de Zuñiga, Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. Through this case study, I explored the implications of neoliberal urbanism on the scale of everyday life in a mass-produced social housing complex characteristic of other such complexes across Mexico. As I stated in my introduction, academic accounts of mass-produced housing complexes have limited explanations of the impacts of this housing approach on residents' everyday lives. In this way, one of the contributions of this thesis resides in highlighting women's own accounts of the effects that mass-produced housing complexes have on them. Through the lens of everyday life, the findings show that the present configuration of mass-produced housing complexes in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area has a gendered effect on residents. Overall, my key findings are: 1) the separation of urban functions embodied in mass-produced housing complexes lack spaces to support the interrelated nature of women's everyday lives; 2) the difficulties of connecting paid and unpaid activities have implications on women's access to appropriate formal waged work; 3) the location of housing as well as being bound to a socio-economic homogeneous client base leaves home-based enterprises in a vulnerable position; 4) the car-oriented design has particular implications for women's mobility due to their dependency on walking and public transit; 5) the precarious public transit system available for residents in Hacienda Santa Fé, as well as the insecurity women face in relation to sexual harassment, has led

them to change their routines, stop going to places, modify their ways of moving, change their career choices and spend more resources to move compared to men; 6) the location of the housing complex has eroded residents' affective networks beyond the local community; and 7) the problems residents share in the complex have prompted new ties of trust and cooperation among neighbors. These findings provide a number of important insights into the sometimes limited portrayal of social housing "clients", and provides context for the circumstances that shape women's geographies and experiences of the city. In this final chapter, I relate my research to a discussion of the broader implications, as well as identifying possible directions for future research to address the gendered dimensions of mass-produced housing.

6.2 Women's Distinctive Uses of Space in Mass-Produced Housing Complexes

By reviewing the “in-here” situation of the proliferation of social housing complexes in the periphery of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, this research demonstrates how this housing policy is having a significant role in social segregation by locating social housing in the outskirts of the city. As in other places of Latin America, this housing approach is reinforcing the logic that the place for low income population is in the periphery (Rolnik et al., 2015). Although the housing complex *Hacienda Santa Fé* is now part of a fairly consolidated urban periphery, it is still a functionally homogeneous place that lacks enough urban services and infrastructure to satisfy the needs of all the residents. After 17 years of the development of the first social housing complexes in Tlajomulco, these places are still poorly integrated into the existing urban fabric of the city, which is reproducing precarity, immobility and exclusion. Furthermore, the arrival of diverse commerce and services (e.g. new department stores, cinema complex, private schools, shopping malls) to the peripheries is forming new urban centralities in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, and people do not depend in the central city as much as when they first moved. However, the

narratives of the women that participated in this research show that these new centralities are still far from satisfying their everyday needs. When women need more than what these places offer, their access is constrained by their limited mobility.

In that sense, in a city of social and spatial contrasts interwoven by a complex grid of daily lives, this research project explores the particular realities of women in the periphery of Guadalajara. Through women's voices and experiences, this thesis captures and conveys women's uses of urban space as well as the importance of including a gender perspective in the study of housing. By focusing on daily activities, my research contributes a better understanding of the gendered geographies of housing complexes and the city.

A key objective of this research was to explore the particular implications that neoliberal urbanization in the form of mass-produced housing complexes has for women's lives. My research results show that the circumstances that affect women's experiences in peripheral housing are shaped by different contextual factors such as age, household composition, life course position, access to multimodal ways of transport, preceding housing location, among others. The emblematic spaces for women living in *Hacienda Santa Fé* show that they use urban space in particular ways. However, they also show that they are dependent on contextual elements that should be incorporated into urban planning decisions. Furthermore, by focusing on the effects on the everyday realities of women, this research also contributes to a body of work addressing the impacts of this housing approach on urban areas and urban dwellers themselves. By identifying the threads of neoliberalization as a macro process with implications at the local scale, this research maps out the inter-scalar dimensions of the socio-spatial problems stemming from the neoliberal approach to social housing production in Mexico.

