A PORTRAITURE STUDY OF THE GOODNESS OF ADOLESCENT MOTHERHOOD FOR MEXICANA WOMEN IN A NEW MEXICO REGION

BY

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A proposal submitted to my Dissertation Committee

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for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy.

Major Subject: Curriculum & Instruction

Minor Subject: Critical Pedagogy

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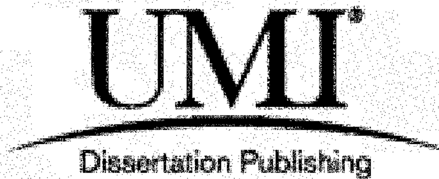

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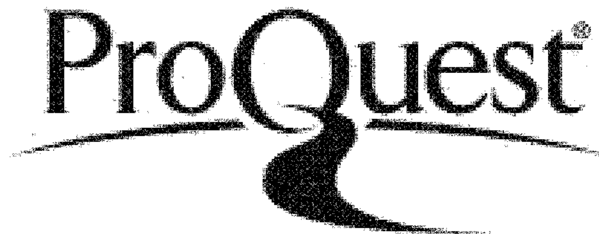

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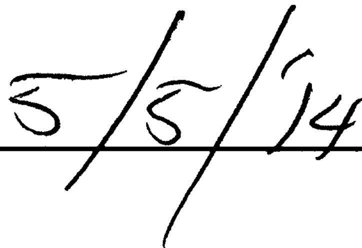

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family with love. To my husband Troy: thank you for encouraging me to become the creature I always meant to be. I could not have achieved this without you. You are the love of my life and my favorite person in the whole world.

To my parents Andrew and Darlene Miletic: thank you for giving me a love for knowing and learning, for creating a home filled with laughter and wonder, and for traveling the world to pay a visit. To my sister Michelle, thank you for sharing the joys and struggles of your adventures in parenting.

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ABSTRACT

A PORTRAITURE STUDY OF THE GOODNESS OF ADOLESCENT MOTHERHOOD FOR MEXICANA WOMEN IN A NEW MEXICO REGION

by

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Doctor of Philosophy

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Instead of accepting the adage that adolescent motherhood had a negative effect in young women's lives, this researcher used a portraiture methodology to illuminate the goodness of adolescent motherhood for two *Mexicana* women in a southern New Mexico mountain town (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Pillow, 2004). I examined how the ideological conditions of the hierarchy of gender that femininity and motherhood contextualize the conditions in which two first-generation Mexican American women became pregnant while still in high school. I framed that result within the historical structuring of the education of adolescent mothers

to understand how the participants were able to experience a campus-based daycare, parenting program, and health center when they most needed it in order to graduate from high school. This research followed how the participants contended over the years with issues of legal work status, culture, healthcare, romance, language, resiliency, agency, discipline, contraceptives, and sexuality. From 24 hours of audio transcriptions, the experiences of the two participants were presented chronologically from 2004-2013 in order to show how context informed the decisions the women made at the intersection of woman, mother, worker, and student identities. Through a feminist standpoint, I examined the portraits to reveal important insight into the experience of adolescent motherhood to illuminate possibilities for social justice (Bowman, 2011). My findings are based upon the themes that emerged from the data and the critical consciousness I gained from researching their experiences.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Instead of finding adolescent motherhood a detriment, this research revealed a portraiture of the goodness of adolescent motherhood for two *Mexicana* women in their identities as mothers, students, and workers (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Pillow, 2004). As described by Olsen (1994), my feminist standpoint toward this research held "women's view as particular and privileged" in their historical context (p. 164). My gendered context influenced my perspective, identified by Rubin (1975) as feminist materialism, to explain the "persistence or transformation of existing fundamental social divisions, inequalities, and forms of opresssion" two *Mexicana* adolescent mothers negotiated as they transitioned from students into mothers and workers (p. 558). My feminist critical theory was informed by examining the "axes of subordination such as race, class, and sexuality" (Allen, 2008) of two Mexicana women living and raising their families in a New Mexican mountain community in order to critique their subordination by "addressing the difficult questions of how power structures desire and will and how these structures might be transformed" (p. 19). Through a feminist standpoint, the experiences of these particular women illuminated the social, economic and political conditions that may shed light on all women (Allen, 2008; Olsen, 1994; Rubin, 1975).

Background to the Study: Need and Rationale

It was common for adolescent mothers in public schools to transfer to an alternative school campus to continue their education. In the New Mexico school district where I worked, adolescent mothers continuously attended school on the main campus with their peers. For that reason I began to reevaluate how I perceived adolescent motherhood.

I instructed in my career over 20 students that became pregnant or were mothers while still in high school. When the young women announced they were pregnant, I always congratulated them but also asked, "How will the pregnancy affect your education? Do you plan to continue school?" I always referred them to school nurses and counselors so they may understand their options and stay on track for high school graduation.

In the southern New Mexico mountain town where I taught high school, I began to question why bright, academically competent students with knowledge of contraceptives became pregnant. Smart, young women became pregnant and raised their babies. I suspected that the consistency was not an accident but the intended result of the careful structuring of factors within young women's lives (Althusser, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Chodorow, 1978/1999; Connell, 1987; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Hartsock, 1983). DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) concluded that women were not directly compelled to reproduce but were placed in a situation where they became single mothers because "the mores enjoin marriage, birth control and abortion are prohibited, and divorce is forbidden" (p. 57). For many of the adoles-

cent mothers I had known, babies were "an acted-out wish," a chance for the girls to prove their feminine value as women by giving their children advantages they did not have (Luker, 1996, p. 5). Raising children demonstrated strength because women took responsibility for their actions, while graduating high school proved their intelligence and work ethic (Althusser, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Chodorow, 1978/1999; Connell, 1987; Hartsock, 1983).

The responsibilities of motherhood affected students' motivation to graduate from high school and attend college. I worked with the participants over a six year period as they transitioned from adolescents into adults, and then monitored their lives through siblings. Because I was immersed in the material conditions of these two women, I noted that they occupied the same jobs as they had in high school for the same pay. What benefit did women get from their high school diploma as mothers, students, and workers? I had always advised young mothers to get their high school diplomas, but was a high school diploma enough in their local or the broader labor market (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970)? It seemed to me that if schools educated women toward motherhood and homemaking, there was no way for a woman to use her high school diploma for direct economic benefit for herself (Deem, 1978).

Because so many adolescent mothers I worked with spoke more openly about birth control and relationships after they became pregnant, I noted that they had to be pregnant before they felt in control of their fertility. The sex education curriculum about female sexuality, unfortunately, continued to focus on stopping

females from enjoying or partaking in sex in ways that never applied to nor altered male sexual behavior (Luker, 1996; Travis, 1992; Vinovskis, 1988).

Need for the Study

According to Creswell (2007) adolescent *Mexicana* mothers fit the strongest rationale for a study: to fill a gap and "provide a voice for individuals not heard in the literature" (p.102). These gaps will be addressed more thoroughly in Chapter 2.

The goodness of adolescent motherhood

Adolescent mothers have been discussed and described by experts who tried to locate early timing of motherhood within aberrant, culture-based deficiencies and disadvantages (Pearl, 1997a; Valencia, 1997). To verify claims that early motherhood had a negative impact through welfare costs, Hotz, McElroy, and Sanders (1997) found that working-class mothers from economically disadvantaged backgrounds were less successful in school and entered into low paying jobs more than women who postponed pregnancy. McElroy and Moore (1997) blamed ineffective contraceptive use on adolescent women's individual reading levels, motivation, parental education, and parental support of usage. In general, the timing of entry into motherhood was also their entry into adulthood, so the transformative effects of their experiences were unaccounted for in the literature.

Politicizing adolescent mothers

Adolescent mothers rarely put forth their perspectives of what affected their abilities to mother, study and work. In problematizing adolescent motherhood as a public issue, Fine (1988) acknowledged that, despite the centrality of the adolescent female body to the debate surrounding sex education and school-based health clinics, little was heard from young women. Vinovskis (1988) found that since the 1960s, legislators focused on a feminine solution to the corollary between poverty and educational attainment, with funding and support contingent upon making adolescent marriage undesirable, unprofitable, and sometimes illegal. About adolescent motherhood, Luker (1996) cited that in congressional hearings about teen mothers and welfare after the 1980s, the individual female disappeared into characterizations of either a daughter or a mother, not an individual. In the interests of women while marginalizing adolescent mothers from discussions, politicians perpetuated erroneous connections between early motherhood and poverty because it fit the need to control female sexuality and fecundity (Fine, 1988; Luker, 1996; Pillow, 2004; Vinovskis, 1988). What was missing were data directly expressed from women at the intersection of living in a legislated female body (Allen, 2008; Bowell, 2011, Olsen, 1994; Rubin, 1975).

Feminist research

For Pillow (2000), social structures and representational modes of the female body "form and deform" women and had to be examined for how resistance inter-

rupted gendered social codes. The patterns and multiple meanings of knowledge produced when a woman contended with social justice as she constituted herself could only be interpreted through her own values, cultures, and biases (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Potts and Brown (2005) claimed research became anti-oppressive when the researcher created relationships with participants that changed power inequities within the research process. Women's identities as mothers, students, and workers were the location for challenging and changing traditional research about women.

A Mexicana perspective.

Mexican women were lost in broad labels as Chicanas, Hispanics or *Latinas* in the research, which negated the particularistic relationships of the physical, cultural, linguistic, psychological, and social borders between Mexico and the United States (Anzaldua, 1987; Bejarano, 2005; Darobi & Ortiz, 1987; Giroux, 2005; Villenas & Foley, 2002; Wortham, 2002). Bejarano (2005) found that, as border dwellers within "structural inequality, cultural hybridity, social hierarchies, and the legacy of colonialism" in their historical contexts, *Mexicanas* were situated in work patterns and culturally gendered scripts distinct from those of *Chicana*s or *Latinas* (p. 28). For Gilliam (2007) understanding the Mexican culture meant the extensive interactions she had with her parents, partners, peers, extended family, and community contextualized behaviors toward pregnancy and sexual relationships. The particular exper-

iences of *Mexicanas* in school and work added nuance to their mothering identities when they altered their parenting styles to prepare their children to succeed in American schools (Gonzalez, 2001).

The power of sex

A lack of understanding persisted about feminine empowerment through sexual relations. Women who actively had sex challenged middle-class expectations of "purity, modesty, and innocent girlishness," with the refusal to make the ideologically correct choices in sexual behavior assumed as incapacity to do so (Luker, 1996, p.36). Fine (1988) exposed that sex education in schools "deny women the right to control their own sexuality by providing no access to a legitimate position of sexual subjectivity" while openly discussing masculine aspects (p.37). McCullough and Scherman (1991) learned adolescent mothers' initiated sexual activity because of "curiosity, peer pressure, inability to say no, fell in love, being under the influence of drugs and alcohol," but they never discussed sexual desire or satisfaction. This research searched for how adolescent motherhood empowered the women to negotiate the terms and conditions of their sexual exchange.

Material reward of education

Despite strong rates of high school graduation among all mothers, the social and material value of a high school diploma for women went undiscussed. Ahn (1994) found that adolescent mothers completed high school two-thirds as often as

non-teen mothers. Early motherhood did not alter women's social or economic conditions, but by their mid-20s, Hoffman (1998) found adolescent mothers worked more regularly and earned more than non-teen mothers. The lack of materialistic awareness of the structure of "the workplace, the economic status quo, or the culture of capitalism and consumerism" left women unprepared to control the conditions of labor after high school (Green, 2000, p. 47).With women bearing sole financial responsibility for the welfare of their children, the value of a high school degree needed examination.

Educational aspirations vs. marriage

Marini (1984) found that women perceived high school as compatible with marriage and parenthood, but the timing of marriage interrupted women's educational attainment more than pregnancy. Haggerstrom, Kanouse, and Morrison (1986) in the early 1970s found marriage diminished minority mothers' expectations of further education more often than parenthood. College undergraduate and graduate *Chicanas* told Hurtado (2003) that education was an economic advantage inside of marriage to escape male controls and abuses. The exact impact of hetero-sexual relationships on educational attainment were unexplored for how such relationships complicated woman, mother, and student identities.

Value of graduating high school

Mott and Marsiglio (1985) found that the a General Education Development (GED) program improved adolescent mothers' graduation rates without exploring why most women preferred a regular high school diploma. Wortham (2002) found that adolescent *Latinas* believed that graduation from high school was necessary for the usual feminine occupations like secretaries or medical assistants. SmithBattle (2006) found motherhood motivated adolescent mothers to recommit to education and graduate high school; however, their economic prospects remained unchanged if they entered low-wage labor fields. The transferable value of the high school degree into some advantage for any woman had to be understood for its symbolic meaning to each woman (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

High school graduation was not connected to work or economic gain unless the researchers also examined entry into college. Mott and Marsiglio (1985) found that although a GED may lead to low wages in the short term, it could be used to enter college faster than peers in the traditional track. In order to survive and cope with the cultural traditions of mothering, Villenas and Moreno (2001) found that Mexican women positioned work as whatever needed to be done to survive rather than as strategic career moves. The value of a high school diploma in the labor market needed exploration.

Rationale for the Study

As SmithBattle (2006; 2007) had found, the material conditions of a diploma

must be scrutinized for the perceived and actual results they yield for adolescent mothers. In a 2007-2008 study conducted by the US Census on female fertility, it uncovered that 81% of all new mothers within the study year possessed a high school diploma or one year or more of college at the time of partum (Dye, 2010). Most new mothers had at least a high school diploma, yet 25% lived at or below 100% poverty ($14,999) and 20% more lived at or below 200% poverty ($29,420), making it difficult to discern if a high school diploma alone could lift a matriarchal family out of poverty levels (Dye, 2010; FHCE, 2011). With 61% of new mothers working regardless of marital status, the role of education and employment demanded investigation (Dye, 2010).

The lack of research about Mexicana adolescent mothers as workers made it difficult to determine what a high school diploma prepared women for besides motherhood. When Freire (1970) described the educated person, he described education as adapting to the world created by the ruling gender and culture without question. Althusser (1971) stated "material actions inverted into material practices governed by material rituals which are themselves defined by the material ideo-logical apparatus," which created a sexual division of labor (p. 169). The family could penetrate the disjuncture between what school prepared women for and what women encountered in the labor market (Deem, 1980). Ebert (1988) described fissures of ideological contradiction as a means of "unmasking the incongruities patriarchy conceals . . . by trying to articulate the unsaid, the forbidden, ungendered

order that patriarchy suppresses" (p.56). Under capitalism, women resisted patri-archal sexism through strategies that Hooks (1984) argued may not be sustainable while ignoring how their labor was exploited. Through extended and legitimated gender socialization from birth through adulthood between the home and school, women were educated to "see an extension of identity from domestic activities to work activities" and work "for the benefit of their domestic commitments, rather than for themselves" (Arnot, 1981, p. 83).

Because 20th Century schools reproduced the social division of labor within the female workforce, Rury (1991) believed education became the prerequisite to a racial and class division of feminine occupations in society. By questioning normative gendered behavior, Connell (1987) suggested how people resisted normative principles of widespread common practices could lead to restructuring gender relations. Bowles and Gintis (1976) proposed egalitarian school reform to disable the myths that make a sexual division of labor appear to be beneficial, just, or inevitable, and fully develop human participation in democratic and economic life.

Through the "multiple, contradictory and complex subject positions people occupy within different social, cultural, and economic locations," Giroux (2005) noted the interrelationship of human agents within social structures produced meaning and pleasure (p. 13). The material conditions created by single motherhood influenced choices adolescent mothers made as students and workers. The worker identities of *Mexicana* mothers were instrumental to creating more liberating and

democratic educational practices and policies (Arnot, 1981; Connell, 1987; Deem, 1980; Giroux, 2005; Pearl, 1997; Rury, 1991).

I focused my research on the experiences of two *Mexicanas* adolescent mothers who had already graduated high school, gone to college, and entered the workforce. Where identities as women, mothers, students, and workers intersected, the choices made at those moments held valuable insights into the material conditions they created. The participants had parent and sibling models for their worker identities who had immigrated to the United States for employment and economic opportunities (Bejarano, 2005; Davidson, 1996; Segura, 1994; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999b; Villenas, 2001; Wortham, 2002). For this reason, the valuing of a high school diploma as the key to economic liberation needed to be understood from the perspective of adolescent mothers who lived its influence (Connell, 1987; Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Hurtado, 2003; Rury, 1991; Villenas & Moreno, 2001; Wycoff, 1996). Material conditions structured each woman as an economic provider for her family, which provided a cogent rationale for examining the two women's choices at the intersection of their identities as women, mothers, workers, and students to construct more liberating and democratic educational practices and policies.

Purpose of the Study

This portraiture study sought the goodness of adolescent motherhood for two *Mexicanas* and their intersectional identities as women, mothers, workers, and

students living in a southern New Mexican mountain town from 2004 through 2013. The participants of this study were identified as *Mexicanas* in recognition of their own mothers' identities as Mexican women, mothers, students, and workers. Each *Mexicana's* mother reproduced their specific gendered, classed, and raced experience within the Mexican culture, which informed the *Mexicana's* negotiation of her identities when they intersected (Anzaldua, 1987; Gonzalez, 2001; Villenas, 2001; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). My research sought consistencies and contradictions in the *Mexicanas*' particular experiences in order to inform discussion about adolescent mothers and their conditions as women. This portraiture study is important and necessary in the scholarly literature of adolescent motherhood because it exposed the goodness two women derived from their experiences (Chodorow, 1978/1999; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Pillow, 2000).

Research Questions

The overarching question for my portraiture research study: What is the goodness of adolescent motherhood? Originating from a feminist standpoint, the following sub-questions seek to explain patterns and themes in the following ways:

1. How does mothering intersect with woman, worker, and student identities?
2. How does being a woman intersect with mother, worker, and student identities?
3. How does working intersect with mother, woman, and student identities?

4. How does studying intersect with mother, woman, and worker identities?

Scope of the Study

This research focused on two *Mexicanas* who became adolescent mothers while enrolled in the high school in which I worked from 2005 to 2011. Three 180-minute individual interviews and two 180-minute focus-group interviews were audio recorded in scheduled tapings over nine months. Through a holistic cultural portrait (Creswell, 2003), this research incorporated the views of the participants with the researcher's interpretation of social science views regarding women who mother, study, and work. Methods for interviewing, collecting, sorting, and analyzing data for this research have their basis in case study (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995, 2005; Yin, 1994), ethnography (Kirby, Greaves, & Reid, 2006; Roman, 1992; Skeggs, 1995) and portraiture (Dixson, Chapman, & Hill, 2005; Hill, 2005; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Moss, 2007).

Definition of Terms

DACA: A reference to Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals provision of the DREAM Act which grants a work permit and Social Security number to qualified applicants (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2013).

Goodness: An "approach to inquiry that resists more typical social science preoccupation with documenting pathology and suggesting remedies" and "allows for vulnerability, weakness, prejudice, and anxiety" to deepen

understanding of participants' perspectives (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p.141).

Intersectional Identities: A "web of power relations that linked gendered, classed and social hierarchies to larger cultural processes of immigration and globalization and discourses of the Other woman" (Villenas, 2000, p. 82).

Mexicana: The combination of national, ethnic, familial, cultural, religious, educational, economic and social conditions that create the gendered experience of the women studied.

Mom: The mother of the participant so as to prevent confusion with how this report is using the word mother, used by to describe the relationship between the participant and her mother, as in "Sasha's mom" or "Gloria's mom."

Mother: A noun and a verb, depending on the context, in recognition of the use value provided through caring for and guiding their children, the maintenance of the environment in which they live, and through their mothering roles (Allen, 2008; Arnot, 1981; Hartsock, 1983).

Student: The signs and signifiers of a person engaged in institutional education such as high school or college.

Town: When capitalized, the location of the high school and community of the portraiture. Albuquerque will be identified directly because of its importance in the state of New Mexico.

Woman: The behaviors of femininity determined by the cultural, social, sexual, and

economic conditions in which the individual was raised and had taken on in defining herself.

Work: "Employment, as in some form of industry, especially as a means of earning one's livelihood" (Dictionary.com, 2010). This includes any activity from which the featured participants earn money beyond public assistance resources for their children or themselves.

Limitation

Because of a theft of all audio and video copies of my interviews, I lost the ability to return to the original recordings to verify data. At the time I had transcribed all three individual interviews and the first focus group interview, but not the second focus group, which was re-recorded at a later date. I kept my analysis to all the interviews' audio transcripts, my field notes, and recollections from participants and myself.

Delimitations

To define the boundaries of my study, I need to delimit the choices I made in my research (Simon, 2011). Because I employed a portraiture methodological approach to understand the complexity of adolescent motherhood, I expected the "counter-point and contradictions" of people who "negotiate those extremes in an effort to establish the precarious balance between them" to reveal the goodness two women derived from their experiences (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. 9). My search

for goodness assumed that the strength, health, and productivity was "always imbued with flaws, weakness and inconsistencies" in order to empathetically regard the participants' experiences and expressions (p. 142).

- I investigated two Mexicana women who came to the United States with their moms and siblings in the 2000s. Their experiences were shaped by their legal status and having lived in Town since they immigrated. Because I worked with them in the high school and I had observed and discussed their experiences with them over several years, I wanted to examine their stories more deeply through a portraiture study. I respected their needs and rights by using pseudonyms to protect their identities to reinforce the trust already established between the participants and me from our shared high school working relationship.
- By encouraging participants to express strengths, competencies, and insights, the participants exposed the "roots of their knowledge, the character and quality of their experiences, and the range of their perspectives" in the vocabulary they had to express themselves (p. 141).
- Because of our existing teacher-student relationship, I knew many of the people and places the participants referred to, which contextualized their relationships with people and their environment (Skeggs, 1995).
- My feminist standpoint valued a feminist analysis to critique "the material experience, power and epistemology" that came from adolescent mother-

hood, and how those relations effected their "production of knowledge" (Bowell, 2011). Their epistemological identities guided how I interpreted and portrayed the participants' classed, raced, and gendered contexts when they were not directly articulated (Skeggs, p. 201).

- The research questions concentrated on how the participants' identities as women, mothers, students and workers and the choices they made when their identities intersected. By examining the intersections, the factors that influenced participants' decisions became visible and knowable.

Assumptions

By using a feminist standpoint, I had to examine the beliefs, prejudices, and biases about adolescent motherhood that had previously counted as knowledge. My theoretical approach was rooted in a belief that the material conditions of women were part of an ideological structuring of social, cultural and political activity that produced and reproduced gender inequalities.

- I assumed that the *Mexicanas* and I operated under individualized false consciousness that structured our realities within a network of conditions of power and ways of knowing that symbolized classed, raced, and gendered identification (Althusser, 1971; Butler, 1990; Freire, 1970; Fromm, 1961).
- I assumed the responsibility of women to produce goods and people,

as noted by Hartsock (1983), generated women capable to do both because they were constructed into a feminine existence "within a complex relational nexus" of living in a woman's body (p. 237).

- I assumed that actions taken, whether to counter or accommodate the institutional structures, created the conditions that perpetuate and penetrate cultural and economic advantages for some and disadvantages for others (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1977).
- I assumed that public schooling was so focused on women's mother and student identities that they under prepared women for the economics of their worker identities (Deem, 1980; Green, 2000; Pillow, 2004; Rury, 1991).
- I assumed that the desire for motherhood and heterosexual coupling were integrated into female identity in such a way that women ignored the contradictions in favor of fulfilling feminine expectations (Butler, 1990; Chodorow, 1978/1999; Ebert, 1988; Holland & Eisenhart, 1990).
- I assumed that Mexican women talked with others about lessons learned from the decisions and choices they made in order to create space within the intersection of patriarchy, race, and capitalism to help women survive in the United States (Collins, 1994; Hooks, 1984; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Villenas & Moreno, 2001; Yosso, Smith, Ceja,

& Solorzano, 2009).

- I assumed I understood the participants' responses within the contexts that shaped the meaning and language choices of the participants as they recalled and expressed their experiences (Derrida, 1974/1976; Foucault, 1972, 1980; Gee, 2004; Scott, 1999).
- Finally, I assumed that the research results about adolescent mothers' material conditions would raise questions for further research toward policy reform, and in due course, social change (Bowell, 2011; Harding, 1987; Hartsock, 1987; Kirby, et al., 2006; Moss, 2007; Pillow, 2000; Roman, 1992).

Summary

There is a goodness in adolescent motherhood for women. In Chapter 2, I outline the theoretical basis of my feminist standpoint, followed by a review of literature that informed my portraiture study.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Liberals and conservatives labeled adolescent motherhood as a major cause of conditions of poverty within communities of color in the United States since the War on Poverty in the 1960s (Ashbee, 2007; Luker, 1996; Maynard, 1997; Vinovskis, 1988). As a result, research continued looking for endogenous characteristics of who became mothers while still in secondary schools in order to justify intervention and prevention programs (Luker, 1996; Pearl, 1997; Valencia, 1997). Although growing evidence revealed that adolescent motherhood was not the problem, the possibilities and empowerment that young women gained through adolescent motherhood remained unexamined. Through a feminist standpoint, I portray the goodness of adolescent motherhood for two *Mexicanas* negotiating their identities as women, mothers, students and workers. A convergence of socio-cultural influences in each young woman's background constructed their choices to bear and raise children, positioned education as essential to economic advantage, and enabled them to negotiate reality through knowledge of the world in which they lived (Allen, 2008; Deem, 1978; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1991; Hartsock, 1983; Hooks, 1984; Lerner, 1986; Rubin, 1975; Rury, 1991).

In this chapter, I examine the historical, economic, political, and social contexts surrounding the two *Mexicana* adolescent mothers as they negotiated their identities as women, mothers, students, and workers. First, I outline my theoretical framework for analyzing the ideological and material conditions of women. Second, I review the historical structuring of the education of women since the 1960s to understand how adolescent mothers were reproduced. Third, I address my theoretical framework to understand how a feminist standpoint revealed benefits and contradictions that adolescent mothers derived from their experiences. Finally, I review literature about adolescent mothers through a feminist standpoint to situate two *Mexicana* women's particular experiences living at the intersection of their identities as women, mothers, students, and workers.

Theoretical Framework

I positioned my theoretical framework for analyzing the ideological and material conditions of women by establishing how women came to be the gender that raised children. In order to contextualize the result, women's identities as mothers, workers and students had to be understood for the contexts that created them.

The ideology of motherhood

That women were the sex that could and did mother, where females cared for children and men, were central to understanding the socially and culturally embedded contexts of women (Arnot, 1981; Butler, 1990; Chodorow, 1978/1999;

DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Hartsock, 1983, 1987; Lerner, 1986; Rubin, 1975). Women's care-giving positions had roots in their relations to men through patriarchy. Patriarchy insinuated itself by fostering language and knowledge that validated a homosexual power structure in favor of men, leaving women to be empowered only through their relations to men, children, and other women. Patriarchy's effect in the creation of motherhood is discussed below for its influence on the ideological and material structures of gender, class, race, sexuality, labor, family, and education.

Patriarchy through ideology. The ideology of motherhood grew within a regime of truth about the natural order of the social world. According to Foucault (1980), truth emerged from a "system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements that serve an economic interest" (p. 133). The language to discuss truth expressed the meaning of the word, so that the idea and the word were linked and signified (Derrida, 1974/1976). Since truth could not be separated from the language in which it was created, it was influenced and shaped by the vocabulary available (Rorty, 1989). Male was signified through the signs of being masculine, as different from being female and feminine, and was "systematically and genealogically determined by that history" in which it had been reproduced (Derrida, 1974/1976, p. 14). Statements became normalized through rules of behavior in the institutions of religion, education, family, law, politics, media, and culture (Althusser, 1971). The power orientation of these institutions controlled language and what could be known, so that individuals

came to see an ideology as true because it permeated every aspect of life. An individual had to willingly accept the ideology and the rulers behind it and live in accordance with its aims: suppressing opposition to its command (Althusser, 1971; Ebert, 1988). The regimes were not self-generating; individuals had to want to maintain the regulations put upon them in order for the regimes to continue (Allen, 2008; Althusser, 1971; Foucault, 1980; Lerner, 1986). The structuring of truth created the hierarchal basis that put women in the position of not being male, the permanent "Other," and the basis for a sexual division of labor indicative of patriarchal capitalist societies (Allen, 2008; Arnot, 1981; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Levi-Strauss, 1971; Spivak, 1988).

Patriarchy through gender and class. In the case of all women, the ruling class was men. Because of a patriarchal orientation of power, gender differentiation solidified women's place as secondary to men. The patriarchal relationship between men and women established the basis of a historically classed society, the original gendered expression of patriarchy and power (Allen, 2008; Lerner, 1986). To differentiate the dominate group from the subordinate group, the justification combined biologically and socially symbolic representations of difference. Gender became "intelligible" through how the individual performed the expected behaviors, language, and appearance of the intended gender (Butler, 1990). Female as a gender expressed the training and reinforcement of gender-signifying deeds and statements created by the cultural and social context in which a woman developed (Chodorow,

1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Derrida, 1974/1976; Foucault, 1972). What signified femininity in opposition to masculinity was a psychic imposition multiply determined by the historical period in which the woman was contextualized (Allen, 2008; Ebert, 1988; Rubin, 1975). To establish the binary opposition that maintained patriarchy, feminine had to contrast with what was masculine. Through dualisms to differentiate male from female, females learned that their relations to others defined who they were because they lived in a woman's body (Hartsock, 1983). Women's symbolic material power laid in their orientation to the sexual division of labor, the cause and effect of their difference from men in a sex role ideology (Arnot, 1981). The intersection of class generated culture and politics where it became impossible to separate gender from how it was created and maintained (Butler, 1990).

Patriarchy through race. In the 1970s and 1980s, white feminist writers relegated race to a subcategory of class in their writings, believing gender was the first oppression within the dominant white culture of capitalism (Allen, 2008; Arnot, 1981; Harding, 1987b; Hartsock, 1983; Lerner, 1986; Rubin, 1975). This perspective raised criticism for not recognizing the impact race had in differentiating women's experiences within and across classes (Collins, 1994; Hooks, 1984; Lerner, 1986; Spivak, 1988). Race and ethnicity were historically constituted through social contexts of gender that situated women of color in more oppressive structures through both male and privileged female domination (Fine & Gordon, 1992; Hooks, 1984; Lerner, 1986; Spivak, 1988). Because women of color's perspectives were

historically absent in social and political research, women in general remained alienated from each other by class privileges (Harding, 1987b; Hooks, 1984; Lerner, 1986). Myths perpetuated the marginalization of women throughout the official narrative of history and devalued the contributions of people of color (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1991; Lerner, 1986). Women of color were "doubly in shadow" of the relations of male and female privilege (Spivak, 1988, p. 294). The colonizing effect of patriarchal social constructions of race subordinated women to men through the values, attitudes, beliefs, and morality of the dominate culture, while women connected to men gained residual power to wield over other women (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006; Lerner, 1986; Spivak, 1988). In policies, Pillow (2004) found mothering and women's sexuality had been connected to racial constructions of pregnant and parenting students' worthiness for educational access. Concepts of good mothers and women justified intervention and prevention programs for socially and economically disadvantaged women. Ultimately, women lived as subalterns within their classed and raced experiences because their voices were silenced or ignored in the dominant culture (Apple & Buras, 2006; Giroux, 1991; Spivak, 1988). Villenas (2001) pointed to the "benevolent racism" in parenting programs for *Latinas* that indoctrinated mothers into changing home communication styles to be more like that of schools and the dominant culture (Gonzalez, 2001; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). The subtle condemnation of their culture and their parenting skills drove some women to embrace their language and culture as an

oppositional resistance to further subordination (Anzaldua, 1987; Hooks, 1984; Hurtado, 2003; Villenas & Moreno, 2001; Yosso et al., 2009). The hierarchical structure of racism cannot be ignored in contributing to women's material conditions.

Patriarchy through sexuality. Patriarchy made heterosexuality compulsory through ideological structures that signified it as the natural and the legitimate form of sexuality in word and deed (Althusser, 1971; Foucault, 1972). Fertility conditions were determined through a man's utilization of a woman for productive and reproductive purposes (Hartsock, 1983). Heterosexuality justified male control over females through familial and kinship structures, where women's reproductive and socially productive capacities were exchanged for political and economic gain (Lerner, 1986; Levi-Strauss, 1971; Rubin, 1975; Spivak, 1988). Women existed to fulfill the needs and desires of others and had to adapt to the demands of others without demanding for themselves (Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Levi-Strauss, 1971; Rubin, 1975). To Rubin (1975), what a woman must desire, then, was to be the object of man's desire. To secure that desire, femininity oriented women into heterosexual relations through an "interior and organizing gender core" that obliged women to be accessible to men (Butler, 1990, p. 136). The desire to comply with these regimes were as important as the actual compliance to regulate themselves, leaving desire as a site for agency (Allen, 2008).

Heterosexuality made any other relationship illegal, undesirable, or taboo (Allen, 2008; Arnot, 1981; Butler, 1990; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Levi-Strauss, 1971;

Rubin, 1975). According to Chodorow (1978/1999), women's heterosexuality was triangular, requiring a third person—the child—"for its structural and emotional completion" (p. 207). The child evidenced femininity because it was the product of heterosexuality. Butler (1990) critiqued the genealogical origin of heterosexual desire for perpetuating "identity categories that are in fact the effects of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin" (p. viii). DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) viewed childbearing as a service women rendered for males, with compensation for productivity from her spouse paid in a marriage where "she expects no return for what she gives, it is for her to justify it herself" (p. 484). The social and artificial morality of childbearing was promoted in a way "having precisely the value of an advertising slogan" (DeBeauvoir, p. 493). The nuclear family's social value perpetuated the heterosexual ideology onto the next generation, ensuring the reproduction of deference to male needs, whether a male was present or not (Arnot, 1981; Butler, 1990; Hooks, 1984; Lerner, 1986; Levi-Strauss, 1971; Rubin, 1975).

