MARGINALIZED MOTHERS, MOTHERING FROM THE MARGINS

ADVANCES IN GENDER RESEARCH

Series Editors: Marcia Texler Segal and Vasilikie Demos

Recent Volumes:

Volume 11: Sustainable Feminisms – Edited by Sonita Sarker, 2007
Volume 12: Advancing Gender Research from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Centuries – Edited by Vasilikie Demos and Marcia Texler Segal, 2008
Volume 13: Perceiving Gender Locally, Globally, and Intersectionally – Edited by Vasilikie Demos and Marcia Texler Segal, 2009
Volume 14: Interactions and Intersections of Gendered Bodies at Work, at Home, and at Play – Edited by Marcia Texler Segal, 2010
Volume 15: Analyzing Gender, Intersectionality, and Multiple Inequalities: Global, Transnational and Local Contexts – Edited by Esther Ngan-Ling Chow, Marcia Texler Segal, and Lin Tan, 2011
Volume 16: Social Production and Reproduction at the Interface of Public and Private Spheres – Edited by Marcia Texler Segal, Esther Ngan-Ling Chow, and Vasilikie Demos, 2012
Volume 17: Notions of Family: Intersectional Perspectives – Edited by Marla H. Kohlman, Dana B. Krieg, and Bette J. Dickerson, 2013
Volume 18A: Gendered Perspectives on Conflict and Violence: Part A – Edited by Marcia Texler Segal and Vasilikie Demos, 2013
Volume 18B: Gendered Perspectives on Conflict and Violence: Part B – Edited by Marcia Texler Segal and Vasilikie Demos, 2014
Volume 19: Gender Transformation in the Academy – Edited by Marcia Texler Segal and Vasilikie Demos, 2014
Volume 20: At The Center: Feminism, Social Science, and Knowledge – Edited by Vasilikie Demos and Marcia Texler Segal, 2015
Volume 21: Gender and Race Matter: Global Perspectives on Being a Woman – Edited by Shaminder Takhar, 2016
Volume 22: Gender and Food: From Production to Consumption and After – Edited by Marcia Texler Segal and Vasilikie Demos, 2016
Volume 23: Discourses of Gender and Sexual Inequality: The Legacy of Sanra L Bem – Edited by Marcia Texler Segal, and Vasilikie Demos, 2016
Volume 24: Gender Panic, Gender Policy – Edited By Vasilikie Demos and Marcia Texler Segal

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Miriam Adelman
Universidade Federal do Paraná, Brazil

Franca Bimbi
Universita Degli Studi di Padova, Italy

Max Greenberg
University of Southern California, Los Angeles, USA

Marla Kohlman
Kenyon College, USA

Chika Shinohara
Momoyama Gakuin University (St. Andrew's University), Japan

Tiffany Taylor
Kent State University, Kent, USA

This page intentionally left blank

ADVANCES IN GENDER RESEARCH VOLUME 25

MARGINALIZED MOTHERS, MOTHERING FROM THE MARGINS

EDITED BY

TIFFANY TAYLOR
Kent State University, USA

and

KATRINA BLOCH
Kent State University, USA

United Kingdom – North America – Japan
India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2018

Copyright © 2018 Emerald Publishing Limited

Reprints and permissions service
Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-78756-400-8 (Print)
ISBN: 978-1-78756-399-5 (Online)
ISBN: 978-1-78756-401-5 (Epub)

ISSN: 1529-2126 (Series)

ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985
ISO 14001

INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS *xi*

SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE *xiii*

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS *xv*

LIST OF TABLES *xix*

INTRODUCTION: BRINGING MARGINALIZED MOTHERS TO THE CENTER *1*
Tiffany Taylor and Katrina Bloch

PART 1
BARRIERS THAT MARGINALIZE MOTHERS

PRIDE AND HOPE, SHAME AND BLAME: HOW WELFARE MOTHERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION JUGGLE COMPETING IDENTITIES *11*
Sheila M. Katz