My research methodology is especially relevant for mapping out the particular effects on women, because, throughout the collection, analysis and presentation of data, it was possible to bring women's own accounts of living in a mass-produced housing complex, a task that researchers have often overlooked in the study of social housing complexes. By focusing on the voices and narratives of women, their everyday practices and rhythms, this research allowed for a detailed examination of the elements in mass-produced housing complexes that impact women's lives. In this sense, exploring the ways in which women relate with their place of residence enabled an exploration of the multiple ways in which a place can be known, used and appropriated by its users-inhabitants (Aguilar et al., 1998). With this framework, it was also possible to go beyond urban studies that often focus on macro tendencies and explicative processes behind neoliberal urbanism, but which often invisibilize daily life issues (Jirón, 2007) and gendered realities. Furthermore, by employing a wide variety of techniques and sources to inquire about urban realities, it was possible to recognize the agency of women without minimizing the structural inequalities which also influence their lives and livelihoods.

6.3 The Physical Division of Functions and the Interrelation of Daily Activities

As feminist scholars suggest, women have a different way of using space compared to men. What this research adds to the literature of gendered geographies of the city is the examination of how these distinctive uses of space relate with the specific context of *Hacienda Santa Fé*. This research elucidates how women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* assemble the diverse and interrelated activities that compose their everyday lives. Unlike the urban development tendency in Latin American to follow a structure of "city of islands" (Janoshka, 2002, para. 47), where cities are fragmented by a separation of space by its function (e.g. housing, commerce, work, and so forth), the routines of these women demonstrate that daily life brings together those separate functions.

Their everyday geographies illustrate the importance of including the activities of everyday life in a more integrated urban planning and a rethinking of housing design and production.

By discussing the circumstances that shape women's geographies, my research results illustrate that care responsibilities play a vital role in shaping the uses of urban space for some women. Such a discussion contributes to current debates on the "crisis of care" (Nieves Rico et al., 2017). As this research demonstrates, the "crisis of care" is not only a problem of unequal distribution of tasks and the difficulty to manage tasks, but it is also a problem of scarcity of time for women (Nieves Rico et al., 2017). In a context where care systems are privatized, women's burdens of being in charge of social reproduction tasks in their households are exacerbated . Moreover, the vast distances between the spaces of care and housing location constrain the possibilities of better-waged work, having time for themselves and engaging in personal projects. This crisis of care, as the results of this research demonstrate, is inextricably linked to housing policy and modes of urban development. This finding implies that housing policies need to adopt a more integral view of urban dynamics that reflect the diverse realities of daily life. There is a need to break the current hierarchical division of spaces and valorize care tasks alongside waged work. Accordingly, it remains necessary to think of housing with a critical distance from the homogeneous universal vision that centered on masculine interests and requirements (Ortiz Guitart, 2007). It is urgent that housing policies take distance from the production of millions of precarious houses geared to developers' profit margins and instead focus on producing a city design that supports social reproduction.

6.4 Using Housing to Earn Income and Integrate Activities

Many studies have explored the issue of home-based enterprises (González De la Rocha, 2001; Lawson et al.,1990; Moser's, 1998; Wigle, 2008). Consistent with this literature, women in

Hacienda Santa Fé are using their houses to generate income for their households, mainly due to the lack of formal job opportunities in proximity to their homes. In the case of *Hacienda Santa Fé*, women are using their houses to provide an income to families, but also to satisfy the proximal shopping needs of the community. Unlike the perspectives from which their *complejo habitacional* was initially planned, women are using their houses beyond its original residential purposes. However, the location, insecurity, and houses design impede residents from being able to count on economic activities such as renting out rooms, plots, or parking spaces. Furthermore, due to the spatial segregation based on income fostered by the configuration of the housing complex, their home-based enterprises do not have access to an affluent client base. The above poses particular challenges for women that want to earn an income from home in *Hacienda Santa Fé*.

This finding implies that women are expected to assume the task of interrelating their needs emerging from social reproduction and waged work. However, it also alludes to the ongoing difficulties to meet social needs. They have undertaken some changes (e.g. start a home-based enterprise to be close to care responsibilities and earn income) at the local level to alleviate the negative effects (e.g. distance from work) of living in *Hacienda Santa Fé*. However, the limits of their strategies are also related to the way mass-produced housing is planned, which still leaves them in a vulnerable economic position.

