



**Bodies, Aspirations and The Politics of Place:  
Narratives of Three Generations of Women  
from La Ladrillera (A Brickmaking Community)**

A Research Paper presented by:

***Azucena del Rosario Gollaz Morán***

(Mexico)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Social Policy for Development**

Members of the Examining Committee:

Wendy Harcourt

Rosalba de Icaza

The Hague, The Netherlands

*To my Grandmother, whose teachings  
accompany me in every journey I undertake*

# Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Maps</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>viii</i>
<b>Prologue</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>Chapter 1 . The Road to the Places</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 2 . How to go There?</b>	<b>6</b>
Understanding Body Politics	7
Bodies Beyond Skin	7
Bodies as Assemblages	9
Bodies and Power Relations	9
Understanding Politics of Place	10
Bodies and Places	10
Understanding Bodies, Places and Development	11
Aspirations, Transformations and Development	12
Education as Aspiration	13
Generation	13
Remarks on Bodies and Places and Theoretical Tool Kit	14
<b>Chapter 3 . Constructing Bridges</b>	<b>15</b>
A Place that Contains Many Places	15
<b>Chapter 4 . Places and Encounters</b>	<b>20</b>
First Generation.	20
The Migration to the Community and their Encounter with Brickmaking	20
Making Bricks for a Living. First Generation	21
The Reconstruction of the Community	22
Home in La Ladrillera	23
Aspiring Education. First Generation.	25
First and Second Generation	26
Second Generation	27
Making Bricks for a Living. Second Generation.	28

Home in La Ladrillera. Second Generation	29
Aspiring Education. Second Generation	31
First, Second and Third Generation	32
Third Generation	33
The Community and the Third Generation	33
Making Bricks for a Living? Third Generation	33
Growing up in La Ladrillera. Third Generation	34
Aspiring Education. Third Generation.	34
<b>Chapter 5 . The Arrival</b>	<b>36</b>
<i>References</i>	<i>40</i>

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1. Theoretical Tool Kit Diagram.....	14
Figure 2. Drawing: Mari's community aspirations. ....	33
Figure 3. Drawing: Ju's educational and professional aspirations.....	35
Figure 4. Diagram of analysis .....	37

## **List of Maps**

Map 1. Location of La Ladrillera. ....	16
--	----

## **List of Appendices**

Appendix 1. Additional Women's Narratives.....	43
--	----

## List of Acronyms

CONACYT	National Council of Science and Technology
DIF	Ministry for the Integral Development of the Family
INEA	Open National System for Adults Education
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAS	Organization of American States

## Acknowledgements

I think we are co-constructed by people and places. The words, thoughts, reflections and embodied experiences I share in this document both belong and do not belong to me. They are product of my own process of appropriation and transformations. But also of the multiple encounters-disencounters with the people and places I have met. They have marked my body; my thoughts, memories, feelings and knowledges.

I am deeply thankful to the people that have walked by my side and have helped me to put together a collection of stories and histories profoundly significant for me and that precisely reflect about the processes of co-construction among people and places.

I hope my words give you some acknowledgement of how much you have co-constructed me and this RP. My sincerest gratitude and love to:

People from La Ladrillera. Especially, to Fe, Ma, Mari and Pa; to Mar, Mo and Jo; to Lu, Chu and Ju; to Her and Jo,

*For your trust and life-changing shared knowledges. For all your love. My words are not enough to thank you.*

Wendy Harcourt,

*For your close and respectful guidance and company in the journeys I undertook for this RP. I am so thankful we encountered.*

Rosalba de Icaza,

*For your thoughts, comments and reflections. Thank you for pushing me further.*

My family,

*For encouraging me to aspire. For supporting me to materialize those aspirations. Thank you for being there for me.*

My extended family in Mexico and the World. I cannot name everyone one of you, my beloved friends and co-workers, but be sure I have our stories very present while working in this project and writing these words,

*Thank you for your amazing support, love and care about me. Thank you for being family without blood ties. All my love to every one of you.*

My adopted families in The Hague. Especially to my Latin Family and to Marina's family,

*For your unconditional love and craziness. For learning, dancing, laughing and crying with me. All my love to every one of you.*

All the persons that have accompanied me in different moments at different places,

For your actions and words that have helped me to write this RP. Thank you.

With love,

Azucena Gollaz

## **Abstract**

In this research, I explore the relations and tensions among People, Places, Work and Development through the narratives of three generations of women from La Ladrillera, a brickmaking community in Mexico. I bring about the reconstruction of the intergenerational transformations of the different places they inhabit: body, home, environment and public arena. They have co-constructed the places according to their needs and aspirations in which education plays an important role. But at the same time, they have been co-constructed by the places and the social policies intervening there. I argue that women's aspirations and social policies follow divergent paths but intersect each other at different times and in different forms catalyzing different processes of transformations through history.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

The paper pretends to contribute to the recognition of women's daily transformative place-based politics. The embodiment experiences of women expose how patriarchal and violent development practices and discourses are leaving deep injuries in the bodies and places inhabited by the women; in their memories and histories. At the same time, women's political practices shed light to particular forms of resistance and transformation that question many development assumptions and interventions, which open spaces for the revision and reformulation of those.

## **Keywords**

**Body Politics, Women, Politics of Places, Brickmaking, Work, Aspirations, Social Policies, Education, Intergenerational**



## Prologue

### *Where to go and Why to go There?*

When a storm hits La Ladrillera, the freshly made bricks get destroyed. After the rain, brickmakers gather up the mud of the ruined bricks, mix it again with a shovel and step on it to make it smooth. Then, they put the mud into molds with their hands and make the bricks again with hope to get enough sun this time to dry them up.

I first encountered La Ladrillera, in Jalisco, Mexico, five years ago when I joined the staff of an NGO that have a community center nearby. I visited the place many times from 2011 to 2014 as part of my job. I got to know the daily routine and struggles of many brickmaker families by talking with women and children, who were involved in the NGO's programs.

Among the diversity and particularity of their narratives, there were common stories. Rainy season was especially difficult because storms destroyed their job and their homes became wet. Many of their houses were made of bricks but not cemented and their roofs were made of sheets because their income from brickmaking is barely enough to buy food and some basic items. I saw that brickmaking is extremely physically exhausting and that the sales were dropping out as bricks became replaced by blocks in the construction sector. Socially, brickmaking was seen as the worst possible job in the community so the families faced discrimination and exclusion. Additionally, women confronted further stigma because they were expected not to work but to stay at home and care for the children. But, simultaneously, they shared with me many hopes and aspirations. Women were sure their efforts would provide a better future for their children.

Those encounters allowed me to learn a story of the many stories of this particular history of development. I learnt about the hidden side of Guadalajara's development as the second largest and important city in Mexico. La Ladrillera and the many places it contains has produced the bricks for the construction of the neighborhoods, schools, hospitals, major buildings and prosperous businesses of the city.

In addition to this story of how the bricks literally make development, in La Ladrillera there are the stories of the bodies that make those bricks. At the end of 2014 I experienced an encounter-disencounter that made me see how different interventions (social policies, laws, development projects) were leaving deep injuries in women's bodies and places; in their feelings, memories and histories.

I went to the community to talk with Maria, an 11-year-old-girl. Maria told me she was about to finish primary school and wanted to continue her studies. When I was leaving, the girl's mother asked me for help. She said she had been denounced for child mistreatment to the Ministry for the Integral Development of the Family, DIF. She was required to bring all her children to the psychologist and to the doctor. She was scared because she was asked to sign

many papers and she didn't know how to read and write. She was worried because she was separated but not legally divorced of her husband, who was alcoholic, and he didn't want to attend the requested meetings. Her biggest fear was that her children would be taken away. She explained me that yes, they might look dirty, and yes, they might not eat meat nor have luxury things, but she loved them and treated them the best she could and worked extensive hours as a brickmaker to provide for them. I promised to see if the NGO could help her by providing a health certificate for the children and by giving her legal advice. I went back a week later to tell her I found some help. I was received by Maria. She informed me that her mother had died of a heart attack. She said her mother was so stressed for the denouncement. The last I heard was that the Ministry closed the case and gave the children's custody to the father.

The episode for me was a big disencounter with the development sector. I use the metaphor encounter-disencounter inspired by Escobar's analysis of development as the encounter of two regimes of discourses and representation that dichotomized those who are 'developed' and those 'underdeveloped'. In a development encounter identities are constructed that violate individual's identities, histories and meanings (1995:10). In the development process, there are many encounters every day that lead to new identities as well as to violence. I call this violence a disencounter which is the English translation of the Spanish word *desencuentro*, or non-agreement, opposition.

The disencounter experienced by Maria and her family made me reflect on the constructions and assumptions about "poverty" and women by development actors such as NGOs, State and Civil Society. I thought about the value of those brickmaker's lives; how they are invisible for the majority of the people, and for the state system, where they do not even count as a number in the statistics. I reflected on how different social policies and development interventions are created due to this invisibility and under false constructions and assumptions of those bodies and the lives inhabit them.

I quit the job but I kept visiting the place and working with the brickmakers in specific projects led by a friend of mine that came from the place. In 2015, I went to The Hague in The Netherlands to study a MA in Development Studies at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS). The decision was motivated by a personal story of multiple encounters-disencounters with development interventions. But also, I had the hope to find ways to write new and different stories of development that allowed me to understand the complex relations among people, places, aspirations and policies.

During my Master studies at ISS, I thought very often about the women from La Ladrillera. When I encountered feminism within the academia I thought about their particular way to live it; challenging every day gender roles, defending their bodies and fighting with hope. When I encountered the multiple conceptualizations of poverty I thought about their own definition of it; it was so distant of academic and official development discourses. When listened Wendy Harcourt's lecture about Bodies and Places I thought about their bodies and the multiple and complex ways in which they interact with the places they live in and the development world.

Finally, when the time to design a Research Paper came, I thought how the women from La Ladrillera have highly relevant stories to tell about development, places and people. How have they have experienced their community, and their different roles there? What have they had to say about development interventions? I knew brickmaking was an intergenerational activity, but how many generations of brickmaker women have been in La Ladrillera? I realized I had to de-construct my understanding of the place and the women's lives, encounter them and the place once more and to construct those stories again with their help. Would be they interested in a project like this? Was it relevant for them?

In the summer of 2016, I went to La Ladrillera and listened to the narratives of three generations of women of three different families about their embodied experiences in relation to work, family, community and social policies intervening in those places. Encountering the place and the women again meant I opened my ears as well as my eyes. I listened carefully to what they had to say in order to reflect at a deeper level the tensions among development, places people and aspirations.

This research explores the relations between women, work, community and development, historically and intergenerationally. It sheds light on these women's aspirations across time and the ways in which they have constructed their own history and the historic development of their families and communities. It tells about the complex interaction between their aspirations and the social policies intervening the places they inhabit.

The paper is informed by the field work process and my reflections of the construction of knowledges through embodiment experiences (chapter 1); by feminist body politics theories, post-development theoretical approaches and my application of those to the particularities of La Ladrillera context (chapter 2-3); by the women's narratives and my analysis (chapter 4-5). In that sense, the RP brings space to the women's voices, my voice and the academia to tell a story of multiple encounters and disencounters, aspirations and hope, as a way to write new histories within development.

# Chapter 1 . The Road to the Places

*To start a road is the first decision of the many to be taken in the way through. This chapter presents the episte/methodological choices I took for this research.*

The first day I arrived to La Ladrillera to start the fieldwork research, I knew my methodology plans were going to change. I went directly to Mo.'s home. I knew her from my past job in the NGO. She was not at home. Her mother informed me she was not making bricks anymore:

“What happened?”

“She got tired. And now, during the rainy season is very difficult because [the bricks] are destroyed”

“Yes, I know. And which is her new job?”

“She cleans a house”.

“Does she rest any day?”

“Only on Sundays”

“Can you please ask her if I can come this Sunday to talk?”

“Yes, she is here on Sundays”

...

Mo was one of the first brickmakers I got to know. I knew she started to make bricks since she was a child and that day I got to know her mother used to make bricks as well. I got surprised by the news that she was not making bricks any more. I hoped she was in a better job and she was happy. This meeting was the first clue that something that I didn't consider while preparing the journey was happening with the brickmaking job in the community.

I went to field work with three questions positioned in my mind: How can I undertake research that explores women's embodiment experiences and is not extractive and damaging to their lives? What is my position as I undertook the research? And what are the power-relations among the women of La Ladrillera and me? They shaped the ways in which this research was conducted and is presented. They deal with fundamental dilemmas about Development Studies, Academic Research and Power-Knowledge production. This research contributes to specific reflections that can guide possible answers to them.

The third day of field work I was supposed to observe the brickmaking process and explain to Ma, the first women that got interest in the research, the methodology I thought was going to be the best. When I arrived to the community, it started to rain cats and dogs.

Her's, a volunteer in the NGO I worked for, invited me to sit with her under a roof outside her home to do not get wet. I knew Ma's family were not working because it was raining, so I accepted the invitation. We talked while watching the rain. I asked her about family and the volunteer job. She asked me

what I was doing there if I was not working anymore in the organization. I explained I was there to talk with women who make bricks for a research. She told me she and her family made bricks for a long time:

“...But now none of us make bricks. It is a very difficult job. It is a pretty job but tough”.

I explained her the best I could the research idea. She looked at me so serious and told me:

“Some people have also came here interested in the brickmaking process. Just please don't be like them and conclude that we pollute a lot and we should disappear”.

The conversation made me realized all the possible harms I had thought were real and even I stayed optimistic. It revealed explicitly the power-relation always present in a research, in Joy's words (2000:32): “...every act of knowledge is a political one -in which the tentacles of power inevitably insinuate themselves”. I took Her's words as a proposal to dialogue and listen carefully to the brickmaker women. I decided to change the methodology and rely in their narratives; what they have to say about themselves and their context.

The methodological choice of using narratives is a political act to construct anti-oppressive research. It breaks traditional Western knowledge production that historically has claimed objectivity based on a 'objective' and 'disembodied construction of knowledge'; that does not permit people's self-representation and systematically have silenced women's voices based on a masculine rationality model (Joy 2000:20,33).

I use narratives claiming the value of subjectivity in the construction of knowledge (Joy 2000:32-33). The method validates within the academia women's subjectivity and embodied experience through what they think and feel (physically and emotionally) about the processes they live (Kimpson 2005).

Dialoguing was not always easy. Sometimes I discovered myself trying to conduct a structured interview. I remained aware and reflective of the process through a journal. At the end, we had lots of dialogues that inform this research.

However, it has been an ongoing process. Their words still resonating in my head while writing this document with my words. I question myself: how to deal with the fact that it's me who listened their narratives, who writes their words and translates them to a language they do not speak?

Joy's thoughts about knowledge construction, help me to think that this self-reflection and awareness of the always compromised relation of the researcher with the researched, opens space for my sensitivity to women's lives and respect of divergence in their narratives. This also has led to my subjectivity to change and my methodological choices to be revised. For the author, to recognize these variations does not entail not to be coherent,

“but rather an acknowledgement that the secure patterns of the old subject/object dichotomy are no longer adequate” and that “...the predetermined criteria of evaluation become apparent as the synthetic and limited measures that they were-though human hubris presumed them accurate or 'true'” (2010:33).

I dialogued with and listened to three generations of women of three different families of brickmaker women. First, I encountered Ma and her daughters, Ma and Pa. I knew them from my past job. Ma introduced me to her mother, Fe.

When I got to talk to Mo, we agreed to work together. She is no longer making bricks, but I felt her story was relevant; why after 40 years of making bricks she decided to stop? Jo, her daughter and Mar, her mother, agreed to collaborate as well.

Finally, I reached to Lu's family. She was introduced to me by Ma and her husband. Then, I found out that Ju, a girl who attended the summer course, (that took place parallel to the fieldwork and will be explained below), was Lu's granddaughter. Later, I met Chu, Lu's daughter and Ju's mother.

They agreed to collaborate and to share their embodiment experiences. That agreement was reaffirmed talk by talk. They accepted to share their names, however I consider delicate to reveal their identities.

The research became a *libro* (book) for us after a conversation with Ma:

“What are you studying?”

“Social development”

“Like the help we receive from PAL. It says social development...”

“Yes, it's from the Social Development Secretariat, the government office for those programs. It could be to create programs that help us to live better. Or to analyze those that already exist and see how are working, if they are helping, in which way can help better”

“And because of that you are doing this?”

“Yes... The idea is to write about brickmaking, how it has changed? If it has changed... And about women who make bricks, of you, because sometimes is thought that only men make bricks, as you have told me... And I think that's a very relevant job. It's like a recognition of your work. There are many people who don't know how a brick is made and is important to know that there is lot of work involved. Also, the history of La Ladrillera and how the government's programs help or not”.

“Ohh, a book of women who make bricks?”

“Yes, like a book. But... it only will be in libraries, in the universities. Also, we can send it to the government, to those who make the laws and the programs for them to know what you really want”.

“*Ojalá* (hopefully), to see if they do something...”.

This dialogue led us to find a common language to conceptualize the project, to construct it. I used the same terms to talk about it with the other women. And they used it as well to refer to it and bring ideas. It was very common to listen to them to say:

“Write in the book that...” or “Have you already wrote that...?”.

It shows they gave a meaning to the project and their narratives reflect their interests. Also, was my task to reflect on their remarks and share those thoughts with them. For example, I talked with them that through their narratives I got to know that the grandmothers (first generation), did not received negative comments for being brickmakers, but the mothers (second generation), did receive. That opened the space for their own reflections and explanation of the finding.

Their engagement and my reflexivity reflects the critical commitment of the research through a constant questioning of “what is being said, but by who, and in whose interests”, in Joy’s words (2010:35).

The dialogues occurred with every woman by separated. We had mixed encounters with two or three members of a family and in a couple of occasions we had talks between members of different families. Also, I had some dialogues with other members of the community, like women’s husbands.

