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Moving Motherly: Raising Children in the Low-Wage Hospitality Industry

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Moving Motherly
Raising Children in the Low-Wage Hospitality Industry

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Urban Studies
Urban Anthropology

by

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May, 2014

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Abstract

In the hospitality industry, women with children are in a unique position. Government deregulation of corporate labor practices, the exit of manufacturing overseas, and the rise of the service sector economy in the United States has contributed to the development of a surplus, low-wage labor force. Tourism is one subset of this labor force that deserves further attention. Although there is substantial literature on the structure of low-wage labor in tourism economies (Herod and Aguiar, 2006), as well as the impacts on work-family balance (Liladrie, 2010), a less explored topic is the impacts hospitality labor has on mothering. The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of women with children who 1) work in the hospitality industry and 2) whose work is located in the tourism districts of Seattle, Washington and New Orleans, Louisiana. The investigator used semi-structured, qualitative interviews that asked women about the decisions they make for their children, how their work in hospitality influences their parenting decisions, and how they assign meaning to their roles as mothers. The investigator found that women in the hospitality industry do not separate work and motherhood as two separate spheres. Work is a mothering strategy. The decisions they make for their children are characterized by mobility, particularly through relocation. Finally, this study found that women who work in the hospitality industry navigate various “markers” that stigmatize them in the workplace. The investigator calls this “motherhood markers;” forms of stigma that intensify emotional labor in their workplaces, can create tension with employers and co-workers and, in some cases, termination of their employment.

Key Words: Hospitality Industry, Service Sector, Women and Labor, Work-Family Management, Labor and Stigma

Introduction

Olivia is a mother of three children who works in the low-wage service industry. She is the sole provider for her children. Since she works in an industry that makes it hard to raise a family, Olivia often has to make extreme, and costly, decisions in order to live up to the mothering principles she sets for herself. For example, Olivia is concerned that the hours she works at her current job interfere with her ability to be home for her children. She quits her current job in order to find work that will allow her to be home at the hours she desires for her kids. Olivia, however, does not own a car and has to rely on public transportation. What she finds after quitting is that most available jobs are far away. Travel time alone would still keep her away from home. What is more, she cannot afford formal childcare. As a result, Olivia has to move to another state, where she can find work that requires less travel time and where she has extended kin networks that can help her care for her children.

Olivia's experience is similar to other mothers working in the hospitality industry. Their occupations include food servers, bartenders, and hotel housekeepers. Their stories are telling of the experiences of mothers working in the low-wage service industry. They make decisions for their children based on a variety of constraints; the constraints of their jobs and the constraints of stigma. Their experiences are an important contribution to scholarship on mothering and work since the current literature tends to focus on women in professional occupations. In a time when news media and popular culture emphasize the importance of family, it is important to understand the experiences of a group of women for whom raising a family is made exceptionally difficult. This study is a phenomenological examination of the experiences of 20 mothers who work in the hospitality industry. Through semi-structured, qualitative interviews,

this study explores the decisions mothers make for their children as they negotiate their mothering principles with the constraints of their job, and the stigmas attached to their work.

Mothering Decisions and Constraints: Mothering in the Hospitality Industry

Although there is a large body of academic literature that confronts reductionist depictions of poor mothers (Stack, 1974; Roberts, 1997; Roberts, 2002; Lareau, 2011), these findings have not made it into popular narratives of mothering and work. Furthermore, the academic literature that does exist on work and family balance tends to focus on middle- and upper-class women. This deficiency fails to acknowledge the different constraints that working-class and working poor mothers encounter as they make decisions for their children. For working class and poor women, the decision to remain at home has never been an option available to them. As such, the literature on work-family management, which often discusses paid labor as a choice, does not adequately capture the experience of women in working low-wage occupations. Not only do these jobs offer lower wages, they are often fraught with other constraints such as inflexible hours, more part-time positions than full-time positions, and less bargaining power for its workers (Herod and Aguiar, 2006; Seifert and Messing, 2006). This study shifts the focus from middle- and upper-class professional women to working-class and working-poor women working in the low-wage hospitality industry.

Research Problem

Literature on working mothers often focuses on work-family management; how women balance work and mothering. The literature on work-family management has made significant contributions in understanding the experience of working mothers. More specifically, the literature questions 1) the idea that women belong in the home and 2) the idea that working mothers are somehow questionable mothers. A deficiency in this literature, however, is an

intersectional understanding of work and family. Intersectionality theory argues that lived experience occurs at the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality (Crenshaw, 1991). These various social positions occur simultaneously and inform the standpoint from which an individual understands her experience (Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins, 2000). The neoliberal restructuring of the hospitality industry yielded significant profits for those at the top of the hierarchy. The workers, on the other hand, endured economic, physical, and emotional consequences as a result (Herod and Aguiar, 2006; Seifert and Messing, 2006; Zampoukos and Ioannides, 2011). The negative impacts of economic restructuring have had particularly strong consequences for women. The low-wage, service sector labor force is largely comprised of women who, with deindustrialization and immigration policies such as NAFTA, are increasingly poor, non-white, and non-U.S. born (Chang, 2000; Sassen, 2012). Considering the context the participants work and mother within, it is important to understand the experience of women for who work is not a “choice,” but a strategy to effectively provide for their children.

The literature also does not address how the stigmas attached to their labor and to their family impacts them inside and outside of the workplace. Mothers experience the hierarchies of race, gender, and class in significantly different ways from women who don’t have children. It is important to understand, then, how mothers make decisions about work and family as well as how they assign meaning to their mothering practices. The literature on gender and the hospitality industry tends to discuss the experience of women through the lens of work regimes. This includes the hierarchical structure of the workplace, the actions of employers, working conditions, the economic impacts of the work regime, as well as the physical and emotional impacts on workers’ health and well-being. All of these questions, which are well documented in the sociology of work, have provided invaluable insight into the plight of those working in the

low-wage service industry. What is more, this same literature has told us a great deal about how workers' experience can differ based on factors such as race, gender, documentation status, and sexuality. Aside from physical and emotional health, however, the literature does not adequately discuss how the work regime impacts people's personal lives. While some of noted that the nature of hospitality work can make responsibilities at home more difficult (Liladrie, 2010), there is a need for further discussion on how the structure of hospitality work impacts women's personal lives.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of my study is to explore the experiences of women with children who work in the hospitality industry. What I explore in this study is how mothers in the hospitality industry make decisions about work and family, how they navigate the constraints of their jobs and of stigma, and the meanings they assign to their mothering practices. I conducted qualitative, semi-structured interviews with women working as hotel housekeepers, servers, bartenders, and other lines of hospitality work in the tourism districts of Seattle, Washington and New Orleans, Louisiana. The women in this study range in age, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, documentation status, and sexuality. Some were single mothers, others were married, and others lived with their partners. In more visible, "front-of-the-house" positions such as serving or bartending, women encounter a highly gendered environment that affects their mothering in significantly different ways than professional women. Mothers in the low-wage service industry, then, are confronted with constraints that mothers with more economic, social, and political clout do not encounter. Furthermore, the scholarship on work-family management assumes that work and family are two separate, non-overlapping spheres. As will be seen through the interviews, the participants do not dichotomize work and mothering in the same way.

Overview of the Dissertation

The following chapters discuss the methodology and findings of this study in more depth. Chapter Two reviews the literature on 1) an overview of the social construction of mothering, 2) the structure of hospitality work and what that tells us about tourism development in the neoliberal era, and 3) the literature on work-family balance and how the literature differs across lines of race, gender, and class. This study uses a phenomenological approach to understand the lived experience of mothers working in the hospitality industry. Chapter Three will discuss the decision to use to a phenomenological approach as well as provide more detail on my research design and methodology.

The women in this study made decisions for their families at the intersection of their mothering principles, economic constraints, and social stigma. Chapter Four examines the different strategies the women in this study enacted in order to navigate these various constraints. Furthermore, these constraints of their embodied mothering also give rise to an embodied mobility that can restructure families, or create barriers in being able to mother their children. In this chapter, I argue that when the women work in the hospitality industry, they are mothering. Their work decisions are mothering decisions. Moreover, their decisions occur at the intersections of their job constraints, stigma, and their mothering principles. In this chapter, I will also discuss how the women in this study assigned meaning to their roles as mothers, and how their mothering principles influenced their work decisions. Finally, this chapter discusses the concept of mobility and mothering. That is, the decisions the women in this study made for their children were characterized by mobility. Chapter Four discusses physical mobility in terms of moving from job to job, for example, and ideological movement as they navigate various spaces based on stigmas attached to their labor, their bodies, and the bodies of their children.

Chapter Five discusses another way in which mobility emerged in this study; relocation to another neighborhood, city, state, or country. Many of the participants in this study have had experiences with relocation. Several of the women in this study migrated to the United States from another country. Due to poor economies in their home countries, they had to move to the United States in search of employment. Some of the women started their families once they arrived to the United States. Others, however, had to completely restructure their families in order to care for them. This chapter also discusses women who relocated to other cities or states. Many women in this study made the drastic, and costly decision to move to another city or state in order to better care for their children. Their reasons typically stemmed from a lack of safety nets in their hometowns. For purposes of this study, the term “safety net” is used in three ways: 1) state safety nets such as public assistance, resources for survivors of intimate partner violence (including non-physical forms of violence), or infrastructure for public transportation; 2) interpersonal safety nets such as extended kin networks or a partner who has a good income; and 3) financial safety nets such as personal savings. In this chapter, I argue that women in the hospitality industry, when lacking in even one of these safety nets, may be forced to make the costly decision to move elsewhere. It is another way in which they experience mobility as they try to create structure and stability for their families.

Chapter Six discusses an unexpected theme that emerged from this study; “motherhood markers.” For many women in this study, motherhood marked them in the workplace in ways that stigmatized and otherized them. Women who were pregnant in the workplace, or who had children that they sometimes needed time off for, sometimes encountered consequences from their employers or co-workers. Chapter Six discusses how motherhood markers impacted the experience of the participants within the workplace. This chapter also devotes time to discuss

other ways in which the women in this study experience stigma and otherization in the workplace, particularly from customers. While this is not directly tied to their mothering experience, it does reveal other forms of stigma that mothers in the hospitality industry must navigate as they try to raise their children. Together, what the findings show is that mothers in the hospitality industry practice an embodied mothering that operates at the intersection of their own mothering principles, economic constraints, and social stigma; decisions that are marked by mobility.

