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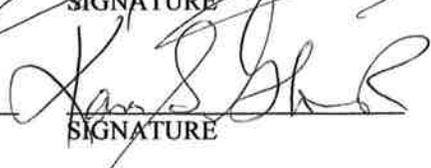
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CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY OF
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The Machismo Condition: Exploring the Lives of Occupational &
Domestic Shifts of Mexican and Mexican-American Women.

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Masters of Art in
Sociological Practice

by

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The Machismo Condition: Exploring the Lives of Occupational & Domestic Shifts of
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ABSTRACT

This project was inspired based on my childhood experience growing up in a culture that has normalized abuse on women. This study analyzed two different spaces that women must display subservient behavior. I have coined this as the double shift: the occupational and domestic spheres. Findings were drawn using semi-structured open-ended interviews with 10 women that work at an elite university (I have identified as Jerome State University), and identify as Mexican or Mexican American. Also, I was able to examine the relationships that service-working women experience with students, professors, and administration at Jerome State University through participant/ fieldwork observation. I was able to gain entry within this group of women by acknowledging my privilege as a male, and also by using a confidential informant. This research was conducted in Northeast Los Angeles County, a community that is heavily populated with people of color.

INTRODUCTION

As a seven-year-old Chicano who grew up in the working-class community of Highland Park in Northeast Los Angeles County, domestic violence was a significant feature that greatly impacted my childhood. I often found my parents arguing and fighting on a daily basis, which would force me to flee to the back yard to deal with the anxiety and fear of what was going on in this domestic space. I can remember one specific day when my parents argued, only this time it was different as this was a more physical exchange between them than the usual verbal abuses. After this encounter, I found my mother crying in the bathroom while my father was in the living room watching television oblivious as to what had just taken place. Many years later, things have changed. My father no longer has the same “machista”¹ [it is characterized by a display of sexual prowess, zest for action; including verbal action, daring, and above all, absolute self-confidence (Basham, 1976)] power he once maintained, and my mother is no longer dependent of him. Both the gender dynamics and the power relationship have changed although they are still together.

I often find myself wondering how different my childhood would have been had I grown up along side my younger siblings who did not witness domestic violence as I did. It is hard to put my past aside, however, these life experiences shaped how I became an advocate for gender equity as I find myself resenting my father’s past behavioral patterns to this day. As a father, he has done an excellent job and is always there for my siblings, but as a husband he enjoyed his machismo privilege. This personal experience furthered my interests in examining the relationship among Mexican and Mexican-American

¹ Basham, Richard. *Machismo*. University of Nebraska Press. Vol.1. no. 2 (1976): pp. 126-143.

women married to Mexican and Mexican-American men who exhibit machista attitudes in the household.

I will identify the school I have examined as Jerome State University (JSU), located in Los Angeles, where my mother and later on where my father worked as well. I would often see my mother come home physically and emotionally exhausted as she was responsible for making sure the JSU's athletic facility was entirely clean while at the same time dealing with students and staff/ administration who often marginalized her. Her many responsibilities at the athletic facility included making sure the basketball gymnasium was thoroughly clean. She mopped the entire gym floor, as well as making sure the stands where people sat were clean: this would often take her the whole working day to complete. I remember my mother telling me she would see students spitting saliva and chewing gum on the gym floor while playing basketball. At this time she was only a probationary employee and could not really say or do anything for fear of losing her job. Today, both my mother and father work at this college, effectively communicate in English, and are no longer marginalized like they once were. I will now explain what this research intends to examine and the reasons why I have chosen to analyze this.

Statement of the Problem

This research aims to unpack the mechanisms that women use to resist their husband's machismo. I will analyze the ways men in Mexican culture attempt to manipulate women from challenging the hegemonic and traditional Mexican gender roles in the household. I seek to understand how machismo is maintained, reproduced, or challenged in the homes of women who work at JSU. Through examining the way women resist their husband's machismo, I will provide a nuanced explanation of how

Mexican and Mexican-American women are socialized by family members about traditional Mexican culture.

I intend to study Mexican and Mexican-American women that work at JSU that have been uniquely affected by a “double shift”² in which they must partake. Through this “double shift” I will analyze how women experience their relationships with faculty/administration and students within JSU that makes service-sector working-women feel marginalized, exploited, or invisible. Next, I will deconstruct the “double shift” by examining the domestic (private) and occupational (private) spheres that contribute to the “double shift” that Mexican-born and Mexican-American women maintain in traditional Mexican culture.

Private vs. Public Sphere

The double shift entails that women partake in two separate divisions of labor: the private sphere and the public sphere. In the private sphere, both Mexican-born and Mexican-American women must be submissive to their partner who exhibits patriarchy, thus being second-class citizens. Women experience a traditional culture that condones the ideology that women should be subservient to men. This expectation makes women susceptible to patriarchy by Mexican-born or Mexican-American men, which makes women second-class citizens in the private domestic sphere. They fulfill duties that Mexican-born or Mexican-American women are expected to complete, such as responsibility for making sure the children and their partner are both taken care of. In the public domestic sphere, these women experience invisibility, isolation, marginalization,

² Wharton S. Carol. *Finding Time for the “Second Shift”: The Impact of Flexible Work Schedules on Women’s Double Days*. SAGE Publications, Inc. Vol. 8 no. 2 (1994): pp. 189-205.

and exploitation by students and faculty/ administration. Wharton explains, “Given this division of labor, women who balance family and work responsibilities are likely to be overburdened” (1994; 190).

Rita, a woman from Michoacán, Mexico characterized machismo in the United States:

“Men are more machistas in Mexico, and women are more liberal in the U.S. The man here thinks he is very macho. He wants the woman to shine his shoes, iron, cook, and treat him well, as if it’s the woman’s obligation. It should not be like that, because if you love your wife, you’re not going to want a maid. But unfortunately, because of their machismo, they feel that the woman has to do it” (Barajas and Ramirez, 2007; 367).

Rita’s quote represents a unique perspective of machismo, given that it comes from a woman that has been directly effected by it. Basham refers to the macho as, “a man who knows more than he tells, who conquers women at his pleasure (Basham, 1976; 127).”

This statement explains the workings of machismo in the traditional Mexican community, however it fails to consider men as a caretaker only focusing on men dominating women. I argue that women are negatively affected by machismo depending on whether they identify themselves with traditional Mexican or Mexican-American culture.

Today Mexican-American women are doing a better job of becoming independent from their husbands, which in turn is leading them to a more successful future for themselves and for their families. This is happening as Mexican-American women are stepping outside of the traditional Mexican women’s role, which expects them to be subservient. Mexican-American women are becoming more educated and establishing social networks outside of their households. The following statement associates women with having power through the ability to make decisions independent from the husband: “Having the autonomy to make decisions for oneself may be of major importance for

women's feelings of power" (Harvey, Beckman, and Sherman, 2002; 287). This study will provide a much-needed critique focusing on gender roles among the family in Mexican culture.

I will now provide a synopsis of what the rest of this paper will include. In chapter one, I will talk about the treatment of standpoint theory highlighting various schools of thought: Black feminist standpoint and Chicana feminist standpoint. I will also review the work other scholars have done on machismo within the private domestic sphere of the home and provide a review on literature of women of color working in an elite setting where they are also seen as second-class citizens. Chapter two will explore the methodological approaches that were used to obtain participants for this study. More specifically, I will talk about my status within Mexican culture as well as the importance of being reflexive of my status as a male in Mexican culture acknowledging my privileges within the culture. In chapter three, I will analyze what my participants explained pertaining to the setting/context, the adversarial ivory towers of the double shift, and the intersection of the two oppressive spheres: the occupational and the domestic. I will conclude by summarizing the importance of this study as it addresses the problem of gender and classism within Mexican culture and how this study adds to academia within sociology.

CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

In order to fully understand the way machismo in Mexican culture works, a review of previous scholarship is necessary. A comparative examination on Mexican and Mexican-American families will be examined. Although both Mexican and Mexican-American families share similar cultures, they differ greatly in terms of gender roles. In traditional Mexican families, men exhibit a higher degree of patriarchal dominance than in Mexican-American families. Mexican-American families have adopted more progressive familial values that differentiate the two groups.

The second shift will also be analyzed, and a background on works that have analyzed how women of color manage working two shifts will also be unpacked. I have defined this as paid labor and unpaid labor. Paid labor refers to women who enter the work force and earn a salary that allows them to contribute to the families' needs. Unpaid labor refers to labor at home that women are expected to do, as the male partner benefits from these traditional gender roles within the family. I will start by deconstructing machismo and all that it entails.

Machismo

Some academics state machismo as male dominance over women, others identify machismo as fighting for the family; there is certainly an economic shape to machismo, where the husband fulfills the "heroic" role of provider. For women, their roles have already begun changing in Mexican-American families as a new generation of Chicanos adopt hybrid ideologies they will teach to their own children, abandoning traditional Mexican values associated with traditional Mexican culture. There are many conflicting

views regarding machismo in Mexican culture. There are those who identify machismo as a “cult of the male” (Basham 1976; 127). In its essence, “it is characterized by a display of “sexual prowess,” zest for action; including verbal ‘action’ daring, and, above all, absolute self-confidence.” A macho is a male who is confident in everything that he does, arrogant to the core, holding himself superior in all aspects of life, “some sort of “he-man” or “Super-Stud” (Mirande, 1979: 473). Even after men get married they continue to maintain the same type of lifestyle they had before marriage allowing him to continue to have many other relationships: “The macho is able to retain the same lifestyle of life after marriage that he did as a bachelor. He comes and goes with impunity, drinks, and stays out all night. So extensive is his freedom that he may even establish a casa chica with other women” (Mirande, 1979; 474). Next, I will analyze what other scholars have introduced about women’s traditional role within Mexican and Mexican-American culture.