"WATCHING WHAT I'M DOING, WATCHING HOW I'M DOING IT": EXPLORING THE EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF SURVEILLANCE AND SILENCED VOICES AMONG MARGINALIZED MOTHERS IN WELSH LOW-INCOME LOCALES *25*
Dawn Mannay, Jordon Creaghan, Dunla Gallagher, Sherelle Mason, Melanie Morgan and Aimee Grant

MOTHERING, IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION, AND VISIONS OF THE FUTURE AMONG LOW-INCOME ADOLESCENT MOTHERS FROM SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL *41*
Alanna E. F. Rudzik

BETWEEN A ROCK AND A HARD PLACE: SOCIOECONOMIC (IM)MOBILITY AMONG LOW-INCOME MOTHERS OF CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES *57*
Regina S. Baker and Linda M. Burton

THE PARENTAL EXPERIENCE OF MOTHERS WITH CHILDREN WHO HAVE DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES: QUALITATIVE REFLECTIONS ON MARGINALIZATION AND RESILIENCY *73*
Kaitlin Stober and Alexis Franzese

PART 2
BORDERS THAT MARGINALIZE MOTHERS

CHINESE MATERNITY TOURISTS AND THEIR "ANCHOR BABIES"? DISDAIN AND RACIALIZED CONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF NON-CITIZEN REPRODUCTION *91*
Cassaundra Rodriguez

NEGOTIATING GENDER AND POWER: HOW SOME POOR MOTHERS EMPLOY ECONOMIC SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AFTER WELFARE REFORM *107*
Sancha D. Medwinter and Linda M. Burton

"I'M NOT A GOOD MOTHER NOW, BUT I WILL BE IN THE FUTURE:" SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN TRANSNATIONAL MOTHERS IN A TRANSIT MIGRANT COUNTRY *125*
Cynthia Magallanes-Gonzalez

BETWEEN AND BETWIXT – POSITIONING NANNIES AS MOTHERS: PERSPECTIVES FROM DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA *141*
Boitumelo Seepamore

DISRUPTED MOTHERING: NARRATIVES OF MOTHERS IN PRISON 157
Kelly Lockwood

PART 3
MOTHERING AS RESISTANCE TO MARGINALIZATION

"PARENTING LIKE A WHITE PERSON": RACE AND MATERNAL SUPPORT AMONG MARGINALIZED MOTHERS *177*
Cheryl Crane and Karen Christopher

CAREWORK STRATEGIES AND EVERYDAY RESISTANCE AMONG MOTHERS WHO HAVE TIMED-OUT OF WELFARE *195*
Jill Weigt

EXPLORING BLACK WOMEN'S HOMESCHOOLING EXPERIENCES AT THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE, GENDER, AND CLASS *213*
Taura Taylor

BREASTMILK SHARING AT THE INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND RISK *229*
Kristin J. Wilson

"WE MUST SUMMON THE COURAGE": BLACK ACTIVIST MOTHERING AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY *245*
Anna Chatillon and Beth E. Schneider

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: MOTHERING IN AN ERA OF POST-LIBERALIZATION *259*
Nancy A. Naples

INDEX *273*

This page intentionally left blank

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book grew out of the editors' growing interest in marginalized mothers over the past decade. We are grateful to the series editors, Vasilikie Demos and Marcia Texler Segal, for believing in our vision and giving us the opportunity to put together these important chapters. We are also indebted to those on the Editorial Board of *Advances in Gender Research* and other scholars who reviewed the research submitted for this collection. We would also like to thank Brianna Turgeon for her helpful feedback along the way. Lastly, of course, we would like to thank all the authors who submitted chapters for consideration for the volume who give voice to marginalized mothers, and to Nancy Naples who agreed to write the Afterword at short notice.