Patriarchy through romanticism. Heterosexual romanticism constructed women's desire to influence the choices women made to signify themselves as females. Heterosexual desire ensured that women fulfilled their natural roles as the source of care for children and men, desiring the responsibility ahead of personal goals to achieve their feminine roles (Butler, 1990; Collins, 1994; Holland & Eisenhart, 1990). Male pleasure and need organized romantic desire while it marginalized female pleasure and need to biologically service the heterosexual ideology.

The power of this phallic economy laid in the promise it signified but never delivered (Scott, 1999). The lack of discourse about feminine desire in sex education programs prevented young women from exploring their sexual subjectivities and devalued women's sexuality as the result of either violence or victimization (Fine, 1988). Romance engendered subjectivities, framing female resistance, power, and desire in terms of a demand for male commitment as a reliable sexual mate, forcing women into enduring monogamous relationships (Butler, 1990; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Ebert, 1988; Levi-Strauss, 1971). Men received housekeeping and childcare in exchange for monogamy, which allowed men to lead a life among adults outside the home. Women turned to their children as relief from their alienation from adult males to satisfy unmet emotional, possibly even erotic, desires (Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964).

Patriarchy through family. The initiation into patriarchy began in the power orientation of the family. The idea that women bore children was due to sex; that women nurtured children was due to the sex role ideology of gender (Hartsock, 1983; Rubin, 1975). Gender wasa cultural construct through which motherhood and the feminine role was organized (Hartsock, 1983; Lerner, 1986; Umansky, 1996). Althusser (1971) noted that femininity structured the life of female children so that they became what they were expected to be as women, behaving and acting their subjection willingly. The female role in the home perpetuated the genealogical hierarchy of women to the service of men and others (Derrida, 1974/1976). Although it

created the nuclear family, marriage was not about raising children so much as the benefits a man obtained from a woman in exclusive domestic and sexual services (Levi-Strauss, 1971). Women raised children without expecting more assistance from men because men do not raise children (Collins, 1994; Hooks, 1984; Luker, 1996; Willis, 1977). Family was the first social classroom; through the mother the child first confronted the reality of the world outside itself from its mother's relationship with other people and her response to those relationships (Chodorow, 1978/1999). This ideology ensured that the job of mother, as sign and signifier, could only ever be filled by a woman and not a man (Althusser, 1971; Chodorow, 1978/1999; Derrida, 1974/1976; Levi-Strauss, 1971).

Through children, women actualized their feminine power, transmitting that although love was important, domination over others was better (Hooks, 1984). DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) revealed a white European view of maternity as a "strange mixture of narcissism, altruism, idle daydreaming, sincerity, bad faith, devotion, and cynicism" that allowed women to experience the pleasure of feeling superior but only over her children (p. 484). White women reproduced in themselves a psychic relationship with others, by accepting ideological meanings and expectations of what a mother provided her family and accepting how solitary that activity could be (Anderson, 2000; Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964). Among communities of color, however, maternal empowerment treated all children as wanted regardless of timing or conditions, raising the children in the manner the mothers

chose without outside interference (Hill, 2005; Hooks, 1984). With female children, mothers perceived daughters as extensions of themselves, as second chances to get for the daughters what they did not have growing up (Chodorow, 1978/1999; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). Only when a girl became a mother could she emancipate herself from being a daughter: when she was someone's mother, she had the power (Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964). The difficulty for women to penetrate ideologically structured gender socialization were exemplified by how attempts to improve on their own upbringing yielded essentially the same results in their daughters' lives (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Collins, 1994; Hooks, 1984; Willis, 1977).

Patriarchy through labor. The overarching purpose of patriarchy was to differentiate access to power in economic and political contexts. By capturing women's sexuality and labor power for private gain the capitalist economic system implicitly exploited productive and reproductive female labor (Arnot, 1981; Hartman, 1987; Lerner, 1986; Rubin, 1975). Women were the "*sine qua non* of capitalism" because of the surplus value women brought to the family, maintaining and creating both producers and consumers of goods (Rubin, p. 75).The sexual division of labor made this surplus value possible by consigning women to a "double day" of waged labor outside the home and unwaged labor inside the home (Hartsock, 1983; Lerner, 1986; Rubin, 1975). The work done at home for the family was often similar to the work women did for waged labor—nurturing, housekeeping, and clerical skills—

which reinforced the feminine nature of the work by who did it (Arnot, 1981; Beechey, 1978; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Hartsock, 1983).

The sexual division of labor groomed women for low-waged feminine jobs (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Connell, 1987; Rury, 1991). By gendered job differentiation, the work that men and women did reflected their identities, justifying educating each gender in specifically designed ways to reproduce a sexual division of labor (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Connell, 1987; Deem, 1978, 1980; Willis, 1977). Feminine work was classified as mental, passive, and reproductive activity, the opposite of physical, aggressive, and productive masculine work (Deem, 1978, 1980; Willis, 1977). Schools solidified the sexual division of labor by exaggerating the biological differences, creating gender gaps that educated women to continue these ideologies in the next generation (Althusser, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Connell, 1987; Fromm, 1961; Rury, 1991). In order to eliminate gender inequality, both the family and the economy would have to change because the ideological organization of parenthood was an economic production (Anderson, 2000).

Patriarchy through the education of women. Because of patriarchal ideology, schools taught girls to blur the line between family and work, to extend their domestic skills to earn an income, and to use their employment for the benefit of their domestic commitments rather than for themselves (Arnot, 1981; Deem, 1978, 1980; Joseph, Bravmann, Winschitl, Mikel, & Green, 2000; Rury, 1991). Starting in the home, the emotional connection of a girl's behaviors and values established the

identity she developed in school (Gee, 2004). Social mobility beliefs held that schools liberated people when actually they imposed social stability by obstructing anyone without a diploma (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970). Academic invulnerability and resilience helped *Mexicanas* and *Latinas* used schools to reproduce and transform feminine employment conditions (Alva, 1991; Alva & Padilla, 1995; Wayman, 2002). Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) exposed that education and labor were intertwined because the institution of schooling hid "its social function of legitimating class differences behind its technical function of producing qualifications" (p. 164). Males and females training in schools built on what was started within the homes to prepare them for their roles in a sexually divided labor market (Arnot, 1981; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Connell, 1987; Deem, 1978; Gee, 2004; Rury, 1991a; Willis, 1977). Female education reproduced the "consciousness, interpersonal behavior, and personality it fosters and reinforces" so that women took care of the family (Bowles & Gintis, p. 9). It was the school-perpetuated, gender-based inequalities within educational curriculum created the conditions of women that led me to examine the organization of schooling since the 1960s (Arnot, 1981; Connell, 1987; Deem, 1978; Rury, 1991).

Historical context of educating adolescent mothers: 1960s to Present

Arnot (1981) and Deem (1978) agreed that, schooling faced two directions, the family and the economy, based on a sex role ideology, the cause and effect of

gender inequality. Fighting for public education had been the most contentious site of gender struggles because social forms were produced and legitimized through "relations of power and meaning that enable or limit human capacities for self and social empowerment" (Giroux, 2005, p.157).

Political gender bias. Adolescent fathers were never pushed out of schools nor compelled to financially provide for their progeny because of their early entry in to parenthood, proving the one-sidedness of the "problem" of adolescent mother-hood (Luker, 1996; Travis, 1992). Legislation never argued that fathers had to marry pregnant mothers nor encouraged teen marriages (Vinovskis, 1988). By structuring laws and policies so that men did not have to provide for their offspring, single mothers became viewed as "communal and common property" that everyone had a stake in but no one accepted personal responsibility for (Fromm, 1968, p. 38).

Arbitrarily expelling sexually active young women from school was perceived as discriminatory in the 1960s "since young men rarely faced any public consequen-ces whatsoever" (Luker, 1996, p.63). With the enactment of Title IX, educational and social services for adolescent mothers relocated back to the public school setting, where it was no longer legally acceptable for school-aged mothers to be forced out of mainstream academic environments or away from standard diplomas (Luker, 1996; Umansky, 1996; Vinovskis, 1988). However, Title IX never challenged struc-tures of power or consciousness in socializing divided gender roles (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, & Taubman, 1995).

Notions of parental fitness and excessive fertility among the poor prompted the decision to make birth control available to teenagers as a group by the mid-1960s, with eventual access to legal abortions in the 1970s (Ashbee, 2007; Luker, 1996; Vinovskis, 1988). The control of female fertility had always been a primary effect of patriarchy (Arnot, 1981; Lerner, 1986; Levi-Strauss, 1971), which led to the belief that a surplus of people was a calamity for the state because of redundancy (Bowman, 2004; Fromm, 1961). In 1960, the female contraceptive pill allowed women safely and effectively to regulate their own fertility (Luker, 1996; Vinovskis, 1988). Concerned over the excess fertility of the poor, public health advocates claimed "teenagers were poor *because they lacked access to contraception and abortion*" (Luker, 1996, p.67, emphasis in original). Poverty became synonymous with adolescent motherhood through the War on Poverty, so adolescent female access to contraceptives became a driving force for federal support and funding (Luker, 1984; Vinovskis, 1988).

While contraceptive use in the 1960s and 1970s focused on female birth control pills and abortions, the 1980s and 1990s focused to almost exclusive reliance upon the male condom or abstinence to control not only reproduction but the transmission of diseases like AIDS (Ashbee, 2007). Because schools were the primary transmission sites for gendered social identification, they instituted sexual education curriculum that increasingly emphasized condoms and abstinence while deemphasizing female contraceptive methods and abortions (Ashbee, 2007; Fine, 1988).

In the 2000s, the Bush administration was the first since 1970 not to increase funding to the Public Health Service Act Title X, which funded public clinics of family planning services (Ashbee, 2007). However, the Bush administration increased funding for abstinence education from $73 million in 2001 to $204 million by 2008 (Thomas, 2009). States had only recently rejected the abstinence-until-marriage funding, including New Mexico, following the 2007 review of the ideology's inefficacy in preventing adolescent sexuality by asserting that abstinence education programs seemed to yield the same results as providing no program at all (Stein, 2008). Those committed to abstinence through a virginity pledge actually engaged in sexual activity at levels similar to those not taking the pledge, but they were less likely to use either condoms or other birth control (Stein, 2008; Thomas, 2009). Those students who pledged abstinence tended to engage in riskier sexual activity such as anal sex, were less likely to use protection, and less likely to be tested for STDs (Stein, 2008; Thomas, 2009). The lack of female pleasure gained through oral satisfaction of the male and anal sex reflected a male deference for pleasure (Fine, 1988; Levy, 2005).

Under the Obama administration, funding for the majority of the abstinence-until-marriage programs was eliminated in favor of more comprehensive, medically accurate sexual education initiatives through health care reforms in 2010 but did not eliminate abstinence-only programs where selected (History of Sex Education, 2010). A key component in the Affordable Care Act ensured women got their

contraceptives paid for by health insurance companies, ending the practice of "gender rating," where women were charged a higher premium than men for identical health benefits (Obamacarefacts.com, 2013).

Training for motherhood. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, girls' educational curriculum included domestic skills instruction to prepare for their feminine occupation: caring for children and the home (Deem, 1978; Rury, 1991). Home economics and child development classes modeled and molded the female role as the caretaker of children. Irrespective of class, Deem (1978) found that girls learned that a woman's place and primary responsibilities were the home and family. Adolescence was a time of waiting for real life to begin, the one as a mother and wife, where the skills and knowledge of school confirmed young women's positions within the sexual division of labor (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Connell, 1987; Deem, 1978; Rury, 1991). Career education programs for specific labor markets guided women into workplaces befitting their class and preparation (Green, 2000; Pillow, 2004; Willis, 1977).

The schooling of females has always been about preparing women for their domestic roles as well as their waged labor roles (Arnot, 1981; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Connell, 1987; Deem, 1978; Rury, 1991). The construction of adolescent pregnancy as a problem ignored that a pregnancy was an investment in the future, "an acted-out wish" that a young mother might give her child something she never had (Luker, 1996, p. 5). Through their indoctrination in the home and in school, women

generally wanted to become mothers, they were gratified by mothering and, despite "the conflicts and contradictions, women succeeded at mothering" regardless of timing (Chodorow, p. 7).

The Florence Crittenton Homes for Unwed Mothers, which had operated since the 1880s, were influential in establishing the dual-role philosophy that connected education to teen mothers' economic advantages and inspired experimental schools in the 1960s and 1970s (Vinovskis, 1988). Pillow (2004) identified Florence Crittenton Homes as the leading national provider of educational services to single mothers until the 1970s. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, the Florence Crittenton Homes by their nature segregated the mother from her school and community, the influences that caused her to become pregnant. They emphasized that the mothers had to keep their children and become "skilled in a trade with which they could support themselves and their child," perpetuating the oppressive standard where the father had no responsibility for his progeny (Pillow, 2004, p. 144). Since the late 1960s, adolescent mothers were increasingly encouraged not to marry, to live with their parents, and use schooling to compensate for the lack of a male bread-winner in the home (Luker, 1996; Vinovskis, 1988). As increasing numbers of women from all backgrounds raised children alone, the social stigma of the working mother had begun to dissipate by the 1970s.

With vocational education, adolescent mothers also got instruction in contraceptives and child rearing through federally funded programs (Ashbee, 2007; Deem,

1978; Luker, 1996; Vinovskis, 1988). In 1978, the Graduation, Reality, and Dual Roles Skills (GRADS) program emerged and focused on teen mothers' "increasing school attendance and graduation rates while decreasing the rate of second births" (Pillow, p. 143). More support program than graduation requirement, the GRADS programs began within vocational schools to connect adolescent women to parenting classes. The GRADS program model was used in New Mexico during the 2000s to prepare mothers to balance job and family roles by preparing students for work. Although GRADS programs encouraged males to participate in the parenting and counseling support classes, the clients were over two-thirds female (NMGRADS, 2008).

Sexual agency. Ironically, when adolescent females actualized their biological selves to demonstrate their femininity by reproducing, they were often stigmatized and ostracized (Lerner, 1986; Luker, 1984; Pillow, 2004; Vinovskis, 1988). Schools forced females to withdraw while pregnant and then limited access to where they could attain credits while they mothered (Luker, 1996; Pillow, 2000, 2004; Travis, 1992; Vinovskis, 1988). Discriminatory practices within the waged labor market forced pregnant women to quit their jobs or barred them from advancing because they might one day become pregnant (Luker, 1984, 1996; Travis, 1992). As the number of marriages decreased and single motherhood increased, women's limited preparation by high schools for the waged labor force was implicated (Deem, 1978; Luker, 1984, 1996; Travis, 1992). From 1980-1992, the number of married mothers in the work force rose 15% over unmarried mothers, but as McElroy and

Moore (1997) found, advanced educational levels still earned the higher wages, so education and access to it became critical to economic mobility.

Fixing the deficit. For much of the 20th century, high schools presumed that young women would not pursue post-secondary education, so curriculum developed their moral character rather than academic skills toward scholarships (Deem, 1978; Rury, 1991). The political war on poverty connected the mother's education level to poverty, which became a fixation of political debate. Oscar Lewis connected poverty to the home culture, establishing a deficit thinking model to explain school failure for poor, minority populations (Foley, 1997; Villenas &Foley, 2002). The culture of poverty theory blamed deficiencies in familial and environmental values and behaviors, blaming the victims for growing up in conditions of social and economic disadvantage to the dominant culture (Pearl, 1997a; Valencia, 1997). Compensatory programs, accommodations, and high stakes testing were used to overcome cultural deficiencies through simplistic curriculum rather than altering the social and economic practices that maintained inequities (Pinar, et al., 1995; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Solorzano, 1997).

Studying the problem. During the 1980s, adolescent motherhood gradually became a popular interest of research, doubling since the 1970s (Luker, 1996). Luker's *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood* (1984) followed by Vinovskis' *An "Epidemic" of Adolescent Pregnancy?* (1988) challenged the idea that adolescent

motherhood was a problem the government needed to address. Legislation focused on an anti-abortion agenda to encourage federal funding for adoption and foster care services as well as family planning and counseling services with the School Age Mother and Child Health Act of 1975, which became the Adolescent Family Life Act by 1981 (Vinovskis, 1988). The increasing abstinence emphasis left available forms of female contraception undiscussed, except to emphasize their failure rates (Ashbee, 2007). Sex education classes and school based health centers also reflected a negative attitude toward female sexuality and desire, where Fine (1988) found negativity toward female sexuality contributed to irresponsible contraceptive use because the language of abstinence and self-control inhibited women's preparation just in case they wanted to have sex. A theme emerged that teen mothers kept their babies and rejected abortions (Luker, 1984), raised their children without paternal financial support (Luker, 1996), and graduated high school at rates of 60 to 80% despite the burden of being mothers (Fine, 1988; Hotz, et al., 1997; McElroy & Moore, 1997).

Articles about the teen pregnancy problem swelled in the 1990s with cover features in magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek* (Luker, 1996). Hotz, et al., (1997), examined the impact of adolescent mothers on government and concluded that the touted negative consequences of adolescent pregnancy vastly overstated effects on the mother's socioeconomic achievement and her drain upon the welfare system. Governmental costs were offset by the taxes mothers paid through their early entry into the work force (Hotz et al., 1997; Maynard, 1997; McElroy & Moore, 1997).

From the 1970s into the 1990s, women slowly reversed many of the gains purportedly secured from the sexual revolution by taking on many of the male responsibilities on top of their own labor (Luker, 1996). By continuing to relegate childrearing to females only, women's "potential for self-determination" diminished as options for controlling their pregnancies were constrained by politically pro-natal, anti-abortion rhetoric (Umansky, 1996).

To change the deficit perception of adolescent motherhood, information had to challenge it. First, I identify the orientation of my feminist stand-point research and how it informed my understanding of adolescent mothers in a historical context. Next, I review the literature that needed further qualitative research of adolescent motherhood as a site of agency. Then, I examine relevant literature about adolescent mothers for weaknesses that a feminist standpoint could strengthen about what women knew because of living it. Finally, I introduce a portraiture research methodology to show the complexity of experiences two *Mexicana* women had as they mothered, studied, and worked in their historical context.

Feminist Standpoint

Bowell (2011) explained that a feminist standpoint claims that knowledge was socially situated in such a way that marginalized women groups were aware of conditions and asked questions that "make visible aspects of the social relations and of the natural world that are not available from dominant perspectives" (p. 3). To

survive the social structures in which a woman was oppressed, she had to understand oppressive practices and see the perspectives of the oppressed and the oppressor, which could generate questions to find more thorough and true accounts of those power relations.

Because a confluence of experiences that identified womanhood perpetuated the roles and positions that women traditionally occupied (Brown & Strega, 2005; Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Potts & Brown, 2005), Bowell (2011) found that feminist standpoint theorists wrestled with avoiding an essentialist universalism by accounting for differences. While the experiences of being a mother, student and worker were shared by many women, a "strong objectivity" could be derived only from the "ongoing reflection and self-critique from within the standpoint, enabling the justification of socially-situated knowledge claims" (Bowell, p. 6). The "completeness and lack of distortion" in the interview and analysis processes essentially revealed "different aspects of truth" about how women experience and know the world (p. 7)

My feminist lens focused historical and structural analyses of two adolescent mothers' lived cultural and social relations to potentially transform the socially and politically material conditions of women (Roman, 1992). Materialism challenged the racist and sexist economic foundations of women's work and raised my consciousness about the "means and modes of production that support them" (Gutek, 2004). Women produced free child/family care and reproduced people, the material of materialism. By not complying with oppressive systems, then action against the false

ideology could lead to independence and freedom through self-creation (Fromm, 1961). Bejarano's (2005) notion of border theory demystified how Mexican students lived on the border with "structural inequality, cultural hybridity, social hierarchies, and the legacy of colonialism" embedded in cultural and linguistic forms (p. 28). The experience of mothering while still enrolled in high school impacted the participants' *Mexicana* subjectivities to reproduce existing social, economic, and political conditions (Ebert, 1988; Rubin, 1975; Weiler, 1988). Through their experiences, the *Mexicanas* developed their feminine ideologies, which ensured their entry into motherhood as well as their self-creation as women (Beechey, 1978; Butler, 1990; Chodorow, 1978/1999; Kuhn, 1978; Wolpe, 1978).

My feminist standpoint used a critical approach to uncover ways to socially transform female power and desire (Allen, 2008; McLaren, 1995). Race and racism intersected with subordination based on gender, class, culture, language, and immigration status in ways that had to be challenged in order to achieve social justice (Yosso, 2006; Yosso, et al., 2009). The stories of people of color contextualize racial subordination for the people who have lived it within their historical contexts, reflecting how race impacted their relations of domination, resistance, suffering, and power within various social practices of motivation, will, and desire (Allen, 2008; Giroux, 1991; McLaren, 1995). Because the participants were *Mexicanas*, this research had to explore how cultural forms of gendered hegemony were negotiated at home, school, and work levels (Kaplan & Grewal, 1999). I also had to examine

how their Mexican culture was dominated or subordinated to the white culture in New Mexico (Spring, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999b; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999).

My research considered how the participants' voices were heard and how they were used to reveal a story so that their epistemological authority was maintained (Arnowitz & Giroux, 1990; Kirby et al., 2006; Olsen, 1994; Spivak, 1988). Because language was the condition under which materiality appeared, it also conditioned how reality was signified (Beste, 2006; Derrida, 1974/1976; Foucault, 1972). As Freire (1970) reminded, individuals were built "in word, in action and reflection" (p. 76). As much as possible, I used the participants' words to tell their stories as they perceived them in their own voices, revealing themselves and how they knew what they knew of the world (Kirby et al., 2006; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Pinar et al., 1995). By approaching the process unoppressively, the participants were empowered through the construction of their/our epistemological truths (Brown & Strega, 2005; Potts & Brown, 2005).

To this end, the theoretical framework that informed this study recognized that a woman's reality was the intersection of ideologies and experiences in which she developed. Ideologies shaped the unconscious and conscious desires females adopted through their connection to a mother-daughter world (Chodorow, 1978/1999). The final section of this review of literature shows how the fissures in the deficit model of adolescent motherhood informed my portraits of two *Mexicanas* metaphorically painted as they organically reflected upon their experiences as

women who mothered, studied and worked in a southern New Mexico mountain town in their historically material context.

Literature Review of Young Mothers in General and Mexicanas in Particular

In the previous section, I presented the theoretical basis for a feminist standpoint analysis of two adolescent mothers for their intersectional identities as *Mexicana* women, mothers, students, and workers. In the literature review to follow, I examine literature about adolescent *Mexicana* mothers to expose gaps that my portraiture might fill.

Parenting programs and adolescent motherhood

Hallman (2007) studied a suburban, separate-campus, parenting program for helping young women develop their feminine role identities as mothers, students, and women. There were three key aspects that Hallman (2007) found:

> "(1) positioning the girls as both mothers and students; (2) viewing the school as both a place of learning and a place of community; and (3) positioning the young children as both the hope for the future and the hope for their mothers' future" (p. 87).

Through journal writing in an English classroom, the participants discussed various topics based on their self-perceptions and aspirations as students, mothers, and women. The mothers' invested in their children as keys to their future material conditions. Hallman's study failed to examine the role of race or class among the mothers, but Mexican-American was one of five categories self-identified by the 40

women observed. Because the study only examined the participants as mothers and students, the economic and political possibilities for developing personal agency went undiscussed, which were conditions of self-determination (Anyon, 1997).

An urban, main-campus parental support program was investigated for how supportive environments contributed to adolescent mothers' diploma attainment. Sadler, Swartz, Ryan-Krause, Seitz, Meadows-Oliver, Grey, & Clemmens (2007) surveyed and interviewed 65 mothers to establish the extent to which a supportive learning environment influenced their self-perceptions. Daily contact between the mothers and school personnel improved rates of high school continuation and graduation, positive mother-child interactions, fewer subsequent births, and better child health and development. Mothers who used the child care center graduated at higher rates because of the daily consistency of the network of services as opposed to home. The only educational attainment level attended to in this study was high school graduation, and although all respondents reported welfare incomes, there was no discussion about work or career preparation. Minority women's income-to-need ratio was found to remain relatively unchanged by postponing pregnancy compared to white mothers, whose income-to-need ratios were lowered by early entry into motherhood (Hoffman, Foster, & Furstenberg, 1993).

The parenting programs in much of the research was a way to contact the participants, where the programs' curriculum remained relatively ignored (Adams, Adams-Taylor, & Puttman, 1989; Ahn, 1994; Hallman, 2007; Higginson, 1998; Sadler

et al., 2007; Zachry, 2005). If parenting programs and regular curricular traditions trained women for family and child care, the lack of scrutiny of the worker identity may have presumed financial stability coming from governmental welfare (Hotz et al., 1997; Maynard, 1997; McElroy & Moore, 1997). In a U.S. Census Bureau press release, Dye (2010) found that only 6% of all women with a birth from June 2007 to 2008 actually received public assistance, while during the same time period, 25% of mothers lived at or below poverty levels. Although 61% of mothers reported working in the labor force, female worker identities were not examined (Dye, 2010).

Contraceptives and adolescent motherhood

McElroy and Moore (1997) blamed low-income adolescent mothers' inability to use contraceptives on factors like individual reading levels, motivation, parental education level, and parental support. Unable to predict which "inner-city" Black and Hispanic women would become adolescent mothers, Linares, Leadbeater, Kato, and Jaffe (1991) found no unique profile but concluded that negative outcomes existed for individuals prior to rather than being caused by pregnancy. Teenage pregnancy was not viewed positively among the women despite acceptance of adolescent motherhood more generally (Linares et al., 1991).

Accurate knowledge about contraceptives did not affect reliable use (Melchert & Burnett, 1990). The participants were part of a juvenile justice system, about a third were female, and less than half self-identified Black, Hispanic, Ameri-

can Indian, or Asian. According to survey results from 1986, nearly 16% reported using birth control at their sexual initiation, which on average occurred for the girls at age 15 (p. 296). While 80% of those involved in a pregnancy used and continued to use contraceptives unreliably and inconsistently, about 5% of the females felt ambi-valent or disagreed that males had any responsibility. The researchers suggested earlier intervention information for students, not just to educate them about anatomy and physiology, but also more encompassing topics about "sexuality,… intimacy, communication, assertiveness, gender role expectations, values clarification, problem solving, and life planning" (p. 297).

In a study conducted by East, Felice, and Morgan (1993), they questioned if older sisters and friends with children encouraged younger sisters' engagement in premarital sex and pregnancy. Over 455 6th through 8th grade girls were surveyed about their sexual attitudes, intentions for initiation, and experience, as wells as their sisters' and friends' childbearing and sexual behavior. They found 70% of the girls reported that the acceptable time to engage in sexual intercourse was inside of committed relationships (East et al., p. 957). The study concluded that the timing of sexual initiation was influenced by sexually active sisters and friends but had no in-fluence on their intentions, attitudes, or sexual status. The material exchange of sex for commitment was ignored by this research, instead blaming a sort of peer pressure for creating pregnancy, not contraceptive access. If peers could not be held

accountable for causing early pregnancy, the problem had to be situated inside the family.

In a deficit model perspective, the family culture was culpable for the conditions that generated and perpetuated poverty (Pearl, 1997a; Valencia, 1997), and since the home and family were feminine domains, mothers and kinswomen were the presumptive sources of deviance from acceptable mothering timing and conduct (Collins, 1994; Luker, 1996; Vinovskis, 1988). Gilliam (2007) found mothers more than fathers and partners influenced *Latina* and *Mexicana* adolescents' perceptions and use of contraceptives. Adolescent mothers in their 20s discussed their awareness of contraceptive methods, access to the knowledge, and obstacles to their use. Since open communication about contraception and sexuality was difficult in Chicano and Mexican homes (Anzaldua, 1987; Davidson, 1996; Hurtado, 2003), their mothers' misinformation and fears about birth control methods frequently dissuaded young women from using the pill (Gilliam, p.55). By holding their daughters to traditional values, mothers reflected cultural dictates about acceptable female sexual behavior that provided little practical information to help daughters negotiate sexual relationships. "Not only are hormonal contraceptive's the female's responsbility; if she allows sex without condoms, that is also her fault" (Gilliam, p. 60). The priority of male pleasure in orienting female desire encouraged young women to have unprotected sex regardless of personal risk, strongly indicating a performative sense of female identity (Butler, 1990; Ebert, 1988; Levy 2007; Rubin, 1975).

Eight pregnant adolescents shared their practices and attitudes towards sexual activity, decisions they made regarding their babies, and their expectations for their futures (Spear, 2004). Spear found ambivalence toward sexual activity and pregnancy, and an acceptance that the women had sex because their male partners wanted to rather than for satisfying their own pleasure. Once pregnant, abortion was opposed outright in accordance with their mothers' opinions, so the women all kept their babies based on "perceptions of their alternatives, desires to please their mothers, and social, cultural, and familial influences" (p. 342). Chodorow (1978/1999) found that the psychology of motherhood held children as a mother-daughter affair, where the point of mating was to bring her baby home to her mother. Knowledge of, and access to, birth control again did not determine the accuracy of use prior to pregnancy (Luker, 1996; Melchert & Burnett, 1990). Excerpts of the participants' own words revealed that it was their partners' choices not to use condoms that explained how the women became pregnant but not why the young women continued sexual contact knowing they were not protected. There was little pleasure or emotional commitment in their sexual activity, consistent with other findings about adolescent sexual experiences (Fine, 1988; Luker, 1996). The material conditions of ambivalence negated female sexual pleasure and encouraged women to find pleasure by pleasing men or children through the hierarchy of gender (Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Levy, 2007; Rubin, 1975).

Breheny and Stephens (2004) found ambivalence about pregnancy was a

barrier to effective contraceptive use prior to becoming pregnant. Although the nine late-adolescent mothers knew their contraceptive options, three themes obstructed consistent and effective contraceptive use: "indifference to pregnancy, invulnerability to pregnancy, and forgetting to use contraception" (Breheny & Stephens, p. 222). Although the research was conducted in New Zealand, all the participants got more support for access and use of contraceptives after giving birth when they were motivated to use the pill more consistently. More open discussions about contraceptives recognized the daughter was sexually active, making it easier to use birth control reliably (Breheny & Stephens, 2004; Hurtado, 2003; Villenas & Moreno, 2001).

Academic achievement and adolescent motherhood

A deficit perspective held that the early timing of the pregnancy created insurmountable social and economic impacts (Luker, 1996; Valencia, 1997; Vinovskis, 1988). According to a US Census release, 24% of new mothers had completed high school and 58% had one or more years of college (Dye, 2010). Across all races, females have continued to graduate high school at higher rates than males (Bejarano, 2005; Deem, 1978; Fuller, 1980; Willis, 1977; Wortham, 2002). With so many women educated and mothering, the desire for educational qualifications reflected wide spread feminine valuing of education although social and economic mobility remained limited (Deem, 1978; Dye, 2010; Fuller, 1980; Hurtado, 2003; Villenas & Moreno, 2001).

There was a consistent theme that a high school diploma or its equivalent evinced feminine achievement over the deficit effect of early motherhood (Ahn, 1994; Leadbeater, 1996; Mott & Marsiglio, 1985; Sadler et al., 2007; SmithBattle, 2006, 2007; Upchurch, 1993; Upchurch & McCarthy, 1990). However, the actual link between a diploma and individual capacity was never questioned as a reliable indicator of what a diploma was supposed to signify: economic mobility or class status (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970).

Upchurch and McCarthy (1990) found that having a baby while in school did not necessarily increase adolescent mothers' chances of dropping out. From the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) of Black, Hispanic, and white women aged 14 to 21 in 1979, fertility rates and educational attainment by 1986 were examined. Women who became mothers while in high school eventually graduated at rates similar to non-mothers who graduated on time, but there was no examination of why it took mothers longer to complete school. Women enrolled in college curriculum were less likely to drop out of school overall and returned to school and graduated more often than women in other curriculum tracks (Upchurch & McCarthy, 1990).

Upchurch (1993) reexamined the NLSY data to learn if motherhood impacted postsecondary school involvement when the majority of adolescent mothers who graduated high school reported they wanted to attend college more often than GED-tracked peers and non-mothers. Mexicans were not disaggregated from Hispanics

but were more likely to attend college if their parents had graduated high school or had some college experience (Upchurch, p. 438). The author did not report college completion rates or of the conditions that inhibited completion of a college degree.

Ahn (1994) recast the concept of individual heterogeneity by examining racial and ethnic variations of early childbearing and incomplete schooling through the NLSY results from 1979 to 1987. Although marriage was not examined as an obstacle to graduation, Ahn looked at the adolescent mothers' level of education and working status. Representing only 16% of the 5,541 mothers sampled, over half of the Illinois Hispanics surveyed completed high school because of their individual skills and motivation (Ahn, 1994). A favorable disposition toward education in the family background appeared to postpone the age of first birth and negated the specific effects of race and ethnicity on high school completion. The studies by Ahn (1994), Upchurch (1993), and Upchurch and McCarthy (1990) all found that the women who valued graduating from high school did graduate at some point.

Adolescent motherhood, marriage, and academic vulnerability

Arguments to dissuade adolescent women from marrying too young emphasized that girls had a limited time to acquire their educations prior to marriage and that education could offset the oppression of a bad marriage (Bejarano, 2005; Davidson, 1996; Hurtado, 2003; Luker, 1996; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). Investigating if early motherhood had a negative impact on welfare costs, Hotz, McElroy, and

Sanders (1997) concluded that working-class adolescent mothers were less successful in school and less likely to enter occupations requiring additional degrees than women who postponed pregnancy until after graduating high school. They found no intractable negative consequence of adolescent motherhood for a woman's socio-economic attainment, but only 61% of the early mothers had earned their GED by age 30 compared to 90% non-adolescent mothers (Hotz, et al., 1997, 59). School policy and attendance practices against adolescent mothers completing high school went unexamined.