6.5 Gendered Mobilities and what this Means for Residents of Mass-Produced Housing Complexes

The study also contributes to debates on the relationship between gender and mobility by highlighting how the precarious transport system and the precarious walkability of the housing complex affect women. As stated in the introduction of this thesis, the mundane elements of daily life can reveal more nuanced accounts of how life is structured inside a housing complex. Through

the analysis of daily movements, it was possible to reveal how mobility issues for residents of *Hacienda Santa Fé* has gendered implications. The discussion of mobility and immobility revealed the difficult achievement for women to link their emblematic spaces of daily life. Women often expressed fear of violence and insecurity in public transport and the street, which carried particular weight in consideration of when, where, and how women move in the complex and in the city. The exclusion is manifest in the fact that women ended up spending more resources (time and money) and limiting their physical mobility compared to men. Moreover, the precarious mobility that women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* depend on affected their access to waged work opportunities, access to post-secondary education, and maintenance of social networks. This finding also demonstrates a connection between spatial mobility and social mobility. Recognizing that education plays a key role in social mobility, the limited opportunities that women in *Hacienda Santa Fé* have to reach educational destinations becomes a barrier for upward social mobility.

These findings suggest that housing complexes contribute to urban inequalities among residents. The security and autonomy to move for people without access to private transport are considerably limited due to the precarious conditions to move by foot or on public transit. On the other hand, the hardship to access certain services and infrastructure (e.g. health, education, among others) increases the difficulties for residents of mass-produced housing complexes to ameliorate their living conditions compared to dwellers of other locations of the city. This finding suggests the mass-produced housing production model exacerbates residents' difficulties to access opportunities to accumulate human capital, which further contributes to the precarization of urban peripheries. Furthermore, due to the gendered effects of the precarious mobility of mass-produced housing complexes, they also contribute to gendered precarity. The insecurity women face when looking of education in other parts of the city reduces their ability to pursue higher education.

6.6 Erosion and Consolidation of Social Networks

My case study also documents that social networks are not only eroding for residents of mass-produced housing developments. In some cases, new ties of trust and cooperation are forming in housing complexes. Despite the rupture of social networks from residents previous housing locations, new social networks inside the housing complex are emerging, allowing ties of friendship and support among neighbors. This finding concurs with Moser's (1998) thesis that social relations are not static but continuously changing according to contextual circumstances. Moreover, it serves to challenge the literature that focuses on the loss of social cohesion as a prevalent effect of neoliberal social housing.

Finally, this research presents a better understanding of the case of Tlajomulco de Zuñiga. Turning to policy, results from this study contribute to current debates on how to enhance life inside mass-scale housing complexes. Recently, the new administration of the municipality formed the *Instituto para el Mejoramiento del Hábitat de Tlajomulco* (Institute for Improvement of Habitat). The institute has three primary goals: reduce the number of vacant houses, bring dignity to existing housing, and order urban growth by promoting new models of housing and more rental housing (Ayuntamiento de Tlajomulco, 2018b). The institute has recently launched their first program to address the high rates of vacant housing in the *complejos* by subsidizing rental housing in houses that otherwise would be abandoned. The research undertaken for this thesis can inform this new policy direction that the municipality is taking to enhance the quality of life of social housing residents. As shown by the findings of this research, women are and have been present in the public sphere of cities. However, the planning perspective of projects like *complejos habitacionales* neglects their presence outside the private space. As an urban population that has long been neglected from urban planning practices, the inclusion of women's voices in new

housing policy and programs is a necessary step towards the construction of more inclusive and equitable neighborhoods and cities.

6.7 Suggestions for Further Research

Due to the lack of academic literature addressing women experiences in mass-produced housing, during the course of this study, a number of potential directions for future research became apparent. Future research is needed to compare the experiences of women in different housing complexes. This research was based on the oldest and largest social housing complex of Tlajomulco. However, there are several social housing complexes of small and medium scale in the peripheries of the city. This research may have yielded different results if conducted in less consolidated and smaller housing complexes. I would suggest that a comparative analysis is needed in those communities to see how experiences of these places differ.