Tiffany Taylor and Katrina Bloch

This page intentionally left blank

SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

We are pleased to include in our *Advances in Gender Research* series, volume 25 – *Marginalized Mothers, Mothering from the Margins*. Insofar as mothering is a critical aspect of gender differentiation and inequality, Tiffany Taylor and Katrina Bloch's volume is an important contribution to the study of gender. The volume considers the hidden, the overlooked, and the denied mothering that exist right alongside the greeting card images and verses sent on Mother's Day throughout the world, and in so doing brings us to a fuller understanding of mothers and mothering, thereby centering knowledge about this subject.

Vasilikie Demos and Marcia Texler Segal
AGR Series Co-Equal Editors

This page intentionally left blank

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Regina S. Baker is an Assistant Professor of Sociology of the University of Pennsylvania, USA. Her research examines how micro- and macrofactors produce, maintain, and reproduce inequality across individuals, families, and place. Her current work addresses poverty in the south, regional disparities, and cumulative disadvantage among low-income families and children.

Linda M. Burton is the James B. Duke Professor of Sociology at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, USA. She directed the *Three-City Study* ethnography and a multisite team ethnography of families and poverty in rural communities. Her research examines how contextual forces and familial circumstances influence accelerated life course transitions of children and adults.

Anna Chatillon is a Doctoral Student of the Sociology Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA. Her research examines the intersections of race and gender in feminist organizing with particular attention to the influence of racialized constructions of motherhood on feminist priorities and tactics.

Karen Christopher is an Associate Professor of Sociology of the University of Louisville, USA. Her research explores gender, race, and class in families and workplaces. She has published on these topics in *Gender & Society*, *Feminist Economics,* and *Race, Class & Gender*.

Cheryl Crane is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Franklin College, USA. Her research examines mothering, maternal support, and the intersections of race, class, and gender in families and social policy.

Jordon Creaghan (MSc, Finance Management; BSc, Sociology) is a Management Information Analyst of Hodge Lifetime, UK. His BSc/MSc research focused on management structure and interpersonal relationships. Jordon was involved in the Wales Institute of Social and Economic Research, Data and Methods (WISERD) funded study and contributed to the fieldwork and analysis.

Alexis Franzese is an Associate Professor of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Elon University, USA. Prior to joining the faculty in 2011, Alexis completed her doctoral study at Duke University in Durham, where she completed two separate doctoral degrees in Sociology and Clinical Psychology.

Dunla Gallagher (MSc, Health Psychology; BSc, Psychology) is a Doctoral Researcher of the Centre for Trials Research at Cardiff University, UK. Her thesis focuses on the impact of obesity on pregnancy outcomes for the mother and the child. Her general research interests lie in the determinants of health and behavior change.

Aimee Grant is a Wellcome Trust ISSF Fellow of Cardiff University, UK. Her research examines motherhood, space, and stigma through the empirical study of infant feeding. Her sole authored text *Doing EXCELLENT Research with Documents*: *Practical Examples and Guidance for Researchers* will be published by Routledge in 2018.

Sheila M. Katz is an Assistant Professor of Sociology of the University of Houston, USA, and an affiliated women's, gender, and sexuality studies' faculty. She is a scholar activist whose qualitative sociological applied research focuses on gender and poverty, specifically, low income women's experiences in domestic violence, grassroots activism, and higher education.

Kelly Lockwood is a Criminology Lecturer of the University of Salford, England. Her work focuses on feminist narrative methodologies, disrupted mothering, and gender and the criminal justice system. Kelly is particularly interested in how motherhood is understood and experienced by women in prison.

Cynthia Magallanes-Gonzalez received her undergraduate bachelor's degree in Sociology from Occidental College at Los Angeles, CA, USA. She was a Fulbright student research grantee in Morocco conducting research on Sub-Saharan migrant activism. Cynthia is currently Master's Student at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Dawn Mannay is a Senior Lecturer in Social Sciences of Cardiff University, UK. Her research interests embrace identity and inequality. Dawn's publications include *Our Changing Land: Revisiting Gender, Class and Identity in Contemporary Wales* (University Wales Press, 2016) and *Visual, Narrative and Creative Research Methods: Application, Reflection and Ethics* (Routledge, 2016).