Women’s role in Mexican/ Mexican-American Culture

In traditional Mexican culture women are not expected to be educated, “Higher education for women is not highly valued in Mexico, so that according to society the middle class wife not only needs less education than her husband but may be considerably younger” (McGinn, 1966; 305). Women are expected to be less educated than men, as the middle-class wife is also expected to be considerably younger than her husband. The traditional Mexican family is based on two propositions: “1) the indisputable supremacy of the father, and 2) the necessary and absolute self-sacrifice of

the mother” (McGinn, 1966; 307). In Mexican culture it is known as “hembrismo³” and exists more in traditional Mexican families than in Mexican American families. Mexican-American families have started adopting new culture, “Women are said to have more authority in the United States than in Mexico . . . women appear to wield more authority in the United States than in Mexico” (Barajas and Ramirez, 2007; 376). Mexican-Americans have made significant strides towards breaking down traditional Mexican values. Women have demonstrated how they can unite and be active in a fight against male dominance in traditional Mexican culture, “Women in all social categories, Chicanas can be active adaptive human beings despite their subordination” (Baca Zinn, 1982; 260). I will now examine previous scholarship focused on gender roles in both the occupational and domestic sphere.

The Double Shift

Examining the distribution of housework within a family often provide us with answers towards who is in charge of the household and who must work more than the other. Interestingly enough, previous scholarship has found that the amount of unpaid labor that is done within the household is equal to the amount of time spent in the labor force. Coltrane and Collins write, “Recent studies suggest that the total amount of time spent in unpaid family work is about equal to the time spent in paid labor” (2001: 380). Hochschild’s book, “The Second Shift” (1990), introduced an interesting dilemma that indirectly effected men within the family resulting from the second shift that women must portray. Hochschild describes,

³ Penalosa, Fernando. "Mexican Family Roles." *NCFR catalyzing research, theory and practice* . Vol. 30. no. 4 (1968): pp. 680-689.

“I came to realize that those husbands who helped very little at home were often just as deeply affected as their wives by the need to do that work, though the resentment the wives feel toward them, and through their need to steel themselves against that resentment” (1990: 7).

I understand Hochschild’s statement to mean that men were just as effected by the second shift as women were. Although this may be the case in some instances where women resent the husband for not helping her out with household *unpaid* labor, this does not happen often in traditional Mexican families. Men are not made to suffer in Mexican culture; on the contrary Machismo assists men with the ability to be treated like royalty.

The occupational and domestic sphere also produce stress and strain towards men and women that work in the university setting. Elliot (2003) explains, “Work and family role strain decreases psychological well-being among working parents, reduces worker productivity, and breeds absenteeism and turnover.” According to Elliot, balancing both domestic and occupational spheres creates “role strain”, which Elliot defines as,

“(1) A role that demands more than an individual can give to it; (2) being a role against one’s will; (3) conflict within a role of member’s of one’s role set; and (4) conflict between or among the demands of multiple roles” (Elliot, 2003: 158).

Invisibility within the context of the university will be important for this study, as there has been scholarship that analyzes workers invisibility at universities. Wilton and Cranford (2002) examined the way janitors at USC are given work schedules intended to not cross paths with students at USC. Wilton and Cranford state, “Most janitors’ occupation occurs at night, meaning that they are invisible to many other users of the same space” (Wilton and Cranford; 2002: 380). The statement goes on to state that spaces outside worksites are restricted only to those that support students and faculty. I will now

examine the following schools of thought addressing feminist standpoint theory: Black feminist standpoint theory and Chicana feminist standpoint theory.

Theory

This section will draw upon the three schools of thought on feminist standpoint theory. I will begin by examining feminist standpoint theory according to Dorothy Smith and Sandra Harding. Secondly, I will cover the black feminist point of view in relation to standpoint theory. Lastly, I will cover the Chicana feminists perspective in relation to the schools of thought. I will connect standpoint theory by applying it to the type of relationships that Mexican and Mexican-American women experience with men who exhibit Machismo. Examining the previously mentioned theorists will serve as a better understanding of standpoint from various race/ ethnicities.

Depending on a person's racial/class identity, standpoint theory can serve as an outlet for a politically disadvantaged group or an oppressed/marginalized group and turn the disadvantage into an advantage. Harding explains, "standpoint theories map how social and political disadvantage can be turned into an epistemic, scientific and political advantage" (Harding, 2004; 7-8). The principal claim that feminists draw regarding standpoint theory is that women who occupy social political positions, are politically and socially marginalized, and their society can unite together against male patriarchy. Although it provides oppressed groups with an opportunity to unite and challenge patriarchy, that "standpoint" position, per say is not given or handed out to anyone; it is earned through a political social struggle.

Marginalized groups unite as a result of the various standpoints each racial ethnicity has experienced through the social world. For example, thousands of young

girls in Juarez Mexico have reportedly gone missing while working in clothing factories (Maquiladoras), and there have been lots of trenches found with hundreds of mutilated and burned bodies. Mothers of these young women have united and have formed a non-profit organization called “Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa⁴” (May our Daughters Return Home). These mothers all share the same standpoint in which they have experienced the social world and use it to empower themselves and their daughters. I will now draw upon Dorothy Smith, Bell Hooks, Sandra Harding, and Patricia Hill Collins to analyze Black Feminist standpoint theory.

Black Feminism

Dorothy Smith argues that women’s standpoint reflects on women’s everyday life experiences from the given standpoint with which they are most familiar. Smith writes, “women’s standpoint returns us to the actualities of our lives as we live them in the local particularities, of the everyday/every night worlds in which our bodily being anchors us” (Smith, 1997; 393). Smith argues that women take positions solely based on their life experiences as they have affected them. Smith explains:

“From the standpoint of experience in and of the everyday/every night actualities of our lives, it is oppressively routine organization, the persistence, the repetition, of capitalist forms of exploitation, of patriarchy, of racial subordination, of the forms of dominance Foucault (1980) has characterized as “power/knowledge,” as the local contouring of peoples lives that constitute a sociological problematic” (Smith, 1997; 397).

Smith states how standpoint is a direct result of one’s everyday experience. Smith talks about capitalistic forms of oppression as well as exploitation, patriarchy, racial subordination, which she understands contribute to society are problematic in relation to

⁴ Admin. 2013. “Nuestras Hijas Regresan A Casa”. Mujeres De Juarez. June 2. Retrieved September 7, 2013. (<http://www.mujeresdejuarez.org/pizarra/>)

standpoint. One can use what Smith considers as standpoint and apply it to Machismo with women who have experienced patriarchy. Smith would argue that for Machismo, it is traditional Mexican culture that contributes to this problematic. Traditional Mexican culture creates forms of “power/knowledge” (Foucault, 1980) that causes men to have supreme power over women.

Sandra Harding is another key proponent towards standpoint theory. She examines the groups that go against oppressing others, “they start out from the daily lives of oppressed groups, but do not settle for merely conventional ethnographers, valuable as these can be in standpoint projects. Rather, they set out to explain what oppressed groups need and want to know about why and how much poverty and misery accumulate in their daily lives while riches and pleasures accumulate in the lives of the dominant groups” (Harding, 2009; 195). Harding examines many of the contributors that go against oppression, how they were once part of the oppressed. They do not settle; rather they do something about the situation and change their circumstance. They then assist the oppressed groups by providing them with information that would be otherwise unavailable to them. In my study it would be the independent women who have power and knowledge that does not require the male gender’s approval. In other words, they do things on their own without affirmation from men, they control their own power independently from the man.

Bell Hooks talks about the different struggles that privileged whites never see or experience in society, “black women’s work and family experiences and guiding in traditional African-American culture suggest that African-American women as a group experience the world different from that of those who are not black and female” (Hooks,

2000; 24). It is important to understand that power relations do exist and by ignoring or being oblivious to such is equal to not understanding standpoint theory, “to ignore power relations is simply to misread standpoint theory” (Collins, 1997; 376). Understanding black women’s experiences is important when one tries to understand male patriarchy:

“One fundamental contribution of feminist movement grounded in standpoint theory was that it aimed to bring women’s group consciousness into being. Early emphasis of women coming to voice via the process of conscious—raising and claiming individual voice indirectly laid in the foundation for the type of conceptual ambiguity between, individual and group as categories of analyses” (Collins, 1997; 380).

Hook’s book, “Feminist Theory; From Margin to Center”, examines culture from a feminist standpoint that provides an understanding of gender, class, and race. As she states,

“Feminism in the United States has never emerged from the women who are most victimized by sexual oppression; women who are daily beaten down, mentally, physically, and spiritually—women who are powerless to change their condition in life. They are a silent majority” (Hooks, 2000; 1).

Hooks’ explanation is similar to traditional Mexican culture where you have men who reign supreme over women. This group of women refuses to say anything out of fear the men will hurt them physically or verbally, and this leads to women being silenced. Hooks termed this “silent majority”.

Hooks criticizes White women privilege citing that “They do not understand, cannot even imagine, that black women, as well as other groups of women who live daily in oppressive situations, often acquire an awareness of patriarchal politics from their lived experience” (Hooks, 2000; 11). Hooks also criticizes white feminist women the same way she criticizes white women of privilege, by mentioning how they have never been oppressed or marginalized, “They would need a theory to inform them that they

were oppressed” (Hooks, 2000; 11). Black women knew they did not have to unite, as they have lived through experiences that make it okay for them not to be part of a feminist movement; “The implication being that people who are truly oppressed know it even though they may not be engaged in organized resistance or are able to articulate in written form the nature of their oppression” (Hooks, 2000; 11). Similar to what Hooks describes for Black Feminist Standpoint theory, Chicana Feminist Standpoint theory carries the same meaning for Anzaldua and Garcia.

Chicana Feminism

Gloria Anzaldua’s book, “Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza” explains what women from the standpoint of traditional Mexican culture endure. Anzaldua discusses how women’s prime duty in life is to marry and have children, if she does not; she has failed as woman in her culture. Anzaldua states, “Women are made to feel total failures if they don’t marry and have children” (Anzaldua, 2007; 39). Often times women feel alienated from the standpoint of being a woman in a culture where she is both oppressed and alienated, “a woman does not feel safe when her own culture, are critical of her; when the males of all races hunt her as prey” (Anzaldua, 2007; 43). She continues by explaining how women feel petrified as they are caught in between the different worlds they inhabit. Women, specifically mestizas, must unite and support each other or else they will never progress in a culture where the woman is culturally dominated by men. Anzaldua elaborates:

“The struggle of the mestiza is above all a feminist one. As long as los hombres (*men*) think they can chingar (*fuck*) mujeres (*women*) and each other to be men, as long as men are taught that they are superior and therefore culturally favored over la mujer, as long as la vieja is a thing of derision, there can be no real healing of our psyches” (Anzaldua 2007; 106).