All those narratives became histories of a collective narrative that allowed me to re-construct the history of transformations women have pursued in the places they inhabit: bodies, families, environment, public arena. And to contextualize them within the social policies they recognize intervening in their lives.

I had the concern that the dialogues took out time of the women’s duties. I asked them repeatedly how could I give something in return. They told me not to worry repeatedly. Once I put myself to *levantar* (pick up) bricks in Ma’s yard. She was not comfortable with receiving that kind of help.

After a while, Ma told me that Pa, her daughter, had learning problems. She finished second grade of primary for the second time and she had still problems with recognizing letters and numbers. The teacher told her the girl had dyslexia. She asked me if I knew how she could improve her learning skills. I recommended her to take the girl to regularization workshops at the NGO’s community center I worked. She told me it was complicated because her duties.

Later on, I realized she was asking me to help her daughter to learn. I asked to a friend of mine, who is a teacher, her advice. She explained me that the girl needed to learned in a different way, that she could share with me exercises for her improvement that then I could share with Ma and Pa.

I proposed them to work together, they agreed and we started what became a summer course. First we worked with Ma’s daughters, then more children saw us studying and approached to us until we got 9-10 children in every session. They taught me a big reciprocity lesson. And after that moment I understood the importance of education for the women and the community.

Finally, and remarkably important for this research, I want to reflect on three things acknowledging my own embodiment experience while doing research of women’s embodiment experiences. I was asked several times to bring my own body to the research while constructing it, by both, my supervisor, Wendy Harcourt, and my reader, Rosalba de Icaza. It took me long time to understand what was this about and to think positionality beyond of a list of labels.

Now I can tell that it is impossible not to bring our own embodiment experience to a process of knowledge construction. First, it entails a political stance against the Western tradition of constructing knowledge under the paradigms of: universality, neutrality, maleness, disembodiment, objectivity and without biases (Kimpson 2005:74). It is to bring my women's voice and subjectivity to the academia to contribute for the validation of different knowledges and different forms to construct them. It also contributes to think knowledges as situated in history, time and place.

Second, to acknowledge our subjectivity as position-changing, open, not fixed and revealing our different interests: social, political, geographical, etc., contributes to understand that any context in which occurs knowledge production is "necessarily compromised and circumscribed" (Joy2010:32). The author draws her argument on the discussion between some postmodernist and post-colonial feminists, about the validity and relevance of revealing our positionality -moreover when we acknowledge our 'Western privileges or involvements' in researching women from the South-. She states that: "Such an awareness of these inherent ambiguities, if not contradictions, marks the strategic awareness of a feminist approach -critical both of any process and of its outcome, whether received or reached by self-reflective critique" (2010:32).

Third, the fluidity of the embodied experience is precisely what validates a research as a reliable "truth". It entails the recognition of a "contingent subjectivity where our ideas are constantly being revised and recast, as are the mobile conditions of our own society and culture" (Joy2010:33). A process of knowledge construction changes both, the researcher and the researched. Two realities are touched by the process. That led me to disclose in every chapter the inputs that made me take certain approaches or decisions; including my theoretical choices to understand the women's embodiment experiences in relation the places they inhabit, and the social policies intervening there, which I discuss in the next section.



## Chapter 2 . How to go There?

I embarked on an academic journey at the ISS in order to find a theoretical framework that allowed me to explore the relations and tensions among women, work, community and development. That inquiry and conceptualization of the research emerged from my experience as an NGO worker and my interaction with brickmaker women from La Ladrillera in Jalisco, Mexico, and their daily struggles. As a final destination, I expected to construct a theoretical toolkit, that would enable me to understand the questions driving my research. But along the way I have encountered non-Academic knowledges that also have helped me to frame my questions: from my own experience and that of the experiences shared by the women. Therefore, the research also relies on these diverse, partial and situated knowledges.

I should say that the academic expedition started long before I decided to embark on this research. I have been subjected to academic knowledges since I was 5 years-old. Those have been 19 years of schooling. From pre-school to high school within Mexican public education system and College studies in a private university. Studying in that university, with a scholarship and a loan, made me part of the 25% of the Mexican youth (25-34 years) that pursues college education and the one third of them that does it in a private institution (OCDE 2015; Muños and Laya2013). After college, I was out of academic environments for seven years working in development projects. Then, while writing this research, I am part of the 4% Mexican youth that is estimated will finish Master studies and part of the less 1% that will do it abroad (OCDE 2015). The scholarships I got for this MA, (CONACYT and OAS) also made part of Mexican state and International Community's development interventions for increasing education rates.

After this disclosure of my involvement with the Academia, I now set out the academic steps I have taken in framing the theoretical background of this. All research starts with a question. But this research due to an encounter-discounter, reflects a sequence of stories and histories within the Development world. The questions, which emerge from that experience, set me on the road to do research are:

How the bodies of three generations of brickmaker women in a brickmaking community in Jalisco, Mexico are constructed by the places they inhabit and the social policies intervening in those places?

How have they co-constructed the places according to their aspirations?

If we deconstruct these questions, we need also to deconstruct the concepts: bodies and places in order to construct them again in relation to the connections among them: interventions and aspirations. To explore these questions we require an intergenerational perspective, that is through the narratives of 3 different generations. As well, we need to understand how work (brickmaking) is a key feature in understanding the connections among bodies and places.

What tools do I need to carry on such a journey of research? How does Academia contributes to the understanding of the lived experiences of the

women from La Ladrillera? And how can we understand the contextual connections among work, family, community and social policies? How to theorize their aspirations across time?

So, this academic expedition has to be about understanding the body in ways that allows for the complexities and diversities lived by the women of La Ladrillera. Such an understanding requires following the material dimension of their embodiment experience marked by sex, gender, class as well as its discursive dimension.

I now take you through my theoretical journey that has framed my analysis of these women's lives in my readings, discussions and learnings.

## Understanding Body Politics

### *Bodies Beyond Skin*

What is a body? Is it the flesh and the bones in the limits of the skin? Or does the body go beyond the skin? How does the body matter in the context of Development? And whose bodies matter to whom? With these questions, I read, analyze and reflect academic theories and the lived experiences that women shared with me to find a set of understandings about the body.

The first discovery was the historical separation of mind and body within the Western knowledge production initiated in the Enlightenment era. Under this dichotomy, female body represented nature, seduction, sexual desire, etc. (Bordo in Davis 1997:5), "all that needed to be tamed and controlled by the (dis)embodied, objective, male scientist" (Keller in Davis 1997:5). According to Shildrick and Price (1999:2), "at the risk of misleading simplification, it can be argued that the denial of corporeality and the corresponding elevation of mind or spirit marks a transhistorical desire to access the pure Intelligible as the highest form of Being".

My previous involvement with feminist theories took me to review their understandings of the body. In their diversity and frequently incompatibility, make a relevant historic contribution to make the bodies visible, so that bodies matter:

"At the end of the twentieth century, however, that familiar form of incorporeal abstraction is a site of serious contestation, emanating not least from the advent of a substantial corpus of feminist theory" (Shildrick and Price 1999:1).

The shift in the conceptualization of the body as not fixed, nor unitary nor only constituted by its physiology, but rather as "a historical, plural, culturally mediated form" and a "site" of "disciplinary power" (Bordo 1993:288), by feminist theories establishes a political understanding of the body:

"When feminists called for a social theory of body, they meant a theory which took gender and power into account. For them, 'bringing the body back in' meant both addressing *and* redressing the 'fear of femininity' which had made science such a disembodied affair in the first place" (Davis 1997:5).

Within this context, poststructuralist approaches to body politics have explored the different body dimensions: its materiality and its metaphoric construction. They have problematized those dimensions further through the different intersections that mark the embodied experience: sex, gender, race, place, history, culture, etc. (Davis 1997; Shildrick and Price 1999; Bordo 1993).

Poststructuralists theories have contributed two key elements: First, to recognize that the ways in which power is configured, although dominants, always generate “new forms of subjectivity, new contexts for resistance to and transformation of existing relations”. Second, to recognize both, the material dimension of the body and the discursive mediation for its construction: “by metaphors (for instance, microbes as ‘invading’, eggs as ‘waiting’ for sperm) and semantical grids (such binary oppositions as male/female, inner/outer) that organize and animate our perception and experience” (Bordo 1993:288).

Power is central for a political understanding of the body. Drawing on Foucault’s theories, Davis (1997:3) argues that “the body became the primary site for the operation of modern forms of power-power which was not top-down and repressive, but rather, subtle, elusive and productive”.

Judith Butler has become a major theorist of the body as discursive mediated. For her, the body, is like a ‘text’, constructed through discourses. Therefore, resistance is also a discursive matter (Butler 1999). She deconstructs the understanding of bodies and the embodiment experience of the normative binaries: men/women; male/female; heterosexual/homosexual. According to Davis, Butler:

“provides the most radical refusal of gender difference, arguing that the distinction between male or female bodies is itself entirely arbitrary an artifact of a social order organized by normative heterosexuality. Just as there are myriad forms of ‘gender’, there are different ‘sexes’” (1997:9).

Butler’s concept of performativity explains: “how the deployments of the body through acts and gestures, especially in terms of gendered sexuality, are, through a process of reiteration, productive of a discursive identity that is both open and constrained” (Shildrick and Price 1999:9).

The text, or the body, should be read within its context: inserted in culture and history: “both naturalist and textualizing notions of the body are culturally situated (the latter in postmodern culture), and that both are this equally amendable to being historically utilized as coercive instruments of power” Bordo (1993:291)

The materiality dimension has been relegated by the prioritization of the discursive construction of the body in some feminist theories. But,

“to say that the body is a discursive construction is not to deny a substantial corpus, but to insist that our apprehension of it, our understanding of it, is necessarily mediated by the *contexts* in which we speak” (Shildrick and Price 1999:7).

Following these conceptualizations of the body, one question that emerges is how do these forms of materialization and discursive mediation make the bodies matter in certain or another way?

### *Bodies as Assemblages*

The understanding of the body as holding multiple meanings, allows us to see different intersections that mark the body: gender, sex, class, sexuality, age, etc. All of these markings construct embodiment as a fluid process.

“At any given moment we are always marked corporeally in specific ways, but not as an unchanging or unchangeable fixture ... the body itself is not determinate given, then the political and social structures that take it as such are equally open to transformation” (Shildrick and Price 1999:7,8).

Elizabeth Grosz examines the interaction of text and physicality of the body:

“how the subject’s exterior is physically constructed; and conversely, how the processes of social inscription of the body’s surface construct a physical interior... Thus what needs to be shown is how the body is physically, socially, sexually, and representationally produced” (1999:381).

Like Grosz, Butler helps us to think about the public dimension of the body. The body, as a social phenomenon both belongs and does not belong to us (Butler 2004). She explores the precariousness of the bodies, “by paying attention to their ‘constitutive outside’ from which they are alienated and yet on which they are dependent” (Shildrick and Price 1999:9). Another feminist theorist Rosalind Petchesky also argues that the social understanding of the body requires:

“a full recognition of our interdependency and that my embodiment is part of an assemblage of relations with other and things and the biosphere that make erotic pleasure, sensation, bodily well-being, and even survival possible” (2015:9).

Petchesky (2015) claims that this understanding allows us to think of the body as a site of genetic histories, cultural memories, physis wounds and the inscriptions of race, class, gender and sexual difference. For her “these imprints paradoxically inform the ways we are able to move, or not, in public space and to assert ownership” (2015:9). Therefore, a body matter in certain way or another according to these imprints and its mobility is compromised by them.

### *Bodies and Power Relations*

If bodies are subjected to power deployments of force at the discursive and material level and following Foucault (1978:95) “where is power there is resistance”, bodies are both: sites of power and sites of resistance and subversion (Grosz in Harcourt 2009). But within these two forces, there are many dilemmas to solve, like agency and gender relations. Therefore, how to look at the subjectivity and agency of the women of La Ladrillera? And how to explore the power relations among genders under the normative regimes in which the women live?

Going back to the historical separation between mind and body, agency has been largely conceptualized as a rationality taking place within a disembodied human agent (McNay 2016). So how to talk about agency within an embodied

human agent? Turning again to Butler and Grosz we can see how to look at the agency within the fluidity and multiplicity of the body.

For Butler, agency takes place within the open spaces of the reiterative processes of performativity; and within the materialization through the reiteration of the norms:

“that this reiteration is necessary is a sign that materialization is never quite complete, that bodies never quite comply with the norms by which their materialization is impelled.... If there is *agency*, it is to be found paradoxically, in the possibilities opened up in and by that law, the compulsory appropriation and identification with those normative demands” (Butler 1999:236,241).

Grosz talks about the importance of the subjectivity of the body: “freedom is thus not primarily a capacity of mind but of body: it is linked to the body’s capacity for movement, and thus its multiple possibilities for action” (Grosz 2010:152). The female body is a “site of both normalization and resistance where social norms of being female are inscribed” (Harcourt 2009:17).

Thinking about the resistances of women from La Ladrillera takes me inevitably to the patriarchal history of violence over women’s bodies within the Mexican context. Maria Lugonés enables us “to make visible the instrumentality of the colonial/modern gender system in subjecting us –both women and men of color—in all domains of existence” (2008:1). She draws on Quijano’s theory of coloniality of power, that states that there was created a historical “social classification of the world’s population based on the idea of ‘race’ as constitutive of the ‘global’, Eurocentered, capitalist model of power” (Walsh 2016:35).

Lugonés uses the term colonial/modern gender system to “veil the ways in which non ‘white’ colonized women were subjected and disempowered” (2008:2) through the creation and intersection of the concepts of race and gender. According to Rosalba Icaza and Rolando Vazquez:

“thinking from the embodied experience of those who have been subjugated is also to recognize that they bring a grounded/place-based/embodied view where the modern/colonial system is not a historical totality but a center of power that has always been surrounded by what it sought to deny: long traditions of resistance and a multiplicity of ways of inhabiting our bodies and the world” (2016:69).

## Understanding Politics of Place

### *Bodies and Places*

The second expedition of this new phase of the academic journey, took me thinking about the body as an assemblage to the different places inhabited by the women from La Ladrillera. My interest was how to explore their political struggles within their bodies but also within the other places they inhabit? How to explore the relations and tensions among those places?

The Politics of Place theory by Harcourt and Escobar (2002) presents a framework that has helped me to shed light on the different political struggles

women are involved with in the different places they inhabit: body, home, surrounding environment and the public arena. Women are the protagonists of place-based political activities in and from those sites.

The body constitutes “the first place where women are engaged in political struggle. These include struggles for autonomy, for reproductive and sexual integrity and rights, for safe motherhood, for freedom from violence and sexual oppression” (Harcourt and Escobar 2002:8).

Home is the second place. It is “where many women still derive their most important social and political roles and identities. The home serves paradoxically as both a safe space where women have considerable power as well as a site where they experience a great degree of violence and oppression” (Harcourt and Escobar 2002:9).

Environment or the community, how is called in this research, constitutes the third place. “People’s environments include the meanings, values and general ways of being that characterize and distinguish between different communities” (Harcourt and Escobar 2002:10-11).

And the public arena is the fourth place, puts on stage culture as political, “...because meaning, and the power to produce or determine meaning, is constitutive of our lived experiences as well as our analysis of them”, in this way women contest politically the “dominant culture that supposes a top-down” (Harcourt and Escobar 2002:11).

This framework of analysis helps us see how women’s daily embodied political experiences are situated in place understanding places within a context of globalization. The framework recognizes the strategic relation between the local/global through the concept of glocalities which explains how globalization does not happen ‘from above’ or ‘from below’ but always in ‘between’ (Harcourt and Escobar 2002:13).

The framework allows us question the development regime’s discourses and interventions that exercises a body politics patriarchal, economist and managerial in every opportunity it has (Harcourt 2005). This deployment of power of development is done within a globalized capitalist system.

## **Understanding Bodies, Places and Development**

The third and most challenging stage of this journey is to understand the inscription of bodies and places within Development, which is determined by the forces of capitalism and globalization. Thinking about this took me to one of my initials concerns: what kind of forces are we catalyzing through the Development discourses and interventions affecting the bodies and the places of the women from La Ladrillera? What are the assumptions, rationalities and powers behind them? And how are the women responding to them?

Development, understood as a cyclical apparatus, entails forms of power and forms of intervention over the produced Third World. This apparatus, -relying only in the Western knowledge system- created ‘undeveloped’ societies that are aimed to be ‘developed’ by the First World and its knowledge and intervention (Escobar 1995). The development apparatus works within the global capitalist mode of production which systematically exercises patriarchal oppressive power in order to homogenize societies through the forces of neoliberalism (Marcos 2007).

Social policies are important development tools that entail forms of knowledge and intervention. In the research, I take into account those identified and named by the women as intervening their bodies and places. In that sense, they bring out a mapping of policies, according to their experiences with them.

To make visible the concreteness of places and the politics of the difference carried by women within them, we need to see the creative women's involvement with the globalization, and the questioning of the development regime over women's bodies as a response to the effects of neoliberal forces of the capitalist system (Harcourt and Escobar 2005). If we understand that politics "is largely made up of contests over meaning: the interplay between culture and power", this opens spaces for the creation of different and "potentially transformative solutions" (Harcourt and Escobar 2002:11,12).

### *Aspirations, Transformations and Development*

Finally, on this long academic journey I arrive at the embodied hopes, wishes and imaginations of the women from La Ladrillera. I can now look at what has marked their decisions and the transformations they have pursued through the politics of the difference and in place.

But, my question still remains - how does that material freedom take form in a globalized capitalist system that seems all oppressor? How does their aspirations can be conceptualized and understood? In asking these questions I can help to break the cyclical apparatus of Development as happening 'over there' to understand how it is happening 'here' in people places and bodies, where the forces of capitalism and globalization can be touched and transformed from and within the material body politics of the women and from and within the concrete places they inhabit.