Sherelle Mason (BA, Social Sciences) is a Teaching Assistant of Teaching Personnel, UK. Her undergraduate research focused on sex education. Sherelle contributed to the Cardiff Undergraduate Research Opportunities Programme (CUROP) and Wales Institute of Social and Economic Research, Data and Methods (WISERD) studies. Sherelle intends to train as an educational psychologist.

Sancha D. Medwinter is a Community Researcher and Assistant Professor of Sociology of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, USA Her research examines the consequences of policy, practice, and norms on the well-being of poor, marginalized communities in the United States and the Caribbean. Her work spans international disasters, humanitarian crises, social welfare, race, immigration, citizenship, race/class diversity, and inclusion in public schools and higher education.

Melanie Morgan is a Research Assistant of the Centre for Trials Research at Cardiff University, UK. Her research interests revolve around social class, higher education, gender, and psychosocial research methods. Her work at the Centre for Trials Research has centered on motherhood and service provision related to health and social care.

Cassaundra Rodriguez is an Assistant Professor of Sociology of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, USA. Currently, she is working on a book project on how members of Mexican mixed-status families – that is families that include US citizens and undocumented immigrants – experience and articulate belonging.

Alanna E. F. Rudzik is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology of the State University of New York College at Oneonta, USA, and has conducted research in Brazil, Canada, and the United Kingdom. Dr Rudzik's research focuses primarily on women's experiences during the early postpartum period and brings together ethnographic and biological research methods.

Beth E. Schneider is a Professor of Sociology of the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA, and Director of the McNair Scholars Program. Her published work centers on sexuality, health (HIV/AIDS), and social movements. She served as the editor of *Gender & Society* and was the 2017 recipient of the SWS Feminist Mentoring Award.

Boitumelo Seepamore is a Lecturer of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, and currently completing her PhD in Social Work, where she is researching distance parenting among domestic workers. She has been involved in the community as a volunteer HIV counselor, working with abused women living in downtown Johannesburg.

Kaitlin Stober is currently a Research Specialist of Chicago's Department of Disability and Human Development at the University of Illinois, USA. She earned graduated BA in Sociology and Art from Elon University in 2015 and MS in disability studies from Trinity College Dublin, UK in 2017.

Taura Taylor is a PhD Candidate of the Department of Sociology of the Georgia State University, USA. Her research interests are varied, ranging from sociology of education to social movements to entrepreneurship, all of which converge in her interest in cognitive pluralism, intersectionality, and microlevel resistances.

Jill Weigt is a Professor of Sociology of the California State University San Marcos, USA. With Sandra Morgen and Joan Acker, she is a co-author of *Stretched Thin: Poor Families, Welfare Work, and Welfare Reform* (Cornell University Press, 2010).

Kristin J. Wilson is a Chair of the Anthropology of the Department at Cabrillo College, USA and an instructor of women's studies. She is the author of *Not Trying: Infertility, Childlessness, & Ambivalence* (Vanderbilt University Press, 2014) and *Others' Milk: The Potential of Exceptional Breastfeeding* (Rutgers University Press, 2018).

This page intentionally left blank

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 3.

Table 1. Sample characteristics ($n = 63$). 45

Chapter 5.

Table 1. Demographic Information. 78

Chapter 7.

Table 1. Subsample Characteristics: Three-City Study Ethnography ($N = 19$). 113

Chapter 8.

Table 1. Demographic Profile of Respondents. 130

Chapter 11.

Table 1. In-Depth Interview Participant Demographics ($n = 21$). 182

Chapter 12.

Table 1. Demographics. 201

Chapter 13.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents. 217

Chapter 14.