In the 1980s, early motherhood was assumed to predict educational failure. Marini (1984) studied women's educational attainment levels in relation to the timing of first births to expose the reciprocal effects of exogenous variables. Over 1200 Illinois high school women were surveyed in 1957 and again in 1974, and although the age at first birth truncated the individuals schooling, marriage also occurred around the same time as first birth, making it difficult to tell which factor influenced dropping out. Although only 1% of the participants surveyed reported having a child prior to marriage, the study concluded that the difficulties of parenting while in school interfered with completion more than the timing of the births (Marini, 1984). It was found that the more education the woman earned, the greater her age at the timing of first birth; the less education a woman attained, the younger her age at first birth. This information held true in recent US Census findings that high school graduates aged 15 to 24 had birth rates four times higher than those with Bachelor's

degrees, with the higher birth rates in the 25 to 34 cohort possibly explained by timing their pregnancies for after their schooling was done, although no analysis was presented here (Dye, 2010).

Marriage and motherhood impacted postsecondary educational attainment depending on the timing of the events (Haggstrom, Kanouse, & Morrison, 1986). Historically, both the Marini (1984) and the Haggstrom, et al. (1986) studies examined groups of women prior to the impact of Title IX and the cessation of practices that prohibited single or married adolescent mothers from attending public schools (Luker, 1996; Pillow, 2004; Travis, 1992; Vinovskis, 1988). Using the National Longitudinal Study survey of high school seniors in 1972, over 11,300 women's marital and parenthood status were reviewed to predict which girls became mothers soonest and how these differences shaped the first four years of life after graduation (Haggstrom, et al., 1986). In follow-up surveys in 1973, 1974, and 1976, marriage impeded schooling more than parenthood regardless of its timing, and women who married and became mothers soon after graduation had the lowest academic ability levels, least postsecondary educational plans, and lowest socioeconomic statuses. The researchers concluded that "progressively more women 'give-up' on the idea of further education" once engaged or married (Haggstrom et al. p.183).

Career preparation and adolescent motherhood

To find deficiencies in education in racial and cultural terms, Linares, et al. (1991)

tried to predict inner city Black and Puerto Rican adolescent motherhood by examining demographic, individual, and environmental variables assessed in the first interview to explain educational results by the third interview. Since the study focused on women one year postpartum, the long-term predictability of educational attainment effects were unclear. No individual, environmental, or ethnic variable reliably predicted educational attainment, though continual school attendees who could "cope competently" with depressive symptoms and graduation requirements did better overall (Linares et al., p. 394). Dropout prevention programs one year postpartum were found to better serve the needs of academically motivated mothers pursuing college rather than those women with the lowest educational attainment levels, but the authors neglected to offer suggestions to correct the imbalance.

School performance prior to childbearing was still the strongest predictor of academic progress postpartum when Leadbeater (1996) interviewed the same adolescent mothers three years later. Although career aspirations were not linked to graduation in the 12-month study, respondents lacked encouragement and information 28 and 36 months postpartum about how to access occupations beyond low-paying jobs like "licensed practical nurse, receptionist, or toll booth operator" (p. 643). Linares et al. (1991) and Leadbeater (1996) revealed a disconnection between the mother's idealistic aspirations versus the reality of the economic value of a high school diploma if it consigned her to traditionally feminine low-waged work fields (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Deem, 1978; MacDonald, 1980; Rury, 1991), but

offered no resolution.

Supportive networks and adolescent motherhood

McCullough and Scherman (1991) examined an Oklahoma parenting program for helping adolescent mothers plan for and cope with educational and vocational goals. While 65% of the 14-19-year-old women surveyed had worked prior to pregnancy, few had career plans despite agreeing that education was necessary for financial autonomy (McCullough & Scherman, 1991). Although they felt very good about themselves as women, mothers, workers, and wives, the participants felt they disappointed their parents as daughters by getting pregnant. The women developed a highly valued support system through the parenting program and they credited that network for their continuation in school. While 50% hoped to attend college to earn a bachelor's degree, only a third planned on a professional career. The study did not report how their choices were helped or hindered by the parenting program.

Because regulatory regimes like gender socialization in school relied on the compliance of the individual through the individual's desire to comply (Allen, 2008; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Butler, 1990; Connell, 1987), school preference and performance before pregnancy was linked to how women turned to education after pregnancy (Wycoff, 1996; Zachry, 2005). College undergraduate and graduate Mexican American women were interviewed by Wycoff (1996) about vulnerability and resiliency factors in relation to their achievements. A supportive network of encourage-

ment and advice was found to allow women to employ emotional support systems to pursue educational degrees. Support and a motivating belief in one's ability contributed to a woman's success, but the sample was already highly motivated to succeed academically because of being active undergraduate and graduate students.

Motherhood played a significant role in reformulating adolescents' perceptions about themselves, their future, and how education shaped both (Zachry, 2005). Living as mothers challenged women's need for economic stability, so their life experiences and individual needs affected their valuing of school. Genuine teachers' support was important to the women's academic success as they dealt with motherhood. The mothers believed school would help them "obtain a better job and make them more financially able to support a child" (Zachry, p. 2588). Both Wycoff (1996) and Zachry (2005) agreed that graduating high school or earning a GED did not translate into gaining or maintaining employment, but neither examined the material conditions created by educational credentials to stratify women's work within the sexual division of labor that perpetuated feminine worker identities (Beechey, 1978; Deem, 1978; MacDonald, 1980; Rury, 1991).

Adolescent mothers and academic invulnerability

With the negative impact of adolescent motherhood generally refuted, some minority students' academic success could not be explained by their invulnerability to environmental factors. Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) found an arbitrary and sym-

bolic violence inherent in the dominant ideology that produced and reproduced the cultural capital of schooling. Academic obstacles to communities of color were overcome if the individual held aspirations to prevail academically, had sufficient linguistic proficiency, and had supportive family to help them resist failure. Yosso (2005) discussed the importance of social capital, where the network of people and community resources helped individuals "attain education, legal justice, employment and healthcare," where once accomplished, the information and resources were shared back into their social networks to benefit others (p. 80).

While Stanton-Salazar found that resilience and invulnerability were closely tied to the social capital individuals developed through their networks of supportive relationships, Yosso (2005) identified aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capitals as developing to help communities of color survive and resist obstructive factors. The knowledge students brought into a learning environment from their communities constructed the coping patterns in which youth grew up facing forces of race, class, gender, and ethnicity (Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Yosso, 2005; Yosso et al., 2009). There was no examination of how motherhood intensified one's belief in education for agency.

The cultural wealth of their own community explained how Mexican American populations overcame adversity, according to Alva (1991), who revealed that students from similar socio-cultural backgrounds were invulnerable to failure and resilient in coping with the demands of school. A network of supportive family,

friends, neighbors, and teachers who encouraged students to view education as a means to social and economic progress created protective personal and environmental resources for students. Academic invulnerability was found by Alva and Padilla (1995) to be an intersection of socio-cultural, personal, and environmental factors that enabled students to succeed in school. Because of sufficient evidence that females historically outperformed males in school (Bejarano, 2005; Davidson, 1996; Deem, 1978; Rury, 1991; Wortham 2002), academic invulnerability seemed to represent a feminine strength, although neither Alva (1991) or Alva and Padilla (1995) disaggregated results by gender.

Academic invulnerability was examined for educational resilience as a phenomenon in those students who earned educational credentials despite conditions and experiences that made them vulnerable to dropping out (Wayman, 2002). White and Mexican-American high school dropouts were surveyed four years apart to monitor graduation rates and diploma preferences. Personal and environmental factors like self-confidence and a positive attitude rendered socioeconomic and parenthood status insignificant to finishing their degree. Female students who dropped out and returned to a high school program preferred earning a regular diploma 25% of the time, but 32% preferred the quicker General Education Development (GED) certificate without examining what those credentials granted the women access to (Wayman, p. 173).

Feminine resilience and invulnerability existed in the social capital girls deve-

loped in school that characterized their social relationships with male peers. Valenzuela (1999a) found social capital emerged for *Chicanas* in Texas as they provided support for male friends in high school because they "perform a version of femininity that promotes school as a goal" (Valenzuela, p. 60). The strength of a *Chicana's* control over social capital was diminished by personal academic limitations and an inability of their male friends to reciprocate academically. Without the efforts of the US-born females, Valenzuela found almost no social capital among the male students, suggesting that academic performance to help others succeed was a feminine power closely tied to a culture of romance (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Valenzuela, 1999a). There was no examination of the social capital the *Chicanas* created by relationships with other female friends or what value the social capital had beyond helping schools to educate males.

Academic resiliency and invulnerability through the culture of romance contextualized Higginson's (1998) examination of the competitive environment of school that led adolescent mothers to compare their successes to others' failures within their parenting program. To prove their parental competency, academic performance among the participants was not as important as providing material expressions of their fitness as mothers through their children's clothing and accessories. Compared to their own mothers, the women felt they brought an energy and caring to the raising of their children that was missing from their own experiences. Improving their children's development, providing them with quality toys and

clothing, and knowing how best to raise children pushed teens to self-sacrifice economically to maintain a façade of class status rather than a sustainable lifestyle (Higginson, 1998), although the effect of educational attainment for creating sustainability went undiscussed.

Familial support and adolescent motherhood

Acculturation formed a social capital among Mexican-Americans to explain academic achievement through familial cohesion and adaptability perceptions (Vega, Patterson, Sallis, Nader, Atkins, & Abramson, 1986). Middle-income Anglo and low-income Mexican-American families were compared and revealed that Mexican-Americans were less cohesive where responsibilities and issues could be dealt with by a variety of people, which strengthened their social network interconnectivity. Acculturated Mexican-American families in this study were nearly indistinguishable from Anglo families in their reported ability to cope successfully with socio-cultural demands, but the authors never examined the impact of gendered role expectations on familial cohesion and adaptability.

Acculturation was found by Gomez and Fassinger (1994) to orient 244 undergraduate Latinas' achievement into direct, instrumental, or relational styles. Internalized standards of excellence caused a woman to compete by directing others to help her meet her goals, using her network of relationships to instrumentally delegate tasks to others to achieve on their own behalf. Achievers actively contributed to

the tasks of others through a "reciprocity in achieving," wherein one's own success was earned by contributing to the success of another (Gomez & Fassinger, p. 213). The more bicultural the individual, the wider array of achieving styles she used by situational necessity, developing skill sets to achieve within the middle-class school culture while maintaining traditional Latin home cultures (Gomez & Fassinger, 1994; Vega et al., 1986). Attitudes toward gender roles shaping achievement behavior were not examined, although crossing the borders between home, work, and school cultures created a physical and psycho-logical blending that allowed Mexican-Americans to cope in various contexts (Campbell Clark, 2000; Gomez & Fassinger, 1994; Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

Wortham (2002) examined Latinas' mother and student identities for who developed social capital particular to the needs of school and home. Results showed that *Mexicanas* were able to comply with the values and practices to "succeed in the mainstream world, but to maintain their cultural traditions at home" (Wortham, p. 137). Competition with Anglo female peers who valued education reinforced the value a diploma signified for work prospects for *Mexicanas*. Encouraged to succeed in school in order to maintain some autonomy within domestic relationships with men, the *Mexicanas* hoped to avoid the difficult labor their parents endured without educational credentials, although no one was followed into the work force. Success in school allowed *Mexicanas* to compete with white female peers for economic advantage, but higher education levels might lead to better romantic contacts as well.

Under age 30, Dye (2010) found 82% of married mothers had at least a Bachelor's degree compared to 30% of married mothers with a high school, reflecting a correlation between higher education levels and higher marriage rates (Dye, p. 7).

Relationships constructed women's material conditions because women were defined through their relationships to others and the capital created through their exchange (Anderson, 2000; Arnot, 1981; Chodorow, 1978/1999; Lerner, 1986; Rubin, 1975; Rury, 1991a). Sands and Plunkett (2005) found supportive family and school personnel relationships were essential to Mexican and Central American immigrant students' achievement. Maternal warmth and academic support was evaluated as strongly linked with individual achievement, but academic support provided by any significant other increased the motivation to succeed in school. The authors never examined what success in high school meant beyond obtaining the diploma.

Adulthood and adolescent motherhood

Adulthood liberated the daughter from the mother, the woman from the girl, and verified the woman's heterosexual status through her biologically feminine nature (Butler, 1990; Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964). Pregnancy as a female rite of passage into adulthood motivated women to act in ways perceived to be more responsible and mature (SmithBattle, 2006, 2007). SmithBattle (2006) found adolescents' new identities as mothers made them rearrange their lives and priorities toward education for college and job access. Motherhood as motivator

was reexamined for how adolescents in their third trimester "reevaluate their goals, decrease risky behavior, and recommit to schooling as they anticipate mothering" (SmithBattle, 2007, p. 350). In both articles, SmithBattle (2006; 2007) identified the changing motivation of pregnancy and motherhood as an opportunity for school personnel to connect students to community resources. While most of the mothers worked after they had children, the author never explored how the mothers' work experience motivated them to use education for improved employment options.

Romo and Nadeem (2007) investigated if a lack of social support increased the risk factors for adolescent mothers' mental health. In their review of literature, the nature and quality of the relationship with the family was important for coping with the responsibilities of parenting (Romo & Nadeem, 2007). As role models for their children, mothers avoided risky behaviors and completed high school, so by accepting responsibility for themselves and their children the women were more grown up than peers without children.

Mexicanidad and crossing borders

For Mexican immigrant students, material gain was the reason their family lived and worked in the United States while they were in school, influential factors under studied in the literature (Gonzalez, 2001; Villenas & Foley, 2002; Wortham, 2002). The intersection of gender, race, and culture was inseparable from the context of living as a female in an historical moment (Giroux, 1991; Hooks, 1984; Moss,

2007; Olsen, 1994; Spivak, 1988). Race and racism impacted practices, discourses, and structures of Mexican women (Yosso, 2004, 2006; Yosso et al., 2009). Valenzuela (1999) defined *Mexicanidad* as a national identity based on familial networks and values that students brought into schools which connected academic success with cultural pride. Anzaldua (1987) elaborated that being Mexican was not in the mind but in one's soul, where the contradictions and ambiguity of living as Mexican Americans generated "*la facultad*" to see and penetrate the sexist, racist, and classist reality (p. 38).

Biculturalism and bilingualism enabled Mexican-American students to be communicatively accessible to a network of people across socio-cultural borders in a variety of settings (Gomez & Fassinger, 1994; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999b). Moving between cultures while negotiating identities as women, mothers, students, and workers illustrated how women's lives were complicated by relational behavior and the language to explain reality (Campbell Clark, 2000; Chodorow, 1978/1999; Gee, 2004; Gonzalez, 2001). Villenas and Moreno (2001) found mother-daughter pedagogies of the home "wrought with tensions and contradictions yet open with spaces for possibility" to resist denigration of their cultural origins (Villenas & Moreno, p. 673). They found that the women experienced a *vergüenza*, or shame, when they could not sustain a home space to cultural expectation levels that "constructed and enacted a gendered education rooted in morality" but was not challenged here (p. 679-680)

The cohesion and adaptability described by Vega, et al. (1986) confirmed Mirande's (1977) findings that that Mexican American families functioned like Anglo families. Mirande established a contextualized attempt to speak against pejorative assumptions of the reality of *Chicano* family life in literature. Within the family, *Chicanos* escaped the "colonial intrusion" of Anglo institutions and language (Mirande, p. 755). While the family replicated the sexist and hierarchal power structures that were outside the home, inside the family these oppressions epitomized the strength within the home culture's traditions (Althusser, 1971; Hartman, 1987; Hooks, 1987; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999; Wortham, 2002). Mirande (1977) found acculturation and assimilation were negotiated to carefully maintain family traditions of Mexican culture, religious values, and language that united the family for collective survival. *Chicanas* in the study continued these values of their culture in the next generation through the supportive role behavior continuity that facilitated living between cultures (Mirande, 1977; Vega et al., 1986), but the American accommodations were never examined for effect.

Gonzalez (2001) found that Mexican women's actions within the home proceeded "with the directionality of human praxis" as they negotiated their multiple identities in the context of the "daily rituals of life" (Gonzalez, p. 86). Since work and family never existed outside of motherhood for many women of color, maternal empowerment was embedded in becoming pregnant, raising offspring, and collaborating with children to develop skills to challenge oppressive racial systems (Collins,

1994; Hooks, 1984). Resisting and accommodating dominant ideologies for survival were embedded in *Mexicana* and *Chicana* women's experience living as racially classed females (Arnot, 1981; Gonzalez, 2001; Hartsock, 1983; Hooks, 1984; Rubin, 1975; Spivak, 1988; Villenas & Deyhle, 1999). Women's knowledge was "legitimate, appropriate and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination" if women's lives were to change (Yosso, 2005, p. 74), but Gonzalez (2001) did not explore it here.

Since families of color historically were separated by slavery or cultural re-education policies (Collins, 1994; Spring, 2001), it was necessary to examine the connection between family and education in producing and reproducing the material conditions of women (Althusser, 1971; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Collins, 1994; Connell, 1987; Hartman, 1987). Gonzalez (2001) found for mothers of elementary-age children, school literacy program affected communication styles in the home language, in which their children's identities expressed their Mexican heritage and shaped their thoughts and feelings in ways not sanctioned by the school ideology (Althusser, 1971; Gee, 2004). While a mother's influence was built within the daughter a strong cultural understanding to perpetuate traditional practices or defer to the mothers' judgments (Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Villenas, 2001; Villenas & Moreno, 2001), Gonzalez observed that the mother's resilient construction of personal identity enacted a desire to prepare their children to survive and thrive in the world. Struggling with her own experiences in the educational setting, the

mother reproduced the symbolic domination of the institution by altering in-home communication styles into "the forms, modes of thinking, style, and meaning legitimized by their own institutional experience" through language that was constructed by and constituted in the women's knowledge of power (Gonzalez, 2001, p. 154). Because survival and success were equated with educational achievement, mothers support children through encouragement and advice to help the children persevere in school despite adversity (Alva, 1991; Collins, 1994; Hurtado, 2003; Villenas & Moreno, 2001).

Over two years, Denner and Dunbar (2004) surveyed how 12 to 14 year-old Mexican-American girls understood their power in relationships and how they negotiated femininity. While experiencing power in some aspects of their lives, the eight girls felt their feminine strength lay in speaking up for others and critiquing adults who tried to stifle their attempts to confront racism or sexism. The girls advocated for their mothers, peers, and small children from a tradition of *marianismo*, where women maintained a safe environment (Denner & Dunbar, p. 311). When the girls spoke up to male family members while protecting mothers and siblings, they viewed themselves as strong and able to protect others. These girls did not link their mother's lack of action or silence to the gendered expectations that women were supposed to be well-mannered and passive, but they did feel the least empowered to deal with or receive help resolving their own personal issues. The girls reproduced female power as they defined themselves in relation to others who benefited from

their success as caregivers and advocates (Chodorow, 1978/1999; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964; Hartman, 1987; Hooks, 1984; Valenzuela, 1999a). To "convert symbolic power into real power" (Willis, p.119), the participants had to think and act in ways that enabled them to advocate and succeed for themselves as well as they do for others, concepts not investigated here.

Daughters experienced themselves as a continuation of their mothers, so they tended to adopt their mothers' values, desires, and aspirations (Chodorow, 1978/1999). Because of the centrality of their mothers in their lives, Hurtado (2003) found that college enrolled *Chicanas* felt tension between constructing their own lives and reconstructing the yearnings of their mothers. Personal responsibility meant working hard, doing well in school, and attending to family obligations where the mother and daughter collaborated and improved each other's lives. Knowing their mothers' failed dreams of going to school, Chicanas understood that "ambition, intelligence, discipline, and self-efficacy were not enough" without the will to make it happen (p. 80). Although marriage was inevitable in the participants' plans for their futures, education was insurance against a bad marriage or economic dependency on a man, a recurrent theme in research about female educational achievement studies (Davidson, 1996; Fuller, 1980; Holland & Eisen-hart, 1990; Hurtado, 2003; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). Hurtado did not examine the impact of motherhood in changing mother-daughter relationships or pursuing education because it was not a concern of the participants.

For transnational mothers, traditional gender roles were complicated by how efficiently they adapted to their new social and cultural environment, and how the mothers taught their children lessons in order to survive adversities in their lives (Gonzalez, 2001; Kaplan & Grewal, 1999). Villenas & Moreno (2001) examined Latina mothers raising children in rural North Carolina who had immigrated to the United States. By focusing on what can be best described by Collins (1994) as 'motherwork,' the education that mothers gave them taught daughters how to be *una mujer de hogar* (a home keeper) and to *valerse por si misma* (be self-reliant) (Villenas & Moreno, p. 673). Three pedagogical formats expressed a collection of meanings and behaviors in the Spanish words signified in the language the speakers' experienced them (Derrida, 1974/1976; Foucault, 1972; Gee, 2004; McLaren, 1995). First, *consejos* were moral lessons to advise girls on how one should behave as a mother, wife, daughter, or woman. Second, *cuentos* were stories that combined the familial or cultural values with examples to validate their messages. Third, *experiencias* were the significance of events mothers had from first and second hand knowledge. Knowledge made mothers the educators of the home and their lessons taught daughters to fit into their gendered roles at home and in the community, while learning to *valerse por si misma* was the counter-lesson that permitted fulfillment through self-reliance in order to maintain a home economically and emotionally (Villenas & Moreno, 2001). The pedagogical formats were not used by the participants for their own benefit but for their children's benefit without the reasons why

being investigated.

Villenas (2001) more closely examined the theme *enfrentar el hogar*, or face the challenges of the home, for the same group of Latina mothers. They prided themselves in their feminine roles within the home as a way of respecting old and improvising new meanings as they lived without the network relationships they had back in Mexico. By teaching daughters to be good in their feminine roles, mothers continued social constructs that morally educated Latinas to be agents who resisted the benevolent racism that negated the power of family (Villenas, 2001). Because the Mexican families featured operated in mutual help and support of all members, they laid the foundation for "surviving and effecting resistance to cultural assault, to valorizing and (re)creating a family education which stresses dignity and pride in language and culture" (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999, p. 441). Through the parent's *consejos* children were motivated to graduate high school, but true success meant maintaining familial respect by developing the children's skills as translators of cultural negotiations to benefit the whole group. The unique contexts in which immigrants pooled their resources reinforced their material conditions, but Villenas and Deyhle did not investigate how an adolescent pregnancy could be the best utilization of available resources and gender expectations (Maynard, 1997; McElroy & Moore, 1997; Moore, Morrison, & Greene, 1997).

Segura (1994) examined the difference between Chicanas and *Mexicanas* attitudes toward their roles as mothers and workers. While only 28% of employed

Chicanas worked fulltime compared to 75% of the *Mexicanas*, women's economic motivation for immigration and their contribution to familial resources were minimally defined (Segura, p. 216). *Chicanas* whose mothers worked when they were growing up reported feeling a lack of love and care from their own mothers, which influenced their decisions to stay home with their children over working. Rather than feeling guilty about working away from the children, the *Mexicanas* expressed more regret over what the family did during the remaining time. Married women had the most erratic engagement working outside the home because of pressure to quit working to signify that the male was a good provider (Segura, 1994). *Mexicanas* viewed the patriarchal structuring of the family as a corporation where everyone contributed something to the common good, while *Chicanas* experienced patriarchal structures that idealized men as economic providers and women as caretakers, but there was no examination of how legal status affected perceptions of work.

Methodological Set up

In the previous sections I discussed how the ideological structuring of motherhood prepared females for their roles as unwaged laborers to the family and waged laborers through schools and curriculum that reproduced the conditions and contexts of women. Using a feminist standpoint, I examined why adolescent motherhood needed to be understood for the goodness it created in the lives of women.

This feminist standpoint research employed a portraiture methodological investigation of two *Mexicana* women who mother, study, and work in a rural New Mexico mountain town in their historical context. Central to this research was the women's experiences as they negotiated their intersectional identities. Experience created knowledge to allow individuals to validate what they witnessed and what they learned from it (Stake, 1995). For this reason, portraiture provided what Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) called the framework for recording and interpretting two Mexicana's "voices and visions—their authority, knowledge, and wisdom" of living at the intersection of being women, mothers, students, and workers (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, p. xv). Chapter 3 will lay out the methodological framework of portraiture and the design of my research project.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology and Design: Establishing Context

Introduction

My feminist standpoint examined the experiences of particular women to better know and change the social, economic and political conditions for all women (Allen, 2008; Bowell, 2011; Olsen, 1994; Rubin, 1975). A feminist standpoint situated how "gendered and classed subjectivities" of a particular group of women were constructed through feminine discourses, institutional ideologies, and socio-cultural structures (Skeggs, 1995, p. 195). The intersection of women's identities as mothers, students, and workers required a method that was holistic as possible to comprehend the complexity of adolescent motherhood in their historical context. Therefore, a qualitative approach including case study design and portraiture is discussed next.

Methodological theory of portraiture: Background to the methods employed

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) held portraiture to be intentionally generous "by searching for what is good and healthy and assumes that the ex-pression of goodness will always be laced with imperfections" (p. 9). Portraiture was storytelling through co-creating knowledge, co-constructing an autobiography,

using artistic expression to describe scientific endeavor through individual reflex-ivity, and community building between the researcher and the participants (Moss, 2007). Through narrative, participants' lives were contextualized for understanding how the physical setting, values, and cultural norms cued individuals to their histori-cal periods (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). Portraiture illustrated the complexi-ties of living and examining events portrayed through the relationship between the participants and I to understand how we negotiated and overcame challenges within this research (Dixson et al., 2005). The final product was a portrait of our cap-tured understandings of two women's unique realities which intersected in contin-gent ways to reveal a goodness from adolescent motherhood experiences (Dixson et al., 2005; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Moss, 2007). I employed a painting metaphor to illustrate the components of two portraitures.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) listed five features to guide portraiture: context, voice, relationship, emergent themes, and the aesthetic whole. Authenticity essentially located the story that emerged from "revealing the dynamic interaction of values, personality, structure, and history" in a narrative embedded in the context of the process (p.11). Through "rigorous and systematic attention to the details of social reality and human experience," the participants' perspectives on the goodness of adolescent motherhood revealed imperfections to inform and inspire readers (p. 9). As the primary research instrument, I documented and interpreted the experien-ces and perspectives of two adolescent mothers with a controlled skepticism in

order to recognize the emerging narrative from my analysis. I employed a feminist critique of the social inequalities that two *Mexicans* experienced to transform cultural, social, and material conditions of women through a "concrete, historical, and structural analyses" of the education of women as mothers, students, and workers (Roman, 1992, p. 559).

The participants' language was constituted and constructed in power relations through hierarchies of gender, class, and race or ethnicity (Arnot, 1981; Gee, 2004; Giroux, 1991; Villenas, 2000), and these power relations were challenged in order to create a more collaborative and inclusive process and product (Brown & Strega, 2005; Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Potts & Brown, 2005; Villenas, 2000). To illuminate any particular case, specific, nuanced descriptions had to resonate with readers through patterns of behavior and the meanings they held for a reader. Portraiture drew from many of the elements of case study which guided my data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2003, 2007; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983; Merriam, 1988; Roman, 1992; Stake, 1995, 2005; Yin, 1994).

Two case studies were created centering on the experiences two *Mexicanas* had as adolescent mothers from 2004 through 2013. The case study method revealed more variables of interest rather than specific data points, which allowed multiple sources of evidence to guide data collection and analysis (Yin, 1994). In this study, comments of a similar topic were grouped by the year and event sequence, deepening a thick description to situate its meaning (Creswell, 2007; Guba & Lincoln,

1989). The trustworthiness of the study was triangulated to establish the internal and external validity, improving the reliability of the portrait by pursuing convergent lines of inquiry, maintaining a clear chain of evidence, and having the participants verify their intended messages (Kirby et al., 2006; Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Merriam, 1988; Potts & Brown, 2005; Stake, 1995, 2005; Yin, 1994). As a socio-cultural interpretation through holistic description and analysis of the data within the cultural context (Merriam, 1988), adolescent motherhood informed how two *Mexicanas* studied and worked in a southern New Mexico mountain town. By continual review of evidence and progressive focusing, I modified and replaced my initial research questions to reflect my new understandings (Stake, 1995). I examined unexpected opportunities to deepen comprehension and explored their connections to other themes in order to achieve the depth needed for effective data analysis.

I affirmed that each participant had an ontologically unique experience living as a *Mexicana* adolescent mother, socially constructed by growing up within her historical period. Through discussions, we interpreted what emerged to epistemologically understand our discoveries (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This epistemological understanding existed precisely because of the interaction between me and the participant who generated the data that emerged from that inquiry, because what was known "does not exist independently but only in connection with an inquiry process" (Guba & Linclon, p. 88). By means of a hermeneutic dialectic, our interaction constructed a reality of adolescent motherhood that was "as informed and

sophisticated as it can be made at a particular point in time" (p. 43). Jointly constructing each case through continual analysis and reanalysis of findings created "successively more sophisticated interpretations" (p. 89), so the constructivist evaluation paradigm incorporated the circumstances of social, cultural, and political contexts into my inquiry. The methodological decisions that unfolded was a reflection of new information; therefore, the unfolding of our interactions informed the final portrait.

For Roman (1992), a naturalistic ethnography emphasized the social meanings and contexts that varied in the cultural practices and patterns of society. The social reality of researcher and participants to each other sifted the collected understandings from the appearance of material social conditions. Therefore, the struggle to change the social orientations of a deficit view of adolescent motherhood was a "struggle that in turn changes the human subjects themselves" (Roman, p. 574). As noted in my assumptions in Chapter 1, my socio-cultural affiliations and ideological commitments prior to the research were important starting points for challenging my own role in reproducing or transforming the power relations between the participants and me (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Roman, 1992).

My chronological portraiture format was inspired by *The Good High School* (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983), "Chapter One: Home" from *Exit: The Endings that Set Us Free* (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2012), and *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (Skloot,

2010). *The Good High School* narrated the examination of high schools through her "perch" and the voice of the people involved in the six portraits. Recently, Lawrence-Lightfoot's narrative style in *Exit* helped me to realize how to integrate the actual words of the subject within the literature and my analysis of the broader political, social, and economic story through emergent themes. *The Immortal life of Henrietta Lacks,* in contrast, used chronology to sequence events to tell the story of the origin of the immortal Henrietta Lacks' (HeLa) cells and the medical revolution it created while Lacks' descendants struggled to survive. Skloot contextualized and illuminated the impact of thick description (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Creswell, 2007) for interrelating the significance of race, gender, class, and politics to situate one Black woman's experience in the world. By focusing on the historical context of the people involved and how their lives were affected by decisions made, Skloot showed how the goodness of one person's particularistic experience could be full of contradictions upon closer inspection, a key element in portraiture methodology (Lawrence Lightfoot & Davis, 1997).

Initial Guiding Questions

My four overarching research questions guided this portraiture to reflect the belief that women negotiated social and cultural structures on micro and macro levels of understanding (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Olsen, 1994). Instead of seeking a universal, generalizable truth about adolescent motherhood, my feminist

critical case study examined the significance of two women's everyday experiences to understand their contingency, context, and specificity (Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Moss, 2007). Specifically, by using a feminist standpoint, it was possible to reveal ways that two *Mexicanas* who mothered, studied, and worked when confronting intersectional identities for social and economic purpose in their southern New Mexico mountain town. The exploitation women experienced in reproducing people for the labor force without pay and in gender-segregated labor for low pay because of capitalism created problems for the continual oppression of women (Hartsock, 1983). Through reflexivity, Olsen (1994) suggested that a study about women could be transformed into a sociology for women (Hartsock, 1983, 1987; Olsen, 1994). My guiding questions revolved around four ideas:

1. How does mothering intersect with woman, worker, and student identities?
2. How does being a woman intersect with mother, worker, and student identities?
3. How does working intersect with mother, woman, and student identities?
4. How does studying intersect with mother, woman, and worker identities?

Portraiture Design

A framework for portraiture: Background and setting.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) generated the context in portraiture by describing the physical characteristics of the geographic and demographic setting

which "forecasts the values and themes that will shape the narrative" (p. 45). In this study, the setting was a southern New Mexico mountain town. Nearly half of the town's permanent population was tied multi-generationally to the region through tribal affiliation, Spanish colonization, or white settler-ranches. The other half of the population were newcomers, transients, or tourists whose numbers fluctuated depending on seasonal activity. Drawing predominantly from West Texas and Northern Mexico, the tourism and service industries of Town served seasonal outdoor sports, skiing, and horse-racing. Because it sat amid federal forest and a tribal reservation, Town was isolated by mountainous terrain and limited highway access. Town chain and independent businesses served a population which tripled at the height of the summer tourist season. A tribal casino resort, a summer horse race track, a Wal-Mart, a regional hospital, and the K-12 school district were the largest employers, with seasonal staff added to restaurants, shops, and hotels as needed. Retail businesses opened after 5 p.m. were "dollar stores," restaurants, and bars, and entertainment venues like a bowling alley, a go-cart/mini golf complex, a movie theater, and a performing arts theater.

The local K-12 school district included an alternative education facility and a daycare through the high school's Child Lab class and Graduation, Reality, and Dual-roles Skills (GRADS) program. The school served between 640 to 700 students in grades 9-12 during the six years I worked there, with a majority of students qualifying for free or reduced lunch because of economic disadvantage. The school offered

vocational classes and a college preparation track, and by 2010 it fostered a dual-credit program where students earned credit toward certifications or Associate's degrees in career fields like welding, culinary arts, computer-aided drawing, and child care. A community college satellite campus of a state university also provided adult GED and ESL programs. According to 2009 statistics, a quarter of the Town's female population worked within educational services, accommodations, services, and food industries, with a quarter of women commuting from five surrounding communities to work in Town (City-Data.com, 2010). Affordable housing was limited to a low-income apartment complex and high-density mobile home parks. Housing was cheaper further out of Town, but the cost in gas and isolation from resources during winter tempered the allure. A census analysis reported that over half of residents earned median household incomes of about $37,000, while about 20% of residents lived below poverty levels (Americantowns.com, 2010).

The design and implementation organizing this portraiture research employed the five essential features I laid out earlier in this chapter: context, voice, relationship, emergent themes, and the aesthetic whole (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). These features became subheadings to clarify how I addressed each aspect.