If Development as an apparatus within globalized capitalist system has largely relied in one knowledge system (Escobar 1995), validating different/other knowledges needs to be the first step. This is to say: "The promotion of non-relativistic dialogues among knowledges, granting 'equality of opportunities' to the different kinds of knowledge engaged in ever broader epistemological disputes..." (Santos et al.2007).

So, I am arguing that among those other knowledges there are the lived embodied experiences of the women from La Ladrillera and their particular ways to transform within the 'glocal' places they live. Those transformations have been shaped in greatly by their aspirations.

In that sense, Zipin et al (2013) work on aspirations allows me to encompass different dimensions of the aspirations of the women from La Ladrillera. There are three logics to aspire:

"a doxic logic, grounded in populist-ideological mediations; and a habituated logic, grounded in biographic-historical legacies and embodied as habitus. A less tangible third 'logic' is also theorized: emergent senses of future potential, grounded in lived cultures, which hold possibility for imagining and pursuing alternative futures" (Zipin et al 2013:227).

The so-called emergent sense of future potential logic of this theory, is the most important for my research, because it recognizes women's embodied subjectivity. It entails the construction of different futures through desires and imagination but also through its articulation and materialization, which gives room "to animate historically new 'structures of feeling'" (Williams 1977 in Zipin et al 2013:231).

### *Education as Aspiration*

Education becomes highly relevant for understanding the transformations pursued by women from La Ladrillera. While talking about aspirations with them, they brought about education reiterative and repetitive. Therefore, education will be understood in this research within the meanings they associate to it and my theorization of it:

Education as embodied aspiration is theorized as the articulation and or materialization of desires, imaginations and alternative futures to:

- Transform your own body and assert ownership (claim rights); autonomy (being able to understand texts by yourself); freedom and mobility (get to choose a job, increase your income); learning about the things you are interested in (read books, write texts).
- Interact with your family in specific ways (read to your children/grandchildren; help them to do the homework).
- Interact with the environment in certain forms: mobility (being able to read the street names, get to addresses by their own) and connectivity (take a bus).
- Interact with the social policies more efficiently by being able to understand policy documents: applications, notifications, regulations, etc.
- Be connected with people (using a cell phone, writing a letter).

### *Generation*

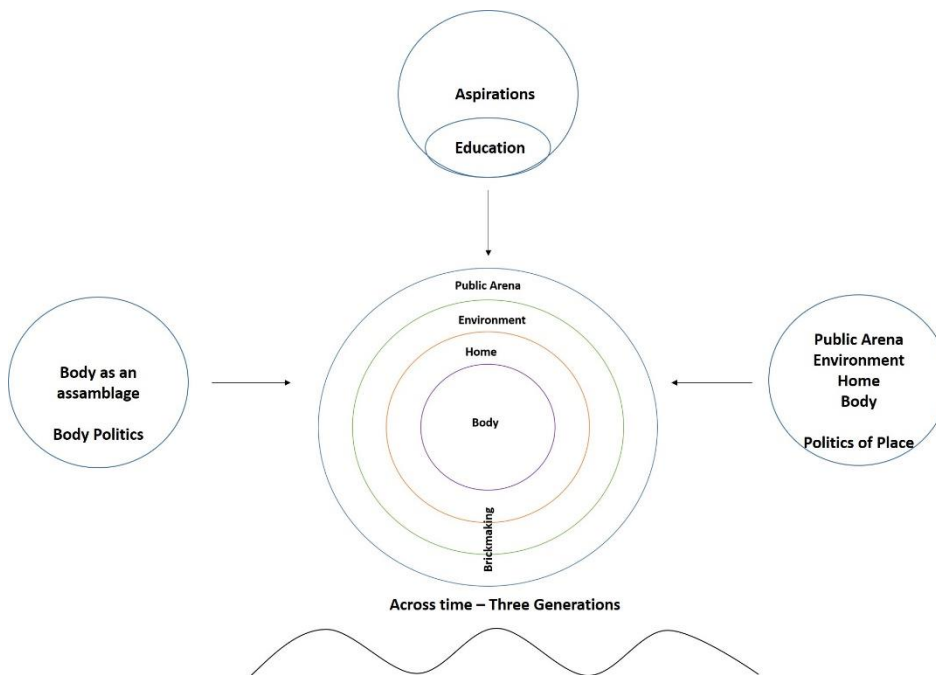
Generation is a key concept for the understanding of these transformations and interventions of the bodies and the places across time. I will use the concept family generation to make reference to "the genealogical rung of the ladder within a family lineage" (Attias-Donfut, C. and Arber, S. 2000a:2), that in this research denotes being grandmother as the first generation; being a mother as the second generation; and being daughter as the third generation. The position within the family structure, entails that each generation shared a particular historic context; set of cultural and social beliefs and faced similar development regime's stages (Attias-Donfut, C. and Arber, S. 2000b:24). Also, each generation reflects kinship ties and their particular ways of relate each other, which influences their life course.



The intergenerational perspective of this RP is informed by the narratives of three generations of women that reflects both family and societal processes across time.

### *Remarks on Bodies and Places and Theoretical Tool Kit*

I use the different insights of feminist body politics theories to shed light to the multiplicity, historicity and context specificity of the lived embodied experience of the brickmaker women. I will also draw on post-colonial theories to see how bodies are a lived intersectional experience within all the imprints of sex, class, gender product of the modern/colonial gender system (Lugonés 2008). I then look at these bodies through the framework of the Politics of Place to recognize the women’s practices of the difference within and form the places they inhabit. I contextualize my analysis within living development processes where development interventions encounter the aspirations of the different generations of women. The diagram informs of this tool kit:



**Figure 1. Theoretical Tool Kit Diagram Source: Author**

There is a bridge to set: how does this theoretical tool kit speaks to the specificities of the women’s places? I draw the connections in the next chapter.

## Chapter 3 . Constructing Bridges

My exploration of the relations and tensions among place, work, women and social policies is done through a specific understanding of place and people as explained in my journey through academic theory (chapter 2). My understanding was also constructed through women's narratives and their own vision of place; which as I write the thesis is in dialogue with my own analysis and interpretation of academic theory.

But, which are the connections between this particular understanding and the specificities of the places inhabited by women of La Ladrillera? In this chapter I describe the bridges, or connections, I set among them.

### A Place that Contains Many Places

I understand La Ladrillera as a place in constant transformation that contains many places intrinsically interconnected and that have been co-constructing each other over a long time: community space, home, women's bodies. Community space or women's surrounding environment is a fundamental part of who they are; it has constructed their bodies and families in many ways. Simultaneously, women and their families have constructed the place according to their needs and aspirations. This co-construction has been done generation by generation and it also entails the public arena through the development processes.

In La Ladrillera, the different spaces revolve around brickmaking. During the 50-80s, the community was transformed from abandoned land into a brickmaking community by migrants from rural areas during a massive rural-urban migration in Mexico. Families became brickmakers on arrival. The land offered them a place to live, work and raise a family.

Brickmaking became an intrinsic component of the identity of the community, families and marked the women's bodies. That labour plays a major role in the relations, tensions and intersections inside every place and among them.

#### *La Ladrillera (Community Place)*

My research looks at La Ladrillera as a place of community defined by the complex interaction of its geography, connections with other places, history, livelihood system, inhabitants and social relations. It constitutes women's environment (Harcourt and Escobar 2002).

This environment entails multiple layers connected among each other's: economy, politics and social relations. "As such it is inextricably connected to all aspects of survival: to issues of livelihood, justice and quality of life" (Harcourt and Escobar 2002: 9).

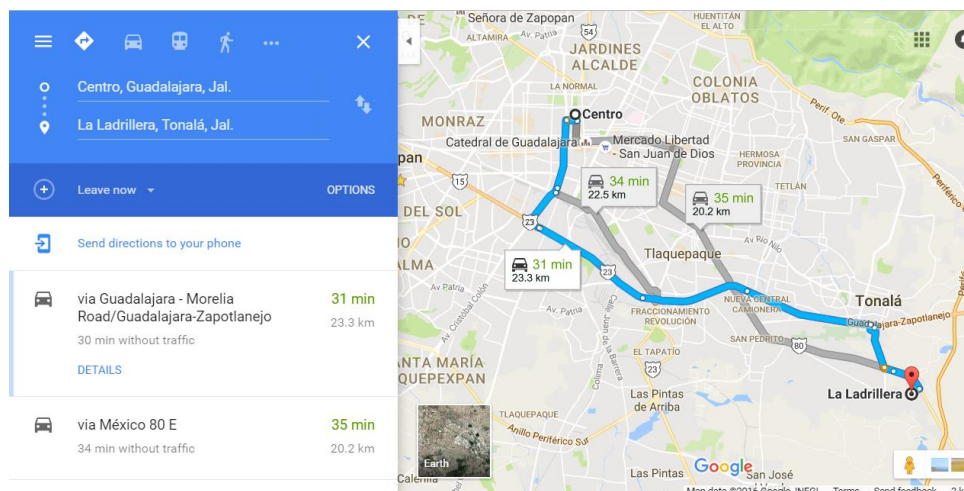
Environment in La Ladrillera has been constructed through time, therefore, this research entails the history as part of that complex, multi-layered web; understanding the community in constant transformation, not fixed in time.

Brickmaking, a key community livelihood element, is also analyzed through history.

La Ladrillera is a small neighborhood located in Santa Paula, one of the biggest brickmaking and pottery areas in Tonalá, a *Municipio Alfarero* (Pottery Municipality), next to Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico (Basulto and Garcidueñas 2015). Within Santa Paula, La Ladrillera is one the neighborhoods with the highest number of brickmaking ovens. The municipality map includes Pajaritos zone as part of La Ladrillera (IIEG 2014), but for the women that participated in the research, Pajaritos is a different neighborhood.

La Ladrillera was part of Arroyo de Enmedio farm, one of the most important of Guadalajara during the Colonial times. After Mexican Revolution, the land was expropriated and became a Federal property (Basulto and Garcidueñas, 2015). When migrants arrived, the place became exclusively a brickmaking community for nearly 30 years. Now there are brickmakers, ex-brickmakers and people with different occupations.

The community is marked by its geographical location as a place of the borders. During fieldwork, I realized how the panorama changed in my trajectory from Guadalajara's downtown. It goes from big colonial buildings owned by the government and big stores, to the city skirts and its mix of contrasting houses: those looking the same enclosed in suburbs and those marked by the difference of being built according to people's possibilities and priorities.



**Map 1. Location of La Ladrillera. Source: Google Maps 2016**

In La Ladrillera, some houses are made out of bricks but are not cemented. Others not even are made of bricks and cement are too small for the inhabitants. Some others are made out of non-durable materials like plastic, wood or cloth. There are few big houses and fully made out of cemented bricks, owned mainly by non-brickmaker families.

Public services are limited. There is no formal connection to electricity. Getting clean water is a struggle. Sanitation is a problem. Only houses located in the principal street and near the square have drainage and running water. The other houses, the majority, get water from wells and use latrines. There are water pollution problems because latrines wastes. Roads get flooded.

There is one public kindergarten and one primary school. In order to attend secondary education, teenagers compete for a place in schools located in nearby communities.

I was told by the inhabitants about the presence of narco groups that are threatening their safety. The situation reflects the regional and national context of increasing violence due to war among narco groups and Mexican State.

All these circumstances are socially, politically and culturally constructed over time. The interactions and social relations in the community are determined by people's occupation. Brickmaking is seen as the worst job due to its hard-physical effort and poor payment.

### *The Work and the Community*

Brickmakers from La Ladrillera face challenging conditions. Their average daily income is about 100 pesos (approximately \$7.00). For many families is not enough to eat three times a day, far less to buy other very necessary items (cleaning products, cloths, etc.).

Brickmaking requires them to get up early in the morning, prepare bricks' mix (dust, water, sawdust and cow dung) and step on it to make it smooth. They make the bricks by verting the mix on molds and putting them on a yard's floor under the sun. When the bricks are dried, they are accommodated in different positions to dry them up. They put up the dried bricks in the form of an oven and burn them for a day until the color turns orange-red. When they are cold are sold to intermediaries who own trucks that carry them to construction stores.

Women usually work close from home in yards own by them, their husbands, relatives or landlords. Some women take part in the complete brickmaking process while others only in certain activities. Children also participate in different brickmaking activities.

Artisanal brickmaking in Mexico is an important sector that brings employment to more than 35,000 people. It has an annual production of 30-50% of the total annual production of bricks, making a huge contribution for the construction sector (Cárdenas et al 2012), fundamental for the country's development.

Since the 80's and within a context of increasing neoliberal policies in Mexico, the construction sector has been replacing artisanal bricks by blocks because the later are produced by industrialized processes at a lower cost. This situation has diminished the sales of artisanal bricks. The current environmental laws put some brickmaking communities in risk of being banned or relocated because the level of pollutants emitted is higher than the allowed (Ortiz 2012). Certainly, brickmaking is a highly polluting activity due to the materials and fuels used, but changing them increases the production cost.

Brickmakers face many challenges: high production costs, low product prices and shortage of trading schemes (Romo et al 2004). Brickmaking can be seen as leading to multiple oppressions: poverty, inequality, exclusion and marginalization.

The State gives little support to brickmakers. They are invisible to the State in ways that negate their bodies and lives as the "other". To paraphrase

Butler, their lives are dehumanized, because they do not fit into State discourses. (Butler 2004:34). There is no interest from the State even if they produce the bricks used to construct thousands of houses, hospitals, schools, etc. In the best case, they are numbers, part of the statistics of 'the poor'. In official discourses they are not given a face, a body, a story nor are their forms of knowledge validated. They have few opportunities to negotiate the discourses over their bodies and the deployment of power interventions in the form of policies, regulations and laws. These negotiations are expressed in their aspirations and hopes discussed below.

### *The Brickmaker Women and their Families*

Brickmakers carry in their bodies the historical marginalization against the poor and the non-white as a result of the Colonialism in Mexico. But given the prevalence of a colonial gender system in which gender and race play a major role in defining the social position (Lugonés 2008), the male and female brickmaker bodies are valued differently than men, even if they experience life in the same place and perform the same job. The bodies are the first place we inhabit and the first place of political struggle (Harcourt and Mumtaz, 2002; Underhill-Sem, 2002). Brickmakers bodies are determined by the surrounding context, their work and histories which determine their experience of social, economic and power relations (Lugonés 2008).

Women brickmaker bodies in La Ladrillera are less valued and less visible than the men. Sometimes they are not even recognized as workers. Their bodies contain their life stories and the stories of their mothers, grandmothers and families; the community history and country history that systematically has exercised violence against women's bodies. Their bodies carry the imprints on them of race/class/gender and occupation (Petchesky 2015).

The body is a metaphor but also a materiality (Butler1999; Grosz1999). Women's bodies from La Ladrillera are constructed through multiple discourses and practices: development and its repressive interventions in the form of laws, regulations and social policies; societal ideals about heteronormativity, gender and sexuality; community practices around women behavior; and women's own discourses and practices. Therefore, their bodies, private and public at the same time (Butler 2004), have visible and invisible marks that are product of that deployment of power over them but also of their resistances.

Among the visible marks there are injuries' scars product of their job and motherhood; of illnesses that give acknowledgement of their sex/gender/age/social class. Their bodies contain painful and happy memories of situations and people they have encountered. Those marks give account of the injury's cause and of how it was treated: by themselves? By the community? By the State? Efficiently? In a negligent way? Their bodies are like a map with all the lines that have crossed them, cut them. They may have broken bodies, incomplete bodies but in their particular way they have also repaired themselves.

Women are political actors that negotiate power relations inside home, a space encompassing contradictory forces: that of a safe space and that of a site where many violences against women take place. Within those forces women perform multiple roles; grandmothers, mothers, daughters, wives, sisters, etc.

(Harcourt and Escobar 2002). The activities, expected behavior and responsibilities attached to those roles are marked by gender assumptions and many times delimited by oppressive and violent discourses and practices. At the same time, in those responsibilities and roles they find space for transformation and change. So, how do they negotiate their roles as women/brickmakers/wives/mothers/grandmothers/daughters? What are their experiences within home? What they have learned from their mothers, grandmothers? What do they teach to their daughters/granddaughters?

They have fought important battles over and within their bodies, families and environment. Their fights have been guided in a big part by their needs and aspirations. They politicize the multiple places they inhabit by giving them a different meaning by transforming them; but what have been those wishes? What do they want for themselves, their families and community? Which aspirations have articulated and materialized? How do their aspirations intersect with the social policies available at the place? Which are those policies they identify as intervening in their lives and in which way? What are the futures still pending?

## Chapter 4 . Places and Encounters

In July and August of 2016 I dialogued with three generations of brickmaker women in La Ladrillera. This chapter presents the stories and reflections of those encounters. While writing these words, I keep present the research purposes dialogued with the women and the meanings they shared with me about their embodiment experiences. Although, I do acknowledge some meanings are lost in the translation process.

The stories expose the generational and intergenerational ways in which they have struggled and transformed over and within their bodies, families, environment and public arena. They have co-constructed the places mainly guided by their aspirations in which education is a key feature. And the places have co-constructed them. Their words give account of the tensions and disencounters among their aspirations, the places' circumstances and social policies intervening.

I re-constructed the history of transformations and co-construction of women's places. I present them organized by generation and by topic. I start with the grandmothers and their stories of the community, job, families and aspirations. Then, I continue with the mother's narratives to finalize with the daughter's narratives. I also present the intergenerational transitions<sup>1</sup>.

### First Generation

#### *The Migration to the Community and their Encounter with Brickmaking*

I got lost when I tried to arrive to Fe's house. She went to encounter me to the road and narrated me her story. She migrated from her home town to the city when she was 15 years looking for job opportunities. A year later, met her husband, who was a brickmaker, and started to make bricks:

“I got married in the 62' and all that time we were here in San Pedrito and where Ma. lives (La Ladrillera), there was where we mostly made bricks”.