The analysis of data also raised new questions for me that I could not address due to the limited time I had available for fieldwork endeavors. For example, the results of this research show that life course position affects women's uses of space. As I demonstrated, young women move more to farther parts of the city, compared to women with children. Since the Ethics Board only gave me permission to interview women over 18-years-old, and I had limited time in the field, I could only interview one 18-year-old woman and one 22-year-old woman. Although these interviews enlighten the ways in which younger generations experience *Hacienda Santa Fé*, there is a remaining need to further address young women experiences in mass-produced housing complexes.

Furthermore, I mostly interviewed women who rent or own their houses. I only interviewed one woman that squats with her family and another that is thinking of doing so. For both of these women, the abandoned houses were a resource in times of emergency. However, the woman that

I interviewed that was already squatting in a house did not feel proud of this situation, therefore, she did not feel comfortable to speak openly about it. Although our conversations in relation to her housing tenure situation were short, I wish I could have asked more questions that could elucidate the differences of housing experiences between squatters and homeowners. I believe that this could also be a potentially productive direction for further research.

In line with the above, the municipality of Tlajomulco has changed its approach to housing as a response to growing criticisms of *complejos habitacionales*, residents' discontent with urban services and social problems, and a change in federal housing policy. For instance, the municipality increased the minimal size of houses from 60 m² of construction to 90 m²; in 2016, they changed the land use for 800 hectares of land in Tlajomulco from residential to commercial, industrial or rural in order to prohibit the construction of 36,000 new houses (El Informador, 2016). In general, their reforms have targeted the physical characteristics of housing units within complexes, shifting the emphasis from single horizontal houses to vertical housing complexes. However, these new vertical developments are still geared to produce a profit, and their planning still neglects the integration of different urban functions and many of the gender issues raised here. During fieldwork visits, it was evident that vertical housing units continue to follow the same model of housing provision (e.g. residential-only land use). Since 2010, vertical social housing started to be developed in the municipality (Ayuntamiento de Tlajomulco de Zuñiga, 2018a). Figure 20 shows a housing block of the new vertical housing complex *Valle de Tejada*. The whole complex is composed of 1,579 private apartments. Clearly, this development still envisions housing in narrow terms as only a physical shelter. For instance, the vertical complexes do not have any commercial opportunities apart from those arising from the entrepreneurial activities initiated by residents. Similar to the housing studied in *Hacienda Santa Fé*, the housing units are disconnected from their

surrounding environment, and the same walkability and security problems seem to prevail. This new form of mass-produced social housing may further exacerbate the social and spatial problems of peripheral housing developments documented in this thesis, since vertical housing complex, where opportunities to modify the housing units to household needs (or commerce) are even more constricted in these vertical complexes.

Figure 23: Housing complex *Valle de Tejada*



Source: Author, 2018.

When visiting the municipal officers at the urban planning office, it was common to see the names of housing complexes listed on their "to be approved" board and their desks crowded with files of new housing developments waiting for their construction licenses to be approved. To date, the municipality sees private construction as a way to boost municipal economic growth and create local job opportunities. The same political and economic interest continue to dictate how social housing is produced, which as I demonstrated in this thesis, is exacerbating urban

inequalities. Clearly, these observations point to the fact that there is no real shift in how social housing is being built. Physical variations aside, the logic of the market continues to dictate the production of urban shelter. In such contexts, it becomes clear that, despite the existing knowledge of the detrimental outcomes of such housing policies, federal and municipal governments are still pursuing a housing approach that supports developers' profits. As my research suggests, however, it is women who often shoulder the costs of this approach, as well as social reproduction in general.

Appendix A: In-depth Cases Template

1. Criterios de la selección del caso de estudio y qué es lo interesante
Característica principal del caso

2. Metadata

Número de visita	
número de entrevista realizada a la participante	
número de entrevista con respecto a todas	
Fecha	
Utilización de otra técnica para obtener información	
Liga a entrevista	
Liga a notas de campo	
calidad de la entrevista	
anotaciones metodologicas	
dificultades o problemas	
recomendaciones	

3. Espacios emblemáticos identificados.
4. Relacion socioespacial.
5. Localización, homogeneidad y calidad constructiva.
6. Satisfacción residencial.
7. Percepciones sobre su colonia
8. Roles en relación a su vida cotidiana
 - a. Trabajo remunerado
 - b. Trabajo no remunerado
 - c. Trabajo Comunitario