Context

Women's knowledge was subjectively situated, so truth developed from the experience of living as a gendered woman (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Contextualized re-

search revealed how women "reflect, reproduce, resist, and transform social contexts, hegemonic beliefs, and personal relationships" in their daily lives (Fine & Gordon, 1992, p.3). This research process reflected the data gathering and analysis techniques employed to keep the project theoretically connected. Moss (2007) defined emergent methods as a process of contingency, context, and specificity. Contingency situated knowledge as part of changeable processes in continual social interaction between the participant and me. The power relations structuring who knew what was known and how it was knowable created the context for more inclusion of participants' perspectives. The specificity of the context could "describe the momentary fixity of various sets of contingent relations coming together in a particular combination of social processes (in context) for the production of knowledge" (p.375). Context situated the meaning of the participants' experiences in historically social ways that structured gender relations and power asymmetries (Fine & Gordon, 1992).

Researcher as portraitist

My "perch and perspective" contextualized my personal perspectives and biases, so the scenes I presented reflected how the participants responded to my presence (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 50). In Chapter 1, I identified assumptions that initiated my process; however, throughout the process, I reflexively reanalyzed new assumptions that surfaced. I assumed that adolescent motherhood motivated

young women to earn a high school diploma and continue educational pursuits out of beliefs in social and economic advantage. I assumed that a high school diploma was useful for access to educational credentials but that the diploma alone did not give women economic advantage in a feminine work force. I controlled how subjects were presented by the words and intonations I reported in the final text, yet I had to respect the dignity of the participants in how I portrayed them (Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Moss, 2007; Olsen, 1994; Potts & Brown, 2005). My own struggles as a middle-class white educator working with the *Mexicana* adolescent mothers resonated in the struggles of women "constituted and produced within relations and discourses of power" to expose "how women are implicated in forming these relations" (Villenas, 2000, p. 80).

The portraiture methodology signified the combination of constitutive forces that were the topic, its questions, its data collection style, its analysis, and its context (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Moss, 2007; Potts & Brown, 2005). Engagement in open-ended dialogues required reciprocity to realize the structural conditions that scaffolded a subject's social actions in everyday events (Moss, 2007; Roman, 1992). By building on the intimacy of our existing teacher/ student relationships, a "critical praxis" transformed the nature of our discussions (Roman, 1992). My critical feminist analysis illuminated deficiencies of alternative explanations about women's material conditions in a determinant order of power and oppression (Olsen, 1994). I focused my perch to find the goodness and strength

that enabled the two *Mexicana* adolescent mothers to live in a southern New Mexico mountain town in their historical context.

Creating context: Sketching the foreground.

For Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997), contextual information situated events within multiple perspectives. Portraiture required an historical context to organize the priorities and goals reflected in the signs and signals of the physical environment, shaping how subjects were presented (Creswell, 2003; Foucault, 1972; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). This portraiture study spanned the lives of two women from 2004, the year I considered teaching in Town, until May 2013. Each woman's progression from immigrant to student, to worker, to mother, to high school graduate, to college student, to legal resident, and beyond was effected by her articulation of power to "evolve, organize, and put into circulation...an apparatus of knowledge" to negotiate expectations and experiences as a *Mexicana* (Foucault, 1972, p. 102). Reflecting Creswell (2003), the ethnographic portraiture design for *Mexicana* women focused on the manifest of their culture and patterns of behavior to narrate the significance of motherhood for their student and worker contexts. An incontestable description of a participant's context included the physical situation, the home and family background, and economic conditions to reveal the complexity of each life (Stake, 1995). The research design determined a case study protocol to increase my data reliability for what the questions studied, how evidence was collected, what

kinds of data became relevant, and how I analyzed the results (Yin, 1994). A strong contextual description linked the "external ecology within the ideological and developmental odyssey of the place" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, p. 52), which exposed how the values symbolically represented in the physical environment converged and contrasted with the interior culture of each adolescent mothers' priorities and goals.

Central symbols and metaphors that originated from the participants' observations and reflections pointed to powerful associations with larger phenomenon, which developed into themes that contextualized the research aesthetically (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). The metaphors came from the participants' reflections and interpretations as nuanced symbols of overarching themes (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Potts & Brown, 2005; Rorty, 1989). Rorty (1989) claimed metaphors used old words in unfamiliar and familiar ways so that their "redescriptions of small parts of the past will be among the future's stock of literal truths" to transform knowledge (p. 42). Analyzing and deconstructing mainstream representations of adolescent motherhood allowed the participant to understand how it impacted her woman, student, and worker identities (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Potts and Brown (2005) claimed truth was based in searching for meaning and understanding, where the ownership of knowledge belonged to those who experienced living in their intersectional contexts. Each woman's formational background and the effects of our discussions together collided, and the data reflected the development of our interactions. These elements added depth to the

portrait's disposition and the articulation of the voice telling the story through a participant's contextualized perspective (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Olsen, 1994; Stake, 1995).

The context was shaped in a third way by how the participants "disturb and transform the environments in which they live and work" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p.57). Our discussions were a dynamic network shaped by our interactions and captured in the dialectical structures that defined our perceptions and changed the contexts we inhabited. The portrait was shaped by the developing themes that referenced the historical and cultural evolution of the setting through carefully applied metaphors for deeper description. To ensure the process of collecting and interpreting the data informed the portrait, my developing knowledge clarified the process so that the direction became apparent.

Creating voice: sketching the focal point.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) posited voice as the second element of a portraiture methodology. Moosa-Mitha (2005) held voice central in the critical analysis of research and its difference-centered construction. A critical, self-conscious understanding developed from what the participants learned about their own and each other's intersectional identities as mothers, students, and workers in context to their relational and structural marginalization. The voice that emerged revealed how language linked particular ideas with representative signs of ideas that

were determined by historical genealogy (Derrida, 1974/1976). The language of oppression expressed in each voice challenged the normative assumptions of adolescent mothers as a homogenous group (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). How participants were heard and with what authority they spoke had to be considered in evaluating the particular portrait of two *Mexicana* women rather than all of womankind (Moss, 2007; Olsen, 1994; Roman, 1992).

While the text captured the voices of the researcher and participants, the reader had a voice in interpreting the data (Potts & Brown, 2005). The active interpretation of the portrait directed the reader to perceive the participants in ways that reflected the researcher's voice in shaping the portrait to clarify the understanding the researcher achieved. The disposition and articulation of the my representation of voice was the lens that the reader was invited to look through (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). The reader's constructed knowledge allowed for "naturalistic generalizations" to arise through insights into the women presented (Stake, 1995, p. 43). The purpose of the research was not to discover external realities but to clearly construct an experiential reality that integrated multiple interpretations that could "withstand disciplineal skepticism" (Stake, p. 101).

Brush strokes of voice.

It is the empathetic regard that I had for the reality of the participants and my own reality that made the authenticity of my research "rich, ranging and revel-

atory" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p.139). Voice was established in a portraiture through six stances:

- My narrative style framed the story I witnessed seeing, hearing, thinking, and feeling.
- As an interpreter of the data, I looked for patterns in language, behavior, attitudes, and practices to understand the social and cultural contexts to find emergent themes for continued investigation.
- My feminist standpoint was an instrument of inquiry with "an eye on perspective-taking, an ear that discerns nuances, and a voice that speaks and offers insight" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p. 13).
- My connection to the participants as their teacher informed my understanding of their familial, cultural, educational, and ideological knowledge.
- Finally, I endeavored to capture the talk and gestures that gave meaning to words and emotions communicated in the participants' confusion, resistance, and ambivalence (Moss, 2007; Olsen, 1994; Roman, 1992).

Building relationships: Painting in the metaphorical color.

Our relationship and the data we drew knowledge from were central to my organization of this research. Through portraiture, I present a revised perspective of the relationship between the subjects and I, where our relationship revealed a com-

plex and dynamic negotiation of the boundaries of distance as intimacy increased. By searching for the goodness of adolescent motherhood, my empathetic regard for each participant strengthened the rapport and trust we felt negotiating "symmetry, reciprocity and boundary" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, 1997, p. 141). To respect the participant's autonomy and the validity of the research proposal, I created a case study protocol for my collection of data.

The Case Study Protocol for Portraiture

The ethnographic basis of this research project started from the detailed description of the two *Mexicana* women who mother, study and work in a southern New Mexico mountain town (Creswell, 2007). By examining adolescent motherhood and its effects on their identities as students and workers, I entered into a "theme analysis of patterns or topics that signifies how the cultural group works and lives" (p. 72). A cultural portrait of two *Mexicanas* resulted from intertwined holistic perspectives from the participants and me that contextualized the individual stories and provided a space for the goodness of adolescent motherhood to appear.

Because of the centrality of context and voice in portraiture, effective transcripts of the research process better communicated my understandings. Knowing a case study protocol increased the reliability of the evidence (Yin, 1994), my protocol guided the specific procedures and research questions through a procedural format. So that my portraiture methodologies were triangulated, interview transcripts, ob-

servations, and emerging evidence were assembled to support the credibility of the descriptions I collected during the field work and throughout the analysis of the findings (Stake, 2005). My protocol helped me classify my collected notes, transcripts, and audio and video recordings by participant selected pseudonyms (Appendix C).

- All interviews lasted 180 minutes, although the interviews occurred at times and days based on participants' availability to meet uninterrupted for one week in July 2012, four days in January 2013, and one day in April 2013.
- I audio-recorded every individual and focus group interview but I also video recorded the two focus group interviews.
- I prepared interview questions to reflect my research intentions for each interview and then shaped the subsequent interviews to include questions about emerging themes to clarify understandings (Appendices A and B).
- All field notes and recordings were labeled by participants' pseudonyms, Sasha or Gloria, and each assigned a password-protected USB to hold electronic master copies of transcripts and recordings, with a third USB for the focus group interviews alone.
- Audio recordings by digital recorder were transcribed using voice recognition software.

- Transcriptions were organized by pseudonym and interview number: Sasha's listed as S1, S2, S3, and Gloria's listed as G1, G2, and G3. Focus group transcripts were labeled by the audio recordings, F1, F2, and F3, and the video recordings as Focus1 and Focus2.
- All notes, printed transcripts and USBs were stored in a locked storage box within my home office inside of a filing cabinet accessible only by me. I believed this was the safest location to hold the data, that my home had always been where my most precious possessions were protected and isolated from the world. I was wrong.

Adverse Event

On January 18, 2013, I came home at 4:30 p.m. to discover my home broken into through a skinny accent window next to the front door. My husband and I called law enforcement to file a report of what was taken: all of my jewelry, my audio and digital recording equipment, an iPad from work, cash, the USB with all my dissertation drafts, and the participants' storage USBs. I notified my chairperson a week later, when the chances for recovering the material had dissolved, and I notified all members of my dissertation team for advisement. I constructed a letter to read and send to the participants describing the burglary and apologizing for losing the audio and video recordings. I followed IRB protocol for filing an incident report about the loss of the recordings and USBs, attached a copy of the case report of the burglary

and turned to my remaining evidence, the six individual interview transcripts and first focus group one. Because the second focus group audio recording had not been transcribed, I requested the participants meet one last time and re-record the interview. The participants agreed and the interview was audio recorded in April 2013, transcribed using the same voice recognition software, and labeled F3. Since the incident, I saved all remaining electronic copies of the transcripts and my dissertation to an offsite online data storage program to not lose any remaining artifacts.

The Selection of Cases for Ethnographic Portraiture Study

I purposely designed my research around the two participants because I believed that they presented the insights and perspective I sought (Creswell, 2003; Kirby et al., 2006; Merriam, 1988). I selected the participants because they shared being *Mexicana* adolescent mothers who studied and worked in New Mexico in an historical context with me (Creswell, 2007). The participants were students I taught at the high school ESL/Bilingual Program in Town. Both mothers used the on-campus child care facility as part of the site-based GRADS program. I watched them transition into their roles as women who mother while they completed high school and struggle to complete post-secondary educational goals while working as waitresses. Because they attended college directly after high school, both women earned the state lottery scholarship, which provided $500 for eight semesters as long as they maintained attendance and a 2.0 GPA. The participants were out of my direct in-

structtional authority for at least three years by the time of the first individual interview, but I was mindful of our former relationship to not take advantage of residual power constructions of my teacher identity (Anderson, 2000; Brown & Strega, 2005; Kirby et al., 2006; Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Potts & Brown, 2005). I had talked with each participant about her experiences as an adolescent mother for so many years before this study that we had a history of talking broadly about many of the topics covered more purposefully in this portraiture.

Sasha: The first participant called herself Sasha. Raised with her younger brother in a small village in Chihuahua, Mexico, she moved to the United States in 2003 to live with her mom who had been living and working in Town for two years. Abandoned by her biological father, Sasha grew to love her mom's second husband, whom she called her dad when she talked with anyone about her family but never to his face. She was active in the mathematics, engineering, science, and architecture (MESA) club, which was run at the middle school by the ESL/Bilingual teacher, so a majority of the club members were English learners. She was still in the ESL/Bilingual program when I met her during my first year teaching at the high school in 2005-2006, and her mom became the president of the bilingual parent advisory committee for two years.

Sasha was very quiet and stayed mostly with her best friend, sitting more with the girls than the boys in class. She was smart and I often called upon her help during the study hall period if a student had a math problem that I could not resolve.

She entered into mainstream classes her sophomore year, but I monitored her attendance and grades until graduation. Her pregnancy completely surprised me because I never saw her with any boys at school. She told me she was pregnant the last week of school 2008, so I had her talk to the school nurse, get into the GRADs program in the fall, and get any information she could before school let out. Sasha did not have the same pre-partum experience Gloria had gotten, which revealed gaps in her preparation for labor and legal paperwork, but once she returned to the GRADS classes, she found the answers and support she needed. I observed her dedication to graduate with honors despite the responsibility of mothering, so I helped when I could. She invited me as her guest to a luncheon for the GRADS program graduates held every spring in the high school culinary arts class's restaurant. I gave her study space in my classroom and wrote a Letter of Recommendation for Sasha to the community college. She spoke very open about sexuality and her pregnancy, empowered to speak with wisdom from experience, and motivated to go to college. She inspired this study because I watched her grow and mature as a woman and student to actually complete a college Associate's degree while mothering.

Sasha spoke in a more hushed and languid voice, punctuating ideas with quick giggles. She was not as talkative as Gloria, and many times I prompted her to elaborate what she meant or to give an example. Whereas Gloria's responses took on a stream of consciousness flow in her interviews, Sasha answered the questions succinctly and efficiently with few words. She had no notable accent to her English,

and although her family spoke primarily Spanish in the home, she read to her son nightly in English. I never knew her as overly expressive in her communications, so the fact that Sasha's interviews had a lot more pauses than Gloria's was not surprising. She was one of the students I had continuous contact with from the start of high school through the completion of college, and my only former student to do it while raising a child.

Gloria: This participant selected the pseudonym Gloria on behalf of her maternal grandmother. Born and raised until age 14 in a Sonora, Mexico border town, she was raised by a single mom since she divorced Gloria's biological father when Gloria was four years old. She grew up with four male cousins whom she called "her brothers," playing soccer and staying outside as much as she could. As the oldest of four girls, Gloria had to look after her sisters while her mom worked since she was 10, helping with homework, housekeeping, or cooking pasta for dinner. In 2002, Gloria, her mother and her sisters moved to California to live with an aunt for about three weeks before they moved to New Mexico with a step-father who sired Gloria's third sister. Gloria had told her mother that she and sisters were being sexually abused by this man for years, but Gloria's mom thought that Gloria was just angry, assuring her "he wouldn't try anything again so soon" (G1). Although she had a chance to stay in California with her aunt, Gloria moved with her sisters to New Mexico to protect them. When Gloria complained about the abuse at school, a police report was filed, and the step-father disappeared without a trace.

I met Gloria my first year at the high school when she was a senior but I later worked with Gloria's three sisters as they passed through high school. Gloria was very positive, sincere, quick to laugh, and I did everything I could to help her complete the range of classes she needed in order to graduate on time. She had been mainstreamed from the ESL program, but I had to monitor her grades and performance to ensure successful integration. In order to use the campus daycare, Gloria participated in the GRADS program, where she learned about preparing for partum, submitting paperwork for Medicaid, birth certificates, and social security. She was tenacious, sociable, and quite open to talking about her pregnancy and relationship, so I appreciated her forthright attitude. I wrote a Letter of Recommendation for her college admission and I provided space in my classroom when she needed to finish assignments or tests. I got to know her more in the years after she graduated high school because when she would visit me when she came onto campus to pick up her daughter from the daycare and she had time.

Gloria had an expressive voice that rose and lowered with emphasis and dramatic effect. Her pronunciation was unaccented, having spoken English primarily in her home, but she easily transitioned in and out of Spanish when needed. She was an experienced talker and she enjoyed telling stories to make her point. She spoke very quickly and animatedly, with energy and laughter changing to modulation and sincerity within sentences. The timeline of the narrative begins in the 2004-2005, when she got pregnant and gave birth. When I met her, Gloria was already dealing

with motherhood, so I did not witness what it was like for her to be pregnant at school. She was one of the first adolescent mothers I was able to observe going to college, and I watched her desire for schooling conflict with the demands of being a wife, inspiring my selection to interview her for an assignment on in-depth interviewing in 2008. I never had another former student that I kept continuous contact with so far into adulthood after high school, and her story inspired my search for goodness in adolescent motherhood.

There was a third Mexicana adolescent mother I invited to participate in this study and was interested in participating until one week before the first individual interviews were to start. When she no longer returned my phone calls and discontinued communications with me, I did not contact her any further.

Establishing Access and Making Contact

Since I came to the high school in Town, I witnessed Sasha's and Gloria's transformation while I was exploring the critical pedagogy of my doctoral program. Proud of their achievement, I felt their stories might resonate with other adolescent mothers who studied and worked. Because I had anticipated interviewing Gloria and Sasha for this study, I obtained their cell phone numbers before I left Town in 2011. I kept in contact with each participant twice during my wait for IRB approval to make sure their numbers were still active and to stay abreast of developments in their lives. Once my project was accepted, first, I called each participant to ask if she was

still interested in discussing her adolescent mother experiences to help me complete my dissertation. Then I had a former colleague from the high school meet each participant to give her the Letter of Consent to read and consider for three days (Appendix C). On the third day, I called each girl to read the Letter of Consent and clarify her rights and recourses.

Individual interview procedures.

Once I had verbal acceptance from each participant over the phone, I selected a week in July to schedule the first individual interviews. I flew from California to El Paso and then drove to Town to stay seven days in a local hotel suite. After I checked in, I called each participant and gave them the hotel phone number and my room number, where we recorded all sessions. At the first meeting, I collected the signed Letter of Consent before starting the first individual interview with the assurance that it was the last time her actual name would be used. I created a page with my home and work contact information as well as a list of local mental health service providers that the participants could contact for counseling (Appendix D). I provided bottled water and tissues at each session. The guiding questions for each of the 180-minute individual interviews were listed in the protocol (Appendix A). I respected each woman's autonomy and stayed committed to beneficence and just treatment in each interview (Seidman, 2006). Sasha's interviews took place in the morning and Gloria's in the afternoon because of access to caregivers or work

schedule, with 24 hours between the first and second individual interviews.

I called each participant in November 2012 to set up the final individual interview in January 2013, per protocol objectives (Appendix A). Each interview session enabled me to add lines of inquiry tailored to the emerging themes and metaphors (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Merriam, 1988; Moss, 2007; Seidman, 2006). Once participants felt comfortably seated, I pressed the audio record button, reviewed the 180-minute time commitment and the general purpose of the interview session, followed by any questions participants had or wanted to discuss. I collected nine hours of audio recordings organized by participant pseudonym initial and session sequence: Sasha's labeled S1, S2, or S3, and Gloria's labeled G1, G2, or G3.

Focus group procedures.

I conferred with each participant before employing focus groups to ensure there was no past animosity between them that would prevent them from speaking freely together. Two 180-minute focus group audio and video recorded interviews were conducted as the final event for the July and January sessions. I followed the protocol for focus group interviews (Appendix B) and organized the recording files by audio, F1 and F2, and video, Focus1 and Focus2. A video digital recorder was set up on a tripod on the desk across the room from the seated participants next to me in the same position as the individual interviews. Had the video digital recorder and

copies saved to the USBs not been stolen, they might have strengthened my portraiture with visual evidence (Banister& Hodges, 2005; Erickson, 1982). Because F2 and Focus2 were never transcribed fully, at the re-recording in April 2013 of the second focus group interview questions, I recorded only the audio and transcribed it using the voice-recognition software and saved it as F3. With only transcripts of the audio still in my possession, I elected to keep all interviews in the same transcribed media form of audio digital recordings. Electronic versions of these transcripts were stored online in data storage accessible only by me.

Researcher as Paintbrush

The researcher's role was a frequent theme in descriptions of feminist qualitative methodologies (Moss, 2007; Olsen, 1994; Roman, 1992; Skeggs, 1995). All research methods operated from a process where a researcher described and explained the data selected and interpreted for what the researcher sought; therefore, "all description is theory-laden" (Roman, 1992,p. 571). By constructing data, I was in a process of representation that was situated in an historical context of "theoretical debates and frameworks" that guided what I included and excluded in the investigation (Skeggs, 1995, p. 199). The research process was a site of scrutiny because of the reflexive nature between the researcher and results (Moss, 2006). Reflexivity, according to Olsen (1994), revealed biases in my thinking and conduct toward the goodness of adolescent motherhood for two *Mexicana* women who mothered,

studied, and worked in a southern New Mexico mountain town in their historical context.

I marked my presence to nuance the portrait with the respect and appreciation that I had for the participants. My researcher's voice permeated every assumption or preoccupation brought to the inquiry, "in the questions she asks; in the data she gathers; in the choice of stories she tells; in the language, cadence, and rhythm of her narrative" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997, p.85). Because I interviewed only two adolescent mothers, interpretations were more compelling because of my efforts to ensure the portraiture's trustworthiness (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997; Merriam, 1988). To make the portrayal believable, I considered three audiences that the final portrait would reach:

> "The actors who will see themselves reflected in the story, the readers who will see no reason to disbelieve it, and the portraitist whose deep knowledge of the setting and self-critical stance allows her to see the 'truth value' in her work (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, p.247).

For a holistic understanding the truth value of the data, I triangulated findings that emerged over all interviews. Second, I conferred with the participants to develop an interpretation of results that was plausible to them. Because of the long-term relationship with each participant, my informal observation of their activities confirmed the validity of my findings. Finally, I asked participants to review their narrated sections to improve my portrayal of their portraits.

Data collection and process: choosing the color palette

Data was a gift that had to be treated in ethically respectful ways (Potts & Brown, 2005). I increased the reliability of the entire case study by connecting guiding questions to evidence at every stage as part of a chain of evidence toward explanation building (Yin, 1994).Data storage backed up in electronic and paper forms ensured thick description of data to connect the final assertions to the interpretations of key themes (Creswell, 2007; Seidman, 2006; Stake, 1995).

Implementing the recording protocol: primary color wheel

Participants were informed in the Letter of Consent that all interviews would be audio and video recorded (Appendix C). I asked if they preferred to be interviewed at home but both participants said there were too many distractions there, so they agreed to be interviewed in my hotel suite. I purchased an audio digital recorder and a video digital recorder specifically for this project. The audio recorder stored each participant's individual interviews in sequence within her own file folder while the two focus group interviews were stored together in a third file folder. Each participant's individual recordings were copied to password-protected USBs assigned by pseudonym, Sasha or Gloria, and stored in a locked box inside a filing cabinet in my home office, until they were stolen.

For the first week of interviews, I purposely stayed in a hotel suite with a seating area to make the interview environment casual, like friends talking in a living room. We hugged hello and goodbye each session, as we had done since they gradu-

ated high school. Participants sat on the suite's sofa with the audio digital recorder placed on the coffee table in front of them. I sat directly behind the audio digital recorder facing the participants. For the second session of interviews, my hotel room was not a suite, but it had a seating area where the participant sat with the audio digital recorder in front of her and I sat behind the recorder and wrote notes off of the desk. At the start of each recording I reviewed the 180-minute time limit and asked after her emotional comfort with the topics. I gave an overview of the questions we would be discussing, reminding her that she did not have to discuss any uncomfortable topic, assuring her that she could stop at any time. I took notes on notepads identified by the pseudonyms for each participant, and at the end of each session, we scheduled the next recording appointment. At the end of the third individual interview, I paid Sasha and Gloria $50 each as stipulated in the Consent Form (Appendix C).

For the focus group interviews, I used the same format as the individual interviews, with participants seated on the sofa or chairs, with the audio digital recorder in front of them and the video digital recorder set up on the desk next to me. I recorded notes during the interview on a yellow legal notepad assigned to the focus group interviews. At the first focus interview recording, I reminded the participants that because they were revealing some intimate details, so they needed to respect each other's privacy and not share details with other people. We discussed the reputation Town had for gossiping, and each participant agreed that anything in

the interview stayed in the interview. At the end of the second focus group I paid Sasha and Gloria $25 each as stipulated in the Consent Form (Appendix C). After each focus interview finished, we hugged good-bye since I left Town soon after. The rerecording of the second focus group was conducted in a hotel room with the available chairs pushed together, the audio recorder in front of them. I apologized to the participants for losing the recordings and the USBs, and thanked them for their willingness to be answer the same questions from the second focus group interviews, and I again paid Sasha and Gloria $25 because it was a repeat of the second focus group, so I upheld the stipulation I made in the Consent Form (Appendix C). When the interview ended, we hugged good-bye again.

Individual interview protocol: preparing the canvas.

My careful planning established what data I intended to record and the data recording procedures according to a purposeful set of protocols (Creswell, 2003). Using key questions I wanted to address each interview session (Appendix A), the first interview was dedicated to each participant's background, the second to listening for story, and the third for emerging themes. While the interviews were recording, I took field notes of my observations in a yellow legal tablet assigned to each participant by pseudonym, adding descriptive notes to particular remarks in combination with reflective notes of my thoughts and impressions. I reviewed my comments and reflective notes after each session ended to contextualize all of the ex-

pressions and behaviors in the interview (Banister & Hodges, 2005; Creswell, 2003, 2007; Erickson, 1982).

Implementing the transcription protocol: painting the picture

The researcher cannot just pull out sections to transcribe without transcribing everything because good theory building came from thoroughly examining the whole to understand more specific parts (Seidman, 2006). I reviewed the audio digital recordings immediately following each session to add running notes in each participant's pseudonym notepad, detailing overall patterns of behavior, connecting words with actions to when they occurred. I listened to major segments of interest to comment about initial interpretations of events. I noted patterns and sanctions for particular actions within the interview, which became hearable and useful to illuminate emerging theories. Listening for the goodness of adolescent motherhood was theory driven insofar as the "transcript represents a theory of the events it reports" (Erickson, 1982, p. 231). The audio recordings were transcribed using voice-recognition software. Because I had to listen to an audio excerpt, speak the same words into the voice-recognition software, and check the transcription accuracy, I heard their meaning while I listened to how it was said. It took 10 and 14 hours to transcribe each 180-minute audio recording using Microsoft Word 2007, with the focus group recordings taking up to 16 hours because of the density of talk. I was able to listen to each participant's first two individual interviews (S1 and S2; G1 and

G2) multiple times in the five months between July and January. S3 and G3 were transcribed in the two weeks prior to the robbery, but I did not get to listen to the audio more than twice.

Emergent themes: touch-ups, high-lights and shadows.

This research proceeded from the presumption that there was a goodness of adolescent motherhood for two *Mexicanas* at the intersection of their identities as women who mother, study, and work living in the southern New Mexico mountain town from 2004 to 2013. My research began with Sasha's case to study how single motherhood influenced her as a woman dealing with her identities as a mother, student, and worker, compared with Gloria, who faced the same intersectional identities but was also married. I asked the participants to listen to segments to develop additional insight into what they recollected thinking at the time of the interview and how they felt about my tentative interpretations (Erickson, 1982).

My inductive process involved working between patterns, themes, and the transcripts until comprehensive abstractions developed (Creswell, 2007). I was conscious that values were a part of what was investigated, which exerted social, political, and cultural influences (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). By uniting theory, method, and praxis to identify the structural power relations, the participants' and my social actions were "informed and transformed" by this research (Roman, 1992, p. 582). Themes emerged as the participant's voice told her own story, as the researcher

recorded and retold it, and as the reader who interpreted it (Potts & Brown, 2005).

Aesthetic whole: displaying the portrait

The narrative context and the triangulation between transcripts, field notes, participant feedback, and my interpretations generated an accurate and authentic portrait. First, I sought the relevant evidence I had outlined in my interview protocols (Appendices A & B). I addressed alternative explanations of my interpretations of findings and how those aspects permeated Sasha's and Gloria's cases. I reviewed literature on the goodness of adolescent motherhood to contextualize my biases about the knowledge I brought to analyzing the data (Yin, 1994). I operationalized elements of quality through my interview protocols (Appendices A & B) to make the research more "credible, publishable, actionable, and worth listening to" (Potts & Brown, 271). I tried to help a reader understand the intricacies of living as a *Mexicana* woman who mothered, studied, and worked in a southern New Mexico mountain town in their historical context (Dixson et al., 2005; Hill, 2005).

The portrayal resonated as authentic and truthful because I addressed the four dimensions that contributed to the aesthetic whole (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). The conception of the portrait resided first in the development of the overarching story. Then, layering emergent themes into a structuring story framework created a sequence of events that marked stages in the process. Next, the chronology scaffolded the narrative to make the story evident. Finally, the integrity

of the elements and the unity of the piece created its cohesion. Clearly established contextual information throughout the document helped my voice inform but not distort the interpretations that resonated with the language and culture of the participants. I consistently and coherently considered individual parts in relation to each other to balance the descriptive details for credible conclusions.

Summary

I outlined my portraiture methodology theoretical framework for a feminist standpoint study of the goodness of adolescent motherhood for two *Mexicanas* negotiating their identities in a southern New Mexico mountain town. In Chapter 4, I present the portrait and analysis of Sasha. In Chapter 5, I present the portrait and analysis of Gloria.

Chapter 4

Sasha: The Portrait and Analysis

Introduction

The chronology that follows portrays the context for decisions Sasha made at the intersection of her identities as a woman, mother, worker, and student living in a southern New Mexican mountain town. Because not all details were revealed in any one interview session, each phrase or section of remarks were labeled by which interview they come from (e.g., S1 or S3). I presented the portrait of Sasha first because Sasha was an active student in every year of the 2004-2013 historical context.

The Portrait of Sasha

2004-2005. As an Eighth Grader, "I wasn't thinking about work at all," although her daily after school chores were preparing her to manage her obligations outside and inside the home in ways her brother did not. The patriarchal sexual division of labor in housework, as Hartman (1987) noted, helped Sasha embrace her "household as a unit with unitary interests" (p. 115), so she completed her chores while her brother played, making it so that "my fun was just like at school" (S3).

Sasha got no advice from her mom about sex, but Sasha knew she was not permitted to date. When a classmate asked Sasha to be his girlfriend, "I just said yes because he asked me, not because I was really looking to do anything" (S3). Their re-

lationship existed as texts and cell phone calls, so "you only knew we were going out because I told you, not because we were holding hands or anything" (S3). She giggled as she recalled, "I was so shy! I mean, I would hide from my boyfriend" to avoid having to kiss him between classes (S3). Sasha proved she was a "nice girl" because she was unprepared for a physical heterosexual relationship, using her innocence to avoid escalating contact beyond a kiss (Luker, p. 147). Sasha never felt that she was in love with the boy, so it was easy for her to keep the relationship platonic.

It was during that time that Sasha heard about an adolescent pregnancy at the high school. Sasha understood the implications right away, "I was like (gasp, hushed voice): She's pregnant? She had sex" (S3). Strangely, Sasha did not really think about a baby but wondered about the mom's reaction, "would she get in trouble for it," because the girl's mom was considered "the coolest mom" because she "would rather have her kids' friends come over to her house than her kids going to someone else's" to party (S3). Sasha figured she might have been pregnant at 13 in that situation, because she would have had "all the temptation in my house" (S3). She seemed to blame the permissiveness of Gloria's mom for Gloria's pregnancy, rather than the fact that Gloria's mom had not prepared her for sex. As Hurtado (2003) found with Chicana women, the silence surrounding contraception, even menstruation, implied that "sexual transgression was equated with pregnancy and messing up your life" (p. 56). Sasha was not thinking about how her own lack of knowledge about contraception would create the conditions for her future adoles-

cent pregnancy.

Laughingly, she recalled how important her *Mexicanidad* was because her ELD teacher was "big on Mexican traditions" of holidays and fiestas. She and the Mexicans would occupy a side of the room at the assemblies or at the dances, because the Natives also grouped together but opposite any space from the Mexicans. Mexican-Americans and the Mexicans did not mix either, and as for the "white kids," Sasha did not meet any after three years in school with them (S3). By seeing their Mexican identity as "a national rather than ethnic minority identity" as Valenzuela (1999b) defined, the self-segregation may have been to protect themselves against the "social pathologies often ascribed to Mexican Americans" (p. 14). Sasha had experienced the same racial segregation in the trailer park where she lived, so the tensions at school reflected tensions in the larger community, although they were never discussed aloud.

2005-2006. The night before the first day of her freshman year, Sasha's mom made Sasha and her best friend promise that they would graduate with honors and go to college. While she anticipated her freshman year would be "nerve-racking," Sasha found it academically easier than Eighth Grade. The Mexicans did not receive lower than a C in a course because they were English learners, which Sasha now viewed critically, that "there were no upper expectations, like all you had to do was be there and you get a good grade" (S3). But Sasha applied herself and earned A's in every class, partly because it could be done with minor effort and partly be-

cause her mom would interrogate her about why she did not earn all A's. The "differential encouragements" for the Mexican students did "perpetuate deficit thinking," as Pearl (1997) noted, about the English Learners that Sasha went to school with, so Sasha disrupted that prejudice by excelling in class and registering for more challenging classes as she progressed (p. 213). As well, Sasha's high school success may have been due to her Mexican upbringing teaching her to have "respectful, obedient, and deferential comportment," what Valenzuela (1999b) called "appealing behaviors...rewarded by...teachers" (p. 13).