Table 1. Respondent Demographics. 233

This page intentionally left blank

INTRODUCTION: BRINGING MARGINALIZED MOTHERS TO THE CENTER

Tiffany Taylor and Katrina Bloch

THE BEGINNING

Years ago, we sat on our front porch discussing our dissertations. These discussions were often venting sessions, in many ways, but they were also times to talk through our analyses. Over the course of these discussions, it became clear that welfare-to-work managers (Taylor's dissertation) and anti-immigrant groups (Bloch's dissertation) marginalized certain mothers in similar ways. Further, we realized, laws that exacerbated barriers faced by mothers receiving cash assistance and immigrant mothers were passed at the same time. Powerful racialized, gendered, classist, and xenophobic stereotypes held by outspoken people combined with neoliberalism helped fuel punitive legislation that eroded the safety net. Eventually we wrote a book chapter (Bloch & Taylor, 2014), but our interest in the marginalization of certain mothers and how mothers manage marginalization was born.

Over the last several years, Taylor began organizing sessions on research about marginalized mothers each year at the annual Southern Sociological Society meetings. From these sessions, an exciting network of emerging scholars discussed their research and found validation that this work was important. As the group of scholars grew, it became apparent that there needed to be a volume that centered on marginalized mothers. What structural barriers and stigmas do these mothers face? How do they experience and respond to these negative social forces? Why are laws and policies enacted and enforced that benefit some mothers while denying others of needed resources? With these questions in mind, we

Marginalized Mothers, Mothering from the Margins
Advances in Gender Research, Volume 25, 1–7
Copyright © 2018 by Emerald Publishing Limited
All rights of reproduction in any form reserved
ISSN: 1529-2126/doi:10.1108/S1529-212620180000025022

distributed the call for chapters everywhere we could imagine. And, that brings us here, to this volume.

This volume includes work by an amazing group of scholars who examine the barriers, struggles, resilience, and resistance of marginalized mothers across the globe. Often barriers are created by and maintained by State institutions. Struggles are made worse by these institutions. Despite all this, many of the mothers remain resilient and resistant. These efforts do not come without costs to mental and physical health.

THE MARGINALIZATION OF MOTHERS AND INTERSECTIONALITY

The media is full of images of what motherhood should look like. Instructional manuals, blogs, and so-called experts weigh in on the best practices for raising a child. They are typically written toward women and presume that mothers have copious amounts of time and resources. Hays (1996) wrotes about the cultural prevalence of an intensive mothering ideology, which expects that (a) women are the primary caregivers; (b) appropriate child rearing is based on expert knowledge, is child-centered, and takes a great deal of emotional, financial, and time investments; and (c) children are priceless and motherhood is sacred. However, this ideology grew from a glorification of a heterosexual, middle-class, nuclear family that very few families ever resembled (Coontz, 2016).

While most mothers lack the resources to enact intensive mothering, Arendell (1999) argues this form of mothering is hegemonic and influences the way women of various social positions understand mothering. She further states:

> Hegemonic motherhood is a patriarchal construction; it ties women's identities to their roles as child raisers and nurturers of others, more generally. Motherhood, no matter how closely conducted in accord with the ideological dictates, does not elevate its performers social and economic status to the social and economic status experienced by men collectively. (p. 4)

Similarly, Rothman (2000) argues that mothering is influenced by patriarchy as well as the ideologies of technology and capitalism. As such, we see a convergence of ideologies that serve to marginalize some mothers, and privilege others, based on intersections of race, gender, and class (Taylor, 2011). Certainly then, scholars studying mothers or mothering must understand and use an intersectional lens (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991). Using an intersectional lens helps researchers understand how systems of oppression interact in ways that produce different and distinct patterns of inequality for people with different privileged or disadvantaged statuses.