I arrived to Lu's house accompanied by Ju, her granddaughter, who attended the summer course. She narrated me her story:

“I lived in Colima and from Colima *me trajieron acá* (I was brought to here), by my father... We came to work, to make bricks”.

She married when she was 13 years-old and went to live to La Ladrillera. Lu is the only one of the first generation whose parents made bricks.

I found Mar sat in a chair next to a firewood stove in her home's kitchen when I visited her. She narrated her family migrated to La Ladrillera because his husband could not work anymore cutting wood in the forest due new environmental regulations:

---

<sup>1</sup> See in Appendix 1 extended version of women's narratives.

“...We already have here more than 40 years. We arrived and then we started to make bricks”.

Women told me there were no schools in their communities of origin. In the city, they were asked to at least know how to read and write to get a job. They value and appreciate La Ladrillera and brickmaking because it allowed them to construct a house and raised a family without studies.

Even though, migration and brickmaking constituted a big impact for their bodies. Mar and Fe were not used to hard-physical jobs. Lu thinks migration stopped her dad sending her to school. Mar, narrated how the car's noise didn't allow her to sleep and that:

“It was not the same here than there (town), digging for the maize field, accommodating the land like this... Here you get into the mud to step on it... your feet got full of mud, your hands and everything”.

Migration constitutes the first tension among the women's aspirations and development processes. Their bodies marked by their sex/gender/class found no other space in the city than La Ladrillera, an empty and abandoned land of the border, and no other job available than brickmaking.

In response, they appropriated the place and constructed a community to live, work and raise a family. They have given multiple meanings to the place and the job and have fought important battles from and within those places.

Getting to know Fe, Lu, and Mar, the first generation of women I worked with, meant to get to know other forms of living, thinking and doing.

### *Making Bricks for a Living. First Generation*

Grandmothers talked to me about brickmaking with affection but also acknowledging difficulties. They said are proud of their job and its benefits: the construction of neighborhoods, hospitals, schools. Lu thinks even politicians enjoy it while living in houses made of bricks. In a meeting, Fe and I calculated the bricks she made in more than 19 million:

“...I almost don't believe it, but yes, my knees are worn of being all day on my knees...”

Grandmothers told me brickmaking allowed them to provide and take care of their families and households. They were paid the same than men and they received no (or just a few) negative comments for being brickmakers:

“...because here it was used that all women were helping men to work”. **Mar.**

They referred they had very strong bodies that allowed them to work hard and raise their children. Now they say are tired and old. Mostly refer pain in their knees and back.

“I am no longer strong, I get tired more, but *todavía le hago la lucha* (I still fighting) ... When I was young I did was very strong, for everything I was so *potrancona* (robust)”, **Lu.**



To get cuts or wounds was frequently and they healed themselves with water and salt:

“I almost never went (to receive health care), I healed by myself, or I went to the health center to get medicine... We got hurt with nails, a lot, they are in the sawdust”. **Fe.**

Remembering how brickmaking has changed, they narrated that before, even if the freshly made bricks got thinner or got holes because of the rain, they were dried, burned and sold like that. Now, they have to cover them because if they are not perfect, people don't buy them. It complicates the job.

Grandmothers said the government instead of helping them, tried to take out their jobs. They described how about 10-15 years ago, the government announced brickmaking factories were going to be banned due to the pollution they produce. They went to protest for not to be banned or being helped to find another job. Government promised to help them to change the brickmaking process but asked them not to use tires or garbage to burn bricks. Brickmakers fulfilled the deal but Government didn't.

“We got together the *compañeros* and we told them that if they were going to feed us and in that way they let us work...”, **Fe.**

They did not have social security. When they got hurt, ill or pregnant, had to stop working without any leave and they received no pension. Few years ago, Lu and Fe started to receive 65 y Más<sup>2</sup> [a social policy to pension elderly people with a low pension or no pension from work]. They said the money is not enough for their expenses, so they are helped by their relatives. Mar told me she does not receive the pension. She was part of another policy, Oportunidades<sup>3</sup>, [CCT program for people in poverty situation, now called Prospera], but she was dropped out without explanation.

Grandmother's bodies were re-configured by brickmaking physically and metaphorically during 30-50 years of work. They became strong brickmakers that worked, built a home and a community. However, the physical impact on their bodies affected their health and now limits their mobility. In the community, they were respected as brickmakers, but for the State they were and still invisible as economic contributors. They still struggling for an income enough for their needs.

### *The Reconstruction of the Community*

I was told by the grandmothers that the ruins near their community were a big farm in the past and that El Carril's avenue was used for horse raising. But mainly narrated me how the community was when they arrived was different from now and how it has changed:

---

<sup>2</sup> Web-page: <http://www.gob.mx/sedesol/acciones-y-programas/pension-para-adultos-mayores>

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 8.

“There was only *huizacheras* [type of bush], only *xaras* [type of plant], only small paths...”, **Lu.**

They described how in that empty land constructed their homes and the community; they got organized and divided the land and marked the streets. There were no public services, so with their means, constructed latrines, and settle light connection with the electricity cables.

Grandmothers shared that because the big physical impact and the low benefits of their job, they didn't want their children to make bricks. They wanted them to go to school. Men and women got organized and constructed a school, a church and the square. About twelve women were in charge of the general arrangements and the organization of *kermesses* (food selling) to get funds:

“It is a pride for us that at least we built the schools for the other children, if my children didn't learn, that's different, but we have the pride that it is useful for the others...”, **Mar.**

Some of their children could not attend school, especially the older because started working and contributing to the household, like Mo. Others attended just few grades, like Ma and Chu, because there was no one who could take them to school or no money for the uniforms, fees, etc.

I think of this community's reconstruction as a remarkable women's embodied resistance against the 'determined future' the place offered to them. It comes from the desire of bringing their children a different life than theirs, with the possibility to perform another job. At the same time, is in big tension with development processes and the neglect of services they needed and wanted.

### *Home in La Ladrillera*

Grandmothers narrated me how La Ladrillera became home for them: their children were born or raised there and now they don't see themselves moving to a different place. They detailed some stories of the community's changes and how they raised their family there. They said is becoming more dangerous since more people who don't make bricks started to arrive. They think now there is not strong support among people. They no longer organize themselves, although they still helping each other's.

**Lu:** “...In the past it was so beautiful because there was no drug addiction, no drunks, no thieves... Before, we had no doors in all our houses, the door was a cloth...”

**Ma:** “They didn't get in to steal”.

**Me:** “What changed?”

**Lu:** “People arrived from other parts, and it is not the same...”.

Grandmothers share me their experiences as mothers. They said they did not know about birth control methods. All of them had 9 children. But also, all of them lost one or more babies during pregnancy or when they were new born. The common explanation they told me: there were no health services available in La Ladrillera nor near. They consider those episodes some of the most

painful they have lived. Fe and Mar had their children with midwives and Lu in the hospital.

When they or their children were sick, they used home remedies. And when they didn't recover soon, they had to go to Zapotlanejo road and ask for a raid to arrive to a hospital in the city.

“...If only you could see... there, where Ma. is (La Ladrillera) ... when they were little, we went from our little house to the road to ask for a raid, because which bus was there? We took them in arms, they were sick, and yes, we got raids...”. **Fe.**

Now they have access to health services through Seguro Popular<sup>4</sup>, [a health services social policy]. They told me is good to have it because they receive health checkups, medical prevent care and consultations. But as well, they encounter some troubles with it. For example, some illnesses and medicines are not covered and they have to wait so long for services.

Me: “And do you always receive the medicines?”

Mar: “They sometimes have it, others don't, and I have to buy it in other side without the insurance”.

They told me their families are their strongest motivation. They said they were the main responsible of house's care work and children care. They said is easier to be man, because they work but are not responsible for house's care work, although that involves a strong responsibility for them to provide. The three women still married and refer to have a good relationship with their partners.

“I would say is easier to be man because men finish their work and arrive home to rest...” **Mar.**

Grandmothers shared they think they did their best as mothers with the resources they had: teaching children to work and have good values. Although, they would like to have been able to provide schooling for them.

They advised their daughters not to have so many children because they now see in that way is easier to provide more for them. And advised them to work as way to be more independent, improve the living family conditions and in case of man 'failure' as provider.

These narratives took me to reflect about the no fixity in time of the community; how it has been changing through the years and being affected by national and international processes. Within the increasing power of narco groups and the 'war to narco' by the State there are communities like La Ladrillera in the middle suffering the impact of that violence and resisting to it.

Raising a family in that changing context took the women through several battles in order to survive without services available and to sustain their families with the brickmaking income.

---

<sup>4</sup> Seguro Popular web page: <http://www.seguropopular.org/>

Their struggles for safe motherhood, reproductive rights and their ongoing fight for health services make me think in the web of oppressions they have encountered in their way: La Ladrillera and its location marked by the exclusion; neglect of social security and health services; low value (monetary and symbolic) attached to their occupation and their classification in the social relations.

Their stories of home took me to reflect in the multiples roles they performed at the same time and the inequality in the responsibilities they lived. They accepted the social role attached to women in the household, but also their reflections about their own experience lead them to advise differently to their daughters, which makes me think about home as a site for intergenerational learning.

### *Aspiring Education. First Generation*

When talking about education with grandmothers they explained it is relevant for them for several factors: because when you ask for job you are required to have studies. Mar said: “everything else you know doesn’t count”. And, when you don’t know to read and write you rely on other people to get to an address or take a bus. Also, they think education can allow them to read books to their grandchildren or to help them to do the homework.

“Because now I go to look for addresses and I know where to go. Before I was asking... And people didn’t tell you well, they sent you to different sides...”, **Lu**.

That is why Lu, two years ago, decided to study primary and secondary school through a volunteer program in the church and within the INEA<sup>5</sup>, [Open National System for Adults Education]. She also took a workshop to learn to make shoes and is thinking in taking more handicrafts workshops to sell them. Fe told me she wanted to study primary school but she didn’t have to money to do it. I informed her that within INEA it was for free. The next time I met her, she told me she was already enrolled. Mar thinks she is too old and too tired to learn. But she also considers education highly relevant.

Grandmothers told me they encouraged their daughters to enroll to INEA and to their grandchildren to “echarle ganas” (do their best) at school. They shared me their wishes for the future: Lu wants to travel and to know different places. Fe wants to read full books about saints and Mar would like to have a secure income.

I listened to women’s first generation talking about education as an aspiration that took them and other community members to construct a school, and that is taking them to study now they are retired and have time and opportunities to do it. I listened the specific meanings they attach to education, which related to the different scenarios they imagine. Those inputs triggered me to

---

<sup>5</sup> INEA website: <http://www.inea.gob.mx/>

think education can bring them skills to assert the specific interactions they wish with the different places they inhabit: body; home; community and the arena. Education, then, becomes an embodied aspiration that has guided many transformations (material and symbolic) pursued by the women of La Ladrillera.

### *First and Second Generation*

The first and second women's generation faced similar and different struggles within the multiple places they inhabit. The second generation inherited a reconstructed community but still in need of services and with more safety challenges. They face a more critical brickmaking situation. And more social policies are intervening their community, home and bodies.

I already said grandmothers didn't want their daughters to become brick-makers. I remark the fact because it allows me to see the processes of intergenerational aspirations and their tensions with policies.

To my question: "Did you want your daughters to make bricks?" They responded:

*"Pos* (well), no, what mother does want them to do that?", **Lu.**

*"Pues* (well), no, but here there is no other job more than that", **Mar.**

"No, I didn't want, but that's the job her husband has",  
**Fe.**

Grandmothers's aspirations for their daughters not to inherited brickmaking job had no materialization because several facts that overlap:

- Mothers could not attend school beyond few grades of primary school due to the lack of support.
- Although two women learned to read and write, job's educational requirements increased.
- Brickmaking was the only job available at the place, the one that they learned since children.
- They met their husbands while making bricks and they started their own families supported by brickmaking income.

All grandmothers' daughters made bricks for a while, but slowly have been changing of occupation. Grandmothers said some of them got married with men who don't make bricks, others have moved to different employments like cleaning houses.

Fe's daughter, Ma. is the only one of her four daughters alive, who makes bricks. Mar's daughter, Mo, is the daughter who made bricks longer time (during 40 years. Mo said stopped one year ago, but she maybe will make again).

All four Lu's daughters make bricks for a living, among them, Chu, who participated in this research.

## Second Generation

### *The Community; Heritage and Challenges*

I talked with Ma in multiple occasions at her home's yard, where the summer course took place. Mo and I met on Sundays in her home. I dialogued with Chu, always at her mother's house.

Ma and Mo said were born in a ranch but were brought to La Ladrillera when children. Chu was born in La Ladrillera. They learned from their parents to make bricks since they were little. They used to like it because it was fun, but now they do it for a living, they consider it tough and bad paid. Although they said brickmaking brings them important benefits.

“When you are young, you want to learn, when you are grown up, you are not any more attracted...”. **Chu.**

They narrated that if the place has improved, has been mostly by the community's participation.

“The streets have been opened by the same people ... they filled the holes of the ground...”, **Ma.**

But also, women said now is more difficult to get organized because people who don't make bricks don't want to cooperate. However, they recognize some ways of help among each other's.

Mothers said that there are more services than before, but not for all the community nor for all they need. In Mo and Chu's houses there is running water, but in Ma's not. In Mo's house there is drainage, but not in the other cases. There is no formal connection to electricity in any house.

They think the government don't do enough for the community. I was told that the candidates make promises when they are in campaign but when they win, they forget. They refer the improvements done by the government take long and are not planned. There is no police surveillance and they are worried about the increasing violence:

**Chu:** “When I was little I felt safe if I was playing outside, now I feel afraid of my girls going out to play because there are lots drug addicts ...”

**Ma:** “Only when something happen is when the patrols come”.

**Chu:** “when already happened is when they come”.

Their stories make me think on the complex process lived by glocalities like La Ladrillera. The women's bodies were born in the place; they enjoy transformations pursued by their mothers and they did not suffer the impact of migration, nor the complete absence of services. But they do face the increasing violence, the unsafety, the fear. The place, because the increasing migration (now urban to urban), incremented its population, which is now divided according to people's occupation. The set of social and cultural values and practices changed, the livelihood system was diversified and is no longer exclusively brickmaking. They still inhabiting a place in the border that although more intervened by social policies, lots of their needs and aspirations have no resonance within them.

### *Making Bricks for a Living. Second Generation*

Women of the second generation told me that brickmaking is a good option because allows them to care and provide for their children (working next their homes). Nevertheless, they highlight its toughness and big impact on their bodies.

They narrated the community sayings about brickmaking, women and motherhood: women should not work but to stay at home; brickmaking is seen as the worst job, brickmakers are called pigs because they work in the mud; and sometimes they are said to be bad mothers because of all these.

“Many people criticize us because we are brickmakers... My children, when they went to school, they were told: your mother is a brickmaker... She is like a pig that is on the mud. And my daughter answered, because she got mad: and what is your house made of? If it wasn't for us, the pigs, that make the bricks, what would you use to construct your home? What is your school made of? ... And who do you think made the bricks? If for you is a shame that we are brickmakers, for me is not ... because thanks to us, that look like pigs, that are in the mud, you have houses...”, **Mo.**

They said many times DIF opens an investigation against parents, but specially against mothers who make bricks. Mo. faced an investigation. The principal argument was that her children were not clean (covered with mud) and that she was not taking good care of them. She responded that all her younger children were studying and she received no support for that, that they were no undernourished nor bad treated, that they are full of mud because all the place is full of mud. DIF closed the case. Mothers also told me there are no daycare centers in the community where they can leave their children while working.

They told me diverse explanations and meanings of their occupation. Sometimes, they said they don't work, that only help their husbands. Other times, they said they are proud working women.

They, as well as their mothers, narrated me how the government instead of helping, has tried to banned brickmaking. They think government should regulate food and items prices or at least should buy bricks for their constructions,

like in the past. Ma will get a room constructed with blocks through the social policy *Un cuarto más*<sup>6</sup>.

Women said to be worried about brickmaking situation; is being sold less because bricks' replacement by blocks. Now there is no more dust in the community. They have to buy it at increasing prices while the brick's price has remained the same in the last five years. Rainy season is especially hard because bricks get destroyed. They don't have social security, but to get hurt while making bricks is something will happen for sure. They heal by themselves, pay a private doctor or attend public health services.

“You say: they should give us *seguro* (insurance), but no, what we have *seguro* here (for sure) is the hit that you gave yourself with the shovel or with a nail”, **Mo**.

I reflect how in the social stratification generated by the new community composition, female brickmaker bodies occupy the lowest position. They are discriminated because of their sex/gender/occupation. They are seen as women out of the gender roles assigned. They are stigmatized as bad mothers by the community and the social policies. In response, they perform a daily embodied resistance: generating their own discourses; attaching different meanings to their occupation according to the situation; occupying spaces that are not supposed to belong to them; ‘proving’ they are good mothers and defending their families; aspiring.

They face a critical situation for their livelihood system: artisanal brickmaking is threatened both by the environmental regulation and the neoliberal policies. They are in a constant risk, but they get up every morning to make more bricks. And if the rain destroys them, they take the mud, mix it again and make more bricks. They do it without any social security, in Mo's words, the only sure thing is: they will be hurt. They do it to provide for their families and bring them a different future. They still healing by themselves. Their bodies are not recognized as productive for the system but they do are intervened by social policies under multiple sex, gender and occupation false assumptions.

### *Home in La Ladrillera. Second Generation*

Talking with women about home, they narrated how difficult is to spend time with their children, take care for the house, (for which they are the main responsible), and work at the same time. They learned from their mothers to work for themselves and to face life challenges the best they can.

They told me, as well as their mothers, men have an easier life because usually don't do care work. But they said they could participate more. Ma and Chu said they have good relations with their husbands and they try to share decisions and responsibilities.