Her social capital changed when upper classmates realized Sasha was "the smart one," so they picked her for group projects (S3). Laughingly she revealed that because she was such a "perfectionist" and worried about slacking partners, she would "do everybody's else part just in case,...so most of them wouldn't even work at it" (S3). She tutored male peers, and although she did not attribute it to her Mexican culture, she "never helped a white boy," a Native, or any girls (S3). Yosso (2005) would explain Sasha's cultural capital was "an accumulation of specific forms of knowledge, skills, and abilities that are valued by privileged groups in society" that allowed classmates who worked with her to share in her good grade if not the group's work (p. 76). Enacting a hierarchy of gender, Sasha perpetuated her "own social roles and position" by being emotionally and psychologically feminine in helping male class-mates succeed in school (Chodorow, 1978/1999). Sasha's academic competency be-came her capital "whenever social interaction makes use

of resources residing with the web of social relationships" where she could support others (Valenzuela, p. 27). By working with or refusing to work with classmates, Sasha held the power to decide which alliances were based on friendships or lessening her own workload.

The sex education curriculum was only offered in a freshman orientation class. The teacher was "a very, very Christian person," so abstinence guided the woman's two-week sex education unit (S3). This confirms what Fine (1988) noted "official sexuality education occurs sparsely: in social studies, biology, sex education, or inside the nurse's office" (p. 31). Her memory of the curriculum was an STD slide show of afflicted and traumatized genitalia. She remembered discussing the images in a way that was "more like we had watched a scary movie, like: Ah, that stuff is gross" rather than adding any emotional and psychological understanding of sex (S3). Since the late 1990's, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act provided funding for abstinence programs that promoted the idea that "sexual activity outside the context of marriage is likely to have harmful psychological and physical effects" (Ashbee, 2007, p. 109).

"My friends would talk about what other girls were doing in their sex lives, not our own," labeling any girl who they believed were having sex as "ho's" (S3). Hurtado (2003) clarified Sasha's critique of classmates as part of the tension of living as a Mexicana, where women were "potential sluts for dating men" or worse, "potential lesbians if they did not" (p. 64). With the sex education class providing no

additional clarification about negotiating sexual relationships, Sasha did understand that she needed her partner to use a condom to prevent STDs or should avoid sex completely.

2006-2007. In her sophomore year, Sasha's grades were good enough that her mom permitted Sasha to join the basketball team. Sasha got to travel the state and hang out with friends, but more importantly it was time off from her responsibilities at home. Now that she was 15, Sasha's mom told Sasha never to take abuse from any man and find "someone that complements" her, because she "should not change for anybody else" (S1). These were messages Hurtado (2003) found mothers promoted among Chicana participants: "to refuse abuse from men and become economically self-sufficient at all costs, mainly by obtaining an education" (p. 209). While her education was under her command, Sasha's curiosity about sex was growing, although at school I never observed her displaying public affection.

Her teammate inspired Sasha to have sex. Sasha felt that if her teammate was "doing it, so I can do it," because she wanted to be as "smart about sexuality" as her teammate was (S3). Sasha may have been searching for what Foucault (1972/1980) proffered, that "in sex, secretly at least there was to be found the law of all pleasure and that this is what justifies the need to regulate sex and makes its control possible" (p.190). Looking back, her teammate ultimately knew nothing, since she also became an adolescent mother in high school. Sasha discovered "it wasn't really that bad to have sex, or to have one guy, then with another" have sex too (S3). She

did "feel ashamed" to go to the clinic to take free condoms because people would know why she was there, and since prescribing the pill required parental notification, Sasha had no contraceptive in place when she became sexually active (S1). Knowledge alone was not enough to help Sasha reliably use of contraceptives, as Melchert and Burnett (1990) found at the sexual initiation of other 15 year olds, because "sexuality, intimacy, communication, assertiveness, gender role expectations, values clarification, problem solving, and life planning skills" were never discussed openly (p. 296). Without her own contraceptive system, Sasha would depend upon her partners "goodwill and motivation of her partner" a risk that many young women took before their first pregnancy (Luker, p. 145).

Sasha's first time was with a boy she was comfortable with, but they were "not exclusive." Her big moment quickly "went from just kissing and then like, dang! (Nervous giggle). Dang!" (S2). It was not pleasurable, and "it wasn't really about pleasure but just the experience,...just there and done" in his car, leaving Sasha to ask, "Well? Is that it?" (S2). Once she got over "the scare" of her first time, she felt like she had the power over boys that "only wanted that," (S3). Levy (2005) pointed to the backlash of female sexual liberation in the 2000s where young women increasingly felt that they had "to explore sex and sexuality by being willing to have a number of mediocre experiences" (p. 189). Sasha noticed her teammate had sex with almost everyone who pursued her, so in commodifying her sexuality, Sasha felt

that her disappointing first time made her "more able to say no" to sex, allowing her to accept "there were hook-ups" without sex until after her sophomore year (S3).

She met her son's father through her teammate July 2007, and she "just started texting, and then calling, and then we would call every night" (S3). He knew that she was 15 to his 21 when they met, but by September she felt they were in a relationship because he had asked her to be his girlfriend. Sasha did not want to "put titles" because to have a boyfriend meant that her parents had to meet him, and she knew they would not approve on the basis of his age alone (S3). As Ebert (1988) warned, Sasha like many women, got locked into monogamous sexual relationships because the patriarchal ideology secures compliance "by representing female resistance, power, and desire in terms of the demand for male commitment as a reliable sexual mate" (p. 44). By choosing not to "put titles," Sasha may have been exclusively having sex with him without the coercion of an official relationship, but their lack of status allowed her son's father to bed another woman in Town that same summer whom he would later marry.

2007-2008. At 16, Sasha "pulled away" from her mom to avoid questions and to continue meeting with her son's father into her junior year (S2). DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) might explain that Sasha believed "that the man's love is the exact counterpoint of the love she brings to him; in bad faith she takes desire for love, erection for desire," that their relationship had a future (p. 620). She gave her mom vague answers about where she was going or what she was doing out of "typical

teenager" hubris: "Ah, I know what I'm doing. Leave me alone" she demanded (S1). All her life Sasha was the responsible one, but once she "tasted freedom," she felt like she could do whatever she wanted (S1). She ditched school for a whole week and still had A's, so she took off four weeks. When she came back to school, she had all F's, but after studying, writing, and testing for three days straight she earned back all her A's back (S1). The faculty did not know Sasha "was going wild," but because she had been a good student up until then, she took advantage of their desire to support her (S3). Yosso (2004) might explain the willingness of teachers to enable Sasha to make up the missed assignments and tests as a reflection of her aspirational capital to earn A's, navigational capital to negotiate institutional protocols, linguistic capital in pleading her case in English, familial capital to accept her friends and teachers assistance to meet her deadlines, and resistant capital to block her teammate's dislike of school from pulling Sasha off her path toward graduation. She satisfied her teachers and reaffirmed her connection with her school support network just when she would need it more than ever.

Sasha and her son's father had sex about once a week, "pretty much in his car because he had a roommate and she was uncomfortable with "just that somebody was there, and they were both guys, and it was kind of awkward" with somebody in earshot of their activities (S2). She and her son's father did use condoms but "it didn't work, but we didn't use it properly, like every time," with Sasha consenting to sex when he did not have a condom (S1). Luker (1996) found that by having sexu-

al intercourse without a condom, women felt there was "a tacit assumption that they are sharing the risk: he must love her so much he wants to have a child with her and is willing to stand by her if she does" (p. 150). Now that Sasha was making adult decisions about her sex life, she needed to consider how she could get more free-dom from her mom by working for spending money.

She started waitressing at a Tex-Mex restaurant in December, working the dinner shift Fridays and Saturdays for $3 an hour plus tips. Sasha's stepfather had worked at the restaurant for 12 years, and although she did not have a work permit, the owners were willing to pay her "under the table" (S3). Sasha's parents taught her a good worker was an asset to her job and never take sick days because "a day you don't work is a day you don't get paid" (S2). As Segura (1994) had noted with *Mexicanas* working in the U.S, Sasha believed "motherhood was compatible with employment insofar as employment allows them to provide for their family's eco-nomic subsistence and betterment" because her mom had worked ever since Sasha's biological father left them (p. 233).

In March 2008, Sasha "came home from work and I was puking," the only time her entire pregnancy and it was in front of her mom, who deduced, "You're pregnant" (S1). Sasha denied it, blaming it on bad guacamole from work because of the green color. A week later, Sasha's step father took her to buy a pregnancy test to find out for sure. Tearfully, she recalled how her dad reassured her, whether she

was pregnant or not, "I'm with you--I'm your father" (S1). Among Mexican-American families, Vega et al. (1986) found adaptability allowed the "family system to change in power structure, role relationships, and relationship rules in response to situational and developmental stress" (p. 858). Sasha waited another day, not wanting to even look at the test, convinced that God would not let her get pregnant because "God loves me. Easy girls get pregnant, not me" (S1)! Even after the second pregnancy test from the box, "It wasn't even no doubt--the plus was bright red" (S1). Sasha fretted about how to tell her parents, but when she called her dad, he came home and said nothing, "he just hugged me" (S1).

Tension at home increased as Sasha's estrangement from her mother was reaching its peak. Sasha's mom had stayed silent for about a week, but when she spoke, she clearly felt like she was "living her own story again," because her mom always had warned Sasha not to get pregnant as she had done when she was 17 (S1). Sasha's mom lamented, "All those years of studying and you get pregnant and you disappoint me! Oh, man," Sasha's voiced trembled with pain (S1). Disappointing her mom was "the worst feeling you can feel," and on top of everything, her mom "knew I had sex" (S1). Finally her best friend's dad talked suggested they talk to the pastor. The pastor explained Sasha was "making too many mistakes, that this is a gift from God, it's not punishing you," which her mom accepted (S1). Chodorow (1978/1999) suggested that when a mother sees her daughter as her double, the moment when her daughter's "alternity...comes to be affirmed, the mother feels betrayed"

(p. 88). This may explain why Sasha's mom reacted to Sasha's pregnancy "like: Why again? (Louder) Again?!" McCullough and Scherman, (1991) had found adolescent mothers believed they had disappointed parents as daughters by getting pregnant, a fact painful enough to hear when Sasha reenacted her mom's reproach.

Because her mom had to quit school when she got pregnant, she feared Sasha would stop studying. Sasha always assured her mom she would not stop studying, that "it's going to be okay" (S1). Sasha never "saw it like: Oh, man, I failed. It was more like: No, I have to now. Before it was like, oh, you can do it. Now, I have to do it!" (S1). As Hurtado (2003) found with Chicana daughters and their mothers, "the relationship between them turned into mutual support, a collaboration to make each other's lives better" (p. 83). By supporting and reconstituting each other emotionally, Sasha and her mother began preparing for the baby's arrival. In communities of color, Hooks (1984) noted that "mothers and children empower themselves by understanding each other's position and relying on each other's strengths," as Sasha turned to her mom the get her through her pregnancy (p. 56).

Sasha was anxious and scared to tell her son's father she was pregnant, so she asked her teammate to make the call but Sasha would listen in on their conversation. Her voice caught when she repeated his question: "Well, whose is it. (Voice catches). So that's what got me. Then I was like: Hang up," she said disgustedly (S1). He called later, but Sasha told him she could not talk while she was working. He never called back and she never contacted him. Because Sasha's mom "never asked

my real dad for anything" after he abandoned them, Sasha decided she would never ask her son's father for child support (S1). Chicanas in Hurtado's (2003) study viewed an unexpected pregnancy as an issue "of having agency and taking full responsibility for their actions," as Sasha needed to do (p. 273). When her son's father made no further attempt to discuss their child, Sasha considered her next steps.

Although it sounded "weird" to say out loud, Sasha felt prepared to have a child, "but not really prepared mentally" (S3). She knew: "I gotta work (snaps fing-ers) and finish school--an instant plan (snaps fingers)" (S1). Laughingly, she said she felt "pre-pared to have the kid and not to be married" (S1). She believed getting pregnant was "like putting my feet down" and it forced her to be "a better person" (S1). As DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) recorded "that unless the circumstances are posi-tively unfavorable the mother will find her life enriched by her child" (p. 482). As long as Sasha stayed in school, her parents promised to help her take care of her son when-ever they could, so everyone's life would stay "the same pretty much" (S2). Getting pregnant at that point did "coincide with her years of peak access to social and practical support provided by relatively healthy kin," which allowed Sasha to be in the best condition for having her child (Geronimus, p. 425). Her parents were in good health and in good standing with their employers, so Sasha had a secure envi-ronment in which to raise her son. Her brother attended the same school campus as Sasha her senior year and two years after she graduated, which meant he checked on her son or picked him up from daycare if she ran behind schedule.

2008-2009. In September, Sasha arrived at the hospital "blind," not knowing what to expect, even ignoring her labor pains until her mom noticed her wincing. "I thought my mom was exaggerating because I never felt pain, but my weirdness was like three minutes apart!" she laughed (S2). She was shocked by how they checked for dilation—"Dang! (Giggles). Don't do that!"—and when they told her she was dilated to five centimeters, she had no idea what they were talking about (S2). She accepted the epidural and her pregnancy was perfect: no morning sickness, a quick delivery, and no complications. Sasha began breast feeding that day, because it was "implied, it wasn't like an option: You can't not breastfeed" for the first year as her mom did for her (S2). Sasha followed the literature and her mom's advice, although breastfeeding was something "most of the American moms never did" (S2). In this sense, Sasha felt she was already making superior parenting choices over her peers, reflecting a competitive environment among adolescent mothers as Higginson (1998) found. Sasha, like other adolescent mothers, accepted and rejected advice that supported her ideas on how to best raise her child, aided by the GRADS parenting literature she now had access to. The GRADS program curriculum hinged on women learning domestic skills, as Deem (1978) noted, to be "competent housewives, thrifty homemakers, and careful mothers" (p.19). Sasha read her way through the program's library and continued to read parenting literature throughout college.

A lot of classmates visited her and at first she was flattered, but later she found out their real purpose: to see if her son looked like his father. "Ignorant peo-

ple! Wait until you see him at Walmart running around or something. Be more discreet about it!" she chided (S2). Fromm found in Marx a recognition that when a woman is not legitimized by marriage as someone's private and exclusive property, a "community of women, in which women become communal and private property" of that society (Fromm, p. 38). One female cousin of her son's father actually took the Child Lab class to visit with Sasha's son, but none of his family ever treated her son as their kin, "they just know him as my son" (S2).

Sasha could not apply for Medicaid until she got her son's Birth Certificate and Social Security card, and then she had to meet with a caseworker on her father's day off, because she was on his health insurance. When the case worker asked her about her son's father, it was "kind of embarrassing" that she did not know anything about the man (S2). Sasha's shame was an element Hooks (1984) noted, that "the welfare system is structured to ensure that recipients will undergo a process of demoralization in order to receive aid" (p. 105). Sasha considered asking for child support for her son's sake, but then he would have "the rights over him, so, never mind" (S2). She did not want to force fatherhood on the father since he was not "fighting for it" (S2). The ride home after the interview was "just silent,...awkward" (S2). Sasha felt stunned after the meeting as well. "I was like: I don't know anything about this guy. What did I do?" she asked incredulously (S2). Chodorow (1978/1999) found daughters expressed the ideology of children as a mother-daughter affair "through either not knowing who the father of the baby is, or knowing and not

caring," as Sasha seemed to have done (p. 203). Whenever someone asked her who the father was, Sasha answered: "You're looking at it: I'm the dad," to avoid further discussions (S2). Ebert (1988) believed that Sasha was able to "occupy bigendered subject positions—to take on limited attributes of the other gender—only to the degree that... the primacy of male gender is not substantially threatened" (p. 36). Sasha believed that she could financially support her son on her own, as long as she could continue living in her parents' home and finished her education.

Sasha decided not to call anyone her boyfriend unless their relationship was "serious and committed" (S2). She dated a 20-year-old man during her senior year without ever having sex, because "after you have a kid, your body can get pregnant right away (snaps fingers) again" (S2, S3). Sasha was not even thinking about sex now that she was so busy caring for her son. "I was just going to school and then going to daycare and then going into the house," so she barely socialized at school because she lunch with her son in the daycare (G3). While most women are socialized to become mothers, Anderson (2000) found women "are seldom prepared for the solitary activity of actually caring for children" (p.171). Sasha blamed her physical exhaustion from working, studying and mothering for never going out socially.

Once Sasha was pregnant, she openly discussed sex with her younger brother and gave him the free condoms she got from the clinic where she got her pills, adding "You better be careful. Wear a condom" (S2). When her mom tried to stop Sasha from giving her brother condoms, Sasha countered that she would stop if her mom

would rather have another grandchild. Although as a daughter Sasha was not permitted to talk about sex in her parents' house because it was shameful or private, as a mother Sasha wanted her son's home to be open. "Anything, like he can talk to me about anything! It's like always better to talk about it into using real names" for body parts (S2). Sasha scoffed at her mom's inability to say the word penis without blushing, when it was "a body part; it's like you say leg" (S2). The Mexican tradition of silence Hurtado (2003) noted around contraceptives was compounded for Sasha by an assumption, as noted by Gilliam (2007), that because Sasha allowed her son's father to have sex with her without a condom, "that is also her fault" (p. 60). Sasha did not want her brother impregnate a girl because a condom was not available, so she encouraged him to consider his partner's expectations from him as a man.

During her senior year, Sasha wanted to protect the girls who asked her advice about sex by telling them to get on the pill and not to feel ashamed. "Ask questions. Find out your options" from the health center or free clinic (S2). Traditionally, Mexican moms believed that if they talked to their daughters about sex or contraceptive that it was like giving permission for their daughters to have sex. DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) noted that the worst infraction daughter could commit against her mother was "for her to have a daughter boldly assert herself as an independent person," thinking an acting in her own interests (p. 490). Sasha felt Mexican parents in Town "would come to hunt me down" if they knew a "*desgraciada*" (fallen woman) was giving out contraceptive advice (S2). It was weird that classmates were more

open to talk to Sasha than before her pregnancy, so she used her experience to illustrate what could happen, which she punctuated with a catchy "No glove, no love" reminder to all (S2). Because Sasha was raised in a culture that emphasized a reciprocity in achievement, as Gomez and Fassinger (1994) found in their Latino subjects, Sasha may have felt her "own success is earned by contributing to the success of another (p. 213). Sasha felt her duty was to get peers using contraceptives, because "this could happen to you guys if you guys don't take care of yourself" (S2). Sasha was living proof of the consequence of unprotected sex, so they had to "look at me and decide:" a condom now or a baby later (S2).

Since Sasha had worked in the high school daycare through three years of Child Lab classes, she felt confident leaving her son in their care during the day. She cried when she first left her son in daycare, but when she came back a period later, she laughed ruefully that he was "like a happy baby--he didn't even notice" she had gone (S1, S3)! She felt her son was secure, she liked being able to visit him every other class period, and that the GRADS literature improved her confidence in her mothering choices (S3). Sasha had cared for babies and toddlers in the daycare every year she had attended high school, so those interactions made her feel she would be supported to use the daycare for her own son. The daily contact with school personnel helped Sasha continue and graduate from high school, interact positively with her son, and maintain her son's good health and development as other school-based parenting and daycare program mothers were able to achieve (Sadler, et al., 2007).

Sasha "knew somebody every period he was there, so people are there to make sure the babies are safe" (S3).

She barely considered her *Mexicanidad* as she took two AP classes with "mostly white kids, no Natives, and a few Chicanos," so Sasha used her Spanish to help teachers communicate with ESL students more than to talk with peers (S3). School was more stressful knowing she had to graduate to get into college, but she never had any major in mind. Sasha already held a favorable disposition to graduating high school, as Ahn (1994) found among women who had working mothers, which made it easier for her to complete high school overall. In May, she graduated with honors, as she had promised her mom at the start her freshman year. Graduating high school was her first great accomplishment because, while "everyone graduates from high school, but not every mother graduates from high school" (S2).

She began to realize that her legal status could prevent her from working after college if she did not start applying for legal residency, but it would not stop her from attending the college or block her from receiving the New Mexico lottery scholarship. She believed she had to keep working while in college because waitressing was "pretty easy--just serve people and get money" (S3). Since work was not about her survival, Sasha did not mind the low pay of waitressing because her larger expenses were covered by living with her parents. If she went to college to access better employment options but did not have a legal work permit by the time she finished, than all her hard work would be for nothing, but that did not matter now.

2009-2010. Sasha started college at 18 declaring an education major. Her parents paid tuition her first semester, but that was the only time because Sasha "was not asking them for help" once the lottery scholarship money came in the second semester (S3). By living with her parents, she only had to work enough to pay for textbooks and perform the same chores at home as in high school, "do dishes, and set the table, and sweep" (S2). She worked every weekend and was promoted to Head Waitress to train new employees, "but I was their only waitress," she laughed. She got no raise in pay with the title, but she became aware of how the owner's son, who waited tables with her, made better tips than she. Because "he was like so social, like he would get $10 tips, $20 tips, and I was like: I want that" (S3). Suddenly she realized her advantage as a waitress, "so then I started being more sociable, and it definitely increased my tips! The more I did it, the easier it got" (S3). Sasha, as Arnot (1981) claimed, was educated to "see an extension of identity from domestic activities to work activities" (p. 83), so she was performing the service in waitressing with the same dutiful and silent behavior she practiced at home. The difference when serving for waged labor was altering her demeanor to a sociable and solicitous persona, verbally engaging and attentive to their need. As she developed her worker identity to generate larger tips, Sasha's confidence increased in other areas of her life.

After Sasha paid for textbooks and school supplies, "if I have extra money, I would rather—if it's for me, I get jeans or shoes, you know? I'd rather waste it on my

son, going to the movies, taking my son to the zoo" (S2). Sasha and many women "use their employment for the benefit of domestic commitments rather than for themselves" (Arnot, p. 83). Her son's benefit is what motivated her to go to college, "I think I needed to better myself to better my son, you know, to provide for my son" through a career (S3). Sasha was using her academic strength to access feminine careers with higher pay, better working conditions, and more stability than waitressing to "improve their lives materially in the work force" (Rury, p. 119).

With her next sexual partner, fortified by consistent use of the pill and confident to command "No glove, no love" (S2), Sasha dated her "only white guy," who helped Sasha learn to express what she needed and wanted from her partner sexually (S1). The relationship lasted eight months through texting and talking on the phone because he moved out of Town. There were weeks between meetings, but whenever they were together, they had sex, and "the sex did change the relationship. It was better," she laughed (S2). They agreed to separate when it "was not fun anymore" not out of animosity (S3), but Sasha thought he was so caring and "he was there for me as much as I was there for him," unlike with her previous Mexican partners where she "was more there for them" (S3). Sasha introduced him to her son, who he treated lovingly, but she had already decided she was not going to date anybody she did not see herself marrying, "like sharing a house," from the first meeting (S2). Single mothers like Sasha already had the work load of mothering, working and studying, so it would be prudent to acknowledge that "husbands may require more

housework than they contribute" (Hartman, p. 120). Sasha wanted a partner in her home, someone to take the burden of the home off her shoulders not add to it, so she ended the relationship efficiently. I thought Sasha may also have been thinking of the best interests of her son, as Luker (1996) found with other young mothers, to be "careful about making commitments to a man who may or may not stick around" (p. 160). Her father abandoned her, her son's father questioned his paternity, so Sasha may not have been willing to open herself to further disappointment in someone she relied upon.

In high school Sasha was committed to graduation out of a sense that "no, I have to now" (S1). By the end of her freshman year, "there weren't a lot of Mexican women going to college" (S3) and peers that dropped out were not returning to school as they had planned. "I don't think the others feel college is a necessity. Like I have to! There's no other choice. I have to" finish a college degree (S2). As Hartman (1987) found, women including Sasha "increasingly perceive their economic security to lie primarily in being self-supporting," especially since Sasha had no savings after two years of working (p. 126).

2010-2011. She took summer courses before and after her sophomore year in college, paying out of her savings, and changed her major from education to accounting since she had been so good at math, until she took the first class. "Accounting was the class that I hated the most, the worst class that I have taken," a factor that prevented her from majoring in Business because of the requisite ac-

counting courses (S1). Without a major in place and no real passion to pursue, Sasha continued to complete graduation requirements and enjoyed becoming more vocal in class discussions. Sasha appeared to be reproducing the division of labor within the female workforce, as Rury (1991) noted, "by training women for specifically female forms of labor and by helping middle-class women to monopolize middle-class jobs" (p. 9). Sasha could only envision her math proficiency in relation to accounting, not engineering or architecture, subjects she had been aware of because of the Math Engineering Science Architecture (MESA) club she participated in in middle and high school. Lacking an effective adviser, Sasha made the best use of her lottery scholarship and progressed toward meeting graduation requirements.

Sasha lost her *Mexicanidad* as a mother because she "didn't wanna do it like my mom did," so she read American parenting books instead of asking her mom for advice (S3). Her *Mexicanidad* was challenged again by Sasha's continued use of the daycare, which taught her to prepare her son for school by reading to him "in English, talking to him at home, telling him he has to earn his degree" (S1). Sasha felt there was nothing Mexican about what she was doing in her life: not even the Spanish she spoke was Mexican, referring to it as "a New Mexican Mexican," but it was just how she needed to be, "like life has evolved with the circumstances" of living in Town (S3).

Sasha's mom was a very strong woman, a very good role model for living differently than how Sasha viewed her grandmother lived as "a slave" (S3). "She

doesn't even get along with my grandpa, but they are still married" (S2). Although she loved Sasha's stepfather, Sasha's mom prioritized getting her children "a good life and getting us to college," a tradition she wanted to continue with her son (S2). "I think like: Okay, my mom never finished high school, so I have to finish college, and now I'm getting my Bachelor's. Now my son has to get a Master's or Doctorate," she declared smiling (S2).

2011-2012. Sasha turned 20, and believed she had matured substantially in the four years since her son's birth. When her son was younger, she stressed about the time away from her son for school each day, but it was worth it when graduation was only a year away, close enough she "could taste it" (S3)! She admitted feelings of guilt about the time she spent away from her son at work or at school, noting "you pretty much try to not lose it but, you pretty much are losing time with him" (S2). As with the *Mexicana* working mothers in Segura (1994), Sasha felt remorse more about how she spent the time she did have with him, choosing to extend her day when "he goes to bed around 9, and usually it's like 12 and then I'll go to sleep" after completing homework (S2). Now that graduation was closer, Sasha felt her reward for her hard work was more tangible.

In her college junior year Sasha got a female adviser who helped Sasha declare a major in Criminal Justice and take the necessary classes to complete the degree in Town. Sasha had not been aware that she had to take online classes from the community college's main campus to keep her lottery scholarship. "I would of lost

my scholarship if I didn't, and I didn't know until she told me" (S2). Sasha liked her adviser, saying "she's a good counselor, like she, if I need to call somebody,...with her, she calls,...she takes care of" the paperwork to help Sasha finish a degree (S2). As Sands and Plunkett (2005) found for Mexicans graduating high school, school personnel are important to enabling school success, with Sasha's adviser ensuring that the institutional protocols would not inhibit Sasha from completing her degree.

Sasha only regretted having her son so young, but because she did so much because of having a child, she did not think she "would be as grown-up now if I didn't have him then," feeling in many ways "getting pregnant changed my life for the better" (S3). She did not advocate that a girl should get pregnant to change her life, but "Change your life (laughs), then get pregnant! Or if you're already pregnant, change your life, that's what I mean" (S3). She had changed her priorities to be "less about the outside, more about the inside person," which made her feel older than the "kids" she graduated with because of how much she experienced in those four years, "my son's lifetime" (S3). While Sasha viewed having to raise her son as "an enterprise to which one can validly devote oneself," DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) warned, "it represents a readymade justification no more than any other enterprise does" (p. 493). Sasha had determined to graduate from high school and go to college since she was in middle school, but in accepting personal responsibility for her son, she strengthened her resolve to finish because her son's domestic stability de-pended on her success.

She wanted her son to "be independent" (S2), to know that in the end, he really did not have anybody but himself to rely upon, "You can't trust anybody else to take care of you, like if you're not emotionally stable for yourself, you can't help anybody else," she concluded (S3). Sasha watched how a friend struggled to survive after her friend's mom had died and was determined not to leave her son helpless like that. Sasha's biggest fear was "being weak, and not being able to take care of myself" for his sake (S2). Chodorow (1978/1999) found that a single mother tended "to create in her son a pseudo-independence masking real dependence," where Sasha gave her son the opportunity to learn through experience, but everything he experienced was under her control and watchful eyes (p. 187). Because she was still living as her parents' daughter in her parents' home, Sasha was postponing her independence until she finished school.

2012-2013. At 21, Sasha completed final semesters to graduate with an Associate's Degree in Criminal Justice in May 2013. College graduation was monumental for Sasha and her mom, although her son only understand that Sasha was happy. Graduating college meant "a start of my life," because college and waitressing were "just warm up" (S2). She had hoped to earn a Bachelor's degree by May of 2014, but she was still figuring out how to move to the main campus and pay for final credits without any more scholarship monies at the final interview in April 2013. Sasha seemed to view her current existence in a way that Deem (1978) found women to be institutionally oriented to view adolescence, "as a time of waiting for

real life—marriage—to begin" (p. 36-37). In many ways her life had remained the same from childhood through college, the same home, the same job, the same daily routine, all carefully aligned to get her to college graduation. DeBeauvoir (1949/ 1964) found that when a woman such as Sasha engaged in productive labor, "in connection with the aims she pursues, with the money and the rights she takes possession of, she makes trial of and senses her responsibility" (p. 639).

She learned in 2012 about the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), for students to get a work permit that she could renew every two years without having to leave the country, but her application for residency remained stalled in bureaucratic processing. Sasha's Social Security card came in January 2013, so her legal status was no longer an obstacle. "Now that I have my work permit, I don't have any excuse and I have to get a real job, you know, so I'm looking for a job—a better job" than waitressing, she laughed (S3). However, she remained at the same job throughout graduation to avoid interrupting her routine. Ironically, to pay for her deferment Sasha had to continue working illegally, and after she became legal, she stayed at the same job she had as an illegal. Because it "protects you from deportation" was Sasha's primary benefit from deferment; she no longer feared being separated from her son (S3). Living on the border, as Bejarano (2005) noted, Sasha was organized "within rules and regulations that limit and enable particular identities, individual capacities, and social forms" that changed with her work permit allowing her now to work above the table (p. 21).

Sasha felt guilty when she left her son at home whenever she went out, and she had to be careful about she was seen associating with because of living in a small community. "I don't see a problem with going out with your girlfriends, or your mom. It doesn't mean you can't have fun, you know? But then again, if you are partying--every single weekend--then you are out there" (S3). Villenas and Moreno (2001) found gendered-specific rules of proper social behavior in the Latino culture that "for a woman, leaving with or without their children meant being subjected to *verguenza*" in the eyes of other women (p. 680). Shaking her head, Sasha added, "Poor kid, that's all I ever think. Like why have a kid if you don't want to take care of it?" (S3). Her mom offered to take care of her son constantly, but Sasha refused because "I feel guilty. It's just me" (S3). These less-than-perfect mothers were noted by DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) to be "extremely demoralizing for the woman who aims at self-sufficiency," as Sasha was trying to establish for herself (p. 657). Bejarano (2005) found this same preoccupation among Latinas, that as females, they were more "carefully watched and scrutinized, both for their roles as girls stepping into adulthood and for the degree of sexuality they espouse" that could mark their social reputations throughout adulthood (p. 117). As Villenas and Moreno (2001) explained "women participated in evaluating who better met the 'cultural standards' of being a good woman, and in this sense, kept an eye on each other's' social actions in relationship to men" (p. 680).

In October 2012, Sasha received terrible news: the "white guy" she had dated was killed in a car accident. She remembered that they had talked about his moving back to Town if Sasha wanted, but she did not want to complicate her life that way. "I think it would have been harder because now we're living together in another place and have to take care of rent or whatever bills," expenses she did not have to worry about living with her parents (S3). Sasha truly believed "it would've been harder, so we always talked about that. He was like: Yeah, you have to finish your career" (S3). She was saddened that he had died, but she did not regret that they had separated because she prioritized her education above a relationship. In fact, had she given up her education to be with the boyfriend a few years ago and he did still died this year, she would have been left without an education and no mate. Sasha had chosen to "not be economically dependent on a man" (Hurtado, p. 80) in order to maintain the conditions that allowed her parents to absorb the larger costs of living at home so she did not have to work more hours.

Sasha's son had not started Kindergarten yet, but because of daycare, Sasha thought that he had gained confidence at daycare to handle conflict and do things himself rather than having her do things for him (S3). She felt that daycare had helped her son become fluent in English and Spanish, which Sasha reinforced at home "reading to my son in English" before bed and speaking Spanish with his grandparents or watching television (S1). Sasha talked to her son in a "more person-to-person than more mom-to-son" manner, and she disciplined him with timeouts,

denying him the attention he craved rather than spanking (S3). He acted more independent at five years old, not wanting to be held or be treated like a baby anymore. Sasha did not wish she had another one, saying "I only have time for my son and whatever I do for school and work. That's pretty much what I do" (S2). Sasha's resilient construction of her personal identity made her adapt how she trained her son to survive in the world she knew from her "own institutionalized experience" in public education (Gonzalez, 2001, p. 154). Sasha wanted her son to confident in his ability to do things for himself "than mommy, you know, because I'm not always going to be there. It's like impossible" (S3). If she prepared him sufficiently, her son will have little trouble transitioning into Kindergarten and beyond.

In his adulthood, Sasha expected her son would first get his life organized to know how to cook, clean a home, and work so he could take care of himself if she could not. She wanted "no *machismo*, like that men and women are the same" (S2). He could do whatever he wanted as long as he remembered the morals that Sasha taught him: to take care of his responsibilities, honesty that the truth is always better" but he should not "hurt somebody's feelings," so she wanted him to learn the difference (S2). Sasha felt it was important for her son to plan his family, "I never planned it, so I want him to. Okay, you found the right woman? You got to get married. He got his son or his daughter? Can he take care of another one?" she explained how he would reason (S2). Sasha wanted her son to have the opportunity to enjoy college without having to care for a child as she had, "that way he can experience

having fun in college like I couldn't experience because I had to be home" (S2). DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) might caution Sasha that "she cannot give to this independent person, who is to exist tomorrow, his own reasons, his justification for existence," (p. 468). Her love of school may not be his love, but Sasha was going to repeat her expectations for him for the rest of his youth.