Anna Nieto Gomez is a proponent of women being independent from males in their society. She believes this will eliminate oppression and dominance by men within the culture, “As long she is economically dependent she will have to allow male privilege, to compromise herself. She will always have to accept secondary position” (Garcia 1997; 53). Nieto breaks down male privilege as a double standard (Dubois), for example the following is an example of how meetings must be held within the family structure, “If I have a meeting, you stay in the house and take care of the kids. If you have a meeting, have it in the house and take care of the kids at the same time” (Garcia 1997; 56). Standpoint theory is significant as it ties perfectly with Machismo; it entails the different point of views that associate women from traditional Mexican culture vs. Mexican-American culture. Mexican-American women make up a new generation of women who offer a different standpoint, one where oppression is not as inscribed as it is in traditional Mexican culture. I will provide a nuanced study addressing the *continuing* or *new* roles that men in traditional Mexican culture display versus the roles that men in Mexican-American culture are now beginning to display. Next, I will examine the methods I used to obtain my participants.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

For this project I interviewed ten Latinas who currently live in the United States. Five of my participants identified themselves as U.S. citizens, and the remainder were documented citizens. I used the following two-fold methodologies to gather my data-collection: semi-structured/open-ended interviews and field work participant observation. The semi-structured interview method allowed my participants to freely speak about the area questions and themes I provided them. I conducted interviews from April 11, 2014 to April 14, 2014 from 1:00 PM till 4:00 PM, Friday through Monday. Interviews took place after each of my participants completed their work shifts at Jerome State University (JSU). All interviews took place in a popular coffee house in Los Angeles. The remaining interviews took place in a public library, and in a shopping center. Every interview took place within the Los Angeles area. All of my interviews had an averaged time of 42 minutes; my longest one lasted 1 hour and 25 minutes, while my shortest one was under 25 minutes.

Although I did not offer incentives to my participants, I did offer my participants a Starbucks gift card only after each interview concluded, some participants accepted the reward while others were very appreciative but could not accept the reward as they made it clear their participation was completely voluntary. For the protection of my participants and the school I examined, I have given all my participants' pseudonyms and have chosen to identify the University I examined as "Jerome State University" (*a name that my father says was close to being my own*). I will now explain the setting/ context where the interviews occurred with my participants; how I gained entry to the population I

examined; the interview schedule I used; how I secured my participant's confidentiality; and I conclude this chapter with my reflexivity statement related to my relative privileges with that of all-female participants.

Setting/ Context

All of my interviews took place outside JSU for the sole purpose of protecting my participants from JSU's administration, faculty, staff, and students, in addition to protecting them from their own families. A majority of my participants chose to conduct interviews at a popular coffee shop away from JSU's campus. My participants chose the coffee shop as the setting for the interviews; I never suggested this setting to them. I made it clear that they were in complete control of choosing a space that was safe and comfortable for them, and this allowed them to share their personal testimonies without repercussion. My previous interview experience influenced me to be clear with them that they had the option to be interviewed at their home or public space. Without hesitation they all selected a local coffee shop since it was convenient. I made sure my participants understood that they had the option of terminating the interview at anytime, and stating if they wished that no part of the interview be included in this project. I will now divulge into the aspect of gaining entry within a community of Mexican/ Mexican-American women.

Gaining Entry

Although my Mexican-American background gives me insider-status within Mexican culture, my gender also makes me an outsider. This structural arrangement may deter me from gaining entry within women spaces where they might not share their everyday marginalization with me. Their ascribed-status as second-class citizens in

Mexican culture may also discourage them from speaking with me. For this project I relied on a confidential informant who helped me to gain the access to women who otherwise would have been extremely difficult to contact on my own. My confidential informant and myself have a good rapport and trust and this allowed me to locate the participants for this study. Before each semi-structured interview began with my participants, I talked about the nature of my study and how it influenced my childhood. Language and my status as a graduate student were also important aspects that allowed entry within this population of working women. The fact that I was able to thoroughly explain to my participants in Spanish the legitimacy of my study, allowed them to establish a trust with me that made them feel comfortable enough to be a participant. I will now explain the measures that were taken to obtain my sample population for this project.

Sampling

In addition to using my confidential informant to obtain most of my interviews, I used a snowball-sampling frame. My aim was to obtain participants who would refer me to other potential participants who might be interested in my study. The average age of my participants was 54; my youngest participant was 46 years old, while the oldest was 67 years old. The average number of years my participants accumulated working at JSU was 13. It was my understanding that these women began their workday relatively early and ended approximately by midday, which was why I chose to conduct my interviews as soon as they completed their workday at JSU. Next, I will describe the various methods utilized to obtain my data from my population sample.

Face-to-Face Interviews

The semi-structured interview method was crucial for the development of this study. It allowed me to observe various qualities about my participants, without having a selected set of questions for them to directly respond to. Chadwick et al. (1984) briefly analyzes this method,

“The interviewer does not have a standard set of questions that are to be asked of all respondents ... The interviewer explores many facets of his interviewees concerns, treating subjects as they come up in conversation, pursuing interesting leads, allowing imagination and ingenuity full rein as he tries to develop new hypothesis and test them in the course of the interview” (Chadwick et al. 1984; 104).

This method gave my participants a safe space to express themselves in ways that gave them full control of the information they chose to disclose. During the interviews I recorded their responses with a digital-tape recorder and took field notes. I also observed my participants' body language to ensure that they understood each question or theme I asked them about. During all of my interviews I made sure to also record my findings on field notes pertaining to each interview, focusing on the themes that came up with each participant. I had thirteen questions and nine themes for my participants. It is important to note that although I had a set of questions and themes to ask my participants, no specific order remained the same for all interviews. Given the background of my participants, I had questionnaires in Spanish as well as in English (*Appendix A for English and Appendix B for Spanish*). I will now describe my experience as I observed the way service-sector working women interacted with students at JSU.

Participation Observation/ Field Notes

During the interview process, I spent over a week at the JSU campus walking around and observing from a distance how service-sector working women interacted with

students and vice versa. During my direct observation, I never witnessed an occasion where students directly mistreated the working women. I did however witness many instances where students failed to acknowledge their presence by choosing to ignore them as if they were invisible. JSU has a quad area where students gather and socialize. Near this space is the cafeteria building where women were always seen cleaning. This was where I saw lots of invisibility affecting the women that cleaned this space. Women would pass by the students either sweeping the floors or cleaning the tables and students would react either by stand up and abandoning that space or they would lift their feet allowing women to clean underneath them. Next, I will describe the measures I took to protect my participants.

Informed Consent

Before I began each interview, I handed each participant a consent form that explained the nature of the research project. I also had consent letters in Spanish (*Appendix C*) and in English (*Appendix D*). Since my participants ran the risk of being undocumented, I was prepared to make sure participants verbally agreed to this research and understood they had the option of exiting the interview at any time. I made sure to give each participant approximately 15 minutes or more to read the consent form and ask questions about the research project, and I provided them with the option of contacting my chair. Although it was explained in the consent form that no personal identifying data would be used in my study, I made sure to verbally stress that no names would appear on any document. I also informed each participant that she would be given a pseudonym. Interviews were recorded using a digital tape recorder. Using a recording method has many positives, Bucher et al. (1956) explain, “The tape recorder interview eliminates a major source of

interview bias—the conscious and unconscious selection on the part of the interviewer of the material to note down” (Bucher et al. 1956: 360).

After recording each interview, I transcribed them onto my personal computer terminal, which was saved on a flash drive and then permanently erased from my personal computer terminal. Once all my interviews were completed, successfully transcribed, and transferred onto a flash drive, I placed the flash drive in a lock and key-safe along with all my written field notes. After conducting all of my interviews and transcribing all my data collection, the flash drive along with my field notes were permanently destroyed ensuring confidentiality to my participants. Lastly, it is important for me as a male in Mexican culture to be reflexive of my gender and the privileges that come with being a male in Mexican culture.

Reflexivity

It is significant for me to acknowledge the advantages my status as male as well as my legal citizenship as U.S. citizen provides me in Mexican culture. Because I exclusively focus on women, I chose to leave men out of my analysis, some academics will question the validity of my research on these grounds. I understand that my experiences as a male are much different than a female’s, especially in traditional Mexican culture. Even though I experienced the principles of male patriarchy during my childhood, I also understand I can never be a woman or experience their situation and subordination. However, even though I will never experience what women in Mexican culture have experienced, a representation of my participant’s voices will strongly be represented to the best of my ability in this study. In traditional Mexican culture, men are expected to have the power in the family, while women maintain a subservient identity in

this context. One participant said the following statement that made me aware of my gender privilege, “As a woman, it is impossible to be completely honest with your husband because every little thing upsets them. Sometimes it’s better to keep things to yourself, and away from your partner.” I consider myself privileged as my Mexican-American background allows me to be an “insider;” it allows me to evade the “gatekeepers³” that protect the Mexican community. However, my gender also made me an “outsider,³” because I am stepping into a gendered space that is unfamiliar to me, which is primarily why I had a confidential informant to assist me with the recruitment process of acquiring participants. In the next chapter I will examine my findings and unpack the themes that each of my participants talked about.

³ Abrams, Laura. S. “*Sampling ‘Hard to Reach’ Populations in Qualitative Research*”. SAGE. Vol. 9. No. 4 (2010): pp. 536-550

CHAPTER 3

Introduction

I will analyze the following themes that resulted from my interviews with my participants: (1) Class consciousness within two different cultures pertaining to the occupational sphere at Jerome State University (JSU), (2) reward and punishment model: relationships that service working women develop with students over the years that quickly disappear as students graduate, resulting in a cycle of creating/ terminating relationships with students, (3) an analysis of resisters and non-resisters pertaining to machismo in Mexican culture, focusing on the methods participants are able to use to confront oppressive behavior by men. Lastly, an examination focusing on the “double-shift” as it pertains to the way women switch from the occupational and domestic sphere, given how both are oppressive towards women. I begin by examining the culture that exists within the occupational sphere for service working women that work at JSU.