The central finding of this study is three-fold. First, women in the hospitality industry do not separate work and family in the ways that the literature suggests. That is, they make their work decisions based on the needs of their children; when they are working they are mothering. Second, their parenting decisions, including their work decisions, occur at the intersections of their mothering principles, the constraints of their jobs, and the constraints of social stigma. Third, the decisions they make are characterized by mobility. They constantly move -both physically and ideologically - through various spaces in order to create stability and stillness for their children. Mothering is typically understood as disembodied. That is, mothering is often seen as a phenomenon that exists outside of time and space (Longhurst, 2008). In reality, motherhood is an embodied phenomenon that exists in time and space. As such, the decisions they make as mothers, and the options they even have available to them, are closely tied to the meanings assigned to their bodies. For the women who participated in this study, embodied motherhood is an embodied mobility.

Chapter Two

Review of the Literature

Mothering as defined in this study entails the decisions, processes, and structures that women must navigate in order to meet the material and emotional needs of their children. Further, this study asks the question of how women define mothering. That is, this study asks how the participants themselves define being a “good” mother and the ways in which their work allows them to live up to their own expectations. The literature on work and mothering demonstrates that women in the low-wage service sector find more barriers to providing for their children in the ways they see fit. Mothering operates at the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality. Although the literature often focuses on middle-class white women to understand how women mother their children, as well as balance other responsibilities such as work, scholars have brought women of color, poor women, and queer women to the center of analysis. Moreover, the current neoliberal political economic climate influences the ability of women to raise their children in the ways they see fit. Global restructuring, the rise of the service sector economy, and the literature on the impacts of hotel housekeeping work on women’s bodies and personal lives all shed light on the multiple structural factors that hinder women’s ability to mother.

Race, Class, and Mothering in the Low-wage Labor Force

The literature on mothering has typically privileged middle-class, white women. Furthermore, although much has been done on how women define “ideal” motherhood and its relationship to paid labor (Christopher, 2012), literature that focuses on mothering in the low-wage service sector is limited. Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1994), in her edited volume on mothering

that brings marginalized women to the center of analysis, argues that feminist analysis of mothering needs to examine the relationships between mothering ideology and other prevailing ideologies, particularly how conceptions of mothering help justify and maintain hierarchies of race, class, and gender. That is, many women find that their own conceptions of mothering come into conflict with how institutions conceptualize their ability to raise children. Nakano Glenn (1994) also argues that it is important to not only focus on the ways in which women are oppressed as mothers, but on the ways in which women act to assert their own standards of mothering and attain the resources to care for their children. Collins (1994), in her contribution to this volume, identifies three core themes that speak to the processes and structures women of color must navigate in order to perform the “motherwork” of raising children: the physical survival of children and the community, the significance of self-definition in constructing individual and collective racial identity, and the dialectical nature of power and powerlessness in structuring mothering patterns. As women of color seek to meet the material and emotional needs of their children, their communities, and develop their own identities as mothers and workers, there is a conflict between cultures of resistance and systems of racism that are designed to strip people of personal identity and collectivism (Collins, 1994). It is this conflict between agency and institutional racism and sexism that serves as a lens for this study.

The literature on work and motherhood often focuses on two areas: women’s participation in the paid labor force and the policy changes associated with welfare reform. The experience of balancing work and family is not identical for all mothers. The sexual division of labor (Delgado, 2011), the availability and distribution of resources to facilitate work such as childcare (Press et al, 2006), and state and federal policies utilize particular definitions of work and family, all operate at the intersections of race, gender, and class (Boris and Kleinberg, 2003;

Weigt, 2006; Barnes, 2008; Weigt and Solomon, 2008; Gazso, 2012). The ability of women with children to navigate public resources such as TANF or Medicaid, and to balance work and family, involve negotiating the tension between 1) how women define work and motherhood and 2) how the state defines work and motherhood.

Historically, the state, through federal policy, has placed differential value on motherhood that is highly racialized and classed (Boris and Kleinberg, 2003). Roberts (2002), in her study of the foster care system, argues that Black women and their families are highly regulated and monitored by the state, resulting in the rapid and disproportionate concentration of Black children in the foster care system. Bridges (2011), in her ethnographic study of racialization and pregnancy in a public New York hospital, documents how the hospital treats all low-income women according to federal guidelines under Medicaid, whether or not they actually use Medicaid. Bridges (2011) argues that the hospital justifies this practice, which tightly monitors the women who utilize their services, by labeling Black women as an “at risk population” with unruly bodies, poor education, and an ability to cheat the system. Their findings provide an example of how mothering, particularly for poor women of color, is often monitored and regulated by the state.

Gazso (2012), in her examination of the welfare-to-work program in Ontario, argues that although the program is an imposition of neoliberal concepts of work (i.e., the growth of a cheap labor force), its implementation is more than a simple command from a neoliberal government. Rather, Gazso (2012) argues that the successful implementation of welfare-to-work in Ontario resulted from 1) a neoliberal agenda to build a cheap labor force, and 2) a cultural shift in the “moral codes of mothering” (Gazso, 2012, pg. 26); the cultural expectations of women’s role in the home, which shifted after 1970, from the mother who only partakes in unpaid household

labor (which Gazso terms “mother-carer”) to the mother who also works in the paid labor force (mother-worker). This cultural shift to the mother-as-worker, which eventually became the “norm” for women who wanted to raise families, was what made welfare-to-work possible. It allowed for the enactment of policies that emphasize the role of mothers as workers over their roles as caregivers, which made it harder for women in the program to support their children’s needs (Gazso, 2012). Gazso (2012) argues that a new moral code of motherhood, mother-carer-worker, is necessary to recognize that the unpaid labor of the household is work and deserves as much support as work in the paid labor force.

Roos (2009) conducted a quantitative study of race and class differences in interconnecting work and family. With data from four combined years of the General Social Survey (GSS), Roos (2009) examined racial and class differences in attitudes towards work, motherhood, and the ability of women to balance both. She found that White women are less likely to work full time than Black, Latina, and Asian women (Roos, 2009, pg. 109). She also found that women differ significantly by race when asked whether they feel working harms preschool children. White women were more likely than Black women to agree that preschool children suffer if their mother works. White women are also more likely than Black women to agree that working women cannot form as secure a relationship with their children as non-working mothers (Roos, 2009, pg. 109). Although her quantitative method did not give limited insight into one of her central questions (i.e., how do women interconnect work and family), the racial and class differences she uncovers sheds light on how attitudes toward work and motherhood differ at the intersections of race, gender, and class.

Hennessy (2009) conducted in-depth interviews with 39 low-income women who had enrolled in any of three 6 to 8 week programs that consisted of workshops, pre-employment

training, and comprehensive services to low-income women who were undergoing major life transitions and were preparing to enter or reenter the workforce. Hennessy (2009) found that although some women did believe that women should work to support their families, they also held social conservative views about childrearing. The women in her study opposed welfare measures that forced them to “choose” work, which interferes with their ability to choose what is in the best interest of their children. Many believed that if a man is able to provide financially for the family, that a woman should stay at home and raise children. Although they did not necessarily criticize women who do choose to work and raise children, they do believe that the state favors work over childrearing, and that women should be able to choose to stay home with their children if they so choose. The opposition to work enforcement measures in public assistance is not resistance to work, or becoming “dependent,” but is resistance to the constraints on their ability to choose to balance work and family in the ways they feel are in their children’s best interest.

Weigt and Solomon (2008) conducted in-depth interviews with two groups of predominately white workers: low-wage service workers and assistant professors. The authors found that class oppression heightens the gendered experience of low-wage service workers and eases the experiences for women who have access to class resources. Assistant professors in this study had greater autonomy and flexibility in their work, offered them greater and easier strategies to balance work and family. Furthermore, they had expanded childcare options due to their higher incomes (Weigt and Solomon, 2008, pg. 630). Low-wage service workers, on the other hand, lacked a certain combination of characteristics that make it easier to align work and family responsibilities: wages at or above \$1200 per month, predictable and full-time hours, employer-provided health insurance, sick leave and vacation leave (Weigt and Solomon, 2008,

pg. 635). In order to balance work and family, low-wage service workers often had to 1) compensate (i.e., forgo higher wages, benefits, and mobility) to ensure needed flexibility, 2) rely on kinship network for aid such as childcare, transportation, picking up and dropping kids off at childcare centers, food, money, and clothes, and 3) a reliance on constrained childcare options (Weigt and Solomon, 2008). Although their work sheds light on how class impacts the way women balance work and family, the authors do note that because the majority of their participants were White, it is harder to assess how race intersects with class and gender.

Hays (2003), in her ethnographic study of a welfare office during the transition from Assistance for Dependent Families and Children (ADFC) to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), documented the ways in which the new assistance policy hindered women's ability to balance work and family. Hays (2003) makes several important arguments that re-examine the underlying assumptions that justified the transition to TANF (e.g., that women in poverty do not understand or value the importance of work). Hays (2003) argues that while the language of TANF emphasizes the importance of both work and family, the policies focus on work which, ironically, often come at the expense of family. TANF, with the welfare-to-work program that placed public assistant recipients in low-wage jobs with unfavorable hours, interferes with their responsibilities to their children, and vice versa. Furthermore, since the welfare-to-work program is required and the wages are so low, women are unable to achieve self-sufficiency. Either their wages prevent them from doing so, or their inability to meet TANF demands, they are dropped from the rolls.

Marchevsky and Theoharis (2007), in their ethnographic study of the welfare-to-work program for Latina immigrants in Orange County, argue that the women they interviewed, unlike the proponents of welfare reform, did not compare welfare and work, or see them as lifestyle

choices. Both require physical and emotional work (e.g., abuse from caseworkers, endless lines at the welfare office, arbitrary cuts in welfare checks), both are necessary in order to support their families, but neither are enough to do so in a sufficient and meaningful way (Marchevsky and Theoharis, 2007). In other words, the women in their study considered both welfare and work were necessary to meet the material and emotional of their children and, moreover, neither their wages nor welfare benefits provided them with sufficient material and social resources to raise their children with dignity (Marchevsky and Theoharis, 2007). Marchevsky and Theoharis (2007) challenge the notion that welfare assistance is welfare *dependence*. Rather, women living in poverty do work. Some women even find ways to earn money through underground economies such as hair braiding (Hays, 2003) or cooking inexpensive meals for their neighbors (Venkatesh, 2009) , to find ways to support themselves and their children.