Mo narrated me that her husband hit her more than 20 years and abandoned home several times. Once, the police took him but then released him. He beat her stronger. She does not trust the authorities. One year ago, he beat her up again and left. She says that it took her a lot to learned but that this time there

---

<sup>6</sup> *Un Cuarto Más* webpage: <https://www.gob.mx/viviendadigna/articulos/cuartos-rosa-para-combatir-hacinamiento>



is no forgiveness. Now she advises her daughters to not allow anyone to violent them. She told me is worried because her older sons also have violent behaviors. Now she is responsible by herself of the household: “I am man and woman at the same time”, she said.

They said covering family needs is becoming more difficult because food and item prices increases all time while they get the same income.

Two women receive PAL<sup>7</sup> [social policy for nutrition]. Another receives Prospera<sup>8</sup> [before Oportunidades, a CCT program for people in poverty situation]. They said the initiatives help them, but they encounter difficulties with them. Those who have PAL don't know why they don't have Prospera that brings more benefits for children's schooling. They said their priority is education, so the money they receive from PAL for nutrition, they use it for school expenses. Mo said: “I think is a best investment for them”. The family who has Prospera don't know why sometimes the program discounts them money.

“I have Prospera... For every child studying you receive a help every two months... But not always you receive it, sometimes you only receive the one for nutrition...”, **Chu**.

The three women's families have Seguro Popular, [health services policy<sup>9</sup>]. They find it helpful because brings them access to health care and birth control. They think this is a big difference among them and their mothers.

They got to know about birth control information from the public health services. Ma and Chu have three children. The services were available in the community when Mo. had most of her 13 children, but when she knew there was an option for not have more children she got it. They have faced religious and community sayings about birth control, but they respond saying they can choose and that the priest is not going to feed their children. Two women had their children with midwives, except the last ones. They decided to give birth in the hospital in that case with the intention of being sterilized. They said they didn't want many children to provide better for them.

**Me:** “Who explained you about taking care to don't have children?”

**Ma:** “I didn't know about it until I went to live with my partner, and then in the Health Center I was told about and also my mom told me is better to take care with something...”

They said they often face many problems with those services. To get an appointment takes long, sometimes they don't get the medicines (even when their life is at risk). Ma referred to struggle a lot to get removed an implant for birth control when it was causing her health troubles. Additionally, programs

---

<sup>7</sup> PAL webpage: [http://transparencia.info.jalisco.gob.mx/sites/default/files/REGLA\\_OPERACION\\_PAL%202012.pdf](http://transparencia.info.jalisco.gob.mx/sites/default/files/REGLA_OPERACION_PAL%202012.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> Prospera webpage: <https://www.gob.mx/prospera>

<sup>9</sup> Seguro Popular web page: <http://www.seguropopular.org/>

require them to attend several meetings and health appointments that takeout time from brickmaking.

**Me:** “When you get sick, where do you go?”

**Chu:** “The same, to pay, because here in the Health Center sometimes they don’t want to attend you”.

From listening to them, I reflect how in their homes they find safety and motivation but also violence and struggle for gender equity. At home, Mo suffered “terrible things” (in her words) and had no justice support. She reflects in her own story and advices her daughters differently. Home becomes a site for intergenerational learning.

Social policies are constantly intervening their bodies and families’ present and future. In some ways, are helping them to materialize aspirations. In some others, don’t correspond with those priorities an even exercise violence over them. They struggle to use them according to what they think is best for them.

Health Services as intervention over their bodies allows them to assert reproductive rights (important intergenerational change), but also, takes them to defend themselves from damaging or not desired treatments.

### *Aspiring Education. Second Generation*

I found in the mother’s narratives education remarkably present. For them, education is important because:

They can bring to their children a different future.

They can be better mothers by helping their children with their homeworks and read with them, etc.

“Is easier to help her with homework, now I can tell her do it like this or like that”, **Chu**.

They can have a different job. Mo is already cleaning houses. She told me she wanted to learn to read and write to identify the bus she has to take for job and for communicating with her boss:

“...I have got lost so awful because I take the wrong bus... then I come all the way walking”.

I proposed her I could help her with basic reading and learning skills during our conversations. By the end of field work, she was already reading and writing. She still learning with a friend of mine.

Chu finished secondary school two years ago with her mother, Lu. She is learning to make handicrafts and wants to have a small business.

Ma thinks maybe in the future, when her children grown up, she can have a different job, but for now brickmaking is a good job option. She decided to enroll to primary school at the end of fieldwork advised by her mother.

They also said education can help them to better understand and use social programs.

I see through their narratives how aspirations are not fixed in time. They articulate possible changing scenarios for their future based on education as an aspiration. It has lead them to take decisions within the places they inhabit and the policies they encounter:

Bodies: studying what they think is best for them.

Home: prioritizing children's studies; articulating new ways of interaction;

Environment: articulating or materializing desires of changing of occupation and interacting different with the environment.

Education, again, is an embodied aspiration that has guided many transformations (material and symbolic) pursued by the women.

### *First, Second and Third Generation*

I listened one same claim from the three generations of women: brickmaking is not a desired occupation for the third generation. Grandmothers and mothers want girls to study and don't get married nor to have children very young and not so many. They reflect in their own stories to say that when having little children allow you to provide better. Daughters want to study as well, with the exception of Pa, who sometimes finds difficult school.

“I would like them (granddaughters) to do something else, to learned some other stuff that you should learn”,  
**Mar.**

“I would like them (daughters) not to get married soon because I got married at 15... I would like them to study whatever they want but to study”, **Chu.**

“What would I like to be? A criminologist”, **Jo.**

Grandmothers and mothers told me now there are more programs for children to go to school and want them to take advantage of them. However, they encounter many problems with those as has been described.

They also said they encounter problems with public education: Some teachers don't pay attention to children, and they don't learn what they should. Children are often kick out of school without an explanation. Is difficult to pay for school expenses. Not even education is supposed to be free, they are forced to pay fees and buy uniforms, etc. Mothers are worried about paying for media and college education. Mo already faces that problem: Jo, her daughter, wants to

go to high school but they cannot afford the expenses. Mo says she will work harder.

I think about their narratives of education and aspirations as bridges among generations: going from the first generation to the third and the other way around. Every generation build over those bridges, but also articulate and trying to materialize their own aspirations.

Those aspirations now find some convergence with policies and others opportunities available at the place, but are multiple tensions among policies' logics, priorities and functioning and women's priorities and aspirations.

## Third Generation

### *The Community and the Third Generation*

I met Jo in 2012 when she was in sixth grade of primary school. During field-work, she invited me to her secondary school graduation ceremony. She became the first child in her family (nuclear and extended) in finishing both. Mari, Pa, and Ju, attended the summer course and narrated me their experiences by talks and drawings.

Mari, 1-years-old and Pa, 8-years-old, are Ma's daughters. Ju, 11-years-old, is Chu's daughter. And Jo, 16-years-old, is Mo's daughter. The girls said they like living in the community and they want to live there in the future. They wish it to have all the services they need. Mari narrated her sister felt into a hole because the road was flooded. The youngest girls feel safe in the place but the oldest feel at risk when they walk alone in the place.

“Once a drug addict follow me... I was afraid and I waited for persons in the street to accompany me”, **Jo.**



**Figure 2. Drawing. Mari's community aspirations.**

Girls narratives make me think of their exposure to violence and community's problems but also of their politics of place: aspiring transformations.

### *Making Bricks for a Living? Third Generation*

Girls told me brickmaking is important because allows their parents to bring them food and clothes and for people to have houses. They receive lots of negative comments about their family occupation. They respond saying that without them there will be no houses.

They said they help with brickmaking activities like *cantear* (pick up) or *trinchar* (accommodate). They are not being taught to *tender* (make them). They narrated their visions about brickmaking: Jo said is tough and is glad her mother doesn't work on it anymore. Mari said she doesn't like it at all. Pa likes it and if she doesn't perform well at school she could make bricks. Ju said is not her first job option because is tiring, but the brickmaking activities she does help her to get distracted. They said their parents don't get enough money from job and that the government wants to take out their job.

I see in their narratives they are aware of the brickmaking situation. And I reflect on their powerful discourses in resistance to the sayings that marks and discriminate them because of their sex/gender and family occupation.

### *Growing up in La Ladrillera. Third Generation*

Daughters said their family is highly important for them. They think their mothers are very strong and their grandmothers as well. And both have taught them a lot. They said their families support them by bringing them all they need or want in their possibilities. Jo refers to the violence in her home as something that encourages her to study, help her mother and not to repeat the story.

They think are strong kids because they can lift up many bricks. They said to be small but they will grow up and be stronger. They told me all doctors and medicines should be free for because people need them and sometimes the parents don't have money to pay them.

They want to be mothers and have children, but not a lot and not very young. They want to have a professional career. Mari and Pa would like to have a house in better conditions, with no dust floor and a bigger bed.

Through their narratives I think home again as a safe but violent place and as a site for intergenerational learning and aspiring. I see girls developing their own aspirations.

### *Aspiring Education. Third Generation*

I largely talked about education with the girls. They told me that without education their only possible future is brickmaking. Pa and Ju think is not that bad if they make bricks for a living.

Pa said she finds very difficult school, but she really would like to work in another thing. Ju told in case her parents cannot afford her studies, she would be proud of being brickmaker. Mari and Ju, the oldest, don't want by any means to make bricks for a living.

They want to continue with their studies: Mari wants to be beauty expert. Pa wants to work with computers. Ju wants to be teacher. Jo wants to be a criminologist. They think the profession will help them to help their families and community.



**Figure 3. Drawing. Ju's educational and professional aspirations**

Girls said they have to work hard at school to achieve their plans and their parents have to work hard to pay for their studies. Jo, the oldest, think there aren't enough opportunities for her. Her mother cannot afford her high-school studies and she cannot get a job because her age. She is looking different possibilities to keep going: study within INEA, wait until she can work or try to get a scholarship.

They are articulating and materializing their aspirations but also the aspirations of their mothers and grandmothers. Although, as they grow up they encounter multiple tensions with the policies. I ask me: Are they going to achieve to materialize their educational and professional aspirations?

## Chapter 5 . The Arrival

I have arrived to the end of this journey and I ask: what have I encountered in my way? How do my findings describe the co-construction of the places inhabited by the women and the social policies intervening in those places? How do those findings explain the way in which they have co-constructed those places according to their aspirations? And how have I explained them using the theoretical tool kit I have constructed, my understanding and application of those theories and through my interpretation of their narratives?

First, the different journey stages showed me how women's bodies are always 'in construction'; by a complex relation between the material and discursive dimensions that co-constitute their exterior and interior (Butler 1999; Grosz 1999).

Their bodies are marked by the intersections of sex/gender/race/class/occupation at any given moment, but not all the time in the same forms because the social, cultural and political relations are not fixed (Bordo 1993; Shildrick and Price 1999). For example, not all the three generations experienced discrimination because of their occupation in the environment space.

Additionally, their bodies' public dimension, part of those relations, has always been intervened by the places and the social policies but in different ways (Butler 1999; Pechesky 2015).

I argue that it has been through the spaces opened by that deployment of power over their bodies and their places; by the reiteration of the processes of performativity; and by the continuously construction of their bodies, that the women have been asserting an embodied agency in the co-construction of the places they inhabit (Butler 1999; Grosz 2010). They have transformed those places multiple times through the articulation and materialization of their aspirations, in which education occupies a central role (Ziplin et al 2003).

After analyzing and reflecting on these co-construction processes across generations, I conclude that I have found a complex history in which women's aspirations and policies follow divergent paths but intersect each other at different moments across time.

Within that history there are complex junctures in which those divergences and intersections catalyze relevant processes of transformation and co-construction of the places inhabited by them: bodies, home, community and public arena (Harcourt and Escobar 2002).

I describe those junctures and reflect on them in this chapter through the theoretical tool kit described (chapter 2), the bridges I set among those theories and women's context (chapter 3) and the women's narratives (chapter 4). The next diagram informs the logic of my argumentation:

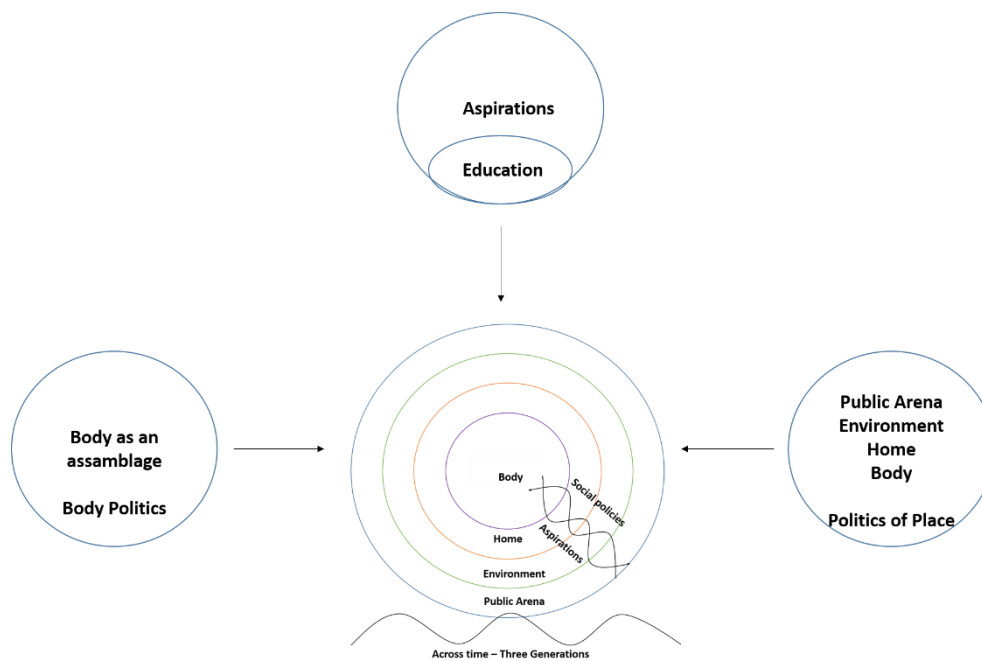


Figure 4. Diagram of analysis Source: author

### Juncture 1. To inhabit La Ladrillera

The effects of neoliberal policies on the rural areas from where the first generation of women are, and their living aspirations took them to take the decision to migrate to the city. There, their marked and classified bodies within the social relations (Lugonés 2008), found no other place than La Ladrillera, an empty and abandoned land, and no other job than brickmaking that does not required them to have studies.

Inhabiting La Ladrillera led to a co-construction of the places in many ways: their bodies became female brickmakers bodies; their families became brickmaker families and the community became a brickmaking community.

### Juncture 2. An Alternative Future

The community, marked by its location and abandonment, had no services available nor social policies intervening in the women's lives. Then, they articulated and materialized their aspirations: covering their basic needs (constructing water wells, latrines, houses, bringing light); constructing the school for their children to have a different future.

Although, that same absence of services and policies in the place caused them to be hurt so many times: to be cut by brickmaking; to have abortions or lost babies; to be denied the health services they needed and wanted; not being allowed to materialize their aspirations of sending their children to school and not inherit them the job.

They resisted discursively and physically (Butler 1999; Grosz 2010) by making more bricks; by articulating more aspirations (Zipin et al 2013) and transmitting those to their daughters, by advising them to act differently regarding their reproductive rights.



### **Juncture 3. First Intergenerational Transformation**

The second generation of women were born or raised in La Ladrillera. They inherited the community transformations (access to services), the brickmaking job, life learnings, reflections, and some aspirations from their mothers. Their bodies have been constructed at the discursive and material level as female brickmaker bodies since they were children but never have been fixed in time (Butler 1999; Bordo 1993; Grosz 1999; Shildrick and Price 1999)

They have constructed their own families and sustained them by making bricks but also by articulating and materializing their own aspirations. They do it in a neoliberal context in which brickmaking became a job in constant risk and continuously less profitable and valued. They do it without State recognition of their economic contribution. They do it knowing that they will be hurt and that there is no social security that supports them.

The community's population increased, the occupation of their inhabitants was diversified and a new social stratification and value system became dominant. Brickmaker female bodies are now discriminated because their bodies behave outside the gender roles attached to them. That has compromised more their ownership, mobility and social relations. Their competences as mothers are judged and surveilled by the community and the multiple policies that gradually started to intervene their community, family and lives (Lugones 2008; Petchesky 2015; Butler 1999).

### **Juncture 4. Second Intergenerational Transformation**

The third generation was born in La Ladrillera. They have inherited the transformations, knowledges and aspirations from their mothers and grandmothers. They construct their own aspirations based on them but also in their own desires and imaginations.

The three generations live in a complex moment in which:

Their bodies, families and community live with hope but also fear because of the increasing narco related violence

They interact every time with more social policies in a complex way that entails: the deployment of power of the discourses and interventions of the policies; its openness/rigidity, its assumptions (on gender/sex/occupation/age) about the women's lives. And at the same time, includes: the embodiment agency of the women; the needs and aspirations of every one (Butler 1999; Grosz 2010; Zipin et al 2003).

In that sense, they appropriate of the openness and flexibility to use the benefits according to what they want to happen to them, to their families and community (e.g. using a nutrition policy cash for education).

They use them to claim their health and reproductive rights. But also, they fight back when the interventions damage their health or are not desired.

They use them to articulate and materialize their educational aspirations and those of their children/grandchildren (Zipin et al 2013).

To transform their own body and assert ownership, autonomy, freedom, social mobility and get to know what they are interested in; to interact with their families in desired ways; to interact with the environment and be able to move within it in an independent form; to transform that environment; to interact with the social policies more efficiently, and to be connected with other people.

At the same time, they struggle to materialize those aspirations within the policies available; to be part of those they want; to claim some of the promised services and entitlements; to have justice protection. They struggle to have the policies they need and desire.