The Occupational Sphere

At JSU there exists two different cultures that service sector working women must negotiate: the university culture vs. the worker culture. I will contextualize my participants’ responses by highlighting both cultures of work at JSU and the effect that class has within this setting. I will also examine the type of student relationships that women develop at JSU over the years, I have coined this model: “Rewards and Punishment Model.” While at JSU students develop positive relationships over the years with service-sector working women. After students graduate, however, many of them forget about their years at JSU and forget the bonds that were established with the service-sector working women. Next, I will highlight participants’ responses relating to

the two cultures that exist within the occupational sphere at JSU: university and worker culture.

University Culture

The women I interviewed expressed that JSU had two very different cultures. Although some described the bad behavior displayed by students in various settings like the dorms, classrooms, and administration buildings, the vast majority of women did not have any problems with student's behavior. In fact, many participants said, "if they do not do any mess for us to clean, we would probably be out of a job. That's why I do not complain, like other women do at JSU (Angie, 58)." I found that many of the women who complained about student behavior within the settings previously described above had not been working at JSU for more than three years as full time employees, reducing the possibilities of establishing relationships with students.

I'll begin with the university culture described by Alma, who currently works in the dorms and has been working at JSU for two years and four months. Out of all of my interviews, Alma's interview was the one that most negatively portrayed students at JSU. Before each of my interviews I made sure to always describe my study and what I was examining, but as soon as I said "your relationship with students" Alma immediately began talking about her experience with students. She highlighted one time when she cried when she saw how dirty the restrooms were,

"I remember one time where I cried of pure anger of how dirty the restrooms were. Pigs are clean if you compare them to the dorms that I clean. Not even the restrooms at the *swap meet* [*place where people come to buy, sell, or trade various goods*] are as dirty as the ones I am suppose to maintain at JSU."

Through the entire interview Alma seemed very agitated towards the students, and I do not remember an instance where she had something positive to say about them. She also talked about how she enjoyed earning her money through her sweat by working hard but what she is currently being asked to do is more than anyone should be expected to do.

Alma was also very critical towards other workers at JSU, in particular men who did garden work. According to Alma, they failed in doing their job more than she did. She went as far as to mention the following about students, “For me, students say ‘I pay her like she is my maid, so that gives me the right to do anything.’ I imagine that they say we are their maids and not people who work for a living.” Most of her focus during the entire interview centered on her experience as a working woman cleaning after students. For Alma, there was a clear difference in class that, according to her, allowed students to treat service-working women as second-class citizens at JSU. Alma made it clear that an economic class barrier will always exist that makes service-working women at the university second-class citizens. My next participant Rosa has been working as a full time employee at JSU for one year and six months.

Although Rosa’s experience at JSU with students has not been as unfortunate as Alma’s experience, Rosa has had her moments of displeasure with students. I asked Rosa to describe her experience working near students and administrators? Rosa responded:

“The administration has treated me very well, I work in the department very close to the administration building and people often greet me by saying hi and simply acknowledge me whenever they see me. Students however, well I don’t know. Sometimes they ignore me and I say to myself, ‘maybe they do not see me.’ But they do ignore me because I see them looking at me, not everyone ignores me, but there are some that make me feel invisible. I have also had various encounters with students where they have been very rude with me.”

Rosa struck me as a very quiet and gentle woman; her voice throughout the interview had very low monotone sound. This was one of the interviews that took place in a public library in Los Angeles; I conducted these interviews in a conference room inside this space. Rosa carefully chose her words throughout the interview. Unlike Alma who had direct contact with students on an everyday basis, Rosa also had a relationship with administration as well as with the students. Unlike Rosa who talked in a low monotone voice carefully choosing her words, Amalia my next participant was just the opposite.

Amalia has been working at JSU for four years, and she did not choose her words carefully like Rosa did. Amalia had no filter in being completely upfront through the entire interview. I asked Amalia the same question I asked Rosa. Amalia quickly responded;

“Well, at JSU you see it all. You see students that are friendly and you experience those who purposely treat you like trash. For me, students go to school to focus on their studies and career. There’s a time and place for everything, but no, they all, not all, but most spend their time drinking and partying.”

I probed into her statement by asking, “Really? Do JSU students focus on other things that do not relate to their studies?” Amalia responded, “Well, no. You also have good students that go to class and clean their mess and they are very nice and respectful towards us. So in general, there are all kinds of types [students] at JSU, good and bad.”

Then, I asked her how were her relationships with professors given how she had mentioned that she worked in one of the buildings where JSU held class. Amalia answered,

“With the professors, there are a few of them who think they are of the ‘high class’ and they try to step on you and walk all over you, but you also have those that give us food and gifts for Christmas and they recognize us for the work we do to maintain their classrooms clean.”

Amalia loved what she did at JSU but she also acknowledged some of the negatives that in her opinion students need to disassociate themselves with. Another difference between Amalia and Rosa was the shy factor. Amalia explained:

“I feel very comfortable, because I am not a shy person. Like whenever its finals, I like it very much because I go to work at 4am and I see them sleeping, talking, and studying and I talk to them, sometimes I offer them a coffee or water, whatever they need at the time. In general I feel good working alongside students because I like being near them and coexist with them when time permits itself.”

Here I presented aspects of service working women’s relationships with students, albeit most were negative. It is important to note Alma and Rosa have a combined work experience at JSU of less than three years, while Amalia has been working at JSU for four years. Another factor that affect service-working women’s relationships with students, faculty, and staff is the gender aspect. Women, not just at JSU but also in society, can be seen as soft and vulnerable, and when you add that to Mexican or Mexican-American women working in a elite university the chances for discrimination rise significantly.

Worker Culture

The other side of the culture that exists for women working at JSU are the working relationships women have with each other. The three participants that I will use to describe the culture that exists between women that work at JSU have been working at JSU for at least 12 years. Carmen was the oldest of my participants; I interviewed her shortly after her retirement from JSU. Carmen had been working at JSU for 27 years. My second participant was Angie; she has been working at JSU for over 25 years. Finally there’s Julia, she has been working at JSU for over 12 years. All three of these women

have witnessed some form of verbal abuse among and between other service working women or have been directly involved in altercations themselves.

I begin with Angie, the woman that once held the position of the facilities manager at JSU. Through her many years holding that position, she saw everything one can imagine that went on between service working women at JSU. From jealousy and harmful behavior by women to developing friendships that she still has today. Going from her semi-structured interview, my informant had previously advised me about Angie's background being an ex-manager at the school so I had a sense about themes pre-interview I wanted to focus on. I opened by asking her to describe her experience thus far working at JSU? Angie stated,

“It's been wonderful working here. I have developed many great relationships with students and service working women. However, I don't understand how many women I work with can complain so much about students. If students were to be very clean and left no mess for us to clean, why have a cleaning department?”

She went on to describe the power that students have and made it clear that service workingwomen were there to tend to the students necessities, explaining that without the students she and the rest of the cleaning department would be out of a job. Angie states, “That's why we are here, to clean. They [students] are our bosses. Without the students, there is no work for us.”

I proceeded to ask her about her experience with other female service working women at JSU. Like Amalia, Angie also mentioned “you see it all at JSU.” She mentioned how many of the women talk nice in front of you but as soon as one turns her back, they stab you in the back with comments and false rumors. Angie stated, “There are all types of service workingwomen. There are honest women, sincere women, and then

there are those that talk nice about you in front of you but when you turn your back they have the knife ready to stab you in the back.” She made it clear that not every one that works in the department was bad, she just mentioned that there will always be people that talk bad about everyone in the department, one just has to focus on doing their job without paying attention to what people are saying about you. I noticed she got really annoyed about the issue of how dirty students were because she went back and shared more information about this,

“If you treat the students well, they will treat you well and will go out of their way to help make your job easier. If you are always with a bad humor around them, of course they will respond to that by purposely creating more of a mess for you to clean. That’s how it works, you have to give respect to get respect.”

Angie made it clear that many of the women did not know or simply chose not to establish at least talking relationships with the students; this can have more of a significant impact on certain departments over others. For example, women that work in the dorms and develop sour relationship with students are severely affected more than service workingwomen that work in the schools library per se.

Carmen has been affected by worker inter-conflict, which ultimately lead he to her retirement from JSU. Midway through the interview I asked her about her relationship with the other women she worked with. Carmen stated,

“Well during my first 24 years working at JSU I’ve had a wonderful experience working with other women and being close to students, however my last three years have been hell! I could have sued the university because of what these three women I worked with did to me. They made my life at JSU impossible.”

Carmen continued, “they would say things like, ‘ugh it stinks right there’ when I would pass by them. Yes, that’s what they would say, referring to me. But I chose not to give

them any attention.” She talked about how she went to the manager and requested a change in her schedule just to never cross paths with the three women. She changed her schedule to clock in at four am and leave by midday just to avoid encounters with these women.

Carmen mentioned that one time one of the women tried to assault her, “One time, one of them tried to hit me, and honestly, I actually wanted her to hit me so I could press charges against her.” I asked “why all of a sudden the hatred towards you from these women?” She said, “Everything that happened was because of envy and jealousy from that group of three.” It was clear that Carmen’s years of work experience and long tenure at JSU resulted in others wanting her out thus creating an harmful environment for Carmen hoping she resigned from JSU, which she ultimately was forced to do.