Press, Johnson-Dias, and Fagan (2006) conducted a quantitative study of barriers to full-time work among women on public assistance and non-welfare, “working poor” mothers. Using data from the Philadelphia Survey of Childcare and Work, they found that women from both welfare and non-welfare groups who had severe childcare problems are 22 percent less likely to work full-time. For women on welfare, there was a 30 percent gap in full-time work between women with severe childcare problems and those without. Among working poor women, childcare problems reduced the chances of working full-time by 18 percent.

Barnes (2008) came to a similar conclusion in her case study of a white, working poor, single mother of three children. Barnes (2008) used the structure versus agency discourse to examine how Pat Moore navigated structural constraints and made decisions to meet the needs of her children. Pat benefited from some extended kin networks through her father and her children’s paternal grandparents, which paralleled Weigt and Solomon’s (2008) findings of how

working class women balance work and family. Barnes (2008) also found, however, that Pat's class position required her to be acutely aware of social service programs and their rules (e.g., declining raises at work so as not to lose her benefits), to make decisions about her personal relationships to not jeopardize any financial support she receives, and to be very frugal and deliberate with how she spends her meager income. Barnes (2008) concludes that although Pat shows evidence of the ability to make sound choices and to navigate social structures, her ability to escape poverty is closely linked to social service agencies and other social structures that significantly influence the decisions Pat has to make for herself and for her children.

Weigt (2006) conducted an institutional ethnography to explore the social organization of mothers' care work after the transition to TANF. She found that the women she interviewed engaged in three distinct discourses of how they balance paid work and care work: the mothering discourse, the ideological code of the Standard North American Family (SNAF, or, the nuclear family), and a discourse of work enforcement. These discourses recruit them into participating in the ruling relations of neoliberalism that subjugate them and inform how women balance paid work with care work (Weigt, 2006). For example, the conditions of the low-wage labor force made the women in this study feel that their requirement to work also forced them to sacrifice the needs of their families in three interrelated areas: being physically and emotionally available to their children; maintaining the parent-child bond; and providing adequate supervision and safety (Weigt, 2006). They utilized discourses of mothering that assigns mothers full responsibility of adequate children, which is similar to the social conservative views that Hennessy (2009) observed in her study. Weigt (2006) argues that the women in her study express their difficulties in the labor force in terms of how they fail to live up to ideal mothering and divert attention away from material conditions such as low wages, long hours, and inflexible

schedules. This enactment of a “personal responsibility” model mediates neoliberal discourses and the interests of welfare agencies, the government, and employers who make little allowance for women who are raising children in undesirable conditions (Weigt, 2006).

Global Restructuring and Global “Flows” in the Era of Neoliberal Governance

To understand mothering in the low-wage service sector, it is important to understand the political economic changes since the late 1970s that have given rise to a surplus low-wage workforce. Globalization has always existed in some form (Wilk, 2006) and at this point in time has several key features: 1) an accelerated flow of capital by key actors who profit from the mobility of capital (this includes the mobility of people); 2) cities who are best able to “capture” capital function as infrastructural nodes to facilitate profit accumulation and continued investment; 3) the hypermobility of capital gives cities an incentive to lower the economic and political barriers to doing business; 4) globalization is marked by flows of people within nations and regions, as well as between them; 5) the flows of capital and people alter the social geographies between cities and within cities; and 6) globalization is “glocal;” it is experienced locally and, thus, only exists in its local articulation (Lin and Mele, 2005). In the United States, global processes in the current political economy are closely tied to neoliberalism.

Harvey (2005), documents the transition into a set of political economic policies underscored by one underlying assumption: that a free and unhindered market was the key to stimulating economic growth. The liberation of the market entailed reduced government regulations on business, privatization of government programs, retrenchment of social welfare programs, and an emphasis on individual responsibility to prevent poverty, or to lift oneself out of poverty. The rise of neoliberal capitalism, in tandem with globalization, is a common theme in the literature on women and labor in the global era. Marchand and Runyan (2010) prefer the

term “global restructuring” (which will be used from here on) to argue that global restructuring, through neoliberal processes, enact racialized, classed, and heterosexist processes that have direct impacts on women of color across the world. That is, the myriad gendered, classed, racialized, and heterosexist impacts of global restructuring are produced and sustained through the use of symbols of racialized, classed femininities and masculinities that construct and naturalize the dominant discourses of “globalization-cum-imperialism” (Marchand and Runyan, 2010, pg. 16). In other words, neoliberalism in the global economy relies on the normalization of hegemonic constructions of race, gender, class, and sexuality. These social constructions are at the heart of the feminization of the service sector workforce, which contributes to the concentration of poor women of color in the low-wage service sector and impact constructions of mothering.

The Hospitality Industry as a Site of a Neoliberal Service Industry

The hospitality industry is one area in which the phenomena described above are manifested. Occupations within the hospitality industry, which is typically associated with the tourism industry, include any job pertaining to lodging, transportation, and leisure. Hotels, restaurants, bars, theme parks, and other businesses meant for leisure and entertainment fall under the category of hospitality work. In the neoliberal era, government deregulation has reduced the barriers to doing business at the expense of worker health and safety (Herod and Aguiar, 2006) in many service industries. Hospitality work is no exception. The establishment of “flexible” labor practices such as emphasis on part-time work and subcontracting labor (Seifert and Messing, 2006) have increased the output workers are expected to perform, reduced their incomes, and made it more difficult to raise a family (Herod and Aguiar, 2006a; Herod and Aguiar, 2006b; Seifert and Messing, 2006; Liladrie, 2010).

Nonetheless, the literature on hotel housekeeping does shed light on the neoliberal structure of the hospitality industry and its impact on women. The hotel industry, like many within hospitality, is a large employer of women. Increasingly non-white and foreign-born, women are paid low wages, subject to “flexible” labor practices that result in precarious employment, and labor conditions that compromise their safety and health (Liladrie, 2010; McNamara et al, 2011). Although women enter hotel work for various reasons, including formal education in hospitality and tourism, women still report low wages, long hours, and lack of opportunities for upward mobility as work-related problems (Okumus et al, 2010). As various mergers have placed hotel ownership in a select few hands, there has been a move to standardize hotel amenities, which has directly impacted the safety of housekeeping work. In order to meet the standardized and increasingly difficult demands of the corporation, housekeeping work has intensified at the expense of worker safety and health (Seifert and Messing, 2006). Workload intensification can have dire consequences for workers. For example, Herod and Aguiar (2006b) find through an examination of data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, that cleaning is one of the most injury-prone occupations in the contemporary labor market. In 2003, janitors and cleaners suffered some 127,800 musculoskeletal disorders involving days away from work, the fourth-highest rate of all U.S. occupations (Herod and Aguiar, 2006b, pg. 426). Intensification of labor increases the likelihood of injury since workers are forced to rush to complete an increased number of tasks in a limited amount of time (Herod and Aguiar, 2006b, pg. 428).

Scherzer et al (2005), through participatory action research, surveyed 941 unionized hotel room cleaners in Las Vegas about work-related pain, injury, disability, and reporting over the past 12 months. Three out of four of the workers surveyed experienced work-related pain during

the last year. Most workers who reported work-related pain had to seek medical attention or take days off from work. 31 percent of participants reported their injuries to management, 20 percent filed claims for workers' compensation, and 35 percent of their claims were denied. Participants reported barriers to reporting injuries including that it would be too much trouble, they were afraid, and that they didn't know how.

Seifert and Messing (2006) worked in collaboration with three major trade unions in Montréal for an ergonomic study of the workload, safety and health risks for hotel cleaners in two hotels that were both owned by multinational corporations. The authors found that tasks that were typically done during the off-season, such as turning mattresses and cleaning fans, had become part of the daily routine. Second, as a result of hotel marketing strategies to increase occupancy rates, there has been an increase in organized tour groups, leaving housekeepers with many rooms that are vacated at the same time. Third, the hotels introduced a number of new amenities as part of their marketing strategy that must be replaced, dusted, and cleaned daily. Fourth, mattresses and bed linens had been replaced by bigger and heavier versions. The new bedding takes approximately 1.6 times longer to make and housekeepers must lift the heavier mattresses as many as eight times to introduce the sheets. Fifth, the hotels introduced new decorations that easily pick up stains, and dark furniture that is harder to clean. Finally, the hotel began outsourcing laundry to cut costs, leading to more work time for housekeepers when sheets would come back damaged, or would arrive to the hotel late (Seifert and Messing, 2006, pg. 567-569).

Housekeeping work is also precarious work. Seifert and Messing (2006) discuss the role of "flexible" labor practices, which are favored because they increase competitive pressures. Flexible employment practices in the hotel decreased the number of full-time workers and varied

the number of working hours per week. Workers room assignments in this study often changed from day to day, making it harder for cleaners to regulate their workloads (Seifert and Messing, 2006, pg. 562). The authors also mention that requiring employees to work on irregular schedules, only occasionally, or to constantly be on call, can have negative health effects and can also make it more difficult to balance work and family responsibilities (Seifert and Messing, 2006, pg. 563). The problem of “flexible” employment is that it is becoming increasingly preferable among employers to hire housekeepers through employment agencies (Dyer et al, 2010). McNamara et al (2011) surveyed 150 hotel workers from eight 3-star hotels in Sydney. Temporary workers perceived themselves as less in control of their working hours than permanent workers. They also, however, reported lower work intensity than permanent workers (McNamara et al, 2011).