Finally, I reflect on how the practices of difference of the women from La Ladrillera are questioning the development regime (Harcourt and Escobar 2002). They are continuously looking for the spaces to break its patriarchal interventions through their forms of knowledge and their lived embodied resistances; by aspiring education and constructing alternative futures in the places they inhabit

Aspiring is a political claim that seeks freedom and justice. It is an act of resistance and hope within development, neoliberalism and globalization systems that constantly try to silence people's voices and desires; to homogenize their knowledges, practices and imaginations; to erase their memories and history; that exercise multiple violences against them. But, should it be that way? Should we struggle so much to materialize our aspirations? Should we experience so many violences in our processes of construction and transformation of our bodies, families, communities and public arena?

I finish this long sequence of journeys with the reflections and questions I have set out along the road and the encounters. I end with a sense of hope transmitted by the women and their narratives but also convinced by the need to revise development interventions through the light of people's embodiment experiences and aspirations to look for justice within the development processes.

## References

Attias-Donfut, C. and Arber, S. (2000a) 'Equity and Solidarity Across the Generations', in Arber, S. and C. Attias-Donfut (eds) *The Myth of Generational Conflict: The Family and State in Ageing Societies*, pp. 1-20. London: Routledge.

Attias-Donfut, C. and Arber, S. (2000b) 'The Redistributive Effects of Generational Transfers', in Arber, S. and C. Attias-Donfut (eds) *The Myth of Generational Conflict: The Family and State in Ageing Societies*, pp. 22-46. London: Routledge.

Basulto, A. and D. Garcidueñas (2015) *Tonalá Tradición Viva (Tonala Alive Tradition)*. México: Secretaría de Cultura: Conacultura.

Bordo, S. (1993) *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Butler, J. (1999) 'Bodies that Matter', in Price, J. and M. Shildrick (ed.) *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader*, pp. 235-245. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Butler, J. (2004) *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London: Verso.

Cárdenas B., Aréchiga, U., Munguía J.L., Márquez C. and Campos, A. (2012) 'Evaluación Preliminar Del Impacto Ambiental Por La Producción Artesanal De Ladrillo: Cambio Climático, Eficiencia Energética y Calidad Del Aire: Segunda Etapa. Informe Final Del Convenio De Colaboración INE/ADA-110071. (Preliminar Evaluation of the Environmental Impact for the Artisanal Production of Bricks: Climate Change, Energetic Efficiency and Air Quality: Second State. Final Report of the Collaboration Agreement INE/ADA-110071)' No. Versión Actualizada Junio 2012. México D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Izta-palapa y el Instituto Nacional de Ecología.

Davis, K. (1997) 'Embody-ing Theory, Beyond Modernist and Postmodernist Readings of the Body', in Davis, K. (ed.) *Embodied Practices: Feminist Perspectives on the Body*, pp. 1-23 London: Sage.

Escobar, A. (1995) 'Introduction: Development and the Anthropology of Modernity', in Ortner, S., N. Dirks and G. Eley (eds) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, pp. 3-20. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality*. London: Penguin.

Google Maps (2016) 'La Ladrillera Location'. (Image of the map of the location of La Ladrillera). Accessed 24 October 2016.

<https://www.google.com.mx/maps/place/La+Ladrillera,+45416+Tnal%C3%A1,+Jli+sco/@20.5935388,103.2382546,15z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x8428b4c54d5ad743:0xbfe2bc093680cba4!8m2!3d20.5923616!4d-103.2295587>

Grosz, E. (1999) 'Bodies-Cities ', in Price, J. and M. Shildrick (eds) *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader*, pp. 381-387. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Grosz E. (2010) 'Feminism, Materialism, and Freedom', in Coole, D.H. and S. Frost (eds) *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics*, pp. 139-157. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Harcourt, W. (2005) 'El Cuerpo Político en el Discurso sobre el Desarrollo Mundial: Una Perspectiva de las Mujeres y las Políticas del Lugar' ('The Body Politic in Global Development Discourse: A Women and Politics of Place Perspective') in Harcourt, W. and A. Escobar (eds) *Las Mujeres y las Políticas del Lugar (Women and The Politics of Place)*, pp. 41-56. Mexico: PUEG-UNAM.

Harcourt, W. (2009) *Body Politics in Development: Critical Debates in Gender and Development*. London: Zed Books.

Harcourt, W. and A. Escobar (2002) 'Women and the Politics of Place', *Development* 45(1): 7-14.

Harcourt, W. and A. Escobar (2005) 'Introducción. Las Prácticas de la Diferencia' ('Introduction. The Practices of Difference') in Harcourt, W. and A. Escobar (eds) *Las Mujeres y las Políticas del Lugar (Women and The Politics of Place)*, pp.11-25 Mexico: PUEG-UNAM.

Harcourt, W. and K. Mumtaz (2002) 'Fleshly Politics: Women's Bodies, Politics and Globalization', *Development* 45(1): 36-42.

Icaza, R. and Vázquez, R. (2016) 'The Coloniality of Gender as a Radical Critique of Developmentalism', in Harcourt, W. (ed.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development Critical Engagements in Feminist Theory and Practice*, pp. 62-73. Hampshire: Palgrave.

IIEG Instituto de Información Estadística y Geográfica (2014) 'La Ladrillera'. (Extract of the map Tonalá neighborhoods). Accessed October 23. <http://www.iieg.gob.mx/simeg/datos/geografia/MapaColoniasTonalá.pdf>

Joy, M. (2000) 'Beyond a God's Eyeview: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Religion', in Marcos, S. (ed.) *Gender/bodies/religions: Adjunct Proceedings of the XVIIIth Congress for the History of Religions*, pp. 19-42. Cuernavaca, Mexico: ALER.

Kimpson, S. (2005) 'Stepping Off the Road: A Narrative (of) Inquiry', in Brown, L.A. and S. Strega (eds) *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-Oppressive Approaches*, pp. 73-96. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Lugonés, M. (2008) 'The Coloniality of Gender', *Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise*, 2(2): 1-17.

Marcos, S.C. (Last updated 2007) 'De La Política, Sus Finales y Sus Principios ('About Politics, its Endings and Beginnings)'. Accessed October 24 2016 <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2007/06/12/de-la-politica-sus-finales-y-sus-principios/>.

McNay, L. (2016) 'Agency', in Disch, L. and M. Hawkesworth (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*, pp. 39-60. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Muñoz, C. and Silva, M. (2013). 'La Educación Superior Particular y La Distribución De Oportunidades Educativas En México' ('The Private High Education and the Distribution of Opportunities in Mexico'). 42(166): 81-101.

OCDE Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2015) 'Panorama De La Educación En México 2015' ('Education at a Glance Mexico 2015'). Accessed October 24 2016. <https://www.oecd.org/mexico/Education-at-a-glance-2015-Mexico-in-Spanish.pdf>

Ortiz, H. (2012) 'Diagnóstico Nacional Del Sector Ladrillero Artesanal De México (Informe Final) ('National Diagnostic of the Artisanal Brick-Making Sector in Mexico. Final Report'). México: Servicios Profesionales para el Desarrollo Económico S.C.

Petchesky, R. (2015) 'Owning and Disowning the Body: A Reflection', in Baksh, R. and W. Harcourt (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Transnational Feminist Movements*, pp. 252-270. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Romo, M., G. Córdova and L. Cervera (2004) 'Estudio Urbano-Ambiental De Las Ladrilleras En El Municipio De Juárez' ('Urban-Environmental Study of Brickmaking in the Municipality of Juarez'), *Estudios Fronterizos* 5(9): 9-34.

Santos Sousa, B. de, J. Arriscado Nunes and M. Meneses (2007) 'Introduction: Opening Up the Canon of Knowledge and Recognition of Difference', in Sousa Santos, B. de (ed.) *Another Knowledge is Possible: Beyond Northern Epistemologies*, pp. 39-61. London and New York: Verso.

Shildrick, M. and Price, J. (1999) 'Openings on the Body: A Critical Introduction', in Price, J. and M. Shildrick (eds) *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader.*, pp. 1-14. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Underhill-Sem, Y. (2002) 'Embodying Post-Development: Bodies in Places, Places in Bodies', *Development* 45(1): 54-59.

Walsh, C. (2016) 'On Gender and its 'Otherwise'', in Harcourt, W. (ed.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Gender and Development Critical Engagements in Feminist Theory and Practice*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Zipin, L., S. Sellar, M. Brennan and T. Gale (2013) 'Educating for Futures in Marginalized Regions: A Sociological Framework for Rethinking and Researching Aspirations', *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 47(3): 227-246.

## Appendix 1. Additional Women's Narratives

This appendix contains extended versions of the women's narratives. I present those I consider relevant for understanding further the research. These narratives are not complete versions of the dialogues we had (especially are missing girl's narratives, which took place informally, many of them were not recorded and many others were told through drawings). It is necessary to read women's words in the context of the research presented.

Narratives. First Generation

### ***Narratives: The Migration to the Community and their Encounter with Brickmaking***

#### **Lu**

"I lived in Colima and from Colima *me trajieron acá* (I was brought to here), by my father. We were me and my dad and he brought me to here. We came to work, to make bricks. We lived there. There also we made bricks, my dad made them, because I only had my dad. First he was a musician and then he became a brickmaker. *Y ya vine a dar acá* (And I came to end here) to La Duraznera. That is near *Periférico* (ring road), near road to Chapala".

"Ahh, I know whereby".

"There it is, next to it. I lived there before".

"And then, when you were 13 you came here?".

"Yes, I came with my *viejo* (husband)".

"Did you get married at 13?"

"Yes, at 13".

*Ándele* (Local expression that in this case means an affirmation of the other's words), you were young.

(She laughs), "so young".

"And where did you meet him?"

There in La Duraznera.

"And why did you decide to get married?"

(She laughs) "*pos por gusto* (because I wanted to). And he brought me to here".

"And how was here?"

"There was only *huizacheras* (type of bush), only *xaras* (type of plant), only small paths. To wherever we went there were only small paths, only puddles".

#### **Mar.**

"We came to here, we already have here more than 40 years. We arrived and then we started to make bricks".

"From where you came?"

“From Guanajuato”

“And why you came here”

“Because my husband had here already all his family”

Mar’s husband: “No, and there my occupation to tell you the truth, you know which one was? I was a laborer. I cut firewood and carbon to sell in the town. But like the Forestal (forest police) then didn’t allow us to make anything, it was the way we *nos hicimos a correr a buscar* (we decided to run away to look for) to make bricks”.

“At the beginning *no me ballaba aquí* (I didn’t get used to here), it seemed too ugly to me. *No me ballaba*. One thing was that I was not used to here. And the other was that I was not used to here. And not, I was not used to here, that was the principal. It seemed to me I don’t know how here. No, I didn’t like here, but at the end I got used to. But yes, at the beginning *sí me daba maleza* (I felt sad and ill). I did say: why I came here?”

Ma’s husband: “We were going to go back, but we couldn’t fund the transportation”.

“I didn’t get used to. Sometimes I even cried, why to say I didn’t. I said it was more worth to be there, in my land”.

Ma’s husband: “And then, I don’t know, there the cars were far away, the road. Here it was so strange for us, all night going and going (the cars)”.

“They didn’t let us sleep, nor nothing... And when I recently came here there was only *huiñachera* (explain), only *huiñachera*. When I recently came, when I came to end here, there were only birds. From here, from Mr. Gi.’s store, there was only *huiñachera*. And that’s why they called it Los Pajaritos (The Birds), because only the birds were heard singing. And you went out and there were lots of birds flying. You went out with your hat or your *rebozo* (explain) in the middle of your head and you didn’t find any God’s soul”.

## Fe.

“I was born in the ranch El Refugio, municipality of Atotonilco. It is so beautiful there!”

“And then, how did you think about coming here?”

“I came here with an aunt to Crucero San Pedrito, where Soriana (Supermarket) is; there in those houses nearby, that were of *adobe* (a kind of brick). And there I started to make tortillas in San Pedrito. To make them by hand. I used to make four *pesadotas* (big ball of dough) of tortillas; I made them by hand. That’s how I got my cents and then on Sundays we went to watch TV, there I met this Sr. (husband)”.

“*Ándele*, watching TV”.

“Yes, there, watching TV I met him”.

“And where did you go to watch TV?”

“To a house. Before there were only just a few TVs in San Pedrito. And we went to watch TV there. There were only two TVs”.

“And did you pay to watch TV?”

“Yes, in the 62’ we paid 20 cents. There I met him and I went with him... We were there in Atotonilco. We went when I was pregnant of Ma.”

“But you first lived here?”

“Yes, all that time. Like in the 82 we went to the ranch a while. I was pregnant of Ma... But I was telling you I got married in the 62 and all that time we were here in San Pedrito and where Ma. is (La Ladrillera), almost it was where mostly we were making bricks”.

“And in the 90, when you stayed here, where did you live?”

“We lived here. Let’s say in San Pedrito living, and from there a sir sold us a piece of land and we lived in Santa Isabel, from that side of Santa Paula. And we stayed there like 20 years, that’s the house we had. But not all the time I was there, at the end I went out to where I made bricks (La Ladrillera). And the little house was left there”.

“Ah, because that was closer”.

“It was closer to stay there where Ma. lives, there where she lives was my *tejorucho* (small house). Yes, they only made it a little bit bigger. But there was where we lived for a long time”.

“And why did you come back from the ranch?”

“We didn’t get used to it at the end. I already liked here”.

“And would you go back to the ranch?”

“No, not now. I don’t like there anymore. Y like more here. Here are my children and my grandchildren. I wouldn’t go back”.

### **Mar.**

“At the beginning I said: ay, no, what necessity did I had to come here and be all full of mud like the pigs. It was not the same here than there (in the ranch), digging for the maize field, accommodating the land like this, it was not the same. Here you get into the mud to step on it and all that. Your feet got full of mud, your hands as well and everything. And there not... Here was more difficult. It was more difficult for me. I said can’t”.

*Narratives: Making Bricks for a Living, First Generation*

### **Lu.**

“And do you know how many neighborhoods were built with the bricks you made?”

“Uff, so many, so many neighborhoods. I just heard: let’s go to deliver bricks to the Zoquipan side, to Oblatos side. And they are still taking bricks, Mr. N. is taking bricks to Jalisco’s pantheon. To Tonalá, here nearby Loma Dorada, all those places they deliver bricks. Almost everything around. They delivered cargos to Atemajac. In the past, the trucks took three cargos every day and now they take only one”.

### **Fe.**



“And how do you feel of knowing that you made like 19 million of bricks (we made the account previously)?”

“How do you see that? I almost don’t believe it, but yes, my knees are worn of being all the day on my knees. I never learned to do it in another way. But our job was so nice...”

**Mar.**

“But look in the brickmaking there is no end. As soon as you finish la *canteadera* there is *trinchadera*, you have to pick up the bricks to make more the next day. That there is no *patio* to put them? Let’s go to *trinchar* to make room to *tender* more... And that’s how you don’t see the end...”

**Fe.**

“And it was easy or difficult to learn to make bricks?”

“No, *pos*, it was difficult. It was not so easy. Sometimes I made them so ugly and that’s how I learned, but I was on my knees making the bricks...”

**Fe.**

“And in the past you didn’t cover the bricks?”

“No, only we put a plastic on the bricks. If the bricks got holes, they took it like that, now they don’t want it, now they want it to be covered very well. Now you have to cover the whole *trinche*”.

“Do they want it to be perfect?”

“Yes, they want it perfect”

“And you think in the past it was more sold?”

“It was sold a lot. In the past yes, and now is not the same”

**Lu.**

“That’s what we have always fought, we leave the brickmaking, we no longer make bricks, but give us employment. *Haber*, from where they are going to give it to us? Now that Hacienda Real was constructed we had our problems. Many people from Hacienda real came. And then my daughter’s husband says: it is not our fault, we were here already, they are who are coming to here”.

**Mar.**

“... They are still saying that we have to pay a fine, that this thing, that the other, that they don’t want us to make smoke”

“And what did you do when that happen? Did you get organized? A protest?”

“Pues, yes, and later they made an arrangement with us that we only had to burn during the day and not at night and that’s how we still here, and those who don’t follow that they have to pay a fine”

“And if you make numbers it is very expensive to make bricks because of the dust, the brick has not increased its price, but the dust is now sold very expensive... And before you dig the dust and the mud and now you don't... in the past you consumed your lungs to dig...”

**Fe.**

“And the government has helped you anytime with the bricks in some way?

“No, they have never helped us. They even wanted to banned us”.

“And how did that went?”

“We got together the *compañeros* and we told them that if they were going to feed us and in that way they let us work”

“What did you do? A protest or something?”

“Yes, there from Santa Isabel we went to Tonalá...”

**Fe.**

“And how did it go with that boss?”

“He was such a good person that Sr., but he gave us nothing, do you believe that? We worked with him 25 years, since Ma. was little, since she was 5 years old. The son (boss' son) is tough, he (the boss) told him to give us 50 thousand pesos because he took in heritage the brickmaker, but he gave us nothing and he won't”.

**Fe.**

“And do you think you were strong?”

“Yes, I took my *adobera* (bricks muld) with all the mud and let's go (to make the bricks) line by line”.

“And how many bricks do you think you made in your life?”

“Ay, no, a lot. Look since I was 17 until 3 years ago”.

“54 years making bricks. And how many bricks did you make every day?”

“1000 every day, not on Sundays but although very often on Sundays”.

“Let's say 7000 thousand every week for 54 years that is, let me use the calculator, that is like 19 million”.

“Look at this, not for nothing I am old and consumed, can you believe that?”.

**Lu.**

“I am no longer strong, I get tired. I get tired more, I am not that strong, but *todavía le hago la lucha* (I still fighting)”.

“And when you were young?”

“When I was young I did was very strong, for everything, you know, for everything I was so *potrancona*”

**Lu.**

“And did you were told something because you made bricks and was a woman?”

“No, nothing”.

“And did you get paid the same?”

“Yes, I was paid for what I made. They paid me what it was, the same way in which was paid to men, they paid to us”.

“Did anyone told you this was a men’s job?”

“Now you listen more that because they say: he doesn’t provide for you. But not in the past”.

**Mar.**

“And did you were told that women should not work because they should stay at home?”.