Although she hoped he could be an American but also Mexican, to stay connected to his Mexican heritage and not forget his Spanish language or culture, like "how we do things like Mexican holidays" (S2). Villenas and Moreno (2001) found that mothers acted as "teachers and 'educated' persons in the household who have a role in the creative 'transmission' of cultural knowledge" (p. 674). In rejecting a submissive role herself and raising her son so there would be "no *machismo*" in him (S2), Sasha had reduced her culture to calendar milestones and coming-of-age ceremonies. Sasha became more social as her son got older, allowing herself to occasionally attend "*bailes* and stuff like that" with a female friend (S2), because when they were younger, "we would never really went to *quinceañeras* or dancing like that, so we started going together. I had a partner" with whom she could socialize publicly without harming her reputation (S2, S3). By perpetuating the language and values of her Mexican culture in her son, Sasha only slightly helped counter the encroachment of colonialism within her life (Mirande, 1977).

Because of the interviews for this research project, Sasha felt that the process of "going through it and actually saying it and going back, and I'm like: Well, I

haven't done that bad, you know? It's not that bad" (S3). Her experience might have been "harder" if Sasha had gotten pregnant just a year earlier or later, so in that sense she felt "the timing was perfect" (S1). Collins (1994) found among women of color that "getting to keep one's children and raise them accordingly fosters empowerment," as Sasha found from raising her son (p. 54). For Sasha, her life was a lesson for others to learn from her "being open about my life in stuff will help, not with everyone, but it's working for me!" she laughed (S2). As Hooks (1984) not-ed, "the ability to see and describe one's own reality is a significant step in the long process of self-recovery, but it's only a beginning" (p. 24).

Analysis through the Research Questions

How did mothering intersect with Sasha's woman, worker, and student identities?

Chodorow (1978/1999) positioned mothering as the "central and constituting element in the social organization and reproduction of gender" (p. 7). As a mother, Sasha was "articulated into the surplus value nexus which is the *sine quo non* of capitalism (Rubin, 1975). From my feminist standpoint, I reached a "critical consciousness with respect to the effects of power structures on epistemic production" that offer a nuanced perspective on the reality of the intersection of motherhood on Sasha's woman, worker, and student identities (Bowell, p. 3).

Mother with woman. Sasha felt her mom did not prepare her to understand her body or reproduction, which led to her pregnancy and she wanted to help others avoid it. Among a group of adolescent mothers, Gilliam (2007) reported the women felt their Mexican culture inhibited moms' from providing practical information to negotiate sexual relations. Sasha discussed contraceptives with her peers as a way to be able to explore sexual relationships without having to reproduce, but did not tell her peers to stop having sex. However, when she thought about working with clients she would meet through the criminal Justice system, her first thought was that the females "have to learn to say no, like, if they are not comfortable: just say no," if they could, but if they did not want to stop, "protect yourselves" (S2). Sasha had worked to become the "soft face of capitalism" by working in the Criminal Justice field, promoting education as a pathway to liberation from the penal system (Arnot, p. 72).

Mother with work. Because of her mom's advice, Sasha knew that if her son was sick and she had to work, her "son comes first" (S2), but if her son was well, her mothering duties had to wait. Sasha as an adolescent mother spent more time in the labor market than if she had postponed her pregnancy until a later age (Hotz et al., 1997; Maynard, 1997; McElroy & Moore, 1997). Since 16, Sasha waitressed twice a week at the same restaurant for $3 and hour plus tips. While working was critical to survival, Sasha had learned that motherhood had to take precedence. By waitressing on the weekend for six years, Sasha was home week nights to enjoy time with her

son together from the end of her school day until he went to bed at night. Although DeBeauvoir (1949/1964) found “having a child is enough to paralyze a woman’s activity entirely” (p. 655), Sasha had learned to schedule her work around her parents’ schedule so that they could watch her son while she worked the dinner shift.

Mother with student. When her son was sick, Sasha was prevented from taking her son to daycare, so she would have to miss school those days. Any appointments with her son’s caseworker or medical checkup had to be worked around Sasha’s class schedule, but when they conflicted, her son’s needs came first. Sasha verified the conclusions of Sadler, et al. (2007), that daily use of school based child care led adolescent mothers to graduate high school, interact positively with her child, and develop a healthy son. Because Sasha was on track to graduate prior to her son’s birth, her schedule made it possible to reconnect with her son every other hour, so “having the daycare on campus gave me security…it gave me more time with my son” than if her son was being cared for off campus (S1).

Hallman (2007) claimed the material conditions of adolescent mothers revolved around investing in the children as key to their future, not their own academic achievement or career pursuit, but Sasha felt they were intertwined. Sasha’s mom did not finish high school, but she taught Sasha from an early age that she had to graduate and go to college. As Ahn (1994) noted with her study, Sasha had a favorable orientation toward education prior to her pregnancy that allowed her to graduate without problem. The state lottery scholarship was the reason why Sasha was

able to attend college and get a degree in four years. Because Sasha graduated high school and college, she expected her son to surpass her to a "Master's or a Doctorate's" level (S1). She wanted her son to complete his education and establish his work ethic before he started his family to be more financially stable than Sasha had been (S2). Hurtado (2003) found that "morality, work ethic, and above all, education" were a part of Chicana women's world view, which Sasha felt would guide her son to greater achievements than her own (p. 74).

Because real possibilities for developing personal agency laid within conditions of self-determination (Anyon, 1997), Sasha believed motherhood bolstered her student identity. Sasha knew that not every mother graduated from high school, so she wanted to defy the statistics. Sasha had to "convert symbolic power into real power" by using her high school diploma for entry to college and the credentials it would provide (Willis, p. 119). Sasha settled for an Associate's Degree in Criminal Justice because she could not afford the cost of transferring to the main campus to earn her Bachelor's before her state lottery scholarship ran out.

How did being a woman intersect with Sasha's mother, worker, and student identities?

Sasha as a woman was "therefore always-already a subject appointed as a subject in and by the specific familial ideological configuration" in which she was raised (Althusser, p. 176). Through her behavior, language, use of objects, her

physical presence, Sasha was prepared herself to be a mother, worker, and student.

Woman with mother. Sasha's identity as a woman was tied up in conception of assuming personal responsibility in her life, "not only to work but also to do well in school and attend to family obligations" (Hurtado, p. 75). Sasha became a mother "because a mother is a female parent and a female who is a parent must be an adult, hence must be a woman" (Chodorow, 1978/1999). Sasha proved her capacity as an adult female by engaging in a heterosexual relationship as evinced by the product of that act, her son. Although she liked to think she would eventually "find a good man and then get married," she believed her son's feelings about any man she brought home as boyfriend had to be considered, so she hadn't brought home any serious romantic prospects in more than two years (S2).

Sasha added nuance to the findings of Melchert and Burnett (1990), which prior to their first pregnancies, adolescent mothers' knowledge of contraceptives did not determine use. With her son's father, she trusted that he did use a condom, although Sasha admitted they would still have sex on the days that he did not have a condom with him. Once Sasha gave birth, she started taking the pill consistently out of "a strong motivation to avoid further pregnancy and were supported by family in obtaining contraception" (Breheny & Stephens, 2004, p. 224). Once she was able to secure it for herself, it became much easier for her to convince her mom that her brother should be supported to use condoms unless she wanted another grandchild.

Sasha did not apply for child support because her mom never asked Sasha's

dad for assistance, and also she did not want her son's father to have "the rights over him" (S2). Luker (1996) noted that young mothers "appeared to select the family patters that would perpetuate the status they had prior to the birth of their first child" (p. 103). Sasha's biological father had "disappeared" from her life when she was around 8 years old, which eventually motivated Sasha's mom to move to the U.S. In Sixth Grader, Sasha's mom brought her and her brother to Town without her father's legal permission, assuming his abandonment signified his consent. Her own "psychology and ideology of male dominance" may have influenced her choice to excuse her son's father from his financial obligations to his child to avoid his interference in how she raised her son (Chodorow, p. 208).

Woman with worker. When Sasha realized she was pregnant, "never in my plan came up: Ah, I have to get married" (S1). Sasha resented her Mexican grandparents' relationship, where she saw her grandmother as a "slave," who "did not even get along" with her husband and yet they stayed married (S3). Villenas and Moreno (2001) found evidence that Mexican grandmothers gave their granddaughters *consejos* suggesting there were benefits to not marrying a child's father, "because that way you did not have to worry about the burden of a man who did not take part in childrearing anyway" (p. 684). A husband was seen as "a net drain on the family's resources of housework time" (Hartman, p. 120), namely the amount of work that Sasha would have to do beyond mothering, working, and studying as much as she did already.

Sasha found waitressing easy—"just serve people and get money"—and a lot like the cleaning and kitchen chores she did at home (S3). Because Sasha did not have a work permit, waitressing was the best job she could get that did not interfere with her school hours. Sasha learned to work by the examples her mom and step dad set for never missing a day of work and performing above expectations, that being an asset to one's employer was job security (S2). The familial capital that informed Sasha's work ethic, as Yosso (2005) described it, came from her "funds of knowledge within the Mexican American communities and the pedagogies of the home" that helped her realize that attendance, obedience, and attitude were essential to economic stability (p. 79).

Woman with student. As a student, Sasha had been an Honor Roll student every semester she was in high school and most of college. Her social capital was built on how she was smart enough that classmates vied to get on her team because she completed everyone else's parts of group projects out of fear that they would not work to the expectations Sasha held for her work. In college, she tutored a couple of high school classmates, which convinced her to change her education major to something else. Because social capital at school was found by Valenzuela (1999) to exist as a feminine power, Sasha's excellent academic performance strengthened her connections among her classmates and allowed her to enjoy a variety of working relationships with students and staff.

How did working intersect with Sasha's woman, mother, and student identities?

Since the 1970's, Luker (1996) found women were "investing more time in their education, are training for careers rather than jobs, and are continuing to work even after the have children" (p.102). Working class girls were "taught that their lives would be spent in doing domestic work, whether in domestic service for others, or for their own husbands and families" (Deem, 1978, p.3). It is with this in mind that I examined how Sasha's worker identity intersected with her woman, mother, and student identities.

Worker with woman. Sasha exhibited the feminine characteristic of academic invulnerability and used her capacity to liberate herself from "living in a woman's rather than a man's body" (Hartsock, p. 237). Because Sasha earned straight A's in her freshman year, Sasha was permitted to participate on the girls' basketball team, which practiced after school or played games into the evening, keeping Sasha out of the house until after her mom was home from work. On multiple hour bus trips throughout the state for away games, Sasha would complete her homework or study for tests, even help her teammates with their assignments. Access for girls to secondary sports teams was an important component in 1975 Title IX legislation, which also made it illegal for schools to "expel students known to be pregnant," a factor that Sasha benefitted from when she got pregnant the following school year (Luker, p. 121) .

Worker with mother. Lerner (1986) pointed out that "in class society, it is difficult for people who themselves have some power, however limited and circumscribed, to see themselves as deprived and subordinated" (p. 218). Sasha believed that having waitressed, she was a better client at restaurants and stores, where she tried to "be more patient" and smiled at the workers she encountered in her community (F3). Sasha particularly noted that the Mexican Nationals who came to Town for seasonal tourism disrespected her as she waitressed by not controlling the behavior of their children or by monopolizing her time to attend to their needs. As Arnot (1982), Sasha enacted a form of "gender resistance" by being more compasssionate with people who waited on her, yet she had to suppress her own responses to the hegemony of her clients at work in order to earn the tips she needed to augment her $3 an hour salary (p. 74).

Worker with student. Wayman (2002) found female students preferred earning a high school diploma over the GED certificate, a pattern Sasha followed because she was so close to meeting high school graduation requirements entering her senior year. Sasha believed the classmates who entered in her freshman college classes with GEDs struggled to take notes, study, and participate in class discussions, skills Sasha had developed in her senior year AP courses. The reliability of a diploma, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) pointed out, raised questions about the capacity of the individual and "everything that is legitimated" by it (p. 165). In Sasha's perception, college was different from high school because she chose to be there, and in

the dominant ideology of education, her classmates who graduated through a GED had not developed the characteristics learned through schooling: "to obey, to take discipline, to follow rules, and to submit to hierarchy" (Arnot, p. 77). While Sasha was attuned to the behaviors that would help her succeed in college, her high school diploma did not orient her to an occupational path-way through college.

How did studying intersect with Sasha's woman, mother, and worker identities?

The fight for the right to be educated "represents the most public of gender struggles," according to Arnot (1982), but it is "a struggle by middle class women for middle class jobs" (p. 74). A "recognition of desirability that women should achieve academically, in order to obtain some work fulfillment and career prospects" has always battled with the ideology of the stay-at-home mom. Sasha's unique experience as a student intersected with her identities as a mother, woman and worker.

Student with mother. The GRADS program was required for access to the daycare to prepare Sasha for her roles as American mothers and workers. By aligning herself with the practices she found in the literature she read, Sasha recognized aspects in her Mexican upbringing that no longer meshed with her new knowledge: "I lost kind of my *Mexicanidad* with the whole, like I didn't wanna do it like my mom did, I guess you could say" (S2). As Valenzuela (1999) explained, Sasha's growing up with a Mexican mother in Mexico had made her "Mexican oriented," but she recog-

nized that her son was a U.S. citizen from birth, so she needed to prepare him to live in the U.S. The literature helped adapt her discipline, like she "spanked before but not like that's my form of punishment. It's timeout; I do time-out instead of spanking" (S2). Sasha acknowledged spanking her son "before" she started using timeouts, which meant she had to have spanked her son before he was four years old. She credited GRADS and her experience in the Child Lab classes for learning a psychologically more impactful disciplinary tool: "If I do have to discipline him, it's timeout, and it kills him not to be the center of attention" (S2). Hooks (1984) reminds us we can't "overlook or ignore the extent to which women exert coercive authority over others or act violently" (p. 118). Because they used timeouts in the daycare, Sasha learned to use the technique at home. She knew that her son suffered when she enacted a timeout, that "it kills him" to be isolated from the people he loves (S2). Now she only has to threaten a timeout and her son will behave as she ordered.

Because Sasha was a committed student, she was able to transfer her skills as a student into exploring the spectrum of motherhood. She read an array of parenting and child development literature in order to find an alternative to how her mother raised Sasha. "I was reading more books, which Mexicans don't do," she explained, choosing instead to consult the grandmothers for all advice (S3). For example, she did not give her son honey because she read in the literature that there could be serious allergic reactions. She monitored her son's progress on developmental charts, proud that her son was already in the 80th percentile for his height

and age, which her son's doctored explained meant "he wouldn't be the tallest kid in the class, but he'd be near the tallest" (S3). Because she read about nutrition, Sasha made dinners at home for her and her son with more fresh fruits and vegetables she ever recalled seeing in meals her mom served her growing up. The "benevolent racism" (Villenas, 2001) of the GRADS parenting program to help Sasha overcome deficits in the parenting skills she learned from her mother were further reinforced by Sasha's refusal to "do it like my mom did," raising Sasha and her brother the way she had been raised (S3).

Student with woman. Sasha's tutoring role in high school and college reflected that academic performance to help others succeed was a feminine power closely tied to the Mexican culture (Valenzuela-, 1999). Sasha remembered primarily helping Mexicans from the ESL program, never Native or white boys outside the program, and she never dated anyone she was in school with (S3). In high school, Sasha found herself picked for cooperative teams by upper classmates because she completed the work of her teammates to ensure that her grades stayed high (S3). Because Sasha was embedded "in the multiple hierarchies of social class, race, and gender" (Stanton-Salazar, p.18), she was constrained within school to assist her male peers by teachers like me, who relied on Sasha's help with classmates so I could focus on someone else. In college, Sasha chose her teammates because of the advantage she gained by "by reciprocal investments in a relationship" (p. 265). By learning to form relationships to her advantage, Sasha embraced power as capacity,

as a "capacity of the community as a whole" to unite for the benefit of all members (Hartsock, p. 253).

Student with worker. Sasha was deliberate and passionate about studying. Sasha loved school, "I just like learning. I like the stress. I don't know. It just sounds weird to say that I like stress but I do," referring to the deadlines and demands on her problem solving skills (S2). By graduating from college with an Associate's Degree, Sasha accomplished what none of her friends did: she had the credential for access to a career in Criminal Justice to provide the economic stability she needed to support her son on her own. Sasha's degree did not guarantee a "smooth ride," as Bowman (2004) noted, although "it appears to do that because it remains a minority privilege" to earn higher education degrees (p. 14). Again, the reliability of college diploma to connect an individual's capacity to occupational status is questionable, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) stated, until Sasha actually secured a job in Criminal Justice.

Summary

Because Sasha remained a woman, mother, worker, and student throughout the entire time frame of this study, her choices reflected a consideration of how to best serve her desire to graduate from college with a degree that would earn her the economic and social stability she believed it would. Sasha had not secured a job through her new work permit or her degree at the final interviews so it was difficult

to determine if Sasha had converted “symbolic power into real power” (Willis, 1983, p. 119). In the next chapter, I will present the portrait of Gloria, followed by an analysis of the emerging themes.

Chapter 5

Gloria: The Portrait and Analysis

Introduction

The chronology that follows presents the context for decisions Gloria made at the intersection of her identities as a woman, mother, worker, and student living in a southern New Mexican mountain town. Whereas Sasha's student identity was constant throughout the nine years examined, Gloria's student identity was complicated by her responsibilities to the man who became her husband.

The Portrait of Gloria

2004-2005. At 15, Gloria could only wonder why her *Mexicana* mom had not talked to her about sex. "I guess my mom figured it wasn't a good idea to talk to me about it…because I already knew about sex because I had been abused, but I didn't!" she assured me (G3). The silence from Mexican mothers that Hurtado (2003) found surrounding contraception, menstruation, and sex seemed to complicate Gloria's understanding of her body's capacity for fertility and production. Gloria did not know "what it was like to give yourself to somebody willingly," but she figured "if somebody touched me without me wanting them to, it was okay for me to want somebody to do it" (G3). In obligatory heterosexuality of female sexuality that

a young woman like Gloria "responded to the desires of others, rather than one which actively desired and sought a response" (Rubin, p. 182). Gloria's lack of understanding from home was not changed by the sex education unit she got her freshman year, two years earlier. "Nobody told me in school the way of the biology of how everything works" (G1, G3).

Gloria's first sexual partner was not to satisfy any emotional connection, but "mostly so I could say that I lost my virginity," sighing because she "got it over and done with, which is dumb, but that's probably why" she did it (G2). Luker (1996) found a similar theme among adolescent mothers who also described "their first sexual intercourse as an experience remarkably devoid of pleasure" (p. 139). However, Gloria heeded classmates' advice to get an STD test when "my friends told me: You don't know where he's been," she giggled (G2). She neglected to take the same tactic with her second partner, her husband, from whom she contracted Chlamydia.

Gloria felt she was married to her husband after a month of phone calls and visits to her house chaperoned by her mom or sisters. Because patriarchal ideology represented "female resistance, power, and desire in terms of the demand for male commitment as a reliable sexual mate" (Ebert, 1988, p. 44), Gloria felt his commitment was real after withstanding the scrutiny of her family. The first moment they were alone in his car, they "did it" (G2). For Gloria "I felt so...weird" (G2). She immediately assured me, "it was good! It was just so different like, maybe just because

I just wanted to see like what it felt the first time, but this time it was different" (G2). From the beginning her husband guided her lovemaking, showing her what she should do, because Gloria laughingly said that she "would lay there: Do what you have to do! (Nervous laugh) I hope I enjoy it!" she giggled (G2). After they finished, they went to a party at his aunt's house and Gloria got drunk because she "felt weird after, because it felt weird" (G2). Derrida (1976) suggested that "the idea is the signified meaning, that which the word expresses," so Gloria was using "weird" to express the bodily difference she felt after sex compared to her first lover or her sexual abuser. That Gloria wanted to be intoxicated after the experience was an interesting choice because Gloria did not drink alcohol or get drunk for fun, so it may have been a way for her to cope with the "weird" response she felt.

Gloria said they "were using condoms. We were, but maybe from—it broke? I didn't know how to put a condom on a man, so he did it," and she never checked if the condom was there (G2). Like other young women "who hold traditional notions of what it means to be female—self-sacrificing and relatively passive" in sexual relationships—Gloria got pregnant and accepted motherhood (Fine, 1988, p. 48). One of her husband's uncles told her mom that Gloria was having sex but by then she was already pregnant. Her mom made her "take five pregnancy tests before she believed it" (G1). Gloria felt ashamed of being pregnant at 16 because she had so many plans, but she would have been more ashamed of herself "if I wouldn't of done things like school, or if I let what people think of me get to me" (G1). When her relatives in

Arizona and Mexico found out she was pregnant, they "didn't expect it ever," but they were supportive of Gloria staying in school (G2).

Three years earlier, Gloria had confronted her mom with the sexual abuse she and two of her sisters' had endured, trying to protect them when her mom planned to move with the man again. It was important for Gloria "to be seen as strong and able to protect themselves and their family," a desire found among Mexican American girls to fulfill caretaker or peacemaker expectations (Denner & Dunbar, p. 311). Gloria worked the first three months she knew about her pregnancy because she helped her mom pay bills, then she helped her mom by taking care of her sisters, who were 15, 14, and 13. As the eldest daughter, Gloria was burdened "with motherly tasks" as housekeeper, cook, and guardian, which gave Gloria a sense of importance that would "help her in assuming her femininity" (DeBeauvoir, p. 266). Having given up her childhood freedoms, Gloria was already a woman in the sense of providing use value in the home for her mom, just as she would for her husband. For Gloria, "generalizations about the family as an emotional refuge" were belied by the sexual abuse, her recovery from the abuse, and her maintenance of the home (Chodorow, p. 36).

In January 2005, Gloria suffered a gallbladder attack at school and was rushed to Albuquerque. A month alone in the hospital gave Gloria time to think about her relationship with her husband, about her mom, her sisters, and her friends: what she had to give up because her husband was "so jealous and possessive" (G3). Ado-

lescent mothers also were reported to discuss what they 'had to give up' in order to meet the needs of their children," but in this case, Gloria would be sacrificing her family to placate her husband's insecurities (Spear, 2001, p. 579). When she was released from the hospital, her husband convinced Gloria to move into a single-bed-room trailer together three weeks prior to partum by promising that they would get married right after the baby was born. Gloria had been physically abused and deserted by her biological father, she was sexually abused by her step father, so "in exchange for (her) sexual, economic, political, and intellectual subordination" to her husband, Gloria sought to be protected and looked after by a good man (Lerner, p. 218-219). After she gave birth, she had an anxiety attack from lack of sleep out of fear that she was "irresponsible for resting" after 15 hours in labor (G3). Once the child was an actual person outside her body, Gloria may have been troubled "by wholly accepting her role as a woman," and in assuming her inferiority to her husband, she was "divided against herself much more profoundly" than she could verbalize (DeBeauvoir, p. 38).

Since February, the principal withdrew Gloria from school to "freeze" her credits so she could return the next semester (G1). Gloria and other adolescent mothers proved that "having a child while enrolled in school does not significantly increase the risk of dropping out of school," since Gloria was forced out by institutional practices regarding attendance that were exacerbated by her health problem (Upchurch & McCathy, p. 231). Self-esteem, intent to graduate, and self-identifica-

tion as a student were held by Wayman (2002) to be predictive factors of educational resilience, characteristics Gloria possessed to enable her to attend summer school to catch up on the credits she lost the previous semester.

For April and May, Gloria and her first daughter were alone all day in her compact trailer, since her mom and her husband worked and her friends and sisters were in school. She felt it was a "weird adjustment," because she was 16 and she was still "to a certain point a kid," but she "was a woman now because of having a kid" (G2). Gloria realized an enactment of the institution of motherhood "in which a woman is alone with her children, the isolation of women from each other in domestic labor, a female pathology of loss of self in service to others" was omnipresent (Hartsock, p. 245). Gloria went from raucous, daily communication with family and friends to nothing, leaving Gloria more dependent on her husband to relieve her mental boredom. Her husband and Gloria just had a child in common and "got to know each other as we got to know our kid" (G2). Gloria swore that the one thing her husband always had been was hard working, had a great job roofing for good money, but he did not know how to budget for the bills as Gloria had learned from helping her single mom (G2). As a woman in production within the household, as Harding (1986) found in her research, Gloria may have viewed her household as a unit of pooled resources and incomes, but her husband would not give her his paycheck, so Gloria was powerless to improve her living conditions until she was cleared to return to work.

Gloria finally "realized sex leads to babies" (G2), so the day after partum, she chose to take the hormonal shot because she felt she would forget to take the pill. After she gained 75 pounds in two months and had wild mood swings, Gloria used an IUD. As was found with other adolescent mothers, Gloria held "mothering as a gain that contributes to their maturity rather than a loss that jeopardizes their future" (SmithBattle, 2007, p. 350), so Gloria knew she needed to protect herself because she intended to have more sex in her marriage.

Gloria did not get married as her husband had promised prior to the birth of her daughter. Gloria's mother had warned Gloria not to move in together until he had them set up with "a car and a house and stuff," but Gloria believed his promise (G2). Gloria may have been feeling what could be referred to as a "double tension: she feels that the man has 'had' her at a bargain, and he thinks her price is too high" (DeBeauvoir, p. 680). She could not return home without looking like a fool, so she stayed and believed he would still come through.

2005-2006. In June 2005, Gloria earned a few credits in summer school so that she could take a full schedule of classes in the fall to graduate with her friends in May 2006. As found with adolescent mothers, Gloria may have been driven to succeed by her desire to be a good example for her daughter because of her self-efficacy, "beliefs that her capacity to perform well was positively linked to her academic achievement" (Romo & Nadeem, p. 132). In the fall she started a routine of taking her daughter to the daycare and participating in the GRADS program. Gloria

credited the GRADS coordinator for helping with "relationship advice" and lessons on "how to live with a partner" (G2). Because she was living with her husband away from her mom and sisters, Gloria like other adolescent mothers found support in their school based programs for "filling the gaps left by difficult and conflicted mother-daughter relationships" (Sadler et al., p. 128).

Gloria waitressed every lunch during the summer before her senior year, and then reduced to twice a week during fall through spring. As Bejarano (2005) pointed out "Mexicana youths are situated with an entirely different work pattern" because they were raised to be females, so Gloria transitioned easily into serving (p. 101). It was a "good job," she got to talk to different people, "and you get money that day: $2.50 plus tips" or $50 per day (G2). She paid the bills herself and did not give her husband her earnings. Whatever was left, she hid because she "was raised to save money for a rainy day, to put things aside" (G3). As a first generation immigrant, Gloria may have been driven by "the lessons of sacrifice, the commitment and loyalty of family, and the family's drive to succeed," what she had learned in her privileged position as the eldest daughter (Villenas & Deyhle, p. 428).

Her husband became more aggressive when the school year started. Gloria's every school day morning was tougher because her husband made her miss early classes, going so far as to rip apart "every single piece of clothes," to which Gloria defiantly "just went in pajamas" to school one week (G3). Because Gloria's husband left high school his freshman year, he did not value education, so Gloria's efforts to

go to school instead of being with him when he wanted her to be available challenged his male authority. While her husband was socialized to dominate and oppress Gloria in order to evince his power, Gloria was also "socialized to behave in ways that make them act in complicity with the status quo" (Hooks, p. 38). Instead of telling her family, friends, or school personnel about the escalating violence, she stayed silent.

Gloria graduated with her classmates while caring for her baby, a home, and a partner, but the lack of GPA from the summer school courses prevented Gloria from graduating with honors by decimal points. She displayed her diploma next to a photo of herself shaking the principal's hand, which was next to the scholarship certificate she had earned to a state college out of Town. As found to be true with other Latino immigrant families, the support Gloria's mom had for academic achievement inspired Gloria to graduate high school and go to college (Sands & Plunkett, 2005). Gloria wanted to show her daughter "you could still do whatever you put your mind to" (G2). Instead of being a burden, Gloria felt her daughter was the reason she had finish high school to get better jobs "regardless of going to college" (G2). The findings of Schultz (2001) that adolescent mothers "held tightly to their plans for the future, tending to view children as complications or distractions rather than roadblocks" (p. 597).

Gloria only applied to the community college in Town because she did not want her child to "grow up without a dad because I chose for her not to" have one

(G3). As noted by Spear (2004) with other adolescent mothers, Gloria hoped her daughter "would have stronger father-child relationship" than she had with her own father (p. 343). Gloria knew if she moved to the college where she had a scholarship to attend, "he wouldn't go with me" (G1). Gloria and her husband fought constantly about her male friends, who admittedly were still a priority because they were Gloria's relief from only interacting with his family. Because she did not want her daughter to see them fight, Gloria stopped socializing with her friends outside of school. Gloria was with her husband because she loved him, but she felt he was with her because of their daughter: how he gave her daughter his whole attention made Gloria feel like she was "not even there" (G2). Her husband's lack of emotional availability made Gloria feel even lonelier now that she had ended her friendships and her husband did not allow her sisters to come over their trailer when he was at home for the night.

The summer after graduation, Gloria worked extra because they moved into low-income apartment after her husband sold their trailer and all their furnishings except her daughter's crib and their mattress. She worked every afternoon, "even skipped church" for months because they "needed the money" (G2, G3). Gloria knew that education was "a barrier to those who lacked it" (Rury, p. 7), and since she wanted to be as capable and respected as her mom with degrees in tourism and English in Mexico, Gloria looked toward her education. Research showed for Latinas that pursued education, they created "a space of social transformation for daughters

to be both the same (a hard worker) and different (an educated woman with new, different opportunities)" from their mothers (Villenas and Moreno, p. 684). Since she could take classes without having a Social Security number and still get the state lottery scholarship, Gloria enrolled in the community college in Town.

2006-2007. She lived in the same low-income apartment complex as her mom, so Gloria borrowed her mom's car since her husband took his truck to work. Transportation in rural communities was found to create problems for adolescent mothers' access to schools, daycares, and jobs (McCullough & Scherman, 1991; SmithBattle, 2007). He eventually did "give me my car," a used minivan, but Gloria was happy because "that was the first thing he ever bought me" (G1, G2). Because Gloria had accepted her gendered role in the marriage, she was "psychologically restrained in a very special way," where her husband now determined what she should have and she needed to be grateful for whatever she got (Lerner, p. 214).

Since her three high-school-aged sisters still attended the high school, Gloria felt comfortable continuing to leave her daughter at the daycare on campus when she started her freshman year in college in Town. Hispanic adolescent mothers like Gloria were found to be "significantly more likely to attend college than Whites, all things being equal" (Upchurch, p. 438). With the state lottery scholarship paying for her tuition, Gloria only needed to bring enough money from her own work efforts to cover textbooks and supplies. Gloria started college pressured to declare a major, so she named education because she had tutored peers in school and her sisters at

home. She decided that "guys are dumber than girls" because they did not study and work as they should, which made her realize she lacked the patience to be a teacher. She thought about nursing until she heard she had to commute to finish the degree. Gloria as well as other working class students believe "credentials are capital assets" that can be "bought thru the investment of time, energy, and money and be exchanged for valued occupations" (Pearl, p. 140). She felt her husband "probably would not have helped" her, so she declared accounting, because she could finish it in Town, "so it was perfect" (G3). Hooks (1984) noted that "being oppressed means the absence of choices" (p. 5), so in this sense, Gloria was multiply oppressed but in one direction. She gave up a full scholarship to a college she had planned to attend since her sophomore year, she was restricted from commuting to another campus multiple times per week, and she had a limited number of degree that she could complete in Town.

Jealousy drove her husband to park at the college to see if Gloria was there. When she had her mom's car, he would ask her to drive him to work or pick him up after. Hooks (1984) reminds us that men are socialized to expect that controlling their wives "will restore to them their sense of power which they equate with masculinity" (p. 121). Her husband needed to dominate Gloria, so her continued efforts to go to school were seen as an affront to his authority over her. He stressed Gloria by not showing up for babysitting, especially when her daughter was sick so Gloria would have to miss class. Her husband always suspected that Gloria was cheating on

him, worried that he was never enough for her, a concept reinforced by lies told by his sister and cousins (G1). The arguments "started being very violent," where she would not go to work because of bruises, not wanting people to see her like that (G3). Weis (2001) found "a great deal of domestic violence in the lives" of working class women, where they were either abused in the past by fathers, guardians, or were "currently being abused" (p. 46). Only her in-laws were witness to his attacks on her, and they offered her no protection or sanctuary, telling her "she deserved it" for being such a bad wife (G3).

Gloria worked two lunch shifts per week, which was hard as a full-time student, mom, spouse, and homemaker, so she felt tired. Gloria was confronting the "second shift," or the "burdens incurred when wives enter the labor force but are still expected to fulfill their traditional nurturant role" (Luker, p. 105). Her husband was good about watching her daughter if Gloria wanted to rest, but she always felt that she was acting "irresponsible for missing out" for those few minutes she rested (G2). Gloria's anxiety may be explained by Hooks (1984), who found among "women who believe that motherhood is a sphere of power they would lose if more men participated equally in parenting," so Gloria might have been protecting her territory rather than staying responsible (p. 139).

2007-2008. Gloria was so devastated when her godfather died in September 2007, she returned to Mexico leaving her daughter and her husband in Town. Her godfather was a loving father figure after her own father left her, so Gloria took

his death hard and spent a week in Mexico reflecting on what she was doing, why she was "putting up with a person who says he loves me and hurts me all the time?" she demanded (G3). Revolutionary ideas emerge "only when the oppressed have an alternative to the symbol and meaning system of those who dominate them" (Lerner, p. 222). Gloria had gone from being physically dominated by her parents to being abused by her husband, so when she returned to her family in Mexico who had never tried to dominate her, Gloria may have been inspired to stand up for herself. Simultaneously, as Gloria described it, her husband realized that he did not want to live his life without her, so he "started to change" and went to church to become a better husband and father (G3).