Systemic oppression takes many forms, including through the interplay between ideologies and institutions. Ideologies that privilege some mothers while marginalizing others are supported by institutions of the State (Ben-Ishai, 2012; Collins & Mayer, 2010; Gross, Turgeon, Taylor, & Wilkes, 2014) through policy-making (or the lack of, such as the failure to enact a comprehensive family medical leave policy in the United States) and policy implementation, including

surveillance and the policing of "good" versus "bad" mothering. Many marginalized mothers must deal with intrusive questioning, mandatory parenting classes, and other forms of paternalism from government institutions (Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011). In the United States, marginalized mothers who must rely on welfare are also required to work outside of the home to receive cash assistance. More and more states in the United States are moving toward requiring work for food assistance or medical assistance. Mandatory work requirements are fueled by neoliberal ideology that places greater value on paid work, in the formal economy, far more than the social reproductive labor involved with mothering (Ben-Ishai, 2012; Taylor, 2011).

Despite these constraints that marginalize mothers, and the barriers that marginalize mother's face, scholars have documented the resilience and resistance of marginalized mothers. In particular, Collins (2002) has written extensively on the everyday resistance of Black mothers as they work to overcome controlling images through self-definition. Collins (2002) and Stack (1974) also show how poor women and/or women of color use cooperative care work, whether through other mothering or extensive kin networks, as a strategy to deal with economic disadvantage. Naples (1998) has dedicated much of her career in studying the resistance work of marginalized mothers, including mothers working in the Welfare Rights Movement in United States in the 1980s. Collins (2002), Stack (1974), and Naples (1998) demonstrate that resistance comes in many forms, from the subtlest everyday action to taking to the streets in an organized protest. While mothers engage in activist work through their everyday actions that build and sustain communities, they do so in the face of raced, classed, and gendered social policies. Readings in this volume illustrate the ways in which women challenge these barriers and seek to make differences in their families, in their communities, and in the institutions that marginalize them.

THIS VOLUME

This volume is intended to shed light on mothers in the margins. Authors in this volume give voice to mothers who are marginalized for a variety of reasons, ranging from incarceration to immigration, and the ways in which mothers' intersecting identities, such as immigration status, race, class, disability, sexuality, and age, effect the expectations, treatment, and choices that mothers make. These chapters highlight the importance of understanding these intersecting forms of oppression for the construction of what types of mothers constitute idealized versus stigmatized mothers, and consequentially their experiences. We divided the chapters into three sections, including sections on: barriers that marginalize mothers, the borders of mothering, and mothering as resistance.

The first section of this volume calls attention to the barriers that marginalized mothers face. In the first chapter, Katz, based on her longitudinal study in the San Francisco Bay Area (USA), shows how mothers on welfare, struggling to improve their circumstances by going to college, find themselves negotiating the conflicting demands of being a mother with the bureaucratic demands of

welfare institutions and higher education institutions. In Chapter 2, Mannay et al. use visual ethnographic methods to demonstrate how age and class intersect to influence the marginalization and motherhood experienced in Welsh locales. These mothers experience surveillance and policing from the State as well as from friends, family, and even strangers. Mothers in both the Katz chapter and chapter by Mannay et al. find themselves negotiating their devaluation in their interactions with government institutions and their efforts to self-define and pride themselves as good mothers instead of shameful "others." In Chapter 3, Rudzik documents the aspirations of low-income adolescent mothers in São Paulo, Brazil, and the barriers these young mothers face in achieving their aspirations. Notably, the aspirations of these young mothers varied depending on the class status of the mother's parents. While young mothers from more affluent families held higher aspirations, and young mothers with less affluent parents held modest aspirations, young mothers from poor parents could not, or would not, comment on their aspirations at all.