Appendix B: Sample Questions for In-Depth Interviews with Residents - Context



Canada's Capital University

Guía para entrevistas individuales: antecedentes Inicio:

- Presentarme
- Presentar brevemente el proyecto de investigación.
- Explicar y distribuir los formularios de consentimiento.
- Enfatizar en que es voluntario y podrán abandonar la entrevista en cualquier momento que lo deseen.
- Usted cuenta con el derecho de dar por terminada su participación en el estudio en cualquier momento, por cualquier razón, hasta el día 30 de septiembre del 2018.
- preguntar si está bien si grabo el audio de la entrevista.
- Responder preguntas iniciales.

Preguntas:

Antecedentes

1. Me gustaría saber ¿cuánto tiempo lleva viviendo aquí?
2. ¿Cómo era *Hacienda Santa Fé* cuando tu llegaste a vivir ahí?
 - a. ¿Las casas de éste cluster estaban ya todas ocupadas?
 - b. ¿Qué tipo de servicios podía uno encontrar por aquí?
3. ¿Qué es lo que ha cambiado de ahora a ese entonces?
4. ¿Por qué cambió? ¿Quién lo llevó a cabo? ¿Cuáles son las razones por las que se dieron esas transformaciones?

Composición del hogar

1. ¿con cuántas personas vive?
2. ¿tienen algún parentesco?
3. ¿La casa en la que vive es propia? ¿Rentada? ¿Otra?
4. ¿Cómo fue el proceso mediante el cual obtuvieron la casa?
5. ¿Cuáles diferencias encuentras entre el lugar en el que creciste/ vivías antes y el lugar en el que vives ahora?
6. Y ¿Por qué se vino a vivir acá?
7. ¿Le gusta vivir aquí? ¿Qué es lo que le gusta? ¿Qué es lo que no le gusta? ¿Qué cambiaría de *Hacienda Santa Fé*?
8. ¿Conoce algún proyecto o asociación para mejorar la colonia? ¿Está involucrada en él? Cuáles son las razones por las que decidió no involucrarse.
9. Oye la información que me diste es realmente interesante, me gustaría que me contaras más de ti, pero quizás en otra sesión, o ¿te gustaría agregar algo ahora?

Para concluir

- Concluir enfatizando en la importancia de su participación.
- Agradecer a las participantes.

- Distribuir tarjetas de regalo.
- Responder preguntas finales.

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Appendix C: Sample Questions for In-Depth Interviews with Residents – Daily Life



Canada's Capital University

Guía para entrevista 2

Inicio:

-Presentarme

-Explicar y distribuir los formularios de consentimiento. Enfatizar en que es voluntario y podrán abandonar el grupo en cualquier momento que lo deseen.

-Responder preguntas iniciales.

¿Cómo es su día a día?

5. En la entrevista pasada me mencionabas que al principio no te gustaba vivir acá pero ahora ya te adaptaste, me podrías contar un poco ¿de qué maneras te fuiste adaptando? ¿Cómo fue que dejaste de arrepentirte?
6. Me mencionaste que tú fuiste quien se encargó de realizarle las mejoras a la casa, ¿te referías a qué tú te encargaste de los gastos? ¿Por qué era importante para ti mejorar la vivienda?
7. La última vez se me pasó preguntarte, ¿Tienes familia aquí en *Hacienda Santa Fé*? ¿De qué maneras crees que el vivir en *Hacienda Santa Fé* influye en tu vida familiar/ social?
8. Cuéntame ¿cómo es un día normal entre semana para ti...

Temas a profundizar cuando vayan surgiendo

-trabajo

- ¿Trabaja fuera de la colonia? ¿En dónde? ¿Siempre trabajaste cerca?
- ¿Cuánto tiempo haces a tu trabajo?
- ¿Cómo describirías tu trayecto?
- ¿Crees que el transporte influye en tu vida laboral?
- ¿Te gustaría hacer otra cosa en tu vida laboral?
- En la entrevista pasada me contabas que haces pasteles para vender, los insumos para los pasteles que vendes ¿los encuentras aquí mismo en *Hacienda Santa Fé*? ¿A dónde tienes que salir a comprarlos? ¿Cómo fue que empezaste a realizar esa actividad aquí en la colonia? ¿Tus clientes son vecinos?