She came back to Town enraged; as soon as she saw her husband, she told him they were done. He was so upset that he asked church leaders to talk to Gloria, and they "told" her to give him a second chance (G1). Gloria was angry and resented the way he had been until then: "mean and angry and selfish and jealous and possessive and violent" (G1, G3). She gave him a chance but those days were "just hell because I had made up my mind" to make him suffer (G3). She "ripped him apart into little pieces and then burned the little pieces," making him feel "all the things that he had always accused me of being" (G3). Gloria felt she "had the power to break his heart because of all the things that he did to me" (G3). Gloria had mastered an understanding, as Hooks (1984) explained, that "even as we are loved and cared for in families, we are simultaneously taught that this love is not as important

as having power to dominate others" (p. 36). She would humiliate him by calling him to come to her house, and then telling him "nobody wants you here" in front of her male friends (G1). Gloria had internalized an image of her oppressor and adopted his example, revealing how much she feared freedom from him because it "would require (her) to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility" for herself (Freire, 1970, p. 31).

Her mom and sisters were against Gloria leaving her husband, but they had no idea about the violence or the harassment that Gloria had endured, because she was committed to him and she did not want her mom or sisters to look at him "with other eyes" (G3). She finally told them about the violence that she endured to gain their sympathy for her retribution against her husband, but they still believed Gloria was wrong. No matter how exploited or abused, women like Gloria always "retained their power to act and to choose to" act in gendered ways (Lerner, p.213-214). His family had watched her husband slam Gloria to a wall or to the floor, and watch how jealous, possessive, or violent he would get. Gloria confessed that if she had met his family before they got together, she would not have married him, because although "you marry the person, I think you still marry into a family" (G2). As a result, Gloria never allowed her daughter to stay in the care of her in-laws, because she felt they would not look out for her daughter because she was Gloria's child.

In February 2008, Gloria kicked her husband out of the apartment. While her husband played, loved, and provided for her daughter, he still partied and disap-

peared without telling Gloria his plans. Gloria and her husband had learned a different relationship to "public and private worlds, of family and work, of male and female spheres," so Gloria felt she had endured enough (Arnot, p. 83). Gloria threatened "to chop him up into little pieces" in one fight, frightening him enough to call the police, who advised him to stay somewhere else that night (G2). Husband provided money for their daughter during the separation, but Gloria preferred to cut cable, phone, and Internet to pay her utilities and rent on her own. Gloria accepted personal responsibility for her behavior because she saw herself as capable and self-sufficient, as long as he gave her money for her daughter's upkeep. Once she kicked him out, Gloria also dressed in brighter colors for school, "not because I was interested in anybody," but because she "wasn't oppressed or whatever, and I felt like I could" (G3). Since regulatory regimes "must be maintained and upheld by the individuals whom they regulate," when Gloria no longer worried about her husband's rebuke, she returned to a level of grooming and wardrobe that she had prior to their meeting (Allen, 2008).

In her sophomore year in college, her 2-year-old daughter wanted more time with Gloria, who also worked making tortillas for $9 an hour until a shoulder injury made it too difficult to roll the dough. Gloria felt she disciplined her daughter more than her husband because she wanted her daughter to be guided by "ethics, morals, good standards, and beliefs" (G3). Because of Gloria's power over her daughter, she could "enforce one's moral claims" about what was moral or not (Hartsock, p. 42).

Gloria originally disciplined following her "Mexican side" to hit now and ask questions later, and if she was not guilty, "Oh, then, sorry. I wanted to hit you so bad!" she laughed (G3). Because "women are likely to use coercive authority when they are in power positions," Gloria had to unlearn the coercive techniques that had been use on her (Hooks, p. 119). From GRADS, she learned to use timeouts like American parents, who investigate a situation "and then they give an edict," which was how they disciplined in the daycare (G2). Because daughters "bond with their mothers instead of railing against them as symbols of patriarchal power," Gloria had deep anger toward her mom (Collins, 1994, p. 56). In securing protection for herself, Gloria's mother had ignored Gloria and her sisters' sexual exploitation for years and neglected to prepare Gloria for the responsibility of living in a woman's body. Her mom apologized for the responsibility she put on Gloria, but Gloria understood why she had to do it and was glad because she had bonded with her sisters. Through motherhood, Gloria and her mother could symbolically "commune with each other, and with the inner, unhealed, unmothered, childlike aspects of themselves" (Umansky, 1996, p. 121). Gloria decided to give her mom a second chance, to forgive her.

Gloria was an outgoing and confident leader at school, at church, at work, but when she got home, she had to hide it because her husband was so insecure (G3). She had to "dumb myself down a little bit, like I could fix things that he was barely learning how to fix" but she would not fix it herself "because it was like a

man's job, and I knew how to do it" (G3). Gloria, like any woman, was never powerless in sexism: "it either suppressed their strength or exploited it" (Hooks, p. 93). By refusing to do the repairs herself, Gloria bolsters his ego by waiting for him to get to the task, by assuring him that he was needed in the home. Gloria blamed his lack of confidence on his mom, who "never taught him how to be a man" (G3). Gloria created opportunities for him to enact his dominance in skill and knowledge because "what she always wants is for her lover to represent the essence of manhood" (De Beauvoir, p. 605).

2008-2009. A college junior at age 20, Gloria waitressed lunch shifts every day. Having the college in Town was "life-saving" for her, because Gloria would have "gone nuts without going to school," and she would have "resented just staying home with the kid" after high school (G1). Segura found among Chicana women that work expressed "individualistic desires to 'do something outside the home' and to establish a degree of autonomy," which Gloria freely admitted (p. 221). She felt college was a place to still be herself, to "still have that part of me because I wanted to go to college and I wanted to do something with my life" (G1). Because of her husband's continuing obstructive behavior, "the necessity for her to fight for it" had to come from within (Freire, p. 29).

Gloria and her husband had separated from February until they reunited in July. He proposed to her in October and they married in the courthouse in December 2008. Gloria's first sister secured a U-Visa for asylum as a sexually exploited child

and received a work permit, and with it she got residency papers for Gloria's youngest sister within months. Unfortunately, now that Gloria was married, her first sister could not do the same for her. Gloria had to call Catholic Charities in Albuquerque for help. The process was very "impersonal," with interviews conducted by phone, so Gloria felt the caseworkers "didn't see me, they didn't know me, so they didn't really care if I got papers or not" (G3). Every time she called, she talked to a different caseworker. She tired of recounting her sexual abuse and the process made her feel "like a victim or something" (G3). Gloria seemed to experience how "false charity constrains the fearful and the subdued," by forcing Gloria and other sexually exploited women "to extend their trembling hand" for a chance to live in peace with their children in the U.S. (Freire, p. 29). Gloria had even asked me to write a letter confirming that I knew Gloria had been attending what she called 'anger management' sessions with the school psychologist during her senior year, which I did.

By February 2009, she had an attack of uterine cysts so painful that she became bed ridden. She missed so many classes that she had to withdraw from school, causing her to lose her lottery scholarship for failing to finish the semester. Academic invulnerability and educational resilience was not enough to overcome the economic obstacle created by Gloria's health event (Alva, 1991, Alva & Padilla, 1995). Since she did not finish the semester, the semester was not paid for, leaving Gloria

with an outstanding bill. Her lack of health coverage meant her visit to the doctor and her treatment had to be paid out of pocket.

By March, her husband wanted a divorce after Gloria revealed she had slept with another man "just to be vengeful and spiteful like that" during their separation (G1, G2). She started by saying the lover was her closest friend, and although it "could have been anyone," he was someone her husband had been jealous of already (G2). She said she "regretted it immediately! I ended up being a person that I wasn't" (G1). Gloria needed to reevaluate herself as "the sort of person one wants to be from the sort one does not want to be" (Rorty, 1989, p. 47). Gloria's mom was upset, "sad that I fell, that I did those things, just because I was angry", which was not how her mom taught her to be (G1, G2). As a commodity, as Willis (1977) observed among working class youth, Gloria diminished her value to her husband by having been "romantically and materially partly consumed," which gave him the moral high ground to judge her as unfit (p. 44).

Gloria had to change the things that she did not want to be so she could find her "self-worth, to *valerme por yo misma,*" which meant she had "to submit" to her husband's will (G2). Gloria had to act as if she did "accept as natural the hierarchy of male over female, the superiority of men in society" by giving her husband what he had always asked for: her total concentration on him and their daughter (Arnot, p. 80). Gloria had already stopped going to school because of her illness, but she also ended her friendships, stopped visiting her mom or her sisters, gave up her phone,

and quit working. Gloria felt submitting honored her "Mexican roots, and because of my beliefs in God and the church and the Bible and the Commandments and all these things!" she listed (G2). She had to "suffer and withstand and do everything that I had to do in my power" to "give in like that, give myself truly like that" to win his trust (G1, G3). "Recrimination" would not free Gloria from her penance but it allowed her "to wallow in them; the wife's supreme consolation is to pose as the martyr" (DeBeauvoir, p. 572).

Gloria's relationship with her daughter became more contentious because the child got out from Gloria's discipline because of being "daddy's girl" (G2). There can be a certain harshness between mothers and first born daughters, where the "oldest girl, her father's favorite, is the special object of the mother's persecution" as a rival for her husband's attention (DeBeauvoir, p. 490). Because her husband felt that Gloria "had all of the authority" with her daughter (G3), she deferred more of the decisions to him, waiting until he got home for him discipline her daughter, which he hated because he was "not the good guy anymore" (G3). While Gloria had thought about his responsibilities to her child "solely in terms of exercising authority and providing for material needs," Gloria followed whatever decision he made (Hooks, p. 139).

2009-2010. At 21, Gloria got pregnant but lost the baby in October 2009, which was hard because they had "made a conscience choice of having another baby" (G2). She was depressed, but in February 2010, Gloria got pregnant with their

second daughter. The speed scared Gloria, and having recently lost a baby, it was treated as a high risk pregnancy, meaning Gloria could not go to school or work (G2). Her husband had started working as a fire jumper in March 2010, so he left for two weeks, returned for a few days, then left for a few weeks. Although she was prescribed bed rest, Gloria had to get her first daughter to finish the spring semester and start the fall semester while her husband "was out on the fire, so it wasn't that hard" (G3). Hartman (1987) supported the idea that "the burden of housework increases substantially when there are very young children or many children in the household," so when her husband went out of town, Gloria's work level decreased by the amount of effort it took to tend to him daily (p. 120).

Gloria's only fought with her husband while he was away about her daughter calling him in order to get out of Gloria's discipline, indignant that he tried to override her authority when he was "not here" (G2). Because of the organization and ideology of male dominance in the larger society, both Gloria and her daughter idealized her husband and gave him "ideological primacy" because he was absent and seemingly inaccessible to them (Chodorow, p. 181). Hurtado (2003) added nuance to this idea that "what men thought and did affected" women like Gloria in a constant way, but when he was out of Town, Gloria made decisions that served her needs to complete chores or assert her authority over her daughter (p. 212).

When Gloria quit college, she felt she had to do it if "I wanted my marriage to work, but I really didn't want to" stop going (G2). Gloria felt angry, that quitting

school hurt more than letting go of her cell phone because she was "getting stripped of who I was" (G2). It was the one sacrifice Gloria felt she should not have had to make after already sacrificing so many relationships for their marriage to work. Ideology had made "gendered subject positions seem not only desirable and pleasurable but also the way things are: the obvious that goes without saying" (Ebert, p. 26). At the same time, Gloria's mom advised her not to work if she did not have to, that her husband was paying their bills, so Gloria should just enjoy her second baby. Her mom assured her she was not less of a person for quitting school, because Gloria had quit it "to be there for my family the way she couldn't be" there when Gloria was growing up (G2). Like mothers had discussed with Segura (1994), Gloria recognized that her mom worked out of economic need as a single mother of four, but "they believe they did not receive sufficient love and care from their mother," (p. 219).

Gloria found that being a woman was "hard work also, because we are emotional creatures" who took everything personally, so she tried to think first like her husband, "as if I were a man, very logical" and then put emotion to it (G2). Ideologically, Gloria as with other *Mexicanas* studied by Segura (1994) "saw themselves as helping their family rather than providing for it," so she considered her family first (p. 223). Gloria imagined that a woman can wear as many hats as she wants, but the best she could do was to wear "the one of a mother and a wife, the one that is there to help and support and love" (G1). In high school, Gloria said she acted "meek" but

she had "a hard time balancing all the hats that I was wearing" (G2). Because women "love without conditions," Gloria showed her husband love when he did not deserve it, which showed her daughter how "to be compassionate, understanding, and loving all the time," even when she did not feel like it (G2). Even though she resented the suppression, Gloria created a femininity that was, as Rubin (1975) explained it, "an act of psychic brutality" that had kept her subordinated to others (p. 196). The choice of the metaphor of the hats was interesting, as if the ideological constructs of women were as easily slipped free of as with the removal of a hat. Because "freedom is acquired by conquest," I think that Gloria meant to say that her hats were added on top of each other: she could remove no hat of her female gendered condition but she could stop adding to the stack (Freire, p. 31).

Instead of following the same path as her mom, Gloria felt that she and her husband "broke those chains because even if I didn't know my dad, I ended up picking the same model as my dad was:" a charming, handsome, ladies' man who got abusive when intoxicated (G2). Gloria exhibited, as other Chicanas had reported, a feeling of "mirroring between their own lives and the lives of their mothers" (Hurtado, p. 78). When her husband committed to God and their marriage, he became the kind of man Gloria hoped her daughters would find for themselves. There was a good chance Gloria's daughters would seek men like her husband because women "'become' the sexual subject which it already is in advance" (Althusser, p. 176).

2010-2011. From March through November 2011, her husband worked as a fire jumper, so he missed most of her second daughter's first year, "which saddened him" (G3). Her second daughter was adventurous but "messy and stubborn and noble," and required different parenting tactics than Gloria had used on her first daughter (G3). With her second daughter, Gloria felt mothering was easier because she was more mature, so she was not "freaked out that I was going to mess up" (G2). In many ways her life was the same as it had been when she was a child—stuck in the house, looking after children—while her husband was getting to travel and meet people and "read a book" because there was nothing else to do (G3). These were things Gloria had said she desired before she became a mother, to travel and meet people as her educated aunt had inspired her to imagine, and her husband was getting to do it all without Gloria. Although biologically she bore the children, the fact that Gloria had to give up her dreams to be a mother while her husband gained her dreams "is due to gender, a cultural construction" (Lerner, p. 21)

Gloria did not go back on the IUD because her husband was gone so much, so she got pregnant again but lost a second baby. Her first miscarriage was tough because they had planned the pregnancy; the second loss was harder because her second daughter was still in Gloria's arms. Gloria got very depressed, but she found the best cure was "my kids because I couldn't just stay in bed all day" (G2). Gloria suffered through most of this depression on her own, and when her husband returned from the fires and found her sad, her tried to cheer her up or force her to smile.

Gloria no longer had the support of her sisters (one had eloped, one was in college out of Town, and one was in her senior year), so the burden when her husband was away at the fires was all hers.

Gloria advised her husband to get a vasectomy, but he "chickened out" and Gloria refused to go under anesthesia again to have her tubes tied, so she asked for another IUD (G2). Gloria and her husband realized that if they kept having babies, they could not just stop paying bills and save money for their daughters' colleges. Gloria thought kids were great and she had changed to be "so much more better because of my kids," but they decided they did not want more children, unless it was certain she would have a boy (G2). Gloria seemed to feel that the burden of a third child would have been more tolerable if it were a boy than a girl, "miraculous to the paternal minor god, magical for the mother," unlike for her daughters (DeBeauvoir, p. 576). The commodification of the female role in the family may influence Gloria to see her daughters as gifts to be exchanged away through marriage, whereas a son would bring a gift to her family, "as the property of a particular kin group" that would strengthen her families standing (Lerner, p. 49).

Gloria did want her daughters to believe "God created sex for marriage," and although she did not "sleep around like with 20 guys," she was not "an angel either" (G2). Gloria reflected a religious belief that she did not have to save her soul,"" it is enough to live in obedience" to the rules of religion and morality as she knows them (DeBeauvoir, p. 586). Gloria had not waited until marriage to lose her virginity, so

she told her daughters to wait, "because I did get an STD, and I did end up pregnant," all the consequences for not following "the right way" (G2). By reproducing in her daughters what Allen (2008) described as the "mechanisms of psychic subjection," so that they "are psychically attached to their sex/gender identity," Gloria's daughters will in all likelihood enter into their female roles without protest unless their consciousness is raised (p. 174).

Gloria figured she would discuss sex when her first daughter started her period at "14 or 15" (G2). She knew at school that her daughter would get information about menstruation and sanitary pads, but school did not tell girls they were "ready to have babies, so don't have sex," she laughed (G2). In Mexico, menstruation and fertility was not talked about, so *Mexicanas* "don't talk about it here," which had caused Gloria to "make a mistake" of early pregnancy from lack of information (G2). Gloria learned as other teen moms had that pregnancy "interrupts accepted and assumed demarcations of the body and self" (Pillow, 2000, p. 202). She would not put her daughters on the pill to have sex, but if Gloria's daughters trusted her like that, she promised to at least think about it and not immediately preclude it as an option. She vowed to kill any sister who would take her daughter to get the pill without Gloria's permission (G2). In order for her daughters to use contraception, she would have "to anticipate sexual activity by locating the impetus within herself, rather than in the man who has overcome her hesitancy," an idea at odds with Gloria's promotion of abstinence until marriage (Luker, p. 147).

2011-2012. In the summer of 2011, Gloria worked every day, and in the fall she worked two days while her first daughter was in First Grade. Gloria was supposed to stop working, but waitressing was what she did for herself, something "stress-free" compared to being home all day (G1). Work gave Gloria her "self-worth" to *"valerme por yo misma,"* not because she was married or because she had a kid, but "that it's just who I am" (G1). For Villenas (2001), to *"valerse por si misma* "is the counter lesson of survival in a patriarchal society and is intertwined with transgressions of gendered ideologies" (, p. 20). In that sense, Gloria resisted the economic oppression her husband's sporadic pay-checks created in their lives by getting cash any day she worked for daily needs like gas for her car.

Gloria hoped her daughters would be the women that her mom raised her to be, that her mom did good with what she could do and Gloria was doing the same thing. Rules, chores, "the morals, the ethics, the manners, and most of all, God" made Gloria and her sisters the good women they were (G2). Gloria was perpetuating her fate on her daughters: "I was brought up this way, you shall share my lot" (DeBeauvoir, p. 489). She told her daughters to finish school and go to college to study, but if either one became "pregnant like me at 16, I would still love her like my mom loved me" (G2). Gloria explained to her first daughter that she was "not the mistake" (G1), but Gloria's choices and the timing were wrong, because "everything has a time and an order" (G2). Adolescent mothers in Luker's (1996) research reported similar timing explanations, that "their babies came earlier than planned"

(p. 152).

Gloria felt more Americanized, but "still very Mexican and hard-core about" the family structure (G3). In Mexico, "what the mom says is what goes," but in their home, Gloria saw them as a team, "it's not him or me; we are equal" (G3). She learned to discipline by using timeouts or groundings, unlike for Mexican parents who did not explain themselves to children, where it was none of the children's business what parents did, just use "the 2x4 to spank them" (G3). Physically coercive parents like Gloria's mom had "are not only equating violence with love, they are also offering a notion of love synonymous with passive acceptance, the absence of explanation and discussions" (Hooks, p. 123). Gloria admitted she was strict "like enforcive [sic]," but her husband always encouraged Gloria to explain why she spanked their daughters (G3). Gloria found discipline worked better when her first daughter understood why she was asked to do certain things, why she had to behave in particular ways, and the consequences for not following the rules (G3). Her husband had learned that explanations also helped Gloria clarify why she was spanking her daughter to begin with.

Marriage came with family and a degree was not very valuable to Gloria if her marriage or her daughters were not okay (G3). Like other Chicana mothers discussed by Segura (1994), Gloria felt that "success in careers could and should be deferred until their children are older," that her emphasis was on "having children who were happy and doing well in school" (p. 219). Because women like Gloria lived

a different subordinated position in the family and school than men, "some of the knowledge, skills, values, and ideas presented in schools are of no use to women, except as confirmation of their position in the sexual division of labor" (Deem, 1978, p. 22).

Gloria insisted that dropping out of school had been worth it because she and her husband now talked about her returning to school before he finished his GED and EMT certifications. When asked why she sacrificed returning to school only three semesters away from an Accounting Associate's degree, Gloria pointed out that "he's the breadwinner," and if she could get him to provide well for their family, then she "can even go study three things and it wouldn't matter" to the financial stability of their family (G2). Connell (1987) criticized the "normative pattern of husband-as-breadwinner and wife-as-homemaker, still powerful in the ideology, has been undermined in fact by economics" (p. 52). Gloria clearly believed that helping her husband succeed meant she was successful as well, exhibiting a "reciprocity in achievement" where his success was her success (Gomez & Fassinger, 1994).

2012-2013. Gloria did not return to school because her husband was fighting fires so she had to take of her daughters. A family crisis had Gloria taking her husband's niece, 13, and nephew, 15, into her home in August 2012 because she just "loved the kids," without financial support from her husband's family (G3). Vega et al. (1986) found among Mexican American families a "very high flexibility in dealing with issues of family structure and role content" (p. 864). Gloria simply worked

them into the schedule and chores her first daughter had for school days. Her husband felt disconnected when he returned from the fires with an expanded family on a routine based around him being gone. Gloria got used to directly giving permission to the children, which upset her husband because he needed to be acknowledged as "the head of the family and we have to clear the things through him" (G3). Gloria had to be reminded of her subordinate position when her husband returned, exposing the unnatural constraint that it imposed upon Gloria and her children to get his approval for every move they made freely when he was away. Gloria would make great efforts to tell the kids to ask her husband, demonstrating her subordination to the regulatory regime of the hierarchy of power in her home (Allen, 2008). By the end of January 2013, the teens had returned to Juarez, where her nephew started "running around with some bad people and thinks he's helping the *narcos*" (F3).

Gloria learned about Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), which was "like an answer to my prayers from heaven" (G3). Originally her husband did not want Gloria to apply because he had heard that after two years, she had to leave the country. It wasn't true, but he did not want her to even investigate it. Hartman (1987) found "the family nevertheless remains the primary arena where men exercise their patriarchal power over women's labor," so as long as she was undocumented, she could only waitress (p. 117). Gloria did "try to be a submissive wife," but by December 2012 she told her husband that this time she was not "in agreeance [sic]" with him and she was going to pursue it anyways (G3). By rejecting her

husband's suppression of her access to work legally, Gloria attempted to take a step "towards liberation" from economic exploitation (Hooks, 1984). Upon investigation, he encouraged her to apply, which frustrated Gloria because she might have gotten approved months earlier. She needed her high school diploma, her transcript, and proof of where she lived, which left Gloria amazed at how easy it was to finally get what she wanted most: "to be legal, to be able to work" without issue (G3). Gloria never really worried about being deported since her husband had a legal work permit, but now she could travel without fear of legal permission to stay, and after being "stuck up in Town" for five years, she wanted to get away (G3).

Gloria was earning $3 an hour in 2013, so she earned "good tips, although where I work, it's mostly locals" (G2). Gloria helped with the register receipts as a "good learning experience" for when she would finish her degree in accounting "someday" (G3). Her husband still was completing lessons online for his GED in April 2013, and although it was going slowly, she was very proud of him because he was so determined (G3). Her husband began to talk about Gloria finishing school to get an accounting job, so Gloria found herself reading the Want Ads and lamenting lost chances that could have been hers if she had finished. Gloria sighed that she would happily return to school, but "for consistency" for her family, she wanted her husband to get his GED to earn his EMT while she worked (G3). Gloria may have been enacting a gendered ideology of the family as Segura (1994) noted, that Mexican and Chicano husbands "support their wives' desires to work so long as this employ-

ment does not challenge the patriarchal structure of the family ," so "men actively pursue continuity of their superordinate position within the family" (p. 225). Gloria hoped to use her DACA status to work as a bank teller to have a more stable income, so that if he still wanted to be a fire jumper, "that would be extra" (G3).

In 2012, her husband made enough money to last through the winter, but because he was "very good-hearted" and said other people needed it, he gave their savings away (G3). While Gloria knew the others really needed it, at the same time she felt that she needed the money, too (G3). Gloria was grateful for the $350 monthly food stamps she received, but each month the last week and a half of grocery money came out of her earnings. Gloria said "as we sow, so we will reap," to explain that even if their bank total was at zero, they did not struggle to pay bills, because "God is providing" (G3). Young mothers like Gloria expressed "a commitment to moral values over material advancement," that they would do what they had to in order to help their family survive (Luker, p. 164).

Her husband included their first daughter more in decisions by positing, "What do you girls think—and he's talking to all three of us" (G2). If her first daughter and Gloria wanted different options, her husband tried to do both to make everyone happy. Despite the sexism inherent in her family structure that relegated Gloria to equal voting status with her children, her children "may experience dignity, self-worth, and humanization" that they do not experience outside the home (Hooks, p. 37). When Gloria was alone with her daughters, she dictated: "Today

we're gonna do this, this, and this, and if you don't like it, I'm so sorry" (G2). With her husband, "what he says goes, and when he's not around, what I say goes" (G2). Her husband was the head of the household, and to show agreement, she usually tried to go with what he said. When his decisions were wrong, he had to tell Gloria she was right, to say "I was wrong; you were right" to Gloria's satisfaction (G2). Gloria contested her relationship with her husband in ongoing and generally subtle ways because she has found "power circulates and is exercised rather than possessed" (Deveaux, p. 243). She knew she was right, but she had to guide her husband into realizing she was right in order to get him to agree with her.

Her first daughter talked to her husband more than Gloria because Gloria felt aggravated when her oldest "plays dumb...that she's so silly sometimes," making conversation just to talk (G2). Gloria believed her impatience came from raising her sisters, because "they talked about everything" so Gloria felt she was "so over this" (G2)! Valenzuela (1999b) might have described the chattering of Gloria's daughter as "*chismeando,*" a mixture of chatting and gossiping, but since Gloria had used it to manage her sisters when she was caring for them as girls, it was work and not play for Gloria. Gloria's first daughter was "very girly" and liked to play house, while growing up Gloria had liked soccer and playing outside to escape running a house (G2). Her preference for boys' sports to escape the boredom of housework might now be expressed as her going to work to escape the boredom of mothering.

Gloria reflected on the early days when she and her husband had fought so much, about how she had wondered what could have been if she had chosen a different life, and found she no longer imagined an alternative. She felt that the eight years they struggled together had been worth it. She called her relationship "a beautiful mess," and she did not wish to be somewhere or be someone else: she loved her life "exactly" as it was (G2). As among other Chicana women, "choosing whom to love" could be viewed as Gloria's "social projection of self...an enactment of all that has gone into creating a person" (Hurtado, p. 138). In the end, Gloria was proud that she and her husband survived those early years now that they "worked together" on the marriage Gloria had been working for since the beginning (G3).

Analysis through the Research Questions

How did mothering intersect with Gloria's woman, worker, and student identities?

A woman's "mothering is informed by her relationship to her husband, her experience of financial dependence, her expectations of marital inequality, and her expectations about gender roles" (Chodorow, 1978/1999, p. 86). All of these elements were in play for Gloria as her mothering identity intersected with her woman, worker and student identities.

Mother with woman. Gloria had taken care of her three younger sisters since she was eight years old, so when she became a mother herself, she was finally free

from her mother's domination. As a legally emancipated woman at 16 because of her pregnancy, Gloria's first act of defiance was to color her hair burgundy, a color that her mom had prohibited her from using only weeks before her announcement, "so my mom couldn't tell me no," she laughed (G3). After she kicked her husband out of her life her sophomore year in college, she defied his oppressive control over her by dressing in "pinks and yellows and just brighter colors" of a young mother (G3). These accommodations to her feminine reality were "not an active attempt to change it" (Willis, p. 120). Being a mother strengthened Gloria's image of her-self and how she wanted to present herself to the world.

The loneliness that emerged from her descriptions. Her alienation from her family began when she was sent to Albuquerque for over three weeks for a gall bladder operation half way through her pregnancy. She spoke of the loneliness postpartum stayed home all day every day with her baby but without transportation to leave. The loneliness in the evenings her senior year as her husband went out drinking with his brothers or had dinner at his aunt's house while she held dinner for him at their trailer. Once he became a fire jumper, he was absent for weeks at a time, leaving her all alone with the children during the summer months. She felt like a single mother, and when he chastised her for saying that because she was clearly his wife, she replied with a shrug, "I'm sorry but that's how I feel, when I have to do everything, I do feel that sometimes" (G3). In general, women have seldom been "prepared for the solitary activity of actually caring for children in the home"

(Anderson, 2000, p. 171).

Mother with worker. Throughout high school and college, Gloria worked the lunch shift when her first daughter was young because she had access to the high school daycare. Because her husband was unable to manage the finances of the household, Gloria returned to waitressing less than two months after giving birth so that she could pay the bills. Since her husband never gave her his paycheck to budget with, Gloria used hers to keep her daughter sheltered and warm. When she kicked out her husband, she was living in low-income housing and only needed to discontinue her cable, phone, and internet services—all her entertainment and communication venues—to afford to live on her own earnings. Even though her husband saved up enough money in the fire-jumping season to cover their winter and off-season expense, her husband kept giving away their savings because "he's very good-hearted. He just said other people needed it and gave it away" (G3). For five years in a row, Gloria had to work during the inclement weather days in order to maintain her household when her husband could not do yard work for his clients, but he finally took a job at a ski rental shop through a fellow fire-jumper. Because Gloria had an obligation to keep her child as well as she wanted to keep herself, her work history added a lot of nuance to Maynard's (1997) finding that adolescent mothers spent more time in the labor market than women who postponed pregnancy until a later age (Maynard, 1997).

Gloria enjoyed waitressing for being "stress-free" compared with mothering,

claiming "it was important for me to do something for me" (G1). At work, Gloria did not think about her daughters or her husband, only of the tasks at hand and best of all "you get money that day!" she emphasized (G1). While Gloria was home bound to atone for her infidelity, she began to improve on cooking different versions of pasta or tacos. Gloria knew what it was like to grow up with a mom that did not cook, so by claiming her feminine space as a cook, she might resolve an "unmother-ed, childlike aspect" within herself (Umansky, 1996, p. 121).

Mother with student. When she announced she was pregnant, Gloria's favorite relatives advised her to finish high schoo. Her godfather offered to pay Gloria's way through dental school in Mexico after she graduated. Graduating high school proved that she was as strong as her mom was at 22, when she got pregnant yet finished college, only Gloria was doing it at 18. As the eldest daughter, Gloria was setting what Valenzuela (1999b) referred to as a "human capital variable," a standard of education two of her sisters exceeded through college and one sister reclaimed through a GED (p. 28). Gloria accepted C's in college because her life was complicated enough and Gloria realized "they don't care about your GPA" when you apply for a job, "they just care if you can do it" (F1). Because of her responsibilities to her child and the obstacles her husband created for her attending class, Gloria was glad to earn C's because they kept her eligible for her state lottery scholarship.

How did being a woman intersect with Gloria's mother, worker and

student identities?

Because a "woman is not a completed reality but rather a becoming,...her possibilities should be defined" (DeBeauvoir, p. 30). The superficial "voluntary interactions between equal participants are in reality deeply and structurally unequal" (Hartsock, p. 150). It is from this position that I examine how Gloria's woman identity interacted with her mother, worker, and student identities.

Woman with mother. Immediately after she gave birth, Gloria enacted a "maternal empowerment," to actively use a contraceptive to take control of her reproduction (Collins, p. 53). Her preferred device was the IUD, which she kept in place during the years prior to the marriage to ensure she did not get pregnant precisely because their relationship was so unstable. When she later had an attack of uterine cysts, she was advised that having a baby could relieve the condition, which is what helped initiate Gloria's "planned" pregnancy in 2009 (G1). When the cysts returned in 2013, she was diagnosed with polycystic uterus syndrome, which was painful but treatable if her body responded to the pill, which hers did not. One of the options if the condition got too bad was for her to have a hysterectomy, which when pressed Gloria shrugged and said "it might not be that bad, since we didn't want any more kids anyways" (F3). As of the last interview, Gloria's condition was so painful and her husband was away at the fires so much that she was not having enough sex to worry about contraceptives.

Gloria felt she had competed with her daughter for her husband's attention.

When her husband was being cruel to Gloria in their first year together, he would only interact with his daughter. "It was like I wasn't even there anymore. It was just her" (G1). Many years ago Gloria had told me that while she was being molested she fervently believed that had her dad been in her life, he would not have let her step father abuse her, so she wanted her daughter to have that protection. Gloria may have believed as Lerner explained, "the sexual control of women was linked to paternalistic protection," her daughter would be protected from suffering what she endured (p. 219).

Woman with worker. Wherever Gloria worked, she worked with women. When she waitressed, she worked at a high level of attention to detail "not because I'm married or because I have a kid. It's just who I am" (G1). At work she embraces her "self-determination" to be friendly and efficient to create an economic possibility for increased tips (Anyon, 1997). Gloria needed to clear at least $50 each lunch shift in order to cover her school expenses, so she used her bilingualism, her quick wit, and her cheerfulness to her financial benefit. Gloria's biculturalism and bilingualism allowed her to be communicatively accessible in a variety of settings, much like Gomez and Fassinger (1994) found in their study of *Mexicana* students, which Gloria used for economic gain in tips.

Woman with student. Gloria was always good in school because she grew up hearing that her mom was "this ace in school, so we all wanted to be like mom" (G2). She remembered hear from her mom that "there's so many opportunities in

this country," but her mom cautioned "if you don't work for it? Nothing is going to be given to you" (G2). When Gloria had to withdraw from college because of her health issue and when her marriage was in crisis, her mother assured her that "just because I left school that wouldn't make me less of a person," so she tried to turn Gloria's attention to how she could "be there for my family the way she couldn't be there for us" (G2). Putting the needs of her family ahead of her own was a common theme for Latina mothers, and as such Gloria could be "the image of *la madre* as self-sacrificing and holy" (Villenas & Moreno, p. 680). Gloria believed she would go back to school someday when she can "be just able to go to school and take care of my house and kids" but not work so she can get some time for herself (G2).