Lastly there is Julia, who has been working the least (12 years) at JSU compared to both Angie and Carmen. Julia was not effected directly like Carmen nor has she witnessed it directly as has Angie, but Julia said, “there’s tons of jealousy here from other women saying, ‘oh you’re the boss’s favorite, you’re a butt kisser [lambiscona].” Julia makes reference to the fact that, if you are doing your job without being criticized or have never been called out by your boss for the need for improvement, you must obviously be doing favors for the boss. They described them as “lambiscón” [*person that tries to please a boss at all costs*]. All three participants have seen and experienced both a positive and negative work environment that JSU exposes its service working women, working in this setting I have come to realize workers must develop crisis management when it comes to false accusations from other service working women at JSU. I will now

describe the positive and negative aspects that effect service working women as they develop relationships with JSU students.

Reward and Punishment Model

The majority of my participants developed positive social experiences with many students at JSU. Unfortunately, many of those relationships disappear after students graduate and return to their hometown. Various participants shared stories about how they often played a motherly role with the JSU students especially when students faced everyday hardships like exams and finals. My participants made it clear that it was all a cycle for them, each year new relationships are established and old relationships disappear. They are in a constant stage of flux, as the years go by it is something service working women learn to get used to. I will discuss various experiences that my participants shared with me about their personal development of relationships established with JSU students.

Carmen, who retired December 2013, developed a strong relationship with a female student, originally from New York. Carmen talked about how after the female student graduated in 2009, they exchanged phone numbers and kept in touch with each other. One week before doing my interview, Carmen received a call from the student informing her that she is getting married in the summer of 2014. Carmen explained,

“She called me about a week ago telling me that she was going to get married and she wanted me to go. I told her I had to think about it because I’ve never been to New York and I have my grandchildren to look after. She insisted. She even told me that she would pay for my plane ticket, and that completely shocked me.”

Carmen also explained how she would feel bad when it was finals week as she would see students stressed, worried and sometimes she would see them crying. Students became part of women's extended family. Carmen mentioned,

“I never like seeing them sad, stressed out, or even when they cry. I always talk to them, try to give them energy, give them hope making them smile at least for that moment because it can go a long way. Many of these kids are away from their family and if I can make them smile and give them hope then I did my job.”

These relationships established at JSU as Rosa explains, go both ways. Just as the service-sector working women can be there to comfort students, the students also can have a positive effect on the lives of service workers as well.

Rosa works inside the administration building at JSU, which houses the registrar office, Human Resources, financial aid, etc. Rosa shared the following experience,

“Two weeks ago, I experienced a wonderful moment with a female Asian student at JSU. I was cleaning the men's restroom at the time, and all of a sudden a female student walks up to me and hands me a water and apple. She tells me, ‘here have this apple and water, you look very tired’. I told her, ‘thank you so much’. I don't speak great English but I think she understood me because she smiled and said, ‘you're welcome’.”

Rosa was very appreciative of this student's gesture because, as I mentioned earlier, many students make her feel invisible as they fail to acknowledge her role in the university. So the fact that this student not only recognized her but also gave her food and water meant a lot to Rosa, a sign of honoring her dignity. The unfortunate aspect of building relationships between students and staff is how quickly they can disappear. Julia explained, “The sad part is when those wonderful relationships end, the students leave, and they live their own lives separately. It's very nice to see them accomplish their education, but it is also sad to see them go.” Although some of my participants described

the negative experiences with students at JSU, the majority of them highlighted the wonderful relationships many have established and continue to have to this day with current students and alumni who often return to JSU and visit the service workers. Next, I will introduce the domestic sphere, which pertains to the atmosphere at home. I will deconstruct this into two parts: Social Structure (hegemonic machismo) vs. Agency (Domestic Resistance).

The Domestic Sphere

I will now introduce the private domestic sphere that Mexican/ Mexican-American women I interviewed must accomplish in traditional Mexican culture. I will begin by presenting the participants I interviewed that I identified as resisters to what women in Mexican cultures are expected to display: *Agency (Domestic Resistance)*. Also, I will present the flip side of this, which I have identified as: *Social structure (Hegemonic machismo)*. Although most of my participants identified themselves as resisters of traditional Mexican culture, some of my participants continue to struggle with this as they continue to find themselves playing a role that is expected of them: submissive to the male; therefore being second class citizens in the household.

Similar to the occupational shift at JSU, some of my participants continue to experience second-class citizenship status at home, as they struggle to break this barrier. Some of my participants do not know how to separate themselves from this expectation of Mexican culture as relationships that involve verbal/physical domestic abuse from men is all they've known and the only thing they witnessed with their own parents relationship. I will what it means when service-sector working women establish relationships with other marginalized students from the same working-class status to

combat patriarchy and classism. Lastly, I will address the double shift and the intersection of being second-class citizens in both oppressive spheres. But first, I will present findings that participants shared in the interviews that either identify them as resisters or non-resisters of machismo.

Social Structure vs. Agency

I will present six participants who I have identified as either resisters of the hegemonic social structure of machismo and non-resisters, who continue to struggle to achieve agency within the social structure of machismo in Mexican culture. Some participants are able to resist being second-class citizens in their home more than others. On the one hand, you have Amalia who accepts that men will forever be machistas and women simply must live with and accept this fact. On the other hand, you have Julia and Angie who have learned from personal experience that women should not accept being submissive towards men in Mexican relationships. I will stay with this aspect of domestic resistance and highlight three participants that I identified as resisters towards machismo.

Domestic Resistance

One of the most interesting interviews that I was fortunate to be a part of took place with Angie, the woman that once held the position of manager of the facilities department at Jerome State University (JSU). She mentioned that her first marriage was with a White man who passed away five years ago. Today, she is in a relationship with a more traditional Mexican man and, according to her, it “has been very difficult making the transition back to Mexican culture.” Angie mentioned that previous marriage with the White man lasted 17 years before his passing; her current relationship with the more traditional Mexican man is currently at four years. She talked about how her first

relationship changed her way of thinking as her then husband provided her with various opportunities to become independent, thus abandoning her once subservient context that is associated with Mexican culture. Angie elaborates,

“My first matrimony changed my view of what a woman’s role in Mexican culture was. I came to the US at 17 years old with the mentality of catering to men and their necessities. I was accustomed to the wife being a slave of the husband, and I learned with my late husband that this is not the case. Women are able to make their own decisions!”

Although American society afforded Angie with liberties that would have been hard for her to obtain had she been in a relationship with a traditional Mexican male, her White husband began to change after seeing the change in Angie. Angie stated;

“One day he flipped on his way of thinking. He told me, ‘Why did you stop asking me for permission to go out?’ I told him, ‘because you always told me that I did not have to ask you for permission. He responded, ‘well I now think like a Mexican and I want you to think like you used to before you met me’. I told him, ‘really, you think like a Mexican now, well guess what, I now think like an American!’”

It was fascinating to listen how the roles switched from both sides, Angie assimilated her way of thinking, and her American husband “Mexicanized” his way of thinking as he noticed a change in Angie. Angie highlighted how during the beginning stages of that marriage she was very dependent of him, but as the years went on, she began to become more independent of him through her work. Angie explains, “At first, I was very dependent of him, but as I began to work I began to earn my own money, I became less dependent of him and I guess he did not like that.” I asked Angie how had the transition been for both her husband and herself as they adopted adopt new cultures? Given that her current husband had to adapt to not only US culture, but also to a Mexican women that had already adopted US culture. She responded,

“Yes it has been extremely difficult for both. My husband first assumed I knew where my “place” was in Mexican-culture not knowing the significant impact my first relationship had on me. This changed everything for him and his traditional way of thinking. I’ve had, and to this day I continued to have, a lot of patience with him as he adapts to this country’s way of living.”

As far as house responsibilities are concerned, Angie’s current husband refused to assist her with them. I asked her, how the house responsibilities were handled? She said, “My husband does not like to clean the house. He just gets home from work, changes into more comfortable clothes and sits in the living room and he watches soccer.” She continued by mentioning that she never gets days off, even when she does not go to work at JSU. Angie explained,

“For me, when I rest from work at JSU, it means I must clean my home. There is where we constantly fight, he wants to rest and while I clean the entire house by myself. I have to cook and clean the house and when he helps its only after I have yelled at him. Even when he decides to help, I must be close to him making sure he does it or else he would find ways to wonder off and do something else.”

My next participant was Julia, a single woman with a son. I opened her interview by asking about her opinion on machismo in Mexican culture. She said,

“Its bad! Because of machismo, I am by myself with my son. I was once in a relationship until I found my partner cheating on me with another woman and I was not going to allow it to continue. This is why I chose to separate from my partner because I was not going to stay quiet like my culture expects us women to do. I am a resister against machismo.”

I then asked Julia to describe her decision towards separating from her partner. Julia responded,

“Well, I have always thought that when a man deceives a woman, it’s the worse thing that can happened to a woman. If it happens to you once and you don’t say or do anything, it will continue to happen. I have always been independent, even before I was in a relationship. Even before I came to the United States, I have always worked by myself and for myself.”

I noticed her tone and body language was very powerful and very strong because as she was talking, her upper body became upright and she made sure to look at me in the eyes through her entire statement. Every time she spoke about being independent and leading her son to a better future, she would lift her head up and be very proud of herself that she has been able to successfully provide for her son. I proceeded to ask Julia to describe what matrimony means to her. She stated,

“For me, the term matrimony has no significance because I have never been in a matrimony as I have never committed to a marriage. I was never abused when I was in a relationship I was only deceived. I can’t really tell you what matrimony is because I have never experienced it. However, I have always been told that I must always make things easier for my partner. That I must not look at the negative side, I must always look at the positive side and make sure he is always happy. My mom always told me, *“te toco tu hueso, ahora chúpale”* (You have your bone, now suck on it). We were taught to endure. I said, “Why should I endure the pain and suffering? I chose to say no because I was not going to let myself be dominated by men.”

It was very clear where Julia stands today with the social structure of machismo in Mexican culture. I then proceeded to ask Julia about her about her opinion on the double-shift, which I made sure to explain to her it was two types of labor: unpaid labor that you do at home, and paid labor which people earn capital. Julia mentioned,

“Paid labor, well you have to do it to survive in this world. Personally, I love what I do. I don’t look at my job as a necessity because I don’t view it that way. If you view your job as a necessity, you will never enjoy it and will forever be miserable. Now, at home work must be done, whether I like it or not. If I don’t do it, who will.”