Other chapters in this section focus on mothers of children with disabilities. In Chapter 4, Baker and Burton use the *three-city study* (Boston, Chicago, and San Antonio, USA) ethnographic data to inform their work. They illustrate the barriers as well as the physical and mental health costs (which they term "cumulative disadvantage") of raising children with disabilities for economically disadvantaged mothers. Similarly, in Chapter 5, Stober and Franzese use in-depth interviews to examine how marginalization based on race, gender, and sexuality affect mothers with children who have development disabilities (DD). This marginalization based on their intersectional statuses is further exacerbated by the demands of parenting children with DD. Still, the mothers in their study find ways to cope with stress and maintain their resilience.

In the second section of the volume, chapter authors examine the borders of marginalized mothering. As Mohanty (2003, p. 2) states: "In my own life, borders have come in many guises, and I live with them inside as well as across racialized women's communities." In this spirit, we see borders as boundaries reflected through citizenship, walls, geography, dealings with intimate partners and welfare offices, or prison bars. Readings in this section highlight mothers' efforts to transcend, resist, or even just survive experiences with borders. We begin the section with a reading that illustrates the significance of borders on people's perceptions of "others." In Chapter 6, Rodriguez finds that race and class ideology inform how readers of the *New York Times* view Chinese mothers who give birth in the United States and the legitimacy of their child's citizenship. While some commenters explicitly draw from Asian stereotypes associated with the Yellow Peril to argue for exclusion, others rely on perceptions of the mother's class privilege and supposed intelligence to support the legitimacy of the child's citizenship status. Rodriguez argues that even arguments for inclusion are precarious at best and represent racialized conditional acceptance.

Mexican-immigrant mothers in the United States also face stereotypes informed by racism, sexism, and class ideology. In Chapter 7, Medwinter and Burton, using a subsample of Mexican-immigrant mothers from the *three-city study* (mentioned above), find that the mothers in their study specifically do,

undo, and redo gender through three strategies: symbolic reliance, selective reliance, and creative nondisclosure. Like the mothers in Chapter 2 by Mannay et al., Mexican-immigrant mothers in this chapter had to deal with policing from family members, specifically intimate partners, as well as the State. Also, the Mexican-immigrant mothers were strategic about not disclosing information to protect their families' privacy from the intrusiveness of the State.

In some situations, mothers make decisions that result in a separation from their children. In Chapter 8 by Magallanes-Gonzalez and Chapter 9 by Seepamore, we have examinations of the reasons for, and experiences of, mothers who respond to harsh economic marginalization by migrating away from their children to seek work elsewhere. In contrast to a mothering ideology that calls for mothers to be the caretakers, these women redefine motherhood to include economic provision. While the women in Seepamore's study could afford to send their children remittances and remain in contact with them, the migrant mothers in Magallanes-Gonzalez's study face economic barriers to even calling their children. These mothers are stuck in Morocco in transit to Europe in the hope of eventually being able to provide for and be reunited with their children. While in Morocco, the women fail to live up to their reason for leaving their children: being able to provide for them monetarily. Yet, the women's understanding of their own marginalized status allows them to maintain an identity of a "good" mother.

We also learn, in this section, that mothers are not always separated from their children by choice. In Chapter 10, Lockwood examines the struggles that incarcerated mothers experience, which for some include viewing interactions with their children as a double-edged sword. While connections with their children are something they want very badly, it is also something that is emotionally painful when the child leaves again. Guardians also control the access that these women have to their children. Additionally, the mothers strategically manage how much information they share with their children about their incarceration. Overall, some of the mothers Lockwood interviews view open communications as a strong mothering tactic that allows their children to cope with the situations, while others feel that concealing some information protects their child(ren) from unnecessary pain.

Certainly, mothers in each section resist their marginalization in a number of ways, but in the final section, mothers explicitly adopt mothering strategies of resistance or explicitly use their status as mothers in their activism. In Chapter 11, Crane and Christopher interview marginalized mothers in the United States about maternal support. They find that parenting strategies vary based on the intersections of race and class, with single Black mothers strategically using community support in a strategy that Crane and Christopher term "nurtured growth." Further, three mothers in their study used support systems for self-care and in mother-centric (vs child-centric) ways. This strategy is often met with critiques from their families that they were "parenting like a white person." Chapter 12 by Weigt builds from here and examines the care work strategies of women who have "timed out" of their lifetime allotment of welfare cash assistance. Like other chapters, the mothers work to protect their children and get resources, but they also learn ways to structure employment.