1. movilidad cotidiana: ¿en qué te mueves?
 - autobús: ¿Para qué lo usas? ¿Cuántos camiones tomas diario? (Recursos económicos) ¿La parada del camión queda cerca de tu casa? ¿De tú trabajo?
 - caminar: ¿Para qué caminas? ¿Cómo describirías tu experiencia de caminar para hacer X actividad?
 - ¿Te mueves en algún otro medio de transporte?
2. ¿En algún momento/situación de tu día te sientes insegura?

-Si trabaja fuera del hogar: Después de hacer todo eso ¿Te alcanza el tiempo para ocuparte de las tareas del hogar? Cocinar, cuidar, comprar, etc. ¿Con quién te apoyas para hacer ese tipo tareas? ¿qué cosas se te hacen más facil o difícil?

- ¿Te encargas tu sola de los gastos?

- ¿De qué maneras crees que el vivir en *Hacienda Santa Fé* ha influido en tu vida laboral?

3. ¿Hay algo más que te gustaría mencionar antes de concluir con la entrevista?

Para concluir:

-Concluir enfatizando en la importancia de su participación

-Agradecer a las participantes.

-Dar tarjeta de regalo de Soriana.

-Responder preguntas finales.

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Appendix D: Sample Questions For In-Depth Interviews with Government Officials



Canada's Capital University

Guía de entrevista para personal del Ayuntamiento Inicio:

-Presentarme

-Presentar brevemente el proyecto de investigación.

-Explicar y distribuir los formularios de consentimiento. Enfatizar en que es voluntario y podrán abandonar el grupo en cualquier momento que lo deseen.

-Responder preguntas iniciales.

la historia y antecedentes de la colonia, los procesos de participación de la comunidad, entre otras cosas.

Preguntas:

1. ¿Cuál es su rol dentro de los procesos de planeación en Tlajomulco?
2. ¿Me podrías contar a grandes rasgos sobre el proceso de planeación en Tlajomulco?
3. Antecedentes de los complejos habitacionales.
4. Qué problemáticas / requerimientos considera más significativas en dichos complejos.
5. ¿De qué maneras la comunidad se involucra en las decisiones de planeación de los complejos? ¿De qué maneras los residentes de los complejos expresan sus inquietudes?
6. ¿Qué tipo de inquietudes/requerimientos tienen los residentes de los complejos habitacionales hacia el Ayuntamiento?
7. Dichos requerimientos, ¿usualmente se realizan por parte del Ayuntamiento? ¿Cómo es ese proceso?
8. Tiene algún otro comentario

Para concluir:

-Concluir enfatizando en la importancia de su participación.

-Agradecer a las participantes.

-Distribuir tarjetas de regalo.

-Responder preguntas finales.

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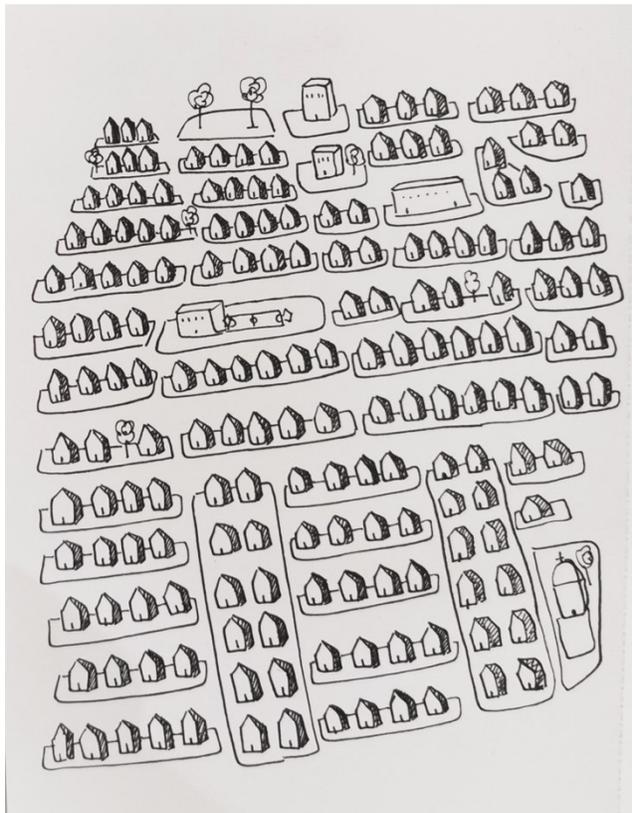
Departamento de Geografía