I quickly responded, “How about men?” She said,

“That’s what I say, why not men? What can possibly happen to them if they do housework? What will they loose, their balls? Because I am by myself, I must do it, but I also make my son do chores because I tell him, ‘you and I must work together, I’ll show you and we will make this happen because it’s only both us.’ Everything is equal here, we both eat,

and I work for the both of us. So nothing will happen if he helps me out with housework.”

Julia briefly mentioned conversations she constantly has with her traditional Mexican father, who constantly bumps heads with her because of her choice to remain single;

“I do not want a Mexican for a husband because of the Mexican machismo ideology that is attached to Mexican culture. My father always tells me, ‘That’s why you’re a single mother’ I tell him, ‘yes Sir, I 100% prefer to be a single mother, than to find myself in a relationship where a man abuses me.’ I tell you this because I witnessed domestic violence in my family, not with me but with a family member. I never witnessed it personally, but I did see it happen to a family member and psychologically it was very damaging to me.”

Julia’s interview was the most emotional interview of all my interviews. At one point she began to cry about her childhood experience. She mentioned a relative would always put her down telling her negative things when she was a little girl. Julia stated that although she was not abused, the experience with her family member was emotionally damaging. Julia shared the following story in tears, “My mother passed away giving birth to me. One of my brothers one told me, “it should have been you that died, not my mom.” It was a very sad time for Julia. However, when she was done sharing this emotional story, she cleaned the tears from her face gathered herself and she said, “its okay because I learned from that experience and because of that person I am who I am today. To be quite honest with you, I don’t give a damn what others think of me today!” Julia struck me as a strong woman that had an emotional childhood experience. However, she learned from those experiences and today she uses them as fuel to lead her son to a more successful future. Next, I will identify my last participant that I would say is a resister of the social structure of machismo in Mexican culture.

Alma's interview centered more about her many relationships with students, professors, and administration. She briefly talked about her opinions on machismo and the private domestic sphere in Mexican culture. One of the more in depth answers Alma gave me resulted from the following question, "What is your opinion on machismo in Mexican culture, and have you ever experienced it? Directly or indirectly." She answered, "In my immediate family, machismo does not exist, because we are a united family that has always been close together." She then turned her attention to her relationship with her husband and her children. Alma describes,

"I wanted a husband opposite of what I saw with my parents. My parents had the typical Mexican relationship where my mother cared for my father and my brothers and sisters. My father was abusive towards her and that was not the relationship I wanted to be a part of. My children have never seen my husband and I angry at each other. However, if we disagree with each other, we always make sure they never see it. I think no child should ever see their parents fighting because it's not healthy for them."

Alma's body language as she shared her story was very dismissive of Mexican culture, almost like her family had adopted a new more Americanized culture where relationships are more egalitarian as opposed to traditional Mexican relationships. Alma seemed to me like she and her husband have Americanized their relationship with each other thus changing the way her children experience culture. I will now turn my attention towards participants that I consider non-resisters as they find themselves battling with the social structure of machismo.

Hegemonic Machismo

Three women in this inquiry expressed that although I do not as identify them as resisters, they continue to battle every day to achieve it. Amalia, Rosa, and Lupe are in

abusive relationships that involve domestic abuse in the home. I begin with Amalia; she talked about her personal experience with a traditional Mexican man. I asked, “What does machismo mean to you?” Amalia replied,

“The term machismo should not exist, because it only creates chaos within families. It is not good because it creates a lot of mistrust in a relationship. As a woman, you are not able to tell men the truth because they get mad for everything, and sometimes it’s just better to keep some things to yourself.”

The fact that Amalia has to lie or keep some things to herself away from her husband is very telling of her own relationship.

I proceeded to ask Amalia about her opinion on what matrimony should be.

Amalia replied, “Everything needs to be equal for a matrimony to be happy. It’s assumed matrimony is forever, but that’s not the case because things change. It’s one thing when both of you are boyfriend and girlfriend, it’s a totally different thing when you marry the person.” I asked Amalia about her marital experience being in a relationship with a traditional or non-traditional Mexican-American man. Amalia responded:

“The Mexican women must always care for the man at home, making sure everything is well organized. Men on the other hand do nothing to help out women. Its rare when you have a machista husband that helps wash the dishes because he will never like that. He says, “On no, I will never wash the dishes. That’s what you do.” Everything falls with women: do the beds, wash the dishes, mop the floor, and wash the clothes. That’s what parents teach their girls to do in Mexican culture. It’s rare that the husband go out of his way and help you out, well, at least mine does not (*laughs*).”

As I was about to ask her another question, Amalia described her relationship with her husband:

“My husband is an extreme machista, oh yeah! Even today as we have twenty-six years of being married, he has not changed one bit. There have been several times where we were about to get a divorce because of his machismo. My husband thinks that the relationships he saw between

is parents is exactly the way you are suppose to treat women, and its not like that!"

Next, I asked Amalia to give her opinion on domestic violence. She replied;

"Words are like a slap in the face, I consider that similar to domestic violence. For me in my personal relationship, domestic violence has existed and continues to exist. It existed back when my son was just two years old; today he is twenty-five years old. I would rather that you give me a slap in the face than if you gave me a verbal insult because words never disappear, a slap on the other hand hurts but only for a little bit."

I commented, "That's very difficult to hear." Amalia said,

"Yes, it's very difficult and it's ugly because trust is lost and you have nothing and worse of all, you have no one to turn to for help. You feel like everything you have is gone and the world is ending, it's a terrible feeling. I asked, "can trust be restored after such an experience?"

Amalia replied,

"I don't think it can. After taking so much abuse for so many years? Definitely not, it's impossible, but I guess it all depends on the type of person you are. He always tells me that he will never change who he is. He says, "If you like this, good! If not, well, there's the door."

After being married for such a long time, it is clear that Amalia has come to realize that traditional men in Mexican culture will remain and reproduce this privilege system. For Amalia, it is a lost cause trying to change men and there beliefs, the interview with her was more like a resignation to this fact.

My second participant is Rosa, although her tonality was quiet and reserved, she mentioned that she is in constant battle to change the way she carries herself in the presence of her husband. I asked the following question, "what is your personal opinion on men in Mexican culture?" She replied,

"Very machistas. Well, I can only speak for my husband, so I can't really say the same about men in general but my husband is a machista. But he is changing, after the problems we had, he is changing, but use to be a traditional machista."

I followed that up by asking her to describe what matrimony meant to her. Rosa explained, “Matrimony can be something extremely beautiful, but it’s something extremely difficult to maintain. As a woman, you find yourself putting at least 95% of your effort just to make sure he is happy.” Rosa then explained her own matrimony,

“At the beginning of my matrimony, I had several problems with my husband. It was so bad that we even discussed the possibility of filing a divorce. My mother always told us that a woman must always put their whole effort to maintain a positive relationship with the person one chooses to marry. My mom told us to listen to him, withstand him, try to understand him because you need to maintain your matrimony, so if you chose that man as the father to your children then you must put all your effort to make sure he is happy with you.”

Rosa, like my other participants was also taught to accept abuse from men. Rosa continued this statement mentioning how she also understands that her character has not always been the best, it is something that she is trying to change, and she and her husband are working to improve the relationship. Rosa stated,

“Well, maybe I am also changing my personality. We both have talked and we think we have come to an accord. For example, he drinks a lot, and even though today he does not consume as much as he once did, its something he is trying to improve upon. What use to happen was he would come home intoxicated and would say fucked up things to me. But I also recognize that my character can be strong at times, and it was probably not the best time for me to make him understand this when he use to intoxicate himself. That’s what I use to do, he would get intoxicated and I would then try and tell him that it wasn’t right, and it’s impossible to reason with a drunken man. That’s where I am trying to change and up to now, it’s working.”

Although Rosa stated that both her husband and herself are changing their character as a means to improve the relationship, I noticed most of the conversation centered on improving Rosa’s character, instead of her husband’s. Lastly, I will examine Lupe and her interview as she shared her experiences with domestic violence.

Similar to Amalia's interview, Lupe also displayed characteristics of resignation in her interview. I asked Lupe to state her opinion on matrimony with regards to Mexican culture. Lupe explains,

“Its something that can be very beautiful, only when you have a couple that is united. Then again, you have relationships that end because of the lack of communication and lack of respect, which is a result of the man being overly machista with his wife. You have times when because the man is machista, he desires to control women either by hitting her verbally abusing her. Women that come from a traditional Mexican background endure the abuse because that's what they learned from their own parents. They say that one must endure the abuse until the bitter end. Often times families breakup because of the lack of communication. I would say that communication is something very important for a relationship to be successful.”

Lupe also talked about how she feels she works more in her home than at JSU. She talked about how work at JSU only lasts eight hours, while that work that she does at home never ends as it consumes her leisure activities.

I proceeded to ask her about her husband and the responsibilities that he has, pertaining to work at home. She replied,

“Oh no. My husband just gets home and he sits down in the living room to watch the television, men refuse to do anything at home. The only work they do is outside, when they cut the grass. So no, they just sit down while we clean, cook, and wash for him and the kids.”

I asked her if she thought this idea of machismo has changed or has worsened. Lupe talked about how it depends on the couple and their beliefs. Lupe said,

“I think it depends on the couple. If the couple wants equality, then they share responsibilities. However, in Mexican culture you have men that refuse to take part in helping women not simply just around the house, but they refuse to help her with anything because according to them, it's not their job. Here in this country, things have changed. Just as men are able to work, so are women. In Mexico things have gotten worse or things have remained the same. I feel like there exists more communication between couples here than in Mexico, men are not like they once were because you see them helping their wives more.”

I wanted Lupe to go more in-depth talking about her opinion on men that come to this country with the machista ideology. Lupe mentioned,

“Everything lies in what parents teach or don’t teach their children in Mexico. Often times they say men should not do chores which is exactly what my husband tells my son. My husband never allowed him to wash a single plate. My son is now 23, and he still has never washed a single plate in his life.”