The experiences that women in housekeeping work describe is intricately tied to their racial, ethnic, gendered, and classed location in the hotel hierarchy. Adib and Guerrier (2003) conducted an exploratory study of a previous qualitative study of harassment of hotel workers. The investigators took four of the initial 15 interviews to examine how respondents felt positioned in terms of gender, race, nationality, and ethnicity. The respondents were all hotel management students in London who had all recently returned from a one-year placement in a hotel as part of their degree requirement. During their placement, they had either worked as a receptionist or as a chambermaid. They found that workers have to negotiate multiple identities as gender interlocks with race, ethnicity, and class. These identities are fluid, simultaneous, and shift according to context. For example, Amy, a white British trainee who worked as a chambermaid, reported feeling alienated by her predominately Portuguese co-workers. They did not speak English to her, and she reported they believe that all English women are “tarts,” or

loose. The authors also include Pauline, a Jamaican woman in her 40s who was the first Black receptionist in an exclusive five-star hotel. She did not report conflict with the chambermaids (which her employers were concerned would happen), but she did report incidents of hostility and discrimination from white guests. The authors argue that what both Amy and Pauline demonstrate is that hotel workers bring multiple positions to their work based on race, nationality, gender, and class, all of which impact their experiences with management, guests, and co-workers.

The literature on the impacts of housekeeping work also delve into what some call emotional and embodied labor (Dyer et al, 2010). Emotional labor, which was first coined by Arlie Russell Hochschild in 1983, encompasses several different ways in which workers are expected to project their emotions: 1) a requirement to perform certain emotions at work (e.g., service with a smile), 2) the work involved in being exposed to others' emotions at work (either customers or co-workers), and 3) work that requires the interpretation of others' emotions at work and to provoke emotional reactions from workers (Dyer et al, 2010). Embodied labor involves the racialized and gendered segmentation in labor markets that devalues work as it becomes indistinguishable from the bodies that perform it. The embodied worker acts through what Dyer et al (2010) call "dual interpellation" (pg. 637); managers and customers construct and act on imaginaries of idealized workers, and the workers themselves then respond.

Dyer et al (2010) note a form of emotional labor required from housekeepers that operate at the intersections of race, class, nationality, and migration status: invisibility. They interviewed hotel workers at a hotel in West London about their work experiences and their relationships with management, co-workers, and guests. Housekeepers are required to make themselves docile, deferent, and "invisible" to hotel guests (Dyer et al, 2010, pg. 2010). The authors argue

that the expectation of invisibility is a form of emotional labor because it requires the management of the workers' own feelings and the manipulation of others. Although housekeepers generally clean rooms while the guests are not there, they are often present in public spaces, in corridors and function rooms. During these times, housekeepers are required to be as unobtrusive as possible and to control their own emotions when hotel guests ignore them (Dyer et al, 2010). Invisibility is also a form of embodied labor that renders women's bodies as non-threatening and unremarkable. The authors attribute workers' sentiments about invisibility, which they describe as rather unpleasant, to their ethnic whiteness; their whiteness marks them as invisible (Dyer et al, 2010).

Powell and Watson (2006) gathered qualitative and quantitative data on hotel room attendants in hotels in Cardiff, Wales. The authors conducted survey questionnaires with 64 room attendants from 12 hotels. This was followed by qualitative interviews with 6 room attendants and 4 head housekeepers. All respondents were women. The authors note the invisibility of hotel work, which impacts hotel room attendants in various ways. Most women in this study did not receive tips from hotel guests. However, a head housekeeper remembered that room attendants, when the hotel was under different ownership, were allowed to identify themselves with a signed welcome card, and their number of tips increased (Powell and Watson, 2006, pg. 301). Respondents in this study described their work as hard, tiring, low paid, repetitive, and as "dirty work," (Powell and Watson, 2006, pg. 302-303). Furthermore, the nature of hotel work, particularly the invisibility and independence (room attendants typically work alone in their own sections) leaves many women susceptible to unwanted attention from guests, including an attempted sexual assault that one head housekeeper recalled during an interview (Powell and Watson, 2006, pg. 303). Although the hotels do have some security

measures in place to protect room attendants, the authors note that some guests are affected by their freedom from the constraints of home, which can put room attendants in an unsafe space. What these findings suggest is a work environment that poses many physical and emotional risks to workers.

A notable deficiency in the literature on the neoliberal hospitality industry is an emphasis on hotel work. An examination of the literature on work and family in the hospitality industry yields a plethora of literature on the hotel industry specifically. While the literature on hotel work in the neoliberal era is substantial –and a focus on hotel work is understandable considering it is a highly structured, standardized industry – the failure to discuss the experience of bartenders, food servers, retail employees, cooks, and others outside the hospitality industry leaves something to be desired in an examination of such a large, nuanced industry.

Mothering and “Disposability” in the Rise of the Service Sector

The shift from a strong manufacturing sector to a service sector economy has significantly increased the supply of low-wage jobs in developed countries like the United States. With this increase in low-wage, service sector employment, a feminization of the job supply has concentrated women in these positions. Sassen (1999) argues that as off-shore production has created a feminized manufacturing workforce in less developed countries, the presence of service sector work in the United States and other developed countries has led to an economic polarization between highly paid professionals and the low-wage workers who must clean their offices and bathrooms, cook in the kitchens of their favorite restaurants, and raise their children. Furthermore, immigration trends aid in developing a steady supply of low-wage service work, which is heavily reliant on Third World women (Sassen, 1999).

The feminization of the low-wage, service sector has been facilitated by the symbiotic relationship between global cities and global survival circuits (Sassen, 2012). Global cities of developed countries, serving as global nodes of control in the service industry, rely on a surplus supply of low-wage work. Global survival circuits, which typically originate in less developed countries, provide the supply. Primarily comprised of women, global survival circuits formulate through the entrance of women from less developed countries into developed countries for work. The remittances they send to support their families back home help to sustain the economy of their home countries. As a result, their home countries become reliant on these remittances and further facilitate the entrance of women into the U.S. to enter low-wage, service sector work (Sassen, 1999). This concentration of non-white, foreign-born women in a surplus labor force is not an unforeseen consequence, but is a deliberate use of immigration policy and economic polarization of the service industry (Sassen, 1999; Marchand and Runyan, 2010; Sassen, 2012).

Although Sassen (2012) provides an important contribution to the politics of gender that shape immigration policies and the gendered dynamics of the service sector, there are still questions of how gender and class intersect with the politics of race. First, the process that Sassen (2012) describes, while highly gendered and classed, is also highly racialized. Second, her analysis raises further questions about the position of U.S-born women of color in the feminization of the service sector. Even though Sassen (1999) argues that the politicization of “native women” influences the need for immigrant labor, this concept of “native” fails to recognize the racial dynamics that intersect with gender to inform the experience of U.S.-born women of color.

The literature on immigration and labor at the intersections of race, gender, and class have produced important literature on women and manufacturing in the Third World.

Manufacturing industries on the U.S-Mexico border are highly feminized industries where women are recruited. Leslie Salzinger (2003), in her ethnographic study of several factories in Ciudad Juárez, argues that gender is *produced*; factory work is constructed as an occupation that is especially suited to women. In one factory she observed, for instance, women worked in a panopticon-like structure where their backs were turned towards the aisles. The use of the panopticon served to monitor and regulate their labor, and thus maintain control through constant surveillance both by management, and by the workers themselves (i.e., through the knowledge that management could be looking over their shoulder).

Extending on this work, Muñoz (2007) in her book *Transnational Tortillas: Race, Gender, and Shop-Floor Politics in Mexico and the United States*, conducted an ethnographic study of a bi-national tortilla factory located in Baja California, México, and in California state. Muñoz observed shop floor politics and interviews workers at both sites, and also interviewed management. Like Salzinger (2003), Muñoz (2007) also found that work for the tortilla factory was also highly gendered. In Baja California, factory work was constructed as particularly suited to women, whereas in California state it was constructed as a masculine occupation. Melissa Wright (2006), in her ethnographic study of production factories in Ciudad Juárez and China, uncovered a discourse among factory management, which she termed “the myth of disposability.” Wright (2006) observed the inner workings of the shop floor and interviewed workers and their employers about management practices, the factory’s sense of responsibility for femicide on the border, and the ability of women to organize for labor rights on the shop floor. Employers in her study, who specifically recruited young women to work in the factory, believed that with time, the demands of work in the factory would turn their bodies into a form of human waste. Eventually, the profits of a woman’s labor will decrease as her body

deteriorates from her working conditions, and she will be forced to leave the factory. When this happens, there will be new, younger women waiting in line to take her place (Wright, 2007).

Barbara Ehrenreich (2000) had similar findings in her ethnographic study of a cleaning service company in the United States. Ehrenreich (2000) found employment as a maid for a popular cleaning service. Through participant observation of her own work for this company, and interviews with workers and employers, Ehrenreich describes in rich detail the repetitive and physically draining labor of cleaning affluent homes. She found that this strict and regimented routine was not meant to be performed on a long-term basis. In fact, during an interview, her employer admitted without much hesitation that cleaning work is not meant to be performed in the long-term, which is why she was comfortable with the company's high turnover rate. These findings, similar to Wright (2007), indicate that employers may *prefer* high turnover rates to ensure a steady supply of low-wage, exploitable labor.

Grace Chang (2000) extends this discussion of disposability through a focus on the immigration and social welfare policies that facilitate the entrance of foreign-born workers into the United States and trap them in low-wage labor. Chang (2000) argues that immigration policies facilitate the entrance of workers into the U.S., while a public rhetoric of "invasion" is used to deny them access to public assistance. Through an analysis of immigration and welfare policies, Chang (2000) argues that structural adjustment programs encouraged by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank actually induce and perpetuate poverty in developing countries. Women who reside there must then leave their home countries, and sometimes their children, and move to the United States in search of employment. When they arrive, they are only able to find low-wage employment. Moreover, they find that they comprise a surplus labor force, and thus they are easily expendable if they challenge their working

conditions. Their membership in a surplus labor force makes them easily exploitable. Chang (2000) contributes to another important finding that sheds light on the intricate ways in which women of color are concentrated in a surplus labor force. Immigration policy, she argues, works in tandem with social welfare policies to further trap women in low-wage, service sector employment by limiting, if not eliminating, access to social welfare and other public resources such as health care and education.

The use of immigration policy and exploitative labor practices to create a disposable labor force has also changed patterns and conceptions of mothering among immigrant women of color. The development of global cities and global survival circuits means that many women must live away from their children in order to support them. Fresnoza-Flot (2009) conducted in-depth interviews with Filipina migrant mothers working in the domestic service sector in and around Paris. She found several consequences of migration, including prolonged stays in France (most women only intend to stay a few years but end up staying longer), emotional difficulties due to separation from family, and distant mother-child relationships in which their children become close to the “other mothers” caring for them in the Philippines (e.g., aunts, cousins, or grandmothers). Undocumented women in this study faced further challenges because they cannot easily visit their families back home (Fresnoza-Flot, 2009).