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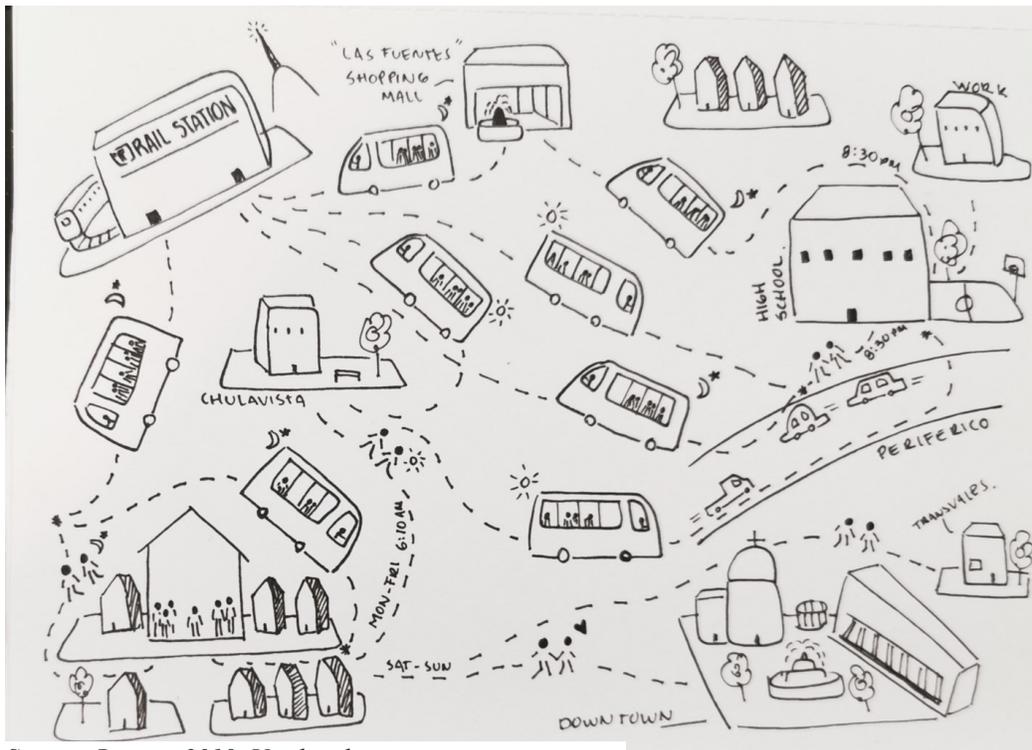
Appendix E: Time Geography Maps Provided to Participants



Source: Rincon, 2019. Used with permission.



Source: Rincon, 2019. Used with permission.



Source: Rincon, 2019. Used with permission.

Appendix F: Research Participants' Basic Information, *Hacienda Santa Fé*

Pseudonym	Age	Household members	Previous neighborhood
Marcela	42	husband, daughter and son	El Colli
Emilia	37	husband and daughter	Loma Dorada
Christina	35	sister and three sons	Huentitan
Graciela	41	husband, two daughters and a son	Las Juntas
Adela	53	husband and grandson	Santa Ceciclia
Candelaria	58	husband and son	Zapopan
Fernanda	22	parents and brother	El Colli
Belén	28	husband and three daughters	Huentitan
Sara	18	parents and three brothers	Paraisos del Colli
Gloria	36	husband, three sons and a daughter	Paraisos del Colli
Dolores	N/A	husband, two sons and a daughter	Colonia Atlas

Source: Author, based on interviews, 2018.

Appendix G: Informed Consent Form



Formulario de consentimiento

Título: Complejos habitacionales de gran escala: experiencias cotidianas de mujeres.