I noticed as Lupe mentioned this, her head was slightly down, her eyes looking at the consent letter she had signed in front of her. I could see in her eyes the pain that resulted from machismo as she recollected her experiences. I will now move on and analyze how my participants navigate the double shift (*domestic and occupational spheres*) in the daily lives. I now present the many ways service working women ally themselves with students at JSU that also marginalized based on their economic class status.

The Spaces in Between the Occupational and Domestic Sphere

Service-sector working women find themselves navigating two worlds of oppression. Women in the domestic sphere are forced to remain in the household given how machismo is interwoven in the Mexican culture. Women that choose to resist hegemonic machismo by removing themselves from the household are excommunicated entirely from the culture, the church, and their families. Julia’s decision to separate herself from her partner resulted in her exclusion from Mexican culture and her family; she mentioned,

“I do not want a Mexican for a husband because of the Mexican machismo ideology that is attached to Mexican culture. My father always tells me, ‘That’s why you’re a single mother’ I tell him, ‘yes Sir, I 100% prefer to be a single mother, than to find myself in a relationship where a man abuses me.’”

Julia accepts that she will no longer be accepted within her family because of her decision to break a norm in Mexican culture. However, she was able to rely on her son for emotional support thus making their transition towards a culture outside Mexican culture, easier. Other women like Amalia continue to fight patriarchy within the home by becoming gainfully employed establishing agency, however this form of agency caused her husband to become insecure about the situation which in turn resulted in his desire to establish more dominance over household. Women find it difficult to resist oppression in the domestic sphere because machismo is a static phenomenon that is hereditary with Mexican culture. However, in the occupational sphere at JSU, women are able to combat class oppression through coalition with students and other service working women. I will now analyze the ways women resist class and oppression at JSU.

Since service-sector working women at JSU do not identify as part of the elite class status, they understand that they have the option of leaving this context without any repercussion. Women are able to combat class status through building relationships with other marginalized students that share the same ethnic background and social capital with service working women. This relationship building allows women to establish coalition against class status and marginalization from other privileged students at JSU. At JSU, service sector working women are also able to unite with each and challenge class status, invisibility, patriarchy, and marginalization, resulting in a network of service working women and students uniting together.

Building relationships with students is a form of cultural capital that can be significantly important for women, especially if they have children that aspire to go to

higher education. Carmen talked about attaining cultural capital through her relationship with the female student that invited her to New York for her wedding,

“JSU was very good to me because I was able to get to know many students really well. The student that invited to her wedding in New York helped my grandson a lot with his math homework and he was able to get good grades.”

It is important to understand the significance that cultural capital has on service working women as they establish networks with university students, given that Latino culture suffers from high degrees cultural capital. By women being network outside the domestic sphere, it creates a way of combating patriarchy as you have women not men that are providing a successful future for family. I will now move on and analyze how my participants navigate the double shift (*domestic and occupational spheres*) in the daily lives.

Double shift and The Integration of Two Oppressive Spheres

A significant aspect that resulted from my interviews was the way my participants managed their daily occupational and domestic spheres. Most of my participants talked about how little support they receive from their husbands, as well as the influence traditional Mexican culture has on them given the domestic work expectation. I will highlight seven interviews that brought up this topic. Some participants went as far as to say their eight hour occupational shift at JSU was much easier for them than the work they are expected to do at home. I begin with Julia’s interview, my participant that experienced her spouse being unfaithful with her.

Julia talked about her work experience in Mexico as she compared that experience to her current experience today in the United States. Julia said the following about this:

“In Mexico I worked like a man... I worked in the fields doing labor that men are expected to do. The work that I do today in the United States does not even compare to the work I did in Mexico. The work I do today is much easier for me.” During the interview, Julia made sure to talk about her son with me and the methods she used to remove the roles that has been traditionally expected of men in Mexican culture. Julia explains,

“Overall the double shift is hard but I’m also trying to teach my son that he does not have to be a machista like traditional Mexican men. He must know how to do regular housework like his mother. This country is not like Mexico; just as men are able to work, so are women.”

Julia centered her focus on teaching her son responsibilities outside from school; a commonality that she feels her son needs to develop. Although she talked about the difficulty of her “two shifts,” she stated that her current responsibilities were nowhere near the hardship she faced as a girl in Mexico.

Lupe mentioned the burden of working at home more so than working at JSU.

Lupe said;

“I sometimes say, I work more cleaning my home than my regular job at JSU. I look at it this way, work at JSU only lasts me 8 hours. Work at home never stops because after I conclude my work shift at JSU, I should already know what I’m going to cook, things that need to be cleaned, what my husband needs as well as what my children need from me.”

Lupe continued talking about how her job never really ends until she is the last one to go to sleep at home. She said that if it were up to her, she would rather get paid for working at home than at JSU. Lupe mentions this;

“If I had the option of choosing which setting to get paid and not to get paid, I would have to say at home. I would have more money if I were to be paid for work I do at home than at JSU because there will always be work to do at home, especially when you have no one to help you do

housework. At JSU I work with another person and we both do the same job, this makes things easier for the both of us.”

Given the small amount of support Lupe has at home, work at JSU is relatively less draining for her as she battles managing work at home. In many traditional Mexican households it is frowned upon that men commit to doing work that has been expected from women. However a growing majority of women talked about getting accustomed to carrying significant work loads in both spheres. Amalia explained, “Honestly, I feel like we have gotten use to this “double shift” because it’s not something that I even think about or question.” This second domestic shift is expected from women in Mexican culture, rarely do you find women questioning this. There are women like Rosa who love what they do at home because it’s ultimately done for their children. Rosa explains, “that unpaid shift is a beautiful thing because I do it for my children. Although its unpaid labor, the hugs and kisses I receive from my children are priceless.” Women in Mexican culture do not question work they do at home; some consider it an expectation while others consider it a reward as Rosa does.

Conclusion

Women employed at Jerome State Universities’ service-sector jobs struggle finding autonomy, as they constantly have to navigate through two oppressive spheres where they must please the opposite gender in Mexican culture, as well as a social class that is more privileged than they are. Although a majority of my participants reported having few problematic encounters with students, faculty, or professors; the stigma of being part of the invisible labor sector to these groups will remain present, thus signaling their marginal status in comparison with those groups. It was surprising to listen to my

participants talking more about conflict within themselves than with students, faculty, and professors at JSU.

After listening to my participants talk about both occupational and domestic spheres, it is clear that the culture at home is significantly more burdensome than their occupational at JSU. Lupe said it best, “At JSU; I work only eight hours a day, while work at home never stops. I cook, clean, take care of my children, and my husband. I do all of this for free! (Laughs).” My participants indicated that the amount of years women have at JSU is a true indicator of the level of respect women have for students and vice-versa. Many participants said, “to get respect, you must first give respect,” referring to other women that work at JSU. It was also extremely interesting that some participants wanted to know the names of the other women I was interviewing.

Although I identified participants as resisters and non-resisters, I want to make sure I state that all of my participants are resisters. However, the methods my participants use to resist traditional Mexican machismo are different. Although I chose to identify Amalia, Lupe, and Rosa as contributors to hegemonic machismo, they are also resisters because their decision towards leaving their country for the United States lets us know the commitment they have towards escaping a culture that is oppressive towards women. My participants have developed a lifestyle where working at home is something they have grown to become accustomed to. Although some participants talked about their spouses or their children helping them with responsibilities at home, most of my participants are the main contributors towards making sure the house is presentable. I will now talk about what these findings mean in the larger scope of sociology, whether it

addressed the problem that exists in Mexican culture, as well as how this research can be taken a step further.

CONCLUSION

This study explored the ways Mexican and Mexican-American women who work at Jerome State University resist second-class citizenship status in two oppressive spheres in everyday life: occupational and the domestic. This research adds to the framework of standpoint theory, given that my participant's testimonies shed light on the often-invisible positionality of underprivileged service-sector Women of Color laborers. Women discussed how they experienced alienation through machismo at the home and the classism they experience in their service sector jobs. Some participants found ways to resist these repressive conditions and how they construct new meanings in their lives. In the domestic sphere, women work for their spouses or partners, as they tend to his needs before their own, this type of practice takes the appearance of an ascribed servitude, which in Mexican culture is an unpaid home maker role and a measurement of being labeled a good or bad wife. My participants clearly expressed that their needs as a family member are not met and valued by their spouses who minimize their significance in their families.

My participants also provided me with nuanced perspectives detailing their daily experiences working at JSU. Institutions of higher learning usually cater to a relatively affluent student body where cultural capital is often reproduced, and expanded; anything associated with working-class culture is often frowned upon by elite students, faculty and administrators. Elite students from privilege backgrounds frown on other students who build relationships with the service-sector working-class community of Color, as this class status is foreign to elite students.

My findings insinuate three things about the occupational sphere:

1. Service working women are seen by students, faculty, and administrators as a contingent labor that is expendable, invisible and unappreciated by the campus community. Participants, such as Alma explained how students view them as servants rather than respectable campus community workers of women who are an integral part of the college. Alma mentioned, “Students in my opinion say, ‘they are our servants and I can do whatever I want.’ I imagine that’s how they [students] feel about us.”
2. Jerome State University students who come from marginalized ethnic backgrounds lack cultural capital associate Latina working women as their peers by often acknowledging them when they come across each other, therefore they build personal and meaningful relationships with them. Not only do students establish a form of class consciousness relationship with the workers, they also develop an extended family.
3. JSU creates a structure for service working women who often compete among and between each other for labor-related promotion, resulting in solidarity among some workers, but they also become divided and conquered by the university structure.

I will now address the ways machismo is reproduced within the family system by comparing how patriarchy works in Mexican and Mexican-American culture.

The findings also suggest that machismo is a static phenomenon that becomes manifested in some homes, while in other homes women are able to construct contentious politics against their spouses who embody machismo. The literature suggests that men in traditional Mexican culture dominate women in both the occupational and domestic spheres. In United States however, women are afforded with more occupational and educational opportunities to become independent. The latter results in men wanting to establish significant control of the household. Amalia’s testimony about her husband not allowing her son to develop any domestic responsibilities is a prime example of how this form of social control gets instilled and reproduced in some families. An inter-generational cycle of machismo is created as parents instill similar ideologies they learned in Mexico to their children, creating a reproduction of machismo. Next, I will

address the mutual relationships between service working women and students, as both groups use the mechanisms to combat patriarchy and classism.