The literature on gender, labor, and disposability largely focuses on women from the Global South. This literature has accomplished a great deal in articulating how neoliberal economic restructuring intersections with social policies such as immigration policy to develop a surplus of low-wage, disposable labor. Although most of the women in this study are not from the Global South, this literature can still help shed light on their experiences in the hospitality industry. As will be seen in the findings of this study, for example, many women experienced

similar restructuring of their families due to a lack of safety nets and a poor economy. The literature on work, gender, and labor in the Global South demonstrates how a demand for low-wage labor facilitated the experiences that women in the current study reported.

Work-Family Management in the Hospitality Industry

There is a dearth of literature on work and family in the hospitality industry. Since much of the literature on work-family management often focuses on middle-class, professional women, studies on work and mothering in low-wage service industries is lacking. Much of the literature that does exist on work-family management in the hospitality industry comes from business and hospitality-related research. Magnini (2009), in his examination of the literature on work-family conflict (WFC) in the hospitality industry, argues that employers who do not monitor levels of WFC in their workplaces will see decreased employee performance, job dissatisfaction, lateness, absenteeism, and high turnover. He suggests several measures for employees to consider in order to maintain efficient productivity such as making the demands clear to potential hires during the interview process, and offering trainings for managers to help their employees balance work and family (Magnini, 2009). Karatepe and Magaji (2008) found something similar in their examination of work-family conflict in the hotel industry in Abuja, Nigeria. The investigators found that negative affectivity in the workplace intensifies work-family conflict and family-work conflict. High levels of conflict reduce commitment to the workplace, and increases employee turnover. Cleveland et al (2007) conducted focus groups and semi-structured interviews with new entrants into the hotel industry, managers, and their spouses. They found that long, unpredictable hours contribute to individual and family-level stress.

What studies like these have in common is the recognition that the hospitality industry does, in fact, make it difficult to balance work and family. The literature in the business and

hospitality research fields do contribute important findings in their recognition that long hours, and poor management, can create unnecessary conflict among hospitality workers and their families. While it is an important step to recognize work-family conflict and create measures to reduce it, the business literature frames the issue as one of worker productivity. A result of neoliberal economic restructuring has contributed to a belief that the primary concern of business owners and the state should be the accumulation of wealth for the economic elite. When worker health and safety is constructed as an issue of the company bottom line, and not of occupational health, the literature risks reinforcing the very neoliberal structures that contribute to work-family conflict.

Some studies have tried to frame the issue of work-family balance as a labor justice issue. Liladrie (2008, 2010) interviewed six immigrant women of color who worked in a multinational hotel in Canada. All participants rated their health as “excellent” before they working for the hotel, and “poor or fair” currently. The women she interviewed reported having musculoskeletal disorders such as carpal tunnel syndrome (Liladrie, 2008, 2010). For example, the women recounted direct impacts on their families. The women reported the break-up of marriages because of long and unpredictable hours, which included weekends and holidays. Fatigue after coming home was also a common experience, which affected what they did at home and how they participated in community events. Others reported having to miss their children’s plays and basketball games because of their work hours, which strained the relationship they had with their children. One woman also reported that, due to chronic pain, it was difficult for her to care for her children when she came home, such as cooking dinner for them (Liladrie, 2008, 2010). Although mothering was not the focus of her study, Liladrie (2010) demonstrates a need for studies that focus on the impacts of hotel housekeeping work on conceptions and enactments of

mothering. Like the literature on work-family, the work on work-family management in the hospitality industry tends to focus on the hotel industry. Hospitality work, however, encompasses much more than the hotel industry. Thus, this study broadens its scope on mothering to include other occupations in the hospitality industry such as food service, bartending, and kitchen work.

Chapter Three

Methodology

Research Design and Research Questions

Research Design

This study was a phenomenological examination of the experience of women with children working in the hospitality industry. The purpose of this study was to understand the decisions women make for their families, and how they assign meaning to their role as mothers in the hospitality industry. From September 2012 until March 2014, I conducted a qualitative, phenomenological study on the experiences of women with children working in the hospitality industry in Seattle and New Orleans. Women who qualified for this study met two criteria: raising minor children (18 years of age), biological or otherwise and worked in a non-management position in the hospitality industry. Participant recruitment for this study began in September 2012. I conducted semi-structured, qualitative interviews in New Orleans from September 2012 until December 2013. I conducted interviews in Seattle from May 2013 until August 2013, and in December 2013. Interviews were conducted either face-to-face or over the phone and lasted anywhere from thirty minutes to an hour. The interviews asked questions about their experiences as mothers, their experiences at work, and the decisions they make when having to balance work and family.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this study were:

1. How do women with children make the decision to enter the hospitality industry?
 - a. What brings them into hospitality work?

- b. How does their work influence their ability to be the kind of mother they want to be for their children?
 - c. What options are available to women to challenge working conditions (e.g., unions or other social justice organizations)?
- 2. How do mothering ideologies influence their work decisions in the hospitality industry?
 - a. How do women in the hospitality industry define being a “good” mother?
 - b. How do women in the hospitality industry make decisions about mothering? How does work in the hospitality industry influence their decisions?
 - c. Are other resources available to women in the hospitality industry such as public assistance, housing, Medicaid, and/or food stamps?
- 3. How does being a mother impact women’s experiences in the workplace?
 - a. How do visible signs of mothering, such as pregnancy, impact their experiences in the hospitality industry?
 - b. How does being a mother impact their experiences with their supervisors and co-workers?
 - c. How does being a mother impact their experiences with customers?
 - d. Does being a mother intersect with other social positionalities such as race, gender, class, and sexuality?

Seattle and New Orleans as Study Sites

This study began as a comparative study of the structure of tourism and hospitality labor in Seattle, Washington and New Orleans, Louisiana. However, as a result of the challenges to participant recruitment (which will be discussed later in the chapter), I made the decision to drop the comparison but maintain both Seattle and New Orleans as study sites. While there can be

drawbacks to a comparative design, particularly the difficulty to study any site in depth, focusing on two cities provided a richness of data that could not be achieved through an in-depth focus on one city. While comparative studies are typically performed to compare differences between two groups, what enriched the data from this comparison was how Seattle and New Orleans were similar. Seattle and New Orleans, politically and economically, are very different cities. They have different relationships with labor and unionization, the 2008 economic recession impacted them differently (Seattle fared much better), and the culture of social justice organizing in each city is much different.

As a result, companies that want to profit from the tourism industry in either city are navigating two very different political and economic contexts. What is most striking about the comparison, however, is not how both cities are different, but rather how they are similar. Considering the different political economic context each city's tourism industry exists within, it was striking how similar the participants' experiences were in Seattle and New Orleans. The themes that emerged from their interviews were similar for women in both cities. There were some differences. Food servers in Seattle, for example, earn the state minimum wage (\$9.19/hour) while servers in New Orleans earn the server minimum wage (\$2.13/hour). Seattle also has a higher union density at approximately 15 percent. Yet, despite these differences, women with children in the hospitality industry reported similar experiences. Their similarities offer important insight into the impacts of neoliberal economic restructuring in urban tourism economies.

Study Sample and Participant Recruitment

Study Sample

I interviewed 20 women who worked in the hospitality industry in tourism districts of Seattle and New Orleans. Half of the interviews were conducted in Seattle, and half were conducted in New Orleans. 11 of the women I interviewed worked in “front-of-the-house” positions such as food service, bartending, or as a hostess. The remaining nine worked in “back-of-the-house” positions such as hotel housekeeping, or kitchen work. Half of the women were White, the other half were women of color. 7 of the women were non U.S.-born. The participants had an average of 2 children. The most children any of the participants reported were 6.

Figure 1 shows the racial and ethnic demographics of the study participants. Half of the participants in this study were White and half were women of color. Furthermore, most of the participants were born in the United States (see Figure 2). Following U.S.-born participants, several of the women in this study were born in Latin American countries, specifically Mexico and Honduras. Finally, Figure 3 reveals racial and ethnic divides in “front-of-the-house” and “back-of-the-house” occupations. Front-of-the-house work includes occupations such as food service, bartending, hosting, front desk work. Among the participants in this study, the majority of women in front-of-the-house work were White women. Three women of color worked in front-of-the-house positions. Back-of-the-house works refers to those occupations with less visibility. This includes hotel housekeeping, cooks, and other kitchen workers. Among the participants, most back-of-the-house workers were women of color, specifically Latina and Black women. Thus, what Figure 3 shows is that White women in this study were concentrated in front-of-the-house positions while women of color were concentrated in back-of-the-house positions. While this is a qualitative study and these findings are not statistically significant, they are consistent with what other studies have found about race, gender and labor in the low-

wage service industry; jobs with lower wages and decreased visibility are largely occupied by non-white, non U.S-born women (Chang, 2000; Seifert and Messing, 2006; Sassen, 2012).