“No, *oiga* (listen), because here it was used that all women were there helping the men to work”.

**Fe.**

“Did you ever got hurt because of brickmaking?”

“Yes, wounds and cuts”

“And how did you healed them?”

“*Pues así nomás* (only like this), I almost never went (to receive health care), I healed them by myself, or I went to the health center to get medicine... We got hurt with nails, a lot, they are in the sawdust”.

*Narratives: The Reconstruction of the Community*

**Mar.**

“Look, there was only a small room... But we cooperated maybe little, maybe a lot, and we constructed the schools. We cooperated with *kermesses* and someone cooperated sometimes with 20 kilos of corn dough for the tamales, with butter, with the meat, with the leaves, with the chili. All that we cooperated and what we got from the sell it was for the schools... It is a pride for us that at least we

built the schools for the other children, if my children didn't learn or didn't did that's different, but we have the pride that it is useful for the others... but my grandchildren attend those (schools) and many children and that it is the joy that we have, that they are useful things, for the benefit of all... When I had my children, they were the poor under some little pines, raining or not raining, they had to study there because there was just a little room and then is when we started to cooperate and then the people who came here and saw the school said that this was the school number one, that the students were in the best school, so they praised us... ”.

**Lu.**

“Well, you see, there are sometimes that we go together and we start to talk; do you remember when we were carrying stones? And look now the church, how beautiful it is! Yes, and do you remember when we were carrying the dust from the *barranco* (small ravines)? And hurry up because the bricklayer is coming. And he only came on Sundays, so during the week we carried the stones, the dust and the bricks. And the others were in charge of the *cooperacha* (cooperative), we all cooperated for the cement. We went and asked to the people that had material stores, maybe they didn't give that much, but they gave one part and we collected other, all the women were together”.

“So, were you a group of women who got organized?”

“Yes, a group of women, we were like 12 women”.

*Narratives: Home in La Ladrillera*

**Lu.**

“And in the past it was so beautiful here because here there was no drug addiction, there were no drunks, no thieves... Before, we had no doors in all our houses, the door was a cloth. No matter where you were, the cloth was the door. And there was one house here, the other there... Never the houses were together...”

“Ma.: They didn't get in to steal”.

“And what changed?”

“Some time ago it started to arrive people. Because if you go to the ranch, you are going to find that is my brother, that is my sister, that is my *compadre*, only known people, from family, only family. And now no more, people arrived from other parts, and it is not the same. Yes, I tell you so. It was so pretty here before”.

**Mar.**

“And now you go out and see many *maribuanillos* (marijuana addicts), so many disrespect people, and you are starting to be afraid of them...”.

**Fe.**

“And what did you do if your children got sick?”

“To take them”

“To where?”

“Uy no, if only you could see (when we lived) there, where Ma. is (La Ladrillera)... when they were little, we went from our little house to the road to ask for a raid, because which bus there was?, we took them in arms, they were sick, and yes, we got raids... Before there were no services here”.

Mar.

“And what did you do when you children got sick?”

“Look, I boiled some *albabaca* and if I had no more *Santa María* and with that they got well, or with *Romerito de Castilla*... with any herb I gave them they got well... I figure out that was the one from here (God) who healed them because he also looked with mercy to the people... but when they had something else like a scorpion bite then yes, let's go to take them... And no way to say that we waited for the bus, there was a bus, why to say there wasn't, but you got desperate and you walked (to take them to the doctor), because the bus took so long to come. You could arrive there and come back and then is when the bus was coming... Only if you were very lucky that when something happened to you, to have them sick, and to go out and see the bus coming... So, I went by walking to Tateposco to take them...”

Mar.

“When we were making bricks here in San Pedro and there at 5 am in the morning I already felt bad with the contractions and I even went and I put myself to *tender* (make) bricks and I was there and when I felt that they were so strong I told him (his husband) I can't anymore, I think I'm going to give birth and I stopped making bricks and I went to take a shower and I went with the midwife that was there in San Pedrito, because always I gave birth with midwives. I stopped of making bricks at 9:00 a.m. and I went and so soon I gave birth. I almost had him ready to be born...”

Mar.

“Let me tell you that the only thing is that they (men) arrive from their job and nobody bothers them for nothing. And you, as woman, if you are working and then you arrive home, you have to wash a dish, you have to wash some clothes to wear, if not, what are you going to wear tomorrow? So, I would say is easier to be man because men finish their work and they finish and arrive home to rest... And you go out of your job and you have to work on the house work that's why I say it is better to be a man...”

Fe.

“And did you have any program for your children, for your family?”

“No, we hadn't. We only have like 5 years since they are giving to us that one (65 y más), not like 3, because they were 2 years without giving us nothing, we registered and it took them two years to give us the support”.

**Mar.**

“With the insurance they are giving me the medicines”

“Oh, do you have Seguro Popular?”

“Yes, that’s the only one I have”

“And do you always receive the medicines?”

“When they have it there yes, when they don’t, don’t, because there is a pharmacy, so they sometimes have it, others don’t, and I have to buy it in other side without the insurance”.

### **Narratives: Aspiring Education. First Generation**

Me: “Did you want your daughters to make bricks?”

**Lu.:**

“*Pos* (closest translation: well), no, what mother does it want them to do that?”

**Mar.:**

“*Pues* (closest translation: well), no, but here there is no other *oficio* (job) more than that”.

**Fe.:**

“No, I didn’t want, but that’s the job her husband has”.

**Fe.**

“And what kind of support would you like to have received from the government for you, for your family and children?”

“Help for their studies, but before they didn’t help us”.

**Lu:**

“Because now I go to look for addresses and I know where to go and everything. And before I was asking and you see that before people didn’t tell you well, they sent you to different sides...”

**Mar.**

“I would like them (granddaughters) to do something else, to learned some other stuff that you should learn”.

¿Entonces usted cree que la educación es importante?

“Sí, es importante, porque como dice esta china, crecen y se buscan un trabajo más bien, de no andarse matando en el ladrillo, ya hasta después para mantener a su esposo, pues si su esposo no puede mantener, pues ellas le ayudan, para que vivan mejor”.

## Fe

¿y cómo le va en sus clases?

“No apenas vamos a entrar si me dijo la maestra clara clarita que ya cuando entren todos pues ya salieron de vacaciones cuando vuelvan a entrar ya voy a entrar voy a entrar también junto con mis nietos uno que tiene 13 años y el otro que tiene como 10 iban a estudiar porque ya no los quieren así, porque ellos no fueron de chiquitos van a estudiar conmigo”

¿Y como se siente con eso?

No pues me da gusto ya me compré mi libreta de cuadro chico me dijo que de cuadros chicos para que me vaya bien, le digo sí, yo sé leer sé leer bien, no muy bien, pero cualquier cosa leo, pero escribir no sé pero también leer la letra que escriben a muchas no lo entiendo o de la mano escrita hoy casi no le entiendo y yo que así fuera de eso

“Pues mire ahí ya va a prender”

“Y dice para que el libro de que de la palabra se me hace que dijo es el que me va a regalar, para empezar con él para que se le mueva su mano, dijo, se enseña a escribir porque leer sí, agarro la Santa Cruz y no sé bien, pero la leo todas, la sombra de San Pedro, una oración, también la leo y veo bien en la noche, me siento y yo veo bien y yo veo a mi hijo y agarra una lupa que tiene para ver a poco no ves”

## Narratives Second Generation

### *Narratives of The Community; Heritage and Challenges*

#### Ma.

“The streets have been opened by the same people, because the street where Mo. lives it didn't exist before, they by themselves opened it and conditioned it, but it was the people... they filled the holes of the ground and they got an agreement of how much land they were going to leave for the streets”.

#### Mo.

“I think now they organize themselves less than in the past because like almost all the people that already have their services, those from there, they say: ¡*que se frieguen!* (screw them!), and like those from that side they have their street lighting, they don't care anymore...”.

#### Ma.

“When there are no bricks in one place, for example, now that there are no bricks for the roof, they say: now that person has, also is good brick, they recommend each other...”.

#### Chu. and Ma.

Chu: “When I was little I felt safe if I was playing outside, now I feel afraid of my girls going out to play because there are lots drug addicts, many people that has arrived here and to say the truth, you don't know them...”

Ma: “Only when something happen is when the patrols come”.

Chu: “when already happened is when they come”.

**Ma.**

“Here almost they (the politicians) come when they need us, when they are going to need us for the elections, it is when they come, and until now is when they are *poniéndose las pilas* (doing something), how is said, because you know they are registering people for constructing them rooms...”

**Mo.**

“Here there are many things I like, many things I don’t, for example, there are many drug addicts and little safety, here almost the patrols don’t come, there are sometimes that we need them and in a few words they play fool”.

**Ma.**

“I say that now anywhere there are Health Centers... I remember that when I was little, my mom took me with her but until the Hospital Viejo, the New now did not exist then... She took me so early, at 5:00 a.m... and she put me to sleep in her legs and then she had me outside of the hospital with a blanket laid down, waiting for her appointment...”.

**Ma.**

“There are many things that are missing, only the health centers are far away from us. It was told that they were going to construct one here in Pajaritos but at the end they didn’t. It is not like in other places in which there are stationary stores or that the pharmacies are close, when you need a medicine, you have to run until that side or to Jauja... In the other side (of La Ladrilera), there is running water, but not here, here where I live, there is not, neither electricity is from here, they bring it from I don’t know where... the drainage the same, there is until the corner”

*Narratives: Making Bricks for a Living. Second Generation*

**Ma.**

“Let’s say that my dad (taught me) ... I started like her, like Pa., I was like: I want to learn, I want to learn, and I was very insisting with them in the mud wanting to help them...”

**Mo.**

“I (learned), because we ended up here, my dad taught us. And from there we started to make by ourselves”.

**Chu.**

“When you are young, yes, you want to learn, when you are grown up, you are not any more attracted... When you are a girl it is attractive to you because you see the others, we started with a small *adoberita*, we learned by playing with it”.



**Mo.**

“For me, which is nice (about making bricks) is that here you are not told what to do. Here the day you want and you are very hungry, you have to work. Now... the person who makes, sometimes the rain starts at two, three in the morning, and you are all wet because you have to go to cover it at the moment it starts to rain. And if the rain arrives and it destroys the bricks you are not paid. And nothing. During the dry season it is nice because you leave it (bricks) there, lying, several days... And it is nice because there you have all your children with you. And in other jobs you can't, you cannot be with them...”

**Mo.**

“Look, many people criticize us because we are brickmakers... To my children, when they went to school, they were told: your mother is a brickmaker, your mother is this, is that, she is like a pig that is on the mud. And my daughter answered them, because she got mad, she said them: and what is your house made of? If it wasn't for us, that are pigs, that make the bricks, what would you use to construct your home? What is your home made of? What is your school made of? Look at it so carefully. It is made of bricks. And who do you think made the bricks? If for you is a shame that we are brickmakers, for me is not a shame that my mom, like you say that she seems a pig, that she is the mud, it is not a shame for me, because thanks to us that we look like pigs, that we are in the mud, you have houses. You don't know to value things”.

**Chu.**

“It is heard something like that, moreover men, you work because your husband doesn't provide for you... And I say that is not like that, it is a help for them and for yourself, because then what you earn you use it to buy what you need and you don't have your hopes on them... I was not told directly, but they do say that is so though but I say that this job is easier because here you are with them and in other jobs you cannot take care of them well, and here you are with them and when you work out, you don't know how they are”.

**Ma.**

“In fact, he almost doesn't like that I help him. I only help him to make the bricks, to pick them up, and when we have to trincar, but when I have something else to do, I don't help him... But the guy says, here among them: 'I am not helped and you are helped and how is going to be possible that you can't by yourself? But I don't do it only to help him or not...that's also extra money for the household”

“And the other day a guy was telling to a woman, I think he was her ex-boyfriend and she married another guy so, he said: 'uy, no, they have you working and I don't have my wife making bricks, I have her at my house'. And she said: 'but everybody does her life as she wants and you shouldn't be bothered if I work or I don't”.

**Ma.**

“...In my side, you (I) don’t know how to do anything else, I have never worked in another thing and now for everything they ask you studies and all that, and here we get money to eat, from the bricks, and if I help him you get a little bit more... of course, during the week we have to ask to the boss money to buy the food and when the Saturday comes, the boss makes the numbers and he discounts the money we asked for”.

**Mo.**

“And for you what is to make bricks?”

“For me, the truth, is like a proud because at least I have that job. There I am not asked to have studies, I am not asked anything. I feel proud of being a brickmaker. And thanks to that I have my house”.

“Did you construct your house?”

“Yes, I did everything. I did it by myself. And I have been working my house, little by little...Now I’m working on it, look at me feet, how they are... lot of people have constructed their houses with our work. Although, I tell you that not many people value it. But we that know about values, well maybe, although you don’t know about it, but if you don’t value what you do, well you are not useful for nothing”.

**Chu.**

“You don’t have a schedule, if you want to finish soon and you earn what you want, you don’t have schedule... when I did my *remojos* (mixture) I came back early to send them to school and to do this and the other and then when they were older they got ready by themselves, but I always came to cook the food”.

**Chu.**

“They (the government) could give support by buying its materials (bricks) with us for everything they construct (the rooms and the bathrooms) but they don’t do it, they only say and say”.

**Mo. and Jo.**

Jo: “They (government) don’t help in anything”.

Mo: “I think they don’t help”.

Jo: “Instead of help, they screw up”

Me: “Why do you say that, Jo?”

Jo: “Because now you see that the insurance (Seguro Popular) doesn’t cover anything. Everything for the President. For Peña Nieto”.

Me: “And what is the help they should bring?”

Mo: “I say at least do not raise the price of the things so high. Like the gas, who buys it so expensive? And now, the jobs (wages) are not raised anything. I have being paid the same for the bricks like for 5 years ...”

Jo: “Only the dust is more expensive”.

Mo: “That is true, and the beans also very expensive, everything so expensive... Even to build is expensive. I remember when I started to construct my home, the lime was so cheap. It didn’t cost not even 20 pesos. And now it costs 47. The cement 155. Instead of helping us... And the school fees...”

Jo: “Now they are charging in the school fees like 250 per child. And in the kinder like 300 – 600”.

Mo.

“You that work in the maquila (of bricks) I am paid the same, no matter it (the bricks) costs 1,000 - 1200 pesos, you are paid for it 220, 230, for me is the same that it costs even 2000, you are paid the same, no matter they sell it more expensive...”

“Here the brickmakers are disappearing, here all this zone was a brickmaking zone, they were all over from the road to here, and if you see, there are just a few because like for the people is not any more profitable, they are better going to work to the constructions, because this of the brickmaking is so difficult, because here you have to go even on Sundays, and to the constructions you end on Saturday at 1:00 p.m. and you don’t go again until Monday and here not, here you have to go on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, all the week”.

Ma.

“Look that before it was sold a lot, well, it was sold a little bit more because the block was not used now the blocks are used and I don’t know what other thing to build the houses... And now the majority of the people thing is cheaper to buy blocks and with that to build their houses instead of using bricks... but if the bricks are not sold, how are we going to get to eat?... and that is why the sells drop and also maybe that is why the dust increased...”

Mo.

“And you say: they should give us *seguro* (insurance), but no, what we have *seguro aquí* (for sure here) is the hit that you gave yourself with the shovel or with a nail. That’s the only thing we have for sure. There are sometimes that when you less expect it, you hit yourself with the shovel, you cut your leg. Or you are stepping so well the mud and you get cut by a glass o you get insert nail”.

“And where do you go to be healed?”

“No, to any place, here by myself... I put water with salt or *telaraña* (spider web) to stop the bleeding”.

Chu.

“I has here like now and we were making (bricks) and we were about to leave and they were bringing horse manure and I put my *remajo* and I didn’t see that it had a nail and it prick on me and I removed it and I said así, anyway I’m not bleeding and I went to take my children to school and when I was coming to here, from here I couldn’t go to my house, I couldn’t arrive home, I better came because I couldn’t stand anymore because it swelled a lot and I they told me ‘lets clean’ and they cleaned it and the next day: let’s go to get you the tetanus vaccine. But it hurts a lot. I had hurt my leg like three months...”

## Mo.

“And yes I tell you, that they have sent it to me like 3-4 times. Once they arrived with a big sheet of paper that if I didn’t present me they were going to take away my children from me, that I had like two accumulated to be taken away from me. And then they told me everything to bring and I brought it and they told me: ‘do you have your children studying?’. Yes. ‘Do you have any form to prove it?’. Yes. Fortunately, you see that they give you the receipt of the school fees, so I brought them with me: one of the secondary school, five from the primary school and one from the kinder. Here they are. And ‘do you have any help?’. No. ‘Nobody helps you?’. No. And that was everything they told me. Days later a child of mine was bitten by a mouse. So they sent it again. And they told me: ‘you know we were told your children are not well taken care. You have them in the abandonment. But I don’t see them *mal criados* (not well raised) undernourished nor abandoned. I see all of them normal, although the report says they are a lot and that you are alone’. This is because I give them to eat what I can, beans with tortillas if I can, that’s what I give them... and I said: here the people only criticizes... And since that time that I took all the birth certificates they told me: you have to brought them here to all of them to the psychologist, to see if I hit them, the report was made like that, and they made me to take all of them. Until I told my Dad: you know what? I spend a lot in buses, am not going to take them anymore, no matter If me encierran (sent me to jail), if they take, ni modo (there is no other option). But that that I spend in the buses is at the cost of leaving the children without buying them a kilo of tortillas, it is a worst sin to feed the bus but and leaving my children without tortillas or beans... May be God’s will... And I said I am not going and I didn’t go anymore. And they never have bothered me again, only the other day that they came again because they reported me again that the children were only in the street. But this is our job, I cannot leave them in closed... But the first days I even cannot sleep because I was scared...”

*Narratives: Home in La Ladrillera. Second Generation*

## Ma.

“Who talk to you about to take care (contraception) to do not have children?”