Service sector jobs at JSU allow students from disadvantaged backgrounds to develop personal relationships with Mexican laborers, like a quasi-extended family. Relationships between students and service working women become a coping mechanism that help both groups to adapt to this unfamiliar space in their lives. Students at JSU for example, are recently out of high school, and most have never been away from home. In these transitory spaces, students do not see their campus as home and often need to rebuild their support networks. This is a very traumatic time for students as most have few people to lean on for socio-emotional support, service working women notice this and they reach out to students offering emotional support. Often times service sector women, such as Amalia and Carmen develop a maternal role with students as a reciprocal role that allows both groups to feel a sense of solidarity. Next, I will demonstrate the effect my gender and my Mexican-American background had on the quality of information my participants chose to share with me. I will also discuss how this afforded me insider's status within this circle.

My background played a significant role in the culmination of this research. I connected with my participants with ease by sharing my personal experience as a child with patriarchy; given the effect I saw it have on my mother. My participants expressed our common experiences that allowed them to feel at ease and unthreatened with my presence as a man. Our collective memories helped us develop trust and it also allowed me to gain insiders status within these circles. However, many participants were surprised to learn that I was doing research that questions a major ideology within my culture, as

Amalia told me, “It’s good that you are doing this study because you don’t see many men, let alone Mexican men doing a study that criticizes their own culture.” Although I was able to access a community of women given that I was able to speak the language and was culturally competent, I am aware that my findings would have been significantly different if I were a woman researcher. My participants would have been more at ease with me, thus resulting in better collection of data. Although my gender as a male played a significant role in the quality of information my participants chose to share with me, our common ancestry, culture, and language allowed us to have a meaningful interaction.

Men that display their machismo towards women in Mexican culture, are also systemically marginal themselves. When the powerless continuously experience mass subjugation and subordination, they [men] identify with their oppressors more often than not, they will reproduce these macrocosmic systems and apply them in their homes. It is evident that machismo is about power and powerlessness, which mirrors how larger society and coloniality paved the way for groups to keep the disadvantaged in their place. Sociologically, the same oppression that Communities of Color experience, also becomes embedded in the grassroots, where colonized men will keep Mexican women, in this case their wives, in their place. I will now describe the biggest lesson I learned from this research project.

As I mentioned in the introduction, my childhood vastly differs from the childhood my siblings experienced. I don’t ever recall my father telling me “I love you” during my childhood; it was always my mother that showed me emotional support. Although my father continues to work on his behavior as he assimilates to American culture, he has made significant strides towards being more emotionally open with my

siblings like my mother. Emotion is an act that shouldn't be restricted from anyone, and its unfortunate that Mexican culture frowns upon men who show emotions. I am reminded of a quote by the late Gloria Anzaldúa,

“I believe that by changing ourselves we change the world, that traveling El Mundo Zurdo path is the path of a two-way movement—a going into the self and expanding out into the world, a simultaneous recreation of the self and a reconstruction of society. And yet, I am confused as to how to accomplish this” (Moraga, and Anzaldúa, 1981: 208).

One must not conform to what society wants us to be, we must seek refuge towards ways of improving the world we live in, but in doing so we must first seek to improve ourselves.

(APPENDIX A)



ENGLISH INFORMED CONSENT

“Examining the dual shift among women within the household and the labor force in traditional Mexican and Mexican-American families”

My name is Mario Macias Jr, I am a graduate student at California State University of San Marcos. The purpose of this research is to examine the “dual shift” that Mexican and Mexican American women experience within the household as well as at a college level. More specifically, this study intends to examine how women experience their relationship with men who may exhibit patriarchy/ machismo attitudes as well as how they manage relationships with students, faculty, and administration at the College setting.

Requirements of Participation

- *Participation is completely voluntary.*
- The interviewer intends to ask a series of questions pertaining only to the research project previously addressed.
- The interviewer intends for the interview to last 30-45 minutes or possibly longer, depending on the participant.

Risks

The interviewer understands that from this research potential discomforts may arise, which is why the participant will be given the option of terminating the interview at any time they choose and the interviewer will use no part of the recorded interview. Given any emotional issues arise the interviewer has included a hotline for domestic violence situations. (National Domestic Violence Hotline at 1-800-799-7233 or TTY 1-800-787-3224)

Safeguards

The interview will be recorded, however, confidentiality is significantly important. The participant will have the option of allowing (or not) their name to be used. If the participant refuses to allow their name to be used by the interviewer, the participant will be allowed to choose an anonymous name that would identify them in the study. A pseudonym will be given that will identify the participant provided that the participant allows it.

I am at least eighteen years of age. I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my participation in this research project and the possible risks as outlined above. I understand that I may withdraw my participation on this project at any time without prejudice or penalty of any kind. I hereby agree to participate in this research project. Please contact Dr. Juan Santos (*chair of this study, office number: 760-750-8031. Email: xsantos@csusm.edu*) for more questions or concerns about this research project.

Name (print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____



(APENDIX B)

SPANISH INFORMED CONSENT

"El examen de la doble turno entre las mujeres dentro del hogar y la mano de obra en el tradicional mexicana y familias mexicano-americanas"

Mi nombre es Mario Macias Jr, soy un estudiante graduado en la Universidad Estatal de California San Marcos. El propósito de esta investigación es examinar la "doble turno" que la experiencia mexicana y mexicana de mujeres estadounidenses en el hogar, así como a nivel universitario. Más en concreto, este estudio se propone examinar cómo las mujeres experimentan su relación con los hombres que pueden presentar actitudes patriarcal / machismo, y así como la forma en que manejan las relaciones con los estudiantes, profesores y administrativos en el entorno de la universidad.

Requisitos de Participación

- La participación es completamente voluntaria.
- El entrevistador tiene la intención de formular una serie de preguntas que solo afectan al proyecto de investigación abordado anteriormente.
- El entrevistador tiene la intención para la entrevista dure 30-45 minutos o posiblemente más, dependiendo de la participante.

Riesgos

El entrevistador entiende que a partir de esta investigación pueden surgir molestias posibles, por lo que el participante se le dará la opción de terminar la entrevista en cualquier momento que elijan y el entrevistador utilizará ninguna parte de la entrevista grabada. Dado surgen problemas emocionales que el entrevistador ha incluido una línea de emergencia para situaciones de violencia doméstica. (Línea Nacional de Violencia Doméstica al 1-800-799-7233 o TTY 1-800-787-3224)

Salvaguardias

La entrevista será grabada, sin embargo, la confidencialidad es significativamente importante. El participante tendrá la opción de permitir (o no) su nombre sea utilizado. Si el participante se niega a permitir que su nombre sea utilizado por el entrevistador, el participante podrá elegir un nombre anónimo que los identificaría en el estudio. Se dará un pseudónimo que identifique al participante, siempre que el participante lo permite.

Tengo por lo menos dieciocho años de edad. Soy plenamente consciente de la naturaleza y el alcance de mi participación en este proyecto de investigación y los posibles riesgos antes descritos. Entiendo que puedo retirar mi participación en este proyecto, en cualquier momento y sin perjuicio o sanción de ningún tipo. Yo estoy de acuerdo en participar en este proyecto de investigación. Por favor, póngase en contacto con el Dr. Juan Santos (presidente de este estudio, el número de la oficina: 760-750-8031 Email: xsantos@csusm.edu) para más preguntas o inquietudes acerca de este proyecto de investigación.

Nombre: _____

Firma: _____ Fecha: _____

(APENDIX C)

ENGLISH QUESTIONS

1. Can you tell me about yourself and your personal experience with traditional Mexican culture?
2. What does the term machismo mean to you?
3. What does marriage mean to you as a woman in Mexican culture?
4. What has been your role as a woman, married to a man from Mexican culture?
5. How long have you worked at this college?
6. How has your overall experience been with students?
7. How has your overall experience been with faculty?
8. How has your overall experience been with administration?
9. How has your overall experience been with other staff workers?
10. How would you describe your experience working at this college?
11. How do you feel being round students? Can you explain?
12. Can you talk about whether the English language been a benefit or a barrier for you in terms of your experiences at this college?
 - The double shift examines how women experience 2 types of labor.
 - Unpaid labor: which takes place home as women tend to the husband and the children's needs before the woman can even think about tending to her own necessities.
 - Paid labor: women's experience in the labor force.
13. What do you think about "the double shift"? Does it exist in Mexican culture?

(APENDIX D)

SPANISH QUESTIONS

1. ¿Me puede contar un poco sobre usted y sus experiencias personal con la cultura tradicional mexicana?
2. ¿Qué significa el término machismo para usted?
3. ¿Qué significa el matrimonio para usted como mujer en la cultura mexicana?
4. ¿Cuál ha sido su papel como una mujer casada con un hombre de la cultura mexicana?
5. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha trabajado en este colegio?
6. ¿Cómo ha sido su experiencia general con los estudiantes?
7. ¿Cómo ha sido su experiencia general con los profesores?
8. ¿Cómo ha sido su experiencia general con la administración?
9. ¿Cómo ha sido su experiencia general con otros trabajadores del colegio?
10. ¿Cómo describiría su experiencia de trabajo en este colegio?
11. ¿Cómo se siente al estar cerca de los estudiantes? ¿Puede usted explicar?
12. ¿Puedes hablar acerca de si el idioma Inglés ha sido una ventaja o un obstáculo para usted en términos de sus experiencias en este colegio?
→ El doble turno examina cómo las mujeres experimentan 2 tipos de trabajo...
 - El trabajo sin pago: que tiene lugar en casa ya que las mujeres tienden a que el marido y las necesidades de los niños antes de que la mujer puede incluso pensar tiende a sus propias necesidades.
 - el trabajo pagado: experiencia de las mujeres en la fuerza laboral.
13. ¿Qué piensas acerca del "doble turno"? ¿Existe en la cultura mexicana??

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