Figure 1. Race and Ethnicity of Study Participants

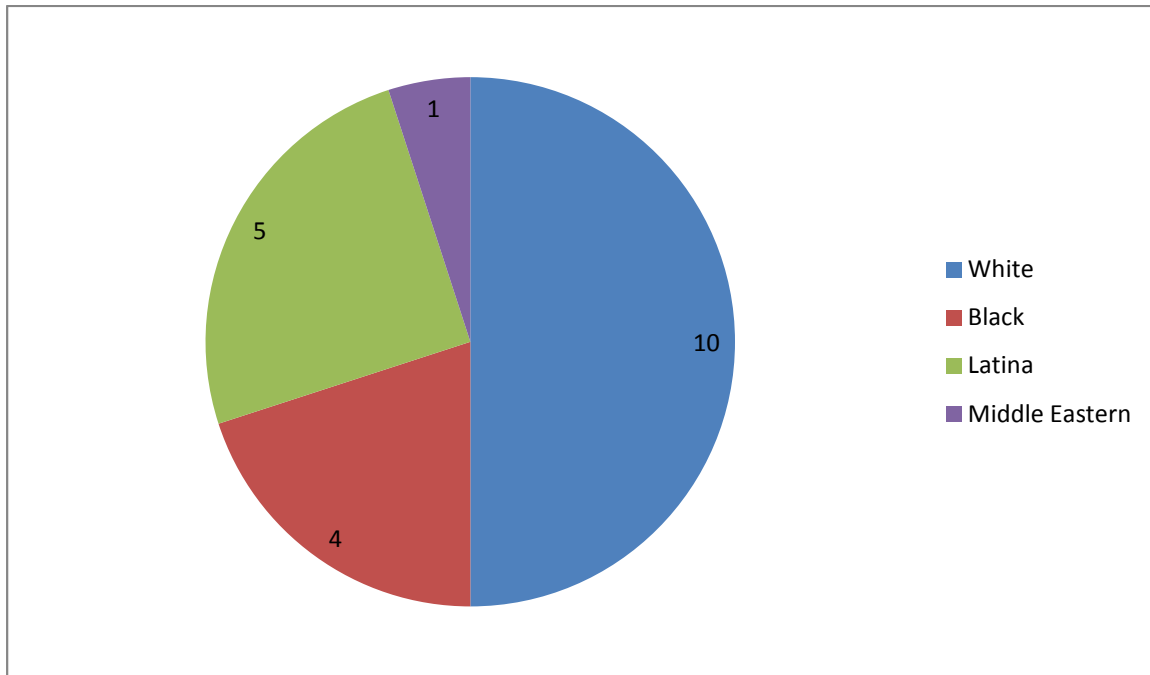


Figure 2. Country of Origin

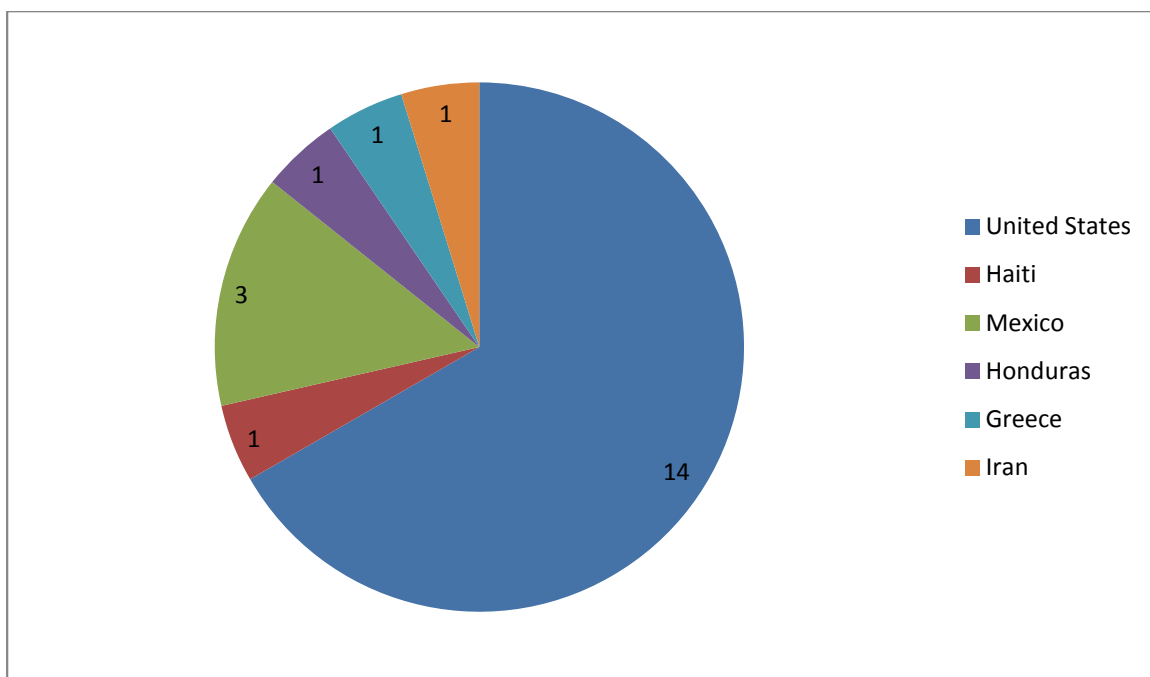
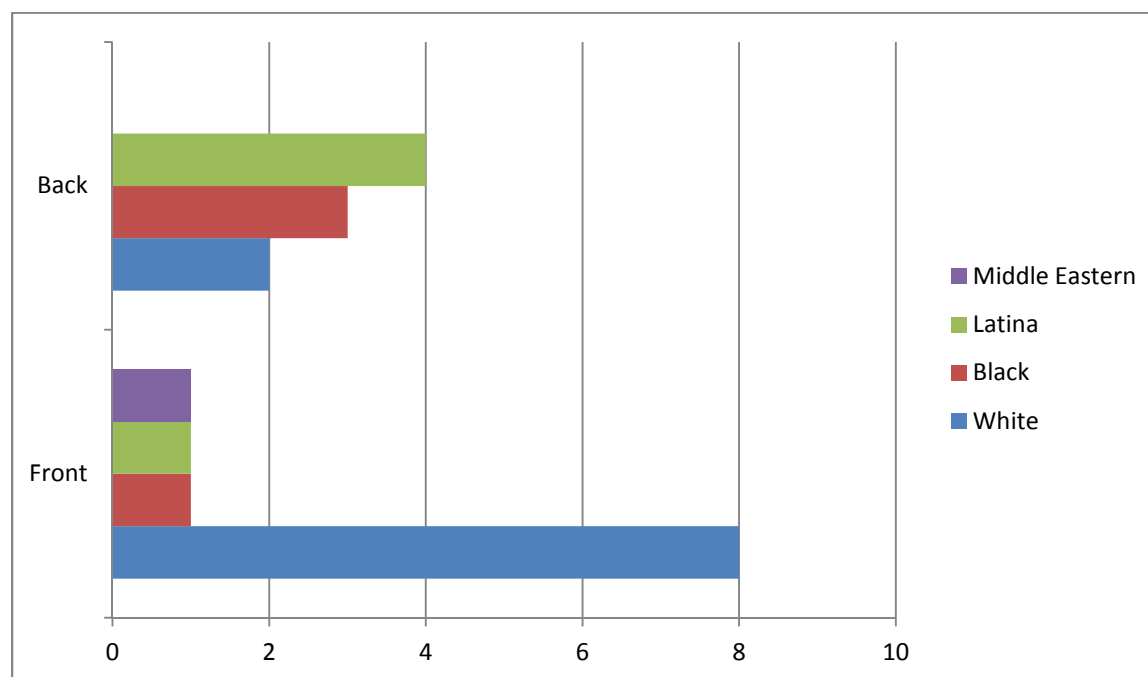


Table 1. Front-of-the-House and Back-of-the-House Occupations by Race and Ethnicity



Participant Recruitment

I used several different methods to recruit participants for this study. First, I had contacts with a labor union that had locals in both Seattle and New Orleans. Their organizers helped introduce me to workers. I attended events the union organized as well as their organizing meetings to introduce myself to workers. In Seattle, I accompanied a union organizer on a worksite visit to meet hotel housekeepers. Second, particularly in New Orleans, I contacted friends and acquaintances who worked in the service industry. They introduced me to their co-workers and others they knew who fit my study criteria. Finally, I visited local restaurants and bars in both cities and inquired about study participants. I did not use this latter method with hotel workers or other less visible occupations in the hospitality industry. Once these initial contacts were made, I used snowball sampling to recruit more participants. Table 1 provides the pseudonyms, and other demographic information of the women interviewed for this study.

Challenges in Participant Recruitment

Participant recruitment in this study presented several challenges that I did not anticipate going into the study. I include them here because, as someone who is trying to understand raising a family as a hospitality worker, I found these challenges in participant recruitment revealing. For example, in my visits to local restaurants and bars I found that, on average, there were not many mothers who work there. Although, I was still able to obtain rich data on their experiences, the lack of women with children working in these occupations was striking.

Semi-Structured Interviews

I conducted qualitative, semi-structured interviews with mothers who worked in hospitality in the tourism districts of Seattle, Washington and New Orleans, Louisiana. Interviews were conducted either face-to-face or over the phone and lasted approximately one hour. Most of the interviews took place in a public place such as a nearby coffee shop. Some of the restaurant workers and bartenders preferred to be interviewed at the restaurant after their shift. The other face-to-face interviews took place in their homes. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed, and all participants were given a consent letter that I read aloud to them before the interview began. For the participants I spoke with over the phone, I either emailed the consent form to them, or I mailed a hard copy to their home, depending on what they preferred. The interviews asked experience-based questions about their families, motherhood, and work. The interview schedule is included in the appendices.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Phenomenology is an experience-based method that seeks to understand the “essence” of a particular phenomenon through an examination of how participants assign meaning to their experiences (Creswell, 2007). In this study, the “phenomenon” being explored women’s experience with mothering and family as workers in the hospitality industry.

Coding, Horizontalization, and Clustering

For this study, inductive coding was used to analyze the data. Inductive coding allows the findings to emerge from the stories of the women I interviewed. The interviews were coded for all key words or phrases that spoke to women’s experience in the hospitality industry. The codes revealed three themes in this study: 1) Decision making, mothering principles, and constraints; 2) mobility; and 3) motherhood markers. The women in this study were highly reliant on kin networks to care for their children; few had their children enrolled in formal daycares. The first theme is the finding that women in the hospitality industry make decisions for their children at the intersection of their mothering principles, economic constraints, and social stigma attached to their labor, their bodies, and their children. The second theme, mobility, refers to the idea that the decisions the participants made for their children are marked by mobility. This can mean moving from job to job, moving through institutional barriers, or relocating to another neighborhood, city, state, or country in order to best care for their children. The third theme, which I call “motherhood markers,” refers to motherhood being a way that women in this study were “marked,” or stigmatized in the workplace. The themes were generated inductively from the data, using the phenomenological method of horizontalization

(Creswell, 2007). In this latter step, I listed every significant statement in all the interviews that spoke to the codes. The third step in phenomenological data analysis is clustering (Creswell, 2007). In this step, I clustered the above codes into themes or meaning units and removed any overlapping or repetitive statements. In other words, once I had listed all statements that were significant to the codes listed above, I clustered them based on common themes or meanings that I found between them. Tale 1 provides a list of the themes and codes that were generated through this process.