Some mothers also make major life changes to challenge structural inequality and stigmatization. For instance, the Black mothers interviewed by Taylor in Chapter 13 leave paid work to homeschool their children. Taylor finds that these mothers understand the systemic gendered racism they face and see homeschooling as a way to combat their marginalization and the marginalization of their children. Other women, like those interviewed by Wilson in Chapter 14, share breastmilk while attempting to counter the discourse that milk-sharing is risky. More affluent White milk sharers in Wilson's study often adopt a narrative of sharing breast milk as natural or "crunchy," while Latina and Black women were more likely to see their milk-sharing as social justice work in which they could self-define as good mothers.

Finally, in our last chapter, Chatillon and Schneider study a Texas (US) organization resisting police brutality. The organization, Mothers Against Police Brutality, uses activist mothering strategies to argue that Black and Brown children and their mothers are devalued and subjected to racialized state violence. However, they challenge this framing, arguing that boys of color have value. In doing so, they engage in community-building activities that strengthens other mother ties. They further call for institutional changes in policing to eliminate the raced, classed, and gendered policies that render boys of color dispensable and dangerous. In this way, the organization and its founder bring the marginalization of their mothering to the center of their activist mothering work.

In conclusion, the readings in this volume illustrate both the similarities and differences that marginalized mothers experience based on series of intersectional identities and geographic locations that place them in different places in an inequality structure (Collins, 2002). The authors examine the social actors who stigmatize and police the behavior of certain mothers. However, the chapters also show resilience in the ways that mothers challenge their marginalization. For some women, their day-to-day activities work to dismantle their marginalization, while other mothers engage in social movement activities and political activism.

REFERENCES

Arendell, T. (1999). *Hegemonic motherhood: Deviancy discourses and employed mothers' accounts of out-of-school time issues*. Center for Working Families Working Paper, 9. Berkeley, CA: University of California.

Ben-Ishai, E. (2012). *Fostering autonomy: A theory of citizenship, the state, and social service delivery*. Pennsylvania, PA: Penn State Press.

Bloch, K., & Taylor, T. (2014). Welfare queens and anchor babies: A comparative study of stigmatized mothers in the United States. In M. V. Giles (Ed.), *Mothering in the age of neoliberalism* (pp. 199–210). Toronto: Demeter Press.

Collins, J. L., & Mayer, V. (2010). *Both hands tied: Welfare reform and the race to the bottom in the low-wage labor market*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Collins, P. H. (2000). Gender, black feminism, and black political economy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *568*(1), 41–53.

Collins, P. H. (2002). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Coontz, S. (2016). *The way we never were: American families and the nostalgia trap*. London: Hachette UK.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6) 1241–1299.

Gross, C., Turgeon, B., Taylor, T., & Wilkes, K. (2014). State intervention in intensive mothering in the United States: Neoliberalism, new paternalism, and poor mothers in Ohio. In L. R. Ennis (Ed.), *Intensive mothering: The cultural contradictions of modern motherhood* (pp. 163–179). Toronto: Demeter Press.

Hays, S. (1998). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Naples, N. A. (1998). *Grassroots activisim: Activist mothering, community work, and the war on poverty*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Rothman, B. K. (2000). *Recreating motherhood*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Soss, J., Fording, R. C., & Schram, S. (2011). *Disciplining the poor: Neoliberal paternalism and the persistent power of race*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Stack, C. (1974). *All our kin: Strategies for survival in a Black community.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Taylor, T. (2011). Re-examining cultural contradictions: Mothering ideology and the intersections of class, gender, and race. *Sociology Compass*, *5*(10), 898-907.