Fecha de autorización del comité de ética: 18 de mayo del 2018

Fecha de expiración de recolección de información:

Yo _____, elijo participar en el Proyecto de investigación “Experiencias de vida cotidiana en complejos habitacionales de gran escala del Área Metropolitana de Guadalajara”. Dicho estudio tiene como objetivo explorar las maneras en las que, el residir en un complejo habitacional como *Hacienda Santa Fé*, facilita o dificulta la vida cotidiana de las mujeres. **La investigadora principal de éste estudio es Paulina Ascencio Ramos de la Universidad de Carleton, de Ottawa, Canadá.** Paulina trabaja bajo la supervisión de la profesora Jill Wigle en el Departamento de Estudios Geográficos y Medioambientales de la misma universidad.

Este estudio implica entrevistas de hasta 60 minutos de duración. Con su consentimiento, el audio de las entrevistas será grabado. Una vez que el audio se transcriba a texto, las grabaciones serán eliminadas. Así mismo, con su consentimiento, se tomarán fotografías del entorno.

En esta investigación, se le preguntará a cerca de su trabajo, su experiencia de vida cotidiana, sus recorridos cotidianos, su familia, sus experiencias de vivir en un complejo habitacional como *Hacienda Santa Fé*, y su rol como mujer, entre otras cosas. Vamos a realizar entrevistas de aproximadamente 1 hora de duración. El audio de las entrevistas será grabado para posteriormente realizar transcripciones, una vez que se realicen dichas transcripciones, el audio de las entrevistas será borrado. Una copia de las transcripciones de las entrevistas se le será proporcionada si usted lo desea. Le informo asimismo que se tomarán las medidas necesarias para proteger su identidad y que sus respuestas no sean develadas a terceras personas. Lo anterior se asegurará manteniendo sus respuestas bajo un seudónimo.

Así mismo, usted puede solicitar que algunas de sus respuestas sean excluidas del proyecto final. Si usted llegará a experimentar cualquier tipo de angustia o estrés durante la investigación, se le proveerá con el contacto de una consejera profesional que la podrá asistir profesionalmente.

Usted cuenta con el derecho de dar por terminada su participación en el estudio en cualquier momento, por cualquier razón, hasta el día 30 de septiembre del 2018. Usted podrá dar por terminada vía telefónica, o a través de correo electrónico con la investigadora (Paulina) o la supervisora de la investigadora (Jill). Si usted desea abandonar el estudio, toda la información que nos proporcionó será destruida en cuanto nos sea posible.

Toda la información obtenida en esta investigación, incluyendo las grabaciones de audio, fotografías, y notas de campo serán guardadas en documentos accesibles solamente con contraseñas. Dicha información será almacenada en un disco duro externo, que será guardado en un gabinete bajo llave en la Guadalajara. La información recabada únicamente será accesada por la investigadora y su supervisora. Así mismo, las transcripciones de entrevistas podrán ser puestas a su disposición.

Una vez que el Proyecto se finalice, los datos recabados serán almacenados por un periodo

de cinco años, y potencialmente usados para otros proyectos de investigación con temática similar. Al pasar dicho periodo, todos los datos e información recabada serán destruida por completo. Los documentos electrónicos serán eliminados y los documentos físicos serán triturados.

Si usted desea obtener una copia de la versión final del proyecto de investigación, se le invita a enviar in correo a la investigadora para solicitar una copia electrónica.

El protocolo de ética para éste Proyecto fue revisado por el Concejo de Ética de Investigación de la Universidad de Carleton, mismos que otorgaron autorización para llevar a cabo esta investigación. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta o sugerencia sobre su participación en esta investigación, por favor contacte al Dr. Andy Adler, Chair, Carleton University Research Ethics Board-B (a los teléfonos 613-520-2600 ext. 4085 o vía email a ethics@carleton.ca).

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Email: JillWigle@cunet.carleton.ca
Estoy de acuerdo en que se grabe el audio: ___ Si ___ No
Estoy de acuerdo en que se tomen fotografías ___ Si ___ No
Me gustaría recibir una copia de las transcripciones ___ Si ___ No

Firma de participante

Fecha

Firma de la investigadora

Fecha

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