Table 2. Data Analysis Themes and Codes

Decision Making, Mothering Principles, and Constraints	Spouses Boyfriends Girlfriends Parents Siblings Extended Family (e.g., cousins) In-laws Economic Viability Stigma Race/Ethnicity Gender
Mobility	Scheduling Neighborhood Residence Safety Nets and Supports Extended Kin Networks
Motherhood Markers	Race/Ethnicity Gender Pregnancy Motherhood Organizational Support

Validity

This study used four different measures of validity. First, I used “member checking” (Creswell, 2009, pg. 191). Member checking entails bringing the findings to the participants through follow-up interviews, focus groups, or other ways to discuss what you found with the

participants. I sent copies of the transcripts to the participants. Those that responded expressed some concern over how they sounded. Reading a transcript can be a bit like hearing one's own voice on a recording, and some expressed concern that they might appear ignorant in the final report. I ensured them that they would not and that I would clean up the transcript in the final report. I also intend to send them copies of the final report to those who wish to read it.

The second measure of validity I used in this study is personal bracketing (Creswell, 2009). The interview process has allowed me to make observations of their workplaces, their homes, and the areas they work in. As discussed in the data analysis procedures, I am a woman of color and was raised by a single mother who worked in low-wage service labor. Thus, it is important for me to be constantly aware of how my racial, gendered, and classed position informs how I interpret my findings. Throughout the final report, I document how my personal background comes into the research. Finally, Creswell (2009) argues that real life includes a variety of perspectives that do not always coalesce. Therefore, in order to add to the credibility of my account, I present discrepant information from the participants that run counter to the themes that emerged from the data.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study to consider. First, there is the decision to conduct the study in two cities. Focusing on two cities did not allow me to look at any particular city in-depth. Second, while I used some ethnographic methods (e.g., field notes), time and resources did not allow for prolonged participant observations. Thus, my findings provide a more cross-sectional look at the lives of the women in this study and their interactions with their children. I do not have data that allows me to draw findings as their children get older or as workplace policies and city-level leadership changes.

Significance

This study provides a significant contribution to the literature on women and work-family management. Specifically, what my findings suggest is that the ways in which we currently discuss work-family management does not really fit the lives of the women in my study. That is, since the literature on work-family management often focuses on middle-class White women, the resulting narrative of work and family is often told from a middle-class White perspective. Furthermore, when low-income women and women of color are included in the discussion, the typical “second shift” narrative is applied to their lives. Instead, as my study suggests, when it comes to women in the low-wage service sector, it is necessary to construct a new narrative. The decision to work, for the women in my study, was not really a decision. Thus, my study contributes a new way to discuss work and family that comes from the lived experience of working-class and low-income women.

Role as a Researcher

As a social scientist studying a line of work I have no previous exposure to, it is important to place myself within this study to understand how my own background and personal experiences might impact how I interpret my findings. I am a woman of color raised by a single mother, who immigrated to the United States from Ethiopia in 1971 to marry my father, a middle-class White man who grew up in the rural town of Eatonville, Washington. During the first years of my childhood, my mother was a stay-at-home mom, while my dad worked as a Certified Public Accountant (CPA) for Wards Cove Packing Company. After my parents divorced in 1991, and our class status moved drastically downward, my mom had to start working to care for myself and my younger sister, who has autism. Currently, my mom works as an in-home caregiver for a Seattle-based caregiving agency. As we were growing up, however,

she worked cleaning houses and churches. Before she re-entered the workforce to care for us, she had decided to be a stay-at-home mom. Before having children, she had a long career in food service, which she still speaks fondly of. She was good at what she did, and worked in upscale restaurants in downtown Seattle such as Rainier Club and Casey's at the Olympic Hotel. As an African woman in the 1970s for whom English was a second language, this was no easy feat. As much as she loved food service, she did not return to it when she and my father divorced because she still wanted to be a "stay-at-home" mom as much as she possibly could. Since my sister is low-spectrum autistic, she felt being home was necessary. The hours that food service requires doesn't always allow for this. I mention this here because I often see my mother in my interviews with women in the hospitality industry. Being raised by a woman who is so similarly situated with the women in this study, it was important for me to bracket my personal reactions throughout my analysis, which I did primarily through journaling. Although my academic privilege does not make me an "insider" to these women's lives, I do bring myself and my history into the research process constantly.

Chapter Four

Mothering through Constraints: Work Decisions as Mothering Decisions

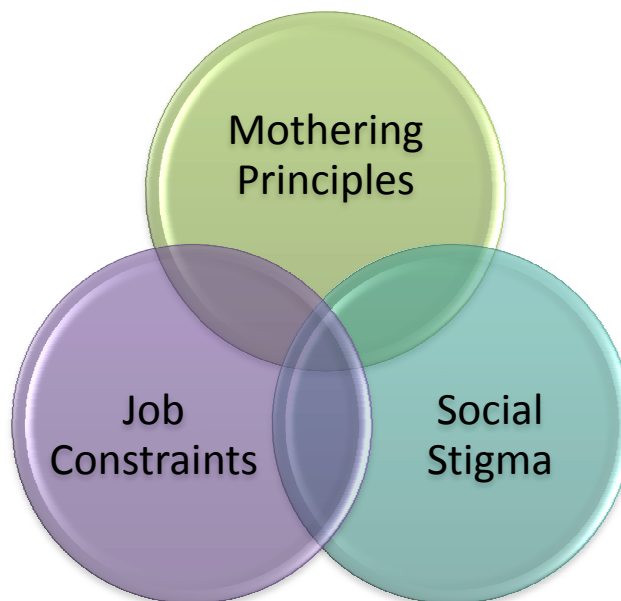
The decisions women in the hospitality industry make for their families require a constant navigation of constraints. Working mothers in the hospitality industry must constantly weigh the needs of their children with their own mothering principles, the limitations that hospitality work places on them, and the stigmas associated with their work. This chapter focuses on how the participants assigned meaning to good mothering, their parenting decisions, and the various constraints they had to navigate as they raised their children. What their stories of mothering had in common was that work decisions were mothering decisions. For the women in this study, mothering and work were not separate spheres, which is in significant contrast to the literature on work-family management. For the women in this study, when they were working, they were mothering.

Furthermore, the women in this study made decisions for their children based on a variety of limitations and constraints. Their occupations came with constraints that women in higher wage, professional positions often do not encounter. This includes, but is not limited to, wages (and the options available to them as a result of their wages) as well as a lack of flexibility in negotiating their hours. The participants also encountered various forms of stigma associated with their work. Since hospitality occupations are socially degraded occupations, many of the women in this study reported judgment socially and institutionally as they raised their families. Along with the constraints of their job and stigma, however, the women in this study also made very principled decisions for their families. That is, the participants had their own ideas of what a good mother looks like, and the decisions they made for their children were largely influenced by the standards of “good” mothering that they set for themselves. What this study found is that

as mothers made decisions for their children, they had to navigate their mothering principles with the constraints of their work and the stigmas associated with their work. Their decisions occurred at the intersections of these three spheres (see Figure 3).

Moreover, the decisions the participants made for their children were largely characterized by mobility. The participants moved from job to job, moved within their current occupations (even when it was healthier for them to be still), and had to move ideologically through the tension between their mothering principles, their mothering decisions, and social constructions of “good” mothering in dominant society. Their work and parenting decisions required constant physical and ideological movement that stemmed from constraints.

Figure 3. Mothering through Constraints



The first section of this chapter looks at the work decisions the participants in this study make with regards to their mothering principles. Their responses about their mothering principles and “good” mothering had three components: 1) survival and perseverance, 2) raising good, productive children was a contribution to society, and 3) their work decisions were

parenting decisions. The participants did not discuss work decisions, or their decisions about balancing work and family, as being separate from their parenting decisions. For them, the two were intertwined. While some women did describe guilt about working, which will be discussed in this section, they still describe their decisions as being in the best interest of their children. While they did give individual-level responses about their parenting decisions, the intent of this section is not to negate the structural barriers in the ways they see fit. Rather, the purpose of this section is to operationalize “mothering principles” in order to give context to the significant barriers women in the hospitality industry encounter.

The second section of this chapter examines the job constraints that the women in this study encountered. Although the women in this study discuss their decisions as individual choices, the structure of hospitality work puts several constraints on the options available to them. The decisions that the participants make within these economic constraints are closely tied to their mothering principles. The participants constantly move through these constraints in order to make decisions that they feel are in the best interest of their children. Their decisions are marked by their constant movement. The third section examines the role of social stigma in the participants’ parenting decisions. They possess mothering bodies that work in bars, restaurants, and hotels. To some, their work in the hospitality industry is seen as being in conflict with “good” mothering. As a result, the women in this study reported experiences that ranged from awkward or demeaning encounters to more serious consequences such as losing custody of their children.

“But I do this for her”: “Good” Mothering as a Hospitality Worker

The ways the participants described good mothering and their mothering principles had three components. First, their stories demonstrated survival and perseverance. Rather than a

structural critique, the participants provided a description of their mothering practices and “good” mothering that argued achieving stability for their family was something they would have to figure out for themselves. Second, the participants described the purpose of their mothering practices as ensuring that their children became what Leeny called “productive citizens.” Whether through an emphasis on education and advancement, or respecting their children’s individuality, the participants interpreted their role as preparing their children to be good, productive people. Finally, the women in this study did not see their work in the hospitality industry as being in conflict with their duties to their children, but rather one of the tools they utilize to achieve their goals for their children.

When asked what it takes to be a good mother, the women in this study responded most often with patience, endurance, and giving their children all of themselves. Chris, a cook who recently moved to Texas after working in New Orleans for many years, described good mothering this way,

Chris (C): [...] Endurance and passion, I mean, if it’s not something you really want, then you’re going into it afraid or whatever. I don’t know, different women have children for different reasons. I can’t say for them what it is, but just for me it’s giving the child everything you have, like, you know, whether you do it with your job [...] you have children, you just give them all of your heart, your energy, and your care. If anything else, you know, you just care.

AH: Okay. Well, can you elaborate on what you meant by endurance?