“No, I didn’t know about it *hasta que me junté* (I went to live together) and after that in the Health Center I was told about it and also my mom, that is better to take care with something, but look, many times the husbands get mad or so, because the woman is taking care and other no, is better to take care that to have more (children) because they are a lot, but yes, they get mad”

“And why do you think they get mad?”

I say they shouldn’t get mad because is the same... And maybe if they have so many family they won’t be able to bring them studies”.

**Mo.**

“I didn’t feel anything. I kept working. I knew I was pregnant because I had no my period”.

“And did you rest while you were pregnant?”

I stayed like four days without working when I delivered a baby. Sometimes I was making my bricks to say during the day and in the night I had the pains and lets go with the midwife and like that...”

“And why with Es you went to the Lopez Mateos (hospital)?”

Because I was going to get the surgery, that’s why I took the decision.

And how did you take the decision?

I was afraid but I put the fear aside and I encouraged myself to go and I said better I go, because I already had 12, and if not, I will continue and continue, and I don’t want more children, that’s enough with 12, 13, I had a lot.

And how did you know about the surgery?

We had talks in the Health Center and there is where I realized. They told me: ‘go to the hospital’, and no, I was afraid. ‘How are you going to be scared?’. Yes, and in fact, I am afraid of a hospital, I am scared, don’t know, but I don’t like it, I feel panic while being in a hospital.

**Chu.**

“Your children were born in a hospital or with a midwife?”

“No, with a midwife because I was afraid of the hospital, and that was the first time when I was going to have a cesarean (with the last child) and in those times they were stealing children from the hospital and I was afraid of going when my child was born”.

“And why did you decide to go to the hospital?”

“Because I was going to get the surgery to do not have more babies... that one was the last one to be able to give them more and less what they need, to sacarlos adelante...”.

**Ma.**

“And why did you decide to have less children than your mom?”

“More than anything because of the education, also because my mom says that before there were no schools to study, that before it was not used to send them to school, and I sometimes I would like to have one more child, but also (he) says, we have to give them the better we can to them (daughters) because if one needs a shoes, the other also is going to want and is better to buy to the 3 of them at the same time, or if you are pregnant that you are sick, and you have to go for a check up with the doctor...”

### **Lu and Ma**

Lu: "Well, yes, before to take care (use contraception) was a sin.

Ma.: "Chu says, that's why I say that because they sin"

Lu: And know I think that if I had had less children I think I have lived más agusto, because I have provided to them more attention, because I now see to those who have less children that if the child wants something, yes, they buy them, but before let's save for this... And I see that is different but before no, and then before there was not secondhand market, before only new things.

So, you think religion it was because of religion?

Yes, but like I tell to a Mrs., friend of mine, and the priest is going to provide for them?

### **Mo.**

"The things were cheaper and now don't, now they are more expensive, everything is more expensive, because in the past the beans were not that expensive nor the tortillas, the difference is a lot".

### **Chu. and Ma.**

Chu: "Men and women have the same rights, who says that is not, although they say that we don't".

Ma: "Sometimes they say that men believe they are more because they are who bring the money home, but not, you also work, you also get money..."

### **Mo.**

"It is a big difference, yes, because the woman has also to take care of the house... I think is more difficult to be a woman because, I don't know how to read nor less nor nothing like that, but I in my dumbness"

"Don't say you are dumb, you are not, because to make bricks to need intelligence, you need intelligence to take care of the children, to cook, for everything you do..."

"Well, in my dumbness, I say that it is very different between a man and a woman because the men go to work and to say: his entrance is at 8 and he goes out at 6, the doesn't get interest in washing a dish, nor a spoon or a pants or a blanket, nor anything, or if the child is crying he doesn't hurry to give him the bottle. And you come very tired from the field (of bricks) and instead of resting, you take advantage of the time to wash, like me now in this job, I work from Monday to Saturday I get in at 9 and I go out at 6, sometimes at 8, others at 9 or 10. I

don't have a fixed schedule, so I am there all the day... I am criticized by so many people: 'you have your children very dirty, you have your home very dirty'. All of us would like to have our home very clean but sometimes time is not enough for me. I get up, I go to work and my children are in charge or preparing breakfast for the others, of feeding them. One goes in the morning to take the girl to the kinder and the other goes to the school at 1:00 p.m., so what they can do, they do... And when I arrive I am more dead than alive, which energy do I have to do something?... And like now I am men and women, I have to be in charge... I am going to tell you in what way, during the week I am men because I have to provide for my children to eat... I am women because all the week instead of resting I am working at the house... I would like to go out on Sundays with my children even if it were to be seated under a tree"

"Cuando antes que estaba yo más más tontita bueno todavía estoy no digas sí pero que estaba más tontita yo a veces me golpeaban de regañar a mi pareja y yo en vez de, osea, si le buscaba la solución pero decía por qué me pasa esto, porque estar aguantando estos malos tratos"

"De hombres y mujeres en que son diferentes en muchas cosas en que el hombre acaba de hacer su quehacer viene y se acuesta bien agusto y uno de mujer tiene que echarle haya hecho en darle allá y seguir más adelante"

"Y luego hay veces que uno juega los dos papeles cómo que cómo le quisiera decir es mamá y el papá a la vez y usted no cree que los hombres también deberían de tener la responsabilidad de llegar de trabajar y ocuparse de las cosas de la casa yo a veces digo que sí pero luego no"

**Chu.**

"Pues, is easier because in there are more things than in the past... Like more doctors and cheaper and many things that didn't were before, there were no cheap doctors, before only that doctor in Santa Paula, that is the one that was and now there are *Similares*".

**Chu.**

"And when they get sick, where do you take them, to Seguro Popular or to other parts?"

**Chu**

“To other places because they almost get sick at night... So I take them to a private doctor in Jesus de Nazaret... And it is at least 200 – 300 pesos... In the night I cannot take the children to the Health Center, only to the Hospital, but it is to go and see if its covered”.

**Ma**

“I took Es in the morning and I went to the pharmacy and it was not covered and I had to buy the medicine and it was not very expensive, it was not even 100, but was not covered”.

**Mo.**

“There are persons, who, let’s say, have two or three children and they have scholarships for them (Prospera) and I have 7 (at school), and we the little I receive from for nutrition help, I better use that money... that money I specially want it for the uniforms, to buy them second hand shoes, although I am told there that the money is for them when they want a 20 pesos lollipop. I say: no, those would be others, because if the lollipop costs 20 pesos and I know that with 20 pesos and 30 more I can buy a t-shirt, well, better to buy the t-shirt because the lollipop is going to last a while, but I do not say that in the meetings, but for myself I say: I do with the money what I think is the best with the money, I don’t spend it for myself, but I do buy the things for my children”.

**Chu.**

“And do you have any program from the government?”

“I have Prospera”

“How it has gone with it?”

“Fine... you receive money for the school supplies, is like they reimburse you, because you spend it before you receive it, for every child studying you receive a help every two months... But no always you receive it, sometimes you only receive the one for nutrition... we are supposed to receive it every two months but not always you get it...”

**Chu.**

“When you get sick, where do you go?”



“The same, to pay, because here in the Health Center sometimes they don’t want to attend you”.

**Mar.**

“In the Health Center that is in Jauja in order to be attended you have to get up early, go from here like at 5 a.m. and then it depends on you getting a place because there is a lot of people... I think they give 10 places per day, think they are 10... 10 in the morning and 10 in the afternoon as well, but those of the afternoon they give them in that same hour (in the morning)... Many people, moreover those who live close to it, they go since 3 a.m. in the morning”

“Now there is the Seguro Popular and with Ma. there was no Seguro Popular nor with Pa. I think only with Es.”.

“And what did you do?”

“Only in the Health Center, and in the Hospital but you were charged... when you were to give birth they charged you... But all the sonograms, all the tests they asked you to do, you had to pay... And with Es. I was not charged not even for the sonograms...”

“And they put me an implant, like a plastic, and I had it like one year and a half, it was supposed to last like 3 years but it was causing me damage, because I had my period for so long, sometimes it lasts two months... and I had headaches and I went to the Health Center and I told them that I want it to be removed because it was hurting me and they told me first you have to get for some tests and I went and I brought them the results and I was told not, it is not damaging you and I had it for 6 more months...and then I said no, I am going to go and they have to remove it and my mom told me, go, how is that they are not going to remove it if it is hurting you? Go and they have to remove it and tell them that if not, you will go and talk with I don’t know whom to get it removed and I went in the morning and they told me come in the afternoon and I went and they gave me an appointment and I went with a doctor named José and he was who removed it, but they didn’t want to remove it but they removed it”.

**Ma.**

“How do you think women who make bricks here are seen, what do they tell about them”

“Here, where is La Ladrillera, maybe we support each other, because all of us have Ladrilleras, but what is Pajaritos, no, they better, I don’t know, they discriminate us, because they say, no, pinches ladrilleros, that I don’t know what, it seems like a horror for them, maybe, to be a brickmaker, but they don’t know that the houses are made of bricks like there in Pajaritos, but sometimes you don’t give the importance to the things, you don’t know what the houses are

made of? Because when you go to live there, they are already plastered and painted and you don't know that the bricks are behind..."

"Here they think that the women have to be at their home, that they don't have to be in the street, that they don't have to be in the other houses only gossiping, they say: 'gossipers', 'instead of being gossiping, go to your home to do the housework, to cook'... And I say that is not a bad thing meanwhile you have your home fine, you also have the right to get distracted, not only them can have fun..."

"I have been persecuted so many times. Like 3 times already. They have come, that they are going to take me because I have my children are not well cared and that I don't know what. I was selling sugarcane there in El Crucero. There are sometimes that *ya no hallo* (I don't know from where to get money), I have my *rachitas* (crisis). Sometimes I don't know from where I am going to feed my children. They anyway have to eat and to study. And... I put myself to sell sugarcanes with all my children. And not, I had unas *broncononas* (big problems) with a Sr. that wanted me to send me DIF, that I don't know what. I said (to him), Oh, my God, you evaluate, but look, you are not the first person that sends it to me. All of us have the right to provide for ourselves, some in one way, others in another. I said: why are you so bothered of me having my children here with me? You clean windshields and you have your wife and your children with you. I am embarrassed of being selling sugarcanes in the crossroads, but with the embarrassment I am not going to eat. And sometimes people only criticizes, that you are like this, you are like that. But they are only good to criticized, they are not good to say: now you don't have for your tortillas, look, there is one kilo, at least for your children. No, people only criticized us. That you have them all dirty, you damn children all dirty, all disheveled. They never think that maybe I have them like that not because I want to have them like that, if not, because sometimes I don't have to buy them the things. Sometimes I have them, I have been yelled, 'you have them all barefoot', all that..."

*Narratives: Aspiring Education. Second Generation*

### **Chu**

"I would like them not to get married because I got married at 15... I would like them to study whatever they want but to study"

### **Ma**

"Yo le digo que estudie y yo sí quiero que estudie. Mari dice que quiere ser estilista pero ya lo mejor ya más grande cambia de idea, que se casen pero primero mejor que estudian, porque a lo mejor ya si se casan a lo mejor ya no van a querer estudiar"

“Yo ya quisiera ya verlas ya grandes pues de hecho yo a Mari la quiero ver que termine sus estudios porque yo quiero que es que si sea sea enfermera o doctora... y a Pa igual, pero que no pronto se casen, quiero que disfruten y que estudien”

**Ma**

“¿Porque tú decidiste tener menos hijos que tu mamá?”

“Pues más que nada por la educación... dice mi mamá que antes no había escuelas, así dónde estudiar que antes casi no se usaba eso de mandarlos a las escuelas”

**Mo**

“Yo quisiera que, bueno todas nos vamos a casar, pero yo como mi niña está que está más preparada yo quisiera que se preparará más para que no le fuera a pasar lo que a mí: malos tratos muchos golpes, poca comida mucho trabajo y todo eso, yo quisiera que ella se preparará más o menos bien, para que de pérdida con el fulano que se llegar a juntar, de que si la golpeará que supiera a salir adelante ella sola... Que anduviera así como yo en el ladrillo porque ese es un trabajo mucho muy pesado, demasiado pesado diría, yo a mí me gustaría que mejore, que trabajara pero en otras cosas, como por ejemplo en una tienda pues hay muchas cosas, así en una donde se empaquetan como cosas así y zapatos ropa pues que agarrar otros trabajitos, que a lo mejor son enfadosos por todo el día, pero no son tan pesados, no es igual a cargar 5 vestidos en una mano a cargar una carretilla de barro, verdad? o andar acomodando, colgando los a andar acá todo el día tirada en el sol”

**Mo**

“Yo les digo a mis hijas y yo no les puedo dejar otra herencia más de que estudiar échale ganas al estudio si ustedes no estudian la mente es la de todo, ustedes estudian y llegan a la meta que se quieran llegar le digo a échale ganas al estudio le digo porque de puro trabajo no hacen nada”

**Mo**

“Yo le digo que nada más tengan 2 (hijos) que no sean tontas como yo que para que quieren tantos hijos, que se fije en mí como batallo y yo para comprar los zapatos darles de comer, yo les prohíbo de muchas cosas y yo les digo: ustedes no sean tontas nada más tengan dos, bueno si quieren tener más pero nada más que no 4 que no pase llama ya no límite 4 si ustedes no van a ser tontos como yo que tengan y tengas muchos chiquillos”

**Mo**

“Paso a pasito ahí voy caminando. Todo pa adelante. Nada para atrás. A veces sola, a veces con viejo. Pero más sola que con viejo. Peor ahí voy. Ahí voy con el apoyo de mis niñas porque de mis niños casi no. Pero de mis niñas, ellas son las que ahorita las traigo en friega. Y de mis hijos uno es el que me ayuda más. Ey, ese niño es el que me ayuda”.

## **Chu**

“Y ya ahorita de grande salí mi secundaria ... Así uno ayudarle a los niños unas cosas que no entienden pues ya pues ya se lo explicas tú a ellos”.

## **Mo**

“A mí me gustaría yo le pido mucho a Dios que me enseñe a leer eso me gustaría saber leer... Para investigar más más cosas porque no es igual nada más a ver como las letras de allí y no sabe ni lo que dice y así ya sabe uno y ya sabes lo que dice y nos enteramos de más cosas...”

“¿De qué cosas le gustaría aprender?”

“Cómo los libros esos que les dan a mis niños ya ves que tiene unos dibujos bien bonitos y yo me imagino que allí dice lo del dibujo, pues sí, es lo que digo yo y así sé leer ya sé lo que dice ya...”

*Appendix. Narratives: Third Generation*

*Narratives: The Community. Third Generation.*

## **Ju**

“Aquí eres libre, no hay ningún riesgo de que te roben o algo porque vivir así como en la ciudad pues como que es mucho peligro porque hay mucha carretera y está más tranquilo aquí en el campo porque he pues en los árboles poner una hamaca y diferentes cosas”

## **Jo**

“Ya me acostumbré aquí si me voy a otro lugar no me voy a sentir bien no sé qué modo porque aquí ya tengo 15 años y viendo”

## **Ju**

““Porque por una parte el gobierno les pide dinero y por otra porque porque lo viene les pido dinero a los papás y dice que va a ser una cosa y no la cumple y no cumple el gobierno y eso es lo que hace enojar a los papás”

*Narratives: Making Bricks for a Living? Third Generation*

## **Ju**

“El trabajo es para sacar la familia delante, para comprar los útiles a los niños, hay varias cosas porque hay señoras que no tienen ni para comer y cada campo tienen dueño y se basan a pedirle prestado pues adelanto del pago y en veces no tienen ni para comer ni un vaso de agua y se ponen a hacer ladrillos y con el paso del tiempo se van haciendo los hornos y todo iban avanzando la mayoría de dinero a la vez está bien porque saca uno adelante su familia no se queda rendido y por otra cosa pues se quejan porque es cansado”

*Narratives: Home in La Ladrillera. Third Generation.*

**Ju**

“Y me dice mi papá que yo no que yo mejor disfrute mi vida en vez de no disfrutarla, de echarla a perder”

*Narratives: Aspiring Education*

**Jo**

“Yo quisiera estudiar para apoyar a mi mamá pues es que tanto que ella nos ha apoyado”

“Es que mi mamá me dijo qué quieres ser cuando seas grande y dije: tengo dos opciones ser la generación que ustedes llevan de ladrillo o ser maestra”

“¿Y de qué depende que seas una cosa o la otra?”

“Van a gastar mucho dinero con las carreras de la escuela para ser maestra y de ladrillo no mi papá me puede enseñar”.

“Y para ser maestra que crees que tienes que hacer tú”

“Puedes echarle ganas al escuela es pasar bien con los exámenes llevar mi carrera bien no bajar recalificación tanto porque si bajo pues como lo voy a lograr a ser maestra”

**Jo**

“¿Crees que la vida de una persona cambia sabiendo leer y escribir?”

“Pues sí porque yo digo que sí porque hay más trabajo y más oportunidades porque ahorita ya nada más el único trabajo que no piden tres papeles es el de ladrillera y habitación difícil para encontrar un trabajo porque ya todos los trabajos y como dicen hasta para barrenderos ocupan papeles”

**Jo**

“Yo me imagino ser alguien en la vida ya que esté más grande tener una carrera y ya pues cuando ya esté grande será conocer a alguien guapo, trabajador, que ya estuviera casada y que fuera no sé, es que a veces digo quiero ser abogada, es que me interesa ahora abogada, hoy lo de Ciencias Forenses ya que sea grande quisiera Abogada en Ciencias Forenses”

**Jo**

¿Qué piensas que es lo más bonito que te ha pasado?

“Pues en la secundaria era donde me la pasaba mejor a mí se me hacía nunca había convivido así con amigas”

**Jo**

“Tanto tiempo que tiene mi mamá (en el programa) y nosotros estudiando y pues no más nunca nos han dado ayuda, hasta mala suerte tenemos”