How did working intersect with Gloria's mother, woman and student identities?

In accepting an ideology of femininity the sexual division of labor filters women in "types of labor with specific expectations and attitudes to work" (MacDonald, 1980, p. 18). From this perspective I examine how work intersected with Gloria's mother, woman and student identities.

Worker with mother. After Gloria announced her pregnancy, she, two of her sisters, and a same-age cousin made a bet: whoever got pregnant next had to pay the others $100 each. That was three weeks' pay for Gloria in high school, so she was confident she could win because she was the only one of them actively using

contraceptives in those days. Gloria earned $100 of her second sister and her cousin within the next 18 months, so her ability to not reproduce earned her a $200 profit. The women and Gloria may have engaged in the exchange of women in the sense that they commodified their sexuality and reproduction for personal gain (Levi-Strauss, 1971). Lerner (1986) might clarify that since each girl who got pregnant had to work to earn the $300 she had to pay out, both the mother's reproductive capacity and her labor power were appropriated by Gloria in an example of pure capitalism.

Worker with woman. Gloria's mom had relied heavily upon Gloria's help with her sisters while her mom worked in Mexico and in Town, a burden Gloria believed strengthened the bond between her sisters and her (G2). Gloria's mom encouraged Gloria to stop working, an advantage her mom did not have as a single mom (G2).Gloria wanted her husband to secure his career because he was "the breadwinner" whose steady income was needed so that she could stop working when she returned to finish her Accounting degree (G2). As Segura (1994) found among other Chicanas, Gloria also "idealized men as economic providers," and they felt "pressure to quit working to signify that their men were good providers" (p. 225). Although Gloria wanted to quit working, she had to work because her earnings filled in the gaps between his paychecks, and it got her out of the house.

Worker with student. Because Gloria worked as a waitress since she was 15, she entered college with a vague desire for a degree. Once she decided to pursue a

degree in accounting, Gloria excelled at the courses, although she believed "every-body else thought that I was, again, awkward because I found it very easy" (G3). Now that she is no longer in school, she was taking on more responsibilities in her job to help close out the cash registers after a shift, a skill that kept her accounting skills exercised. She earned a work permit through graduating high school through the DACA program, so Gloria planned to use her high school diploma to get a job in banking, so that she could make "a more stable income" than waitressing. Gloria seems to be fulfilling "expectations of domestic life rather than the rewards gained from social mobility" (Arnot, p. 79). At her current position, she started to help with closing out the cash register and comparing tickets with receipts, skills Gloria felt she would do as an accountant, so she was learning on the job skills for the job she went to college to learn.

How did studying intersect with Gloria's mother, woman, and student identities?

Gloria like other Chicanas at school "personified the borders of youth cultures, styles, languages, social hierarchies, internal colonialism, and citizenship" that shaped her identities (Bejarano, p. 196). But since students are not exposed to "the practice of questioning conditions of the workplace, the economic status quo, or the culture of capitalism and consumerism," studying intersected with Gloria's mother, woman and worker identities in particular ways (Green, 2000, p. 47).

Student with mother. Gloria reacted to the "benevolent racism" (Villenas, 2001) of the Child Lab class and the GRADS program to overcome deficits to her parenting skills by communicating with her children in the home as they do in the American school and culture. Gloria read a lot more books with her first daughter than she could recall ever reading with her mom when she was growing up, and they were always in English like they used in the daycare. Because the GRADS program also provided guidance for negotiating relationships, the literature may have helped Gloria to realize, as Hooks (1984) proffered, that "disagreements and conflicts in the context of intimate relationships can be resolved without violence" (p. 125). Gloria even used this new found resolve to change her discipline style to include more timeouts or groundings than spankings. Gloria knew from her own experience being spanked by her mom that the spanking was more about the adult's frustration than the correcting a behavior in the child, so by explaining to her daughter why she was being disciplined, Gloria could verbalize what provoked Gloria's need to discipline in the first place.

Student with woman. School was where Gloria could "have that part of me because...I wanted to do something with my life" prior to her pregnancy (G1). When Gloria's husband refused to move with her so she could attend the college where she already had a full scholarship, Gloria entered the community college instead and used the state lottery scholarship to pay tuition. Because her husband did not value education, he saw her commitment to school as a distraction from her commitment

to her family and regularly demanded that she give it up. When her husband threatened her with divorce after she confessed her infidelity, Gloria finally relinquished returning to college to prove her commitment. Marriage was found to cause married women like Gloria to "'give-up' on the idea of further education" (Haggstrom et al., p. 183), where Gloria claimed to want to return but only within the perfect conditions of not having to work while she attended school. To take on being a student again, she had to balance it with her responsibilities as a wife and mother, so Gloria would have to disengage from her worker identity to accommodate the work load. For that to happen, her husband's employment would have to be stable and financially adequate to sustain the loss of her wages.

Student with worker. Gloria helped her husband with his math homework for his online GED program, but relinquished that role when her frustration with his ineptitude made him feel "dumb for not getting it," so she advised him to use his online instructor for help (G3). As Valenzuela (1999a) noted among Chicanas girls in school, "romantic involvement for the females translates into helping boyfriends with their school work," so Gloria tried to help her husband in the same way. She realized that her husband would feel better taking guidance from an authority figure like his teacher rather than to witness her incredulity at his limitations. Gloria learned to relate math equations to situations he encountered in his landscaping and tree cutting jobs, which made the concepts more concrete and resolvable for him.

Summary

Gloria's embracing of a traditional feminine identity was both "the cause of and the effect of" her gender inequality in her marriage (Arnot, p. 68). In the next chapter I present my findings about Sasha and Gloria, together and apart, and conclude with my recommendations.

Chapter 6

Findings and Recommendations

Findings

In this chapter I employ my feminist standpoint to examine the goodness of adolescent motherhood for Sasha and Gloria, and my understanding of how power structures that experience. Sasha's and Gloria's material situations played a role in what they knew and limited what they were able to know, but as epistemic agents through motherhood, each one asserted her identity to add to a body of knowledge about how her life was and how she experienced the world. The social experience of adolescent motherhood for Sasha and Gloria allowed them "to see beneath the appearances created by an unjust social order to the reality of how this social order is in fact constructed and maintained" (Bowell, p. 3). Because a feminist standpoint amplifies liberatory possibilities contained in experiences, the findings from Sasha and Gloria can lead to improved social, economic and political power for women (Hartsock, 1983). My Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) inspired portraiture methodology made it possible for Sasha and Gloria to voice their experiences to add shades and tones to challenge the existing literature.

Findings for Sasha

As a woman, adolescent motherhood liberated Sasha from ignorance about

what it means to be a woman. Once the mystery surrounding her female body vanished for Sasha, she was empowered to control her fertility through the pill. She felt comfortable asking her partner to wear a condom and then checking to ensure the condom was in place before proceeding. Because she had a son to raise, she wanted him to feel confident in understanding his body parts and prepared to control his reproductive capabilities as well

Sasha spoke openly about sex and contraceptives with her brother, preparing him for his responsibility to his sexual partners because he received no information from their mom either. With her female cousins in Mexico, she advised them to use contraceptives, to get their educations in case they do get pregnant, just like she had been doing since she became a single mother. Sasha became more selective of whom she had sex with, and the further she got out of high school, the fewer relationships she had. Although she was on the pill, she wanted no relationships in Town to prevent her from starting her life as a full time working mom.

As a mother, adolescent motherhood liberated Sasha from her childhood. Motherhood empowered Sasha to raise her son to do the same chores Sasha had growing up so that he would not have to be dependent on a woman for his basic survival as her mom had done for her brother. Sasha was deeply moved by watching a friend struggle to survive after losing her mom to cancer, so she determined to empower her son to be able to take care of himself. Sasha shared homemade meals with her son made with fresh fruits and vegetables that she never recalled eating

when she was growing up.

Because of her son, motherhood empowered Sasha to be socially more adventurous. Her sophomore year in college, Sasha made friends with a woman a few years older than her and together they started attending concerts or *quince-añersas*, activities neither woman had done when they were younger. Sasha referred to her college classmates as kids because she felt matured by her experiences in the four years of raising her son. She was not afraid to experience the world, but she preferred to be seen in public in the company of female friends or her mom. She spoke of a wish to live in remote cultures and see natural wonders of the world with her son, not with a partner.

As a worker, adolescent motherhood liberated Sasha from accepting waitressing as her only option for a job. Sasha was motivated to go to college to gain access to better paying, more desirable job options than she had without it. With her son to provide for, Sasha could leave her son in daycare every day regardless of class schedule to organize time for completing classwork or reading assignments. Sasha used a portion of her earnings to pay her textbook expenses each semester, but she could not imagine waitressing full time let alone for the rest of her life. For that reason, she invested her money and time in her education to change her material conditions to provide for her son.

Work empowered Sasha to be a better prosumer. As a prosumer, Sasha was a proactive consumer, "taking an active role in choosing a product or service"

(Motive Ltd, 2004). She was more patient and generous with wait staff, more empathetic about the conditions in which they were working and her role in making a situation better or worse. Sasha and mom collaborated over shopping lists and used their understanding about sales and discounts to squeeze the most she could from her $130 in food stamps. Sasha turned to the local thrift store to find special occasion or work clothes for herself or clothes or toys for her son so that she extended the money she had to spend from her earnings.

As a student, adolescent motherhood liberated Sasha from needing to get married. There had been a small part of Sasha that had hoped her son's father would want to marry her, but when he questioned his son's paternity, she knew she was on her own. Her best idea was to graduate high school and go to college for a degree that would give her access to a better paying job that would compensate for not having his father's income in her son's life. She never envisioned a man when she imagined having a child, and she never felt compelled to get married, because her mom had been married and that had not prevented her dad from abandoning his family. Although she wanted to get married someday, she wanted to work and mother without being a student for a while before she could consider becoming a girlfriend of wife.

As a student, adolescent motherhood empowered Sasha to dedicate four uninterrupted years to her college education. By keeping essentially the same school day schedule from high school though college, Sasha maintained access to consist-

ent, free daycare for her son so she could attend classes or use the computer lab. Although so many of her friends had dropped out of college, Sasha felt that she had to graduate because her liberation from living with her parents in Town depended on it. Sasha had even claimed that her real life would not start until after she graduated and began to just dedicate herself to work for her economic survival.

Findings from Gloria

As a woman, adolescent motherhood liberated Gloria from ignoring her body. She was empowered to gain control over her fertility post-partum because she finally connected pregnancy to sex in her mind. The first pregnancy was a surprise but now that Gloria understood the mechanics or reproduction she also knew how to control it. Because of her pregnancies, Gloria had endured two epidurals, two miscarriages, and polycystic uterine syndrome, so having her first daughter as young as she did may have been the optimal time in her health continuum. Gloria has had so many medical procedures that she did not think it was too much to ask for her husband to get a vasectomy to help her control her fertility since she endured all that for him. Instead she settled for another IUD.

Being a woman empowered Gloria to forgive. Gloria forgave her mom for heaping the responsibilities of three younger sisters upon her because she felt closely connected to her sisters from it. She gave her husband a second chance to prove his dedication to their relationship because he had changed his ways and was be-

having like the sober, responsible father and husband she wanted him to be for her. She forgave her nephew when she learned he had been inappropriately touching her first daughter because she presumed he had probably been molested when he was younger. When Gloria went along with decisions her husband made that went wrong, she would always accept his apology. The power to forgive yet never forget the infraction allowed Gloria to feel superior in a limited way.

As a worker, adolescent motherhood liberated Gloria from the monotony of mothering. Gloria was happy to turn her full attention to waitressing, where she could be mentally engaged in conversations with adults. She mentioned on a few occasions that she grew tired of only interacting with her children, so waitressing empowered her use her acquired social capital for economic gain. By waitressing the lunch shift, Gloria scheduled her work when her children would be in school, so then in the evenings she could be home with her family preparing for the next day. She became a church youth leader to share her experiences as an adolescent mother and wife as lessons about appropriate behavior and the consequences for not following the righteous path.

Working empowered Gloria to become a better customer. Gloria made sure to over tip wait staff even when the service was not perfect because she knew how hard it was to survive on tips in Town. She took her daughters for one-on-one excursions to different shops in Town for snacks or lunch but trained them that how they behave in public was the same way they behaved at home. Gloria knew which stores

had the best prices on certain items so she used her $360 in food stamps judiciously each month although the last week and a half were paid for all from her earnings. Because food, shelter, and utilities absorbed the majority of Gloria's budget, she used local thrift shops when she needed to buy additional clothes for herself or kids.

As a student, adolescent motherhood liberated Gloria from being a spouse. At school, Gloria could concentrate on her learning and understanding concepts that fed her image of herself as a student. Gloria became empowered by her success in the accounting program that she declared it her major. When Gloria's health issue forced her to withdraw from college, she lost the state lottery scholarship that had been paying for her tuition. When her husband wanted to divorce her when she revealed her infidelity during their breakup, Gloria symbolically gave him what she had already lost access to: she gave up going to school to save her marriage.

Studying empowered Gloria to control her material conditions. Gloria earned a bridge scholarship for her first semester at college from a MESA competition which allowed Gloria to transition into college without extra expense until the lottery scholarship took effect in the second semester. Now that she had her work permit, Gloria could use her high school diploma to apply for a bank teller position in Town, which provided a steady paycheck equal to what she made waitressing but not as instantaneous in the pay out.

Convergent Findings for Sasha and Gloria

Daily access to free daycare through the high school helped make it easier for Sasha and Gloria to secure their children and establish a routine that helped them transition into college. Through the GRADS parenting program, they learned how to interact with their children in cognitively stimulating ways to understand how to teach language and motor skills to their children. Not every girl on campus received these lessons, but no males took the Child Lab class, reinforcing the ideology that women are the only ones who nurture and raise children.

The location of the community college in Town enabled Sasha and Gloria to access a college in New Mexico. The state lottery scholarship paid the $500 tuition for 12 credits each semester, which allowed the women to minimize the number of hours they had to work to pay for school-related expenses. Sasha was able to graduate debt free from college, although she had no savings for entering the workforce. When Gloria lost her scholarship after withdrawing in the second semester of her junior year, the lack of scholarship absolutely prohibited Gloria from resuming her education.

Neither Sasha nor Gloria had received any career guidance prior to graduating high school. Each woman knew she wanted to go to college but neither had a specific plan in place to maximize the yield on her four-year scholarship. In her first three semesters of college, Sasha took classes in education and accounting, but it wasn't until her junior year that she got on pace with a Criminal Justice major, so she had run out of time to earn the Bachelor's degree before the scholarship ran out. At

the final focus interview Sasha was considering relocating to the main campus to finish her Bachelor's but the over $3000 cost for room, board, and tuition had to come from Sasha's earnings alone. After rejecting education and nursing, Gloria chose accounting because she found the courses easy and she could finish the degree without having to relocate. Although both were skilled at advanced mathematics, neither woman entered into any career that they had explored through the Mathematics, Engineering, Science, and Architecture (MESA) club they both had participated in high school for multiple years.

For their children to stay healthy, Sasha and Gloria had to stay healthy. Sasha was fortunate to have access to her father's health insurance from high school and college, which was how she was able to stay on the pill continuously since partum. Now that she was finished with school, Sasha needed to get her own health insurance coverage because she was reaching the age limit on her father's policy. Gloria lacked health coverage ever since she arrived in the U.S. Gloria's STD was diagnosed when she went into the free clinic for a prenatal check-up. Because she was not covered for prescription pain medication for her cysts, Gloria was relying upon herbal remedies and warm compresses to manage her pain. Although her husband was risking his life a fire jumper, he was not provided any health care benefits through the governmental agency. Gloria described bouts of depressions after her miscarriages, so she just stayed home and immersed herself in her mothering duties. The health and mental well-being of mothers is an important component within the

Affordable Care Act, but Sasha's and Gloria's eligibility for the insurance was not explored here and needs further investigation (Obamacarefacts.com, 2013).

Findings for the Researcher

When I first began my research, I kept wanting to understand what went wrong for Sasha and Gloria, why these two bright, capable women had 'messed up' their lives. To my shame I started this portraiture because while the focus was on the good, I thought the contradictions in the data would reveal a deeper truth of how adolescent pregnancy was not good. My deficit theory position was a struggle throughout, but I now realize that not only had they done nothing wrong, they had done everything exactly right.

Sasha and Gloria had been raised within the gendered ideology of being born biologically female (Althusser, 1971; Arnot, 1982). From early in their lives they were trained to become women thorugh the conditions that were placed upon them within the hierarchy of gender (Allen, 2008; DeBeauvoir, 1949/1964). Because they were raised female, Sasha and Gloria believed they would become mothers and motherhood signaled adulthood and therefore womanliness and the power that motherhood created (Butler, 1990; Chodorow, 1978/1999; Hooks). In this sense, Sasha and Gloria did an excellent job of proving that they were both feminine and adults.

I was so proud when they each graduated from high school, because they had in my view overcome the burden of having a child to provide for by working. Of

course Sasha and Gloria did well in school and work while raising their children: schools have always prepared women for the home and workplace (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Deem, 1980; Rury, 1991). They understood that their academic talents gave them social capital that made them attractive partners for their male classmates to get tutored by (Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999a). I began to look at cooperative pairs differently, and now I see I was putting my female students into potential romantic relationships with the males they were helping, that I was affirming their feminine role in the sexual division of labor. All of my practices now became potential sites for more equitable notions about social capital.

Gloria had graduated from high school at the end of my first year teaching in Town, so I actually got to know her after high school. When we began discussing her experience, I would have said she was the less successful of the two because she did not finish college, but I changed my mind. Gloria had successfully managed to graduate high school, earned a college scholarship, overcame an abusive marriage, married the man she loved, ran a household while her husband was away on ex-tended trips, raised a second daughter, endured two miscarriages, waitressed in four different restaurants, and earned a legal work permit, all since she had her first child. Finishing college was a pathway to a more lucrative career, not the only pathway, and if she was able to get the job in the bank as she hoped, it gets her out of waitressing and benefits her family: that would be a success in my eyes.

I knew Sasha for all four years of high school so I knew her better than I knew

Gloria as a student, and when we started the interviews, I would have said she was the more successful of the two, but I changed my mind. Yes, she managed to graduate high school, not much in her life changed from her pregnancy through college graduation. By living at home she was avoiding the father's role which she had professed to be fulfilling: providing financially for their room and board. She selected the field of Criminal Justice without a clear idea of what specific role in the justice system she would be playing. I felt that Sasha was lonely, having committed herself to earning her degree at the expense of her love life, and raising her son at the expense of her social life. Sasha also knew the quality of the available men in Town, so she must not have found anything worth keeping in her life. Until Sasha actually had a job with her college degree and was supporting her child by her own earnings without her parents support, Sasha had not succeed in her ultimate goal of self-sufficiency at reporting.

At the very heart of capitalism is the value derived from the productive and reproductive power of women (Hartsock, 1983; Levi-Strauss, 1971; Rubin, 1975). Therefore, Sasha and Gloria were good women who were good students, who became good mothers because they were good workers. This research was not about the goodness of adolescent motherhood for all women, but a chance to explore how motherhood for Sasha and Gloria might help change institutional and structural relationships to create a more just society (Hardiman, Jackson & Griffin, 2013; Young, 2013).

Recommendations

The recommendations that emerged from the data result from the critical consciousness I reached with respect to the effects of power on epistemic production at institutional and structural levels (Bowell, 2012; Harding, 1987).

Recommendation 1: Institutional Recommendations

At the high school level, in order to destroy sexual inequality for females, schools need to prepare males to assume their parenting responsibilities in this post-industrial society. With 61% of new mothers working, the need for daycare and nightcare has to come from men. If we centralize the idea that children have a right to effective child care, as Hooks (1984) suggested we should, then males should be empowered to develop their skills to nurture and care for any children, even their own. By reinforcing "the importance of equal participation in parenting and the need to end male dominance of women" (p. 141), the needs of parents regardless of gender can allow for better allocations of governmental resources for a variety of family structures.

At the college level, there needs to be a wider variety of degree programs that can be completed at community college campuses in New Mexico. Requiring students to complete the final year of a Bachelor's program on a main campus is a nice thought in theory but a huge financial imposition in practice. Providing online or independent study options at remote community colleges could increase completion rates for those students using their familial support networks to go to school. Ad-

visors need to present and promote STEAM careers to young women and provide supportive relationships to help them succeed in those programs. Increased degree options and access to more lucrative STEAM degrees allow women to penetrate the sex role ideology that keep women in traditionally lower paying jobs than men.

At the state level, increased financial support for adolescent mothers who pursue college degrees. Provide opportunities for good students to extend their scholarships to complete advanced degrees and offer incentives for women to enter STREAM fields for scholarship awards. For students who had to interrupt their education because of health issues, like Gloria, allow a pathway to return to school, or defer payments for failing to complete a semester until after graduation. Because the state lottery scholarship is pivotal in the lives of working class students trying to attend college in New Mexico, there should be an increased flexibility with educational attainment timeframes and conditions.

Recommendation 2: Structural Recommendations

For principals, adolescent mothers need support in whatever ways allow them to maintain access with school and graduate on time. Having an available daycare and school based health center made it much easier for Sasha and Gloria to cope with adolescent motherhood. Sasha had a different principal from Gloria when she was pregnant and in school, but Sasha was on track for graduation before her senior year, so whatever unscheduled period she had, she reported to the daycare

to spend time with her son. It was because Gloria's principal knew who Gloria was as a pregnant student that he considered her future when he froze her credits until she returned in summer school. By encouraging her to stay in school, Gloria was empowered to continue into college. Principals, in their symbolic parental position over their children in their school, cannot lash out at these students and condemn their behavior. As good parents, principals have to be compassionate and understanding to better connect these students' particular needs.

For school staff, for nurses and counselors, adolescent motherhood is a time to discuss future plans and pathways to get there. Motherhood has been shown to motivate women to succeed in school and get good jobs (Linares et al., 1991; Smith-Battle, 2006, 2007). By orienting adolescent mothers to their future needs, school personnel can help connect young women to community resources and Internet websites to explore a variety of topics including career pathways, parenting forums, interviewing for employment. It is more important when the mothers are not interested in a college pathway that they be guided to weigh the options available with only a high school diploma so that her decisions are better informed by reality.

For teachers, we need to be more aware of the sexual division of labor hidden in our curriculum and practices. We need to create spaces in which women can voice their concerns about feminine desire and pleasure and their implications for men and women (Fine, 1988). We need to prepare all students to take responsibility for the conditions in which they will sell their labor by understanding their rights as

humans within the current labor market (Green, 2000). We need to unlearn the coercive authority that has come with our position in the hierarchy of power in the schools, which will let us free ourselves from the regulatory regimes that allowed us to ignore our interconnectedness as community members (Allen, 2008; Hooks, 1984).

For me, I need to advocate for the rights of all students because of what I have learned from Sasha's and Gloria's experiences as adolescent mothers. I need to speak openly about contraceptives and demystify sex when I converse on the subject with young people. I understand that the gendered sex role ideology of my students may be invisible to them and I must respect that raising consciousness takes time and shared effort to achieve (Anderson, 2000; Freire, 1970). As a member of a professional learning community, I need to reach out to my colleagues and discuss how our cultural assumptions and hegemonic practices may be interfering with our preparation of students for parenting, working, and studying in New Mexico in this historical context.

Summary

In my nine year relationship with Sasha and Gloria, I watched as they transformed from girls into women through the experience of adolescent motherhood. The portraits I painted of Sasha and Gloria helped me evolve my thinking about adolescent motherhood from a deficit to benefit in a young woman's life. From this

moment forward as a teacher and a cultural worker, I will be forever effected by the knowledge I gained from this research experience.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Overarching Research Questions

1. How does mothering intersect with woman, worker and student identities?
2. How does being a woman intersect with mother, worker, and student identities?
3. How does working intersect with mother, woman and student identities?
4. How does studying intersect with mother, woman and worker identities?

Participant Interview One: Background

1. What is your name?
2. Describe your family background (members, origins, jobs, ages, other)
3. How long have you lived in the United States?
4. How did you come to live in this town?
5. What is your living arrangement right now?
6. How often do you go to Mexico?
7. How much contact do you have with family in Mexico?
8. How would you evaluate your performance in high school?
9. How has your Mexicanidad shaped your identity as a student and worker?
10. When did you get pregnant with your first child?
11. What sources of income do you have for your own and your child's up-keep?
12. What kind of work do you do outside the home?
13. How was your experience in the high school before your pregnancy?
14. How was your experience in the high school after your pregnancy?
15. What are your graduation/post-secondary plans?
16. What did you learn about being a woman from the women in your life?

17. What did you learn about men from the men in your life?
18. How are you approaching motherhood differently from your mother?
19. What cultural traditions are you continuing with your children?
20. What are your expectations for marriage?
21. What *consejos* did your mother give you about being a daughter, mother (and wife)?
22. How has *experiencia* affected your relationship with your mother?
23. What does *una buena educación* mean in your family?
24. What role has *vergüenza* played in the decisions you make?
25. What is your motivation to *valerse por tu misma*?
26. Answer questions from the participants.

Participant Interview Two: Listening for the story

1. What does a Mexicana mother do for her child different from what an American mother should do?
2. What do American mothers do for their children that Mexican mothers should do?
3. How did your family react to your pregnancy?
4. How were you already prepared to become *una buena madre*?
5. What do wish you had understood better before you got pregnant?
6. How have your relationships with women changed since you became a mother?
7. How have your relationships with men changed since you became a mother?
8. What services do you wish were available in this community to help adolescent mothers or mothers of any age?
9. What does graduating high school mean to you?
10. What profession would you like to enter and why?

11. In what ways have you been influenced as a student and worker by the adults in your life?
12. In what ways does having a community college nearby influence your future aspirations?
13. What has been your work experience in this community?
14. What expectations did your mother tell you she had for you growing up?
15. What expectations do you have for yourself now?
16. What expectations do you have for your child?
17. How involved is the baby's father in your child's life?
18. What *consejos* did your mother give you about being a student and a worker?
19. How has *experiencia* affected your understanding of being a woman?
20. How are you giving *una Buena educación* to your children?
21. How was your sexual experience prior to your pregnancy and why?
22. How have your sexual relationships changed since you became a mother?
23. What attitudes toward sexuality do you want to pass on to your children?
24. Why is it important to *valerse por tu misma* as a woman?
25. Answer questions from the participants.

Participant Interview Three: Emerging themes

1. Develop questions and follow leads to deepen understanding about the context of their lives from 2004-2013.
2. Develop questions and follow leads to deepen understanding about how adolescent motherhood has impacted the participants as woman, worker and student identities?
3. Develop questions and follow leads to deepen understanding about emerging findings.

4. Develop questions and follow leads to deepen understanding of the participants' recommendations.

APPENDIX *B*

FOCUS GROUP PROTOCOLS FOR ADOLESCENT MEXICANA

MOTHER PARTICIPANTS

FOCUS GROUP OUTLINES

Focus Group One

Introduction

1. Greetings
2. Overview
3. Ground Rules
4. Focus Group Questions

Section 1: Education of a Good Mother, Good Student, and Good Worker

1. What did you learn at home about being a good mother, student and worker?
2. What did you learn at school about being a good mother, student and worker?
3. How do you balance work and family needs?
4. What skills do you wish you had gotten to help you be a mother, student and worker?

Section 2: Educational Desires and Achievements

1. What did school mean to you before your pregnancy?
2. How did the meaning of school change for you after your pregnancy?
3. What does graduating high school mean to you?

4. What do you still want to learn?

Section 3: Benefits of Graduating High School

1. What have been the social benefits of graduation?
2. What have been the vocational benefits of graduation?
3. What have been the economic benefits of graduation?
4. How does graduation from high school contribute to making you a good mother, a good student, and a good worker?

Section 4: A Feminist Standpoint

1. What social conditions do you think needs to change for women in your community?
2. What economic conditions do you think needs to change for women in your community?
3. What laws and rules do you think needs to change for women in your community?
4. What support can young mothers give to each other as you raise your children together in your community?

Focus Group Two

Introduction

1. Greetings
2. Overview
3. Ground Rules
4. Focus Group Questions

Section 1: Follow-up, Reciprocity and Activisim

1. Follow up on ideas that came from the last meeting, participant or researcher inspired.
2. Discuss ways how the participants could help each other in the future.
3. Discuss what legal or political policies would make mothering easier.
4. Information provided on educational pursuits as requested by participants.

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORMS FOR ADOLESCENT MEXICANA MOTHERS INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Curriculum & Instruction, New Mexico State University

RESEARCH DESCRIPTION FOR PARTICIPANTS

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH: You are invited to participate in an ethnographic portraiture research study about adolescent Mexicana mothers who continue and complete their high school education to understand how they are negotiating their intersectional realities of living as women who mother, study, and work. You will be asked to participate in three (3) audio-taped individual interviews and two (2) videotaped focus group interviews with one or more adolescent Mexicana mothers. The research will be conducted by Renee Miletic in a mutually agreed upon location.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: You will have the opportunity to reflect on your life and your schooling experiences as a student and an adolescent Mexicana mother. This may create discomfort in you as you go back and reflect on your experiences. If at any time you do not want to participate in an activity or answer a question, you can opt out. You may even suggest to the researcher as alternative activity you might rather do. The research has the same amount of risk you may have encountered during classroom activities.

PAYMENTS: For your participation through the third individual interview, you will receive a direct payment of $50.00. After completing the second focus group interview, you will receive an additional direct payment of $25.00. In addition, the researcher can provide information and assistance to students in regards to educational pursuits or career mentoring. This information is intended to support participants as they make decisions about their own future and their children's future.

DATA STORAGE TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY: You and your school will be given pseudonyms to protect your anonymity in note-taking, data analysis, and the final write-up. All data will be kept in the primary researcher's home, stored in a locked

file cabinet, and filed by a pseudonym you choose to identify yourself. No one else will know this pseudonym unless you tell them directly.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Your participation in each interview will take approximately 3 hours each spread out over the period of five months for a minimum of 15 hours. Your participation in the drafting of your portrayal may require an additional amount of time to read and to comment on the report.

HOW WILL THE RESULTS BE USED: The results of this study will be used in a dissertation for the completion of a Ph.D. degree as well as articles to inform the larger public about the ways adolescent Mexicana mothers negotiate their intersectional identities as women who mother, study and work. The videotaped focus group interviews may be included in the final presentation of the research project in order to verify findings. Efforts will be made to maintain your anonymity by blurring your face and editing out names or personal indicators that could help identify you directly. Only the researcher's dissertation team members will view selected excerpts of your videotaped interview.

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

Principal Investigator, Renee Miletic

- I have read and discussed the Research Description with the researcher. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the purposes and procedures regarding this study.
- My participation in this research is voluntary. I have three days to decide if I want to participate before I will be asked to sign the contract. I may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study without jeopardy to myself at any time.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue to participate, Renee Miletic will provide this information to me.
- If at any time I have comments or concerns regarding the conduct of the research or questions about my rights as a research participant, I should contact New Mexico State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chair, through the Office of Compliance at New Mexico State University at **(575) 646-7177 or at** ovpr@nmsu.edu .
- I should receive a copy of the Research Description and the Participation Rights.

- In the use of video and audio taping in this research, check one of the following: ( ) I consent to be audio/video taped.
( ) I do NOT consent to being audio/video taped. Only the principal investigator will view the written, audio and video taped materials.
- If the videos are to be used in an educational setting or for presenting at a conference, additional approval of the research participant must be secured.
- My signature means that I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature_______________________________ Date

____/____/_____

Name____

APPENDIX *D*

MENTAL HEALTH CONTACTS SHEET

(phone numbers and names are withheld to protect the anonymity of the participants)

Counseling Center (575) XXX-XXXX

Child and Protective Service (575) XXX-XXXX

APPENDIX *E*

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS AOUT ADVERSE EVENT

As a participant in my study I am writing to inform you of an incident that occurred January 18, 2013.

I came home from work and discovered my house had been broken into. Among the personal items taken were the audio recorder and the digital video recorder that I used to collect your interviews from the beginning of this year. Although I had completed the transcription of your final individual interview, I hadn't finished translating the final video recorded interview between all three of us. I had saved backup copies of the first three individual interviews and the first video recorded focus group on password-protected USBs labeled by your pseudonym, but the thieves took those, too. The recordings were in a safe place—locked on password-protected USBs inside of a locked box inside my home office where I could monitor it—but the thieves were no match for these efforts. I sincerely apologize for the loss of your recordings.

An incident report is being filed through the Institutional Review Board of New Mexico State University, the group that oversees the integrity of any research conducted by its students. In your copy of the Letter of Consent that you signed last July before we began our first interview, you will find the telephone number and email address for the Office of Compliance where you can ask questions or file paperwork if you believe that the data I collected from you may have compromised your anonymity or the privacy of your identity.

Luckily, the recordings were passcode protected so nobody should be able to access the information you shared, but the recordings are gone nonetheless. All that remains are the transcripts of your three individual interviews (9 hours of discussion) and the first video session (3 hours). And although I have my field notes from the final video recorded session, I haven't captured the passion and enjoyment of that final conversation nor all of your wonderful suggestions how to change school, community and family practices for the benefit of future young women. Please forgive me; I cannot apologize enough for not being able to prevent the theft of these recordings.

I believe this great journey is not completely lost. Would you be willing within the next two months to participate in a new discussion session? We would meet for a three-hour session about the same questions we discussed in January in the same setting and conditions. I have my Spring Break from March 23rd to the 31st, but I can take time whenever I need to in order to meet your schedule. If, however, you feel that you do not want to meet, it is your right to refuse without any repercussions from me.

Thank you for allowing me to explain the problem and the various solutions. I will be sending you a letter by mail explaining the exact same information I just told you. I ask that you contact me at my new home phone number, (760) 289-4215, when you receive this letter so that I can answer any questions that may occur to you over the next few weeks.

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