C: Being able to keep going no matter how tired you are. Because they always need something, whether it’s emotional, physical, or financial, something with money, you have to just be able to keep pushing every day. And unlike for some parents, I really couldn’t imagine how hard it is, I’m lucky enough to have help. You know, his father is so involved, you know, I just couldn’t imagine doing it by myself.

Valentina, a hotel housekeeper in downtown Seattle, responded in a similar way,

[...] para ser mamá necesitas en verdad tener mucho paciencia, y pues sí, conocer gente que te puede ayudar un poco, porque así le hace falta a veces.

[...] to be a mother you really need to have a lot of patience, and yeah, know people that can help you a little, because sometimes it [mothering] lacks.

The participants understood mothering as something they could not necessarily do on their own and utilized the people around them to help them mother their children. These extended networks of help were what made “patience” and “endurance” possible for them. What they are recognizing in their reports of good mothering is that raising children comes with many personal challenges. For many women working in the low-wage service sector, extended kin networks are their primary source for childcare. Since formal childcare is costly and employers do not offer childcare, working class and working poor women often have to utilize informal childcare options such as family members (Weigt and Solomon, 2008). In the absence of structural supports for childcare, many of the women in this study had to utilize informal childcare in order to work. Their mothering principles, then, were informed by the knowledge that mothering is something that can be done collectively.

In describing what good mothering meant for their children, most women’s responses included making their children productive citizens, respecting their individuality and wanting them to be happy, and wanting their children to achieve upward mobility. Emily, a woman who immigrated from Greece and tends her brother’s bar part-time on Bourbon Street, said that she wanted to emulate her own parents,

[...] they give us a lot of things to be good persons in our lives when they raised us up, and I want to give [my daughter] to understand these things, that you have to be a good person so you can attract good things in your life. And my parents are very (inaudible) with freedom to do whatever you want, but if you want to do something you have to love it first to do it, and they’re always with us trying to explain something, because we are not living in the best world you can live. So they went us at school, whatever we asked, they have it for us, simple things.

Kitten, a bartender in the French Quarter and mother of one son, said something similar to Emily. Her response paralleled a common response among many of the participants,

There's a lot of stress in having children but then what's the reward out of it? Well, when they smile, and you see they're happy and they're well-adjusted, and they get along well socially. They're making things out of their life. I guess it's that contribution, like, giving back to the community somehow that whatever good you have in yourself that maybe you can help instill into your child and that will carry on socially to where maybe they'll help someone else, they'll bring joy to others, and somehow the planet will be a little bit better of a place, because of your part, because of their part, you know, all working together.

The women in this study see themselves as preparing their children for the world.

Particularly, women with older children expressed pride in their children's life choices. Like Emily and Kitten describe, there is a desire for their children to be individuals, but to also be good people who contribute something good to the world.

When asked about how their work impacts their ability to achieve these things for their children, I did not always get a structural critique of the hospitality industry. Some women did have ideas about what their workplaces could do to make it easier to raise children. Rose, a hostess at a hotel restaurant, wanted to see a childcare facility. Since she works for a large corporate hotel, she felt that they could afford to provide childcare for their employees. Carrie, a bartender in New Orleans, said that one of the disadvantages to working in the hospitality industry was a lack of benefits. She works in the service industry now since her son is a toddler. When he reaches school-age, however, she hopes to find a job outside the industry that offers benefits. Ruth, a bartender and server in New Orleans, said that servers need to make federal minimum wage. The server minimum wage, \$2.13 per hour, is not enough to support a family. Many of the participants, however, saw the responsibility of balancing work and family as being their own. Their work decisions were mothering decisions, and they interpreted their work obligations as being their choice. Ann, for example, said,

It was never a problem as far as with my kids on nothing. Because my stability for my kids is my stability. And, my kids come first. My job comes second. So, it doesn't matter if I had to leave work and come back to work, that was fine. But I never had that to do. Because my kids

knew, mom at work, you know, understand what I'm saying? So I had no problem with my kids? I ain't had no problem with them.

Ann's response is similar to other women in this study. Jo, for example, said that her commute between Eatonville and Seattle (almost 2 hours one way) made her feel like she was not spending enough time with her daughter. When asked if there was anything her workplace could change, she replied that her decision to work in downtown Seattle was her choice. Kitten also responded in a similar way when she recounted how she found the bartending job in the French Quarter,

[Came to New Orleans] to work in the film industry. I tried to get on a crew, but it didn't happen. And I was stressing out because I needed money and so I just got this job and kind of fell into it. I liked it so I stayed with it. And then I got pregnant and was like, "Oh, I *need* this job" and then I lost it (laughs). And here I am again because it's a good schedule for having kids, really. So, at least for me, or my situation, so I'm glad to be back.

In losing her job, Kitten is referring to being fired once her employers found out she was pregnant (which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6). The decision to work is not a decision of whether or not to stay at home. Rather, the decision to work is a decision of what occupation will best allow them to raise their children in the ways they see fit. This is not to negate the structural issues of the hospitality industry. On the contrary, their discussion of their mothering principles as person is tied to the structural limitations of the hospitality industry. This is largely because, for the women in this study, work and family were not two separate spheres that needed to be balanced. Their work decisions were mothering decisions. Their acknowledgement that their mothering principles may differ from other women spoke to this understanding. For the women in this study, the decision to work was not a decision of whether to participate in paid labor or to stay-at-home. The work of scholars like Hochschild (2003) does not always take this into account. For women working in the low-wage hospitality industry, the option to stay-at-home is not available to them. Thus, their work decisions are decisions about

how to best meet the needs of their children; not an internal dilemma about whether to be a stay-at-home mother. Their emphasis on raising productive citizens, then, reveals that their work decisions not “choices,” but necessary in order to raise well-rounded children.

Hays (2003), in her study of women on public assistance during the transition to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), found something similar in her interviews. Many of her participants expressed frustration with the requirements of the welfare-to-work program, and other regulations that negatively impacted their ability to be at home with their children. For them, raising healthy, productive children was a contribution to society and felt that they should be allowed to stay home with their children if they wished. This was the initial justification for public assistance; to allow widows to be stay-at-home mothers. It wasn't until the passage of the Civil Rights Act that the discourse around social welfare shifted to something punitive and regulatory. Although Hays (2003) recognizes that most women on welfare do work, she raises the question of why they should be expected to spend so much time away from home and why their mothering is not seen as a contribution in the same way as middle-class, White mothering.

Only one of the participants reported ever being on public assistance. What their stories do contribute to Hays' (2003) discussion, however, is that they also saw their mothering as a societal contribution. While they did show strong work ethic and worked hard, they held raising children in equally high regard. Like the women in Hays' (2003) study, they also had to raise their children and live up to their mothering principles from within significant constraints. The emphasis on mothering in the age of welfare reform was an important discussion. At the same time that the Clinton administration emphasized the importance of family, the administration also made it more difficult to raise a family through increased regulations and the welfare-to-

work program (Hays, 2003; Marchevsky and Theoharis, 2007). What this study demonstrates is that working class and working poor women who do not utilize public assistance continue to encounter these same tensions in contradictions as they try to live up to their own mothering principles. Their mothering principles, that work and family are not separate spheres, indicate the work is one strategy they utilize in raising healthy, productive children. Their children are as much a contribution to the world as their labor.

There were several women, however, who did report feeling guilt about the hours they spent working or commuting during the day. Others expressed that there is an initial challenge in finding the balance between work and family when they first go back to work. Both Chris and Lucy, for example, reported that there is some tension in balancing work and family. Chris reported that she was sometimes short with her son when she first went back to work. She said, however, that after about six months, she got better. Lucy also reported feeling some initial guilt about being a working mother when her daughter was younger. However, she overcame that guilt with time. Sophia also reported feeling guilty at times for the hours she spent working and attending school. She justified it, however, by demonstrating how even her time away is to her daughter's benefit,

Yeah, I feel bad because I don't, you know, get to see her that much and when I do, when I am home, you know, it's like, she gets really clingy and, you know [...] But, yeah, it makes me feel bad sometimes but then again I'm doing all this for her. You know, I'm trying to make some money so that we have the things that we want, we go on the vacations we want to go on, and then as far as school goes I'm going to finish this and then go to grad school too, and get a Master's degree in Music Education so that I won't be working in restaurants forever, and, so, I mean, it's going to pay off in the end but, yeah, sometimes I feel bad. I feel like, you should spend more time with your kid, but, I mean, on my days off we do family things like yesterday we went to a farm and we just went all around and, like, you know, learned about organic farming and picked cucumbers off the vine and ate them, you know, walked through pig stalls, and you know what I mean, we try to do fun, family, educational things when we do have time.

Intersectionality theory is useful in understanding feelings of guilt among some of the participants in the study. All the women who reported any feelings of guilt live more “middle-class” lifestyles. They live in more affluent neighborhoods, work in tipped positions (which allow them more income) and in some cases have more affluent partners. The women who met these different criteria were more likely to report feelings of guilt for their time away from home. As working-class women who were able to live more middle-class lifestyles, their responses most closely resembled the literature on work-family management. Any feelings of guilt, however, were tempered by the same understanding as the other women in this study; their work decisions were mothering decisions. For example, when Sophia follows her expression of guilt by reiterating that her work decisions are for her daughter, she is articulating the same phenomenon as other women in the study. Work decisions for women in the hospitality industry are parenting strategies. When they work, they mother. Their mothering principles play a significant role in their decision making processes. As will be seen in the next section, however, they must simultaneously navigate the constraints of hospitality work.

“No Matter What”: Work Decisions as Mothering Decisions

Although the previous section demonstrates their agency in mothering their children, the reality is that many of the women in this study are making decisions for their families from within a variety of constraints. These constraints occur within a space, the hospitality industry, which is structured not to meet their needs, but the bottom lines of their employers. The hospitality industry is one in which employers have a lot of power to make changes that can threaten the livelihood of their workers. For example, two of the women who participated in this study, Rose and Emma, worked for a unionized, chain hotel in downtown Seattle. In 2011, the workers at this hotel organized a protest during the renegotiation of their contract. The hotel

wanted to make changes to their hiring practices that would undermine union protections for the workers there. For instance, the hotel wanted to subcontract laundry duties to a temp agency. Not only would this cause problems for the workers' daily routine, but it would reduce the demand for workers within the hotel. Through the union, the workers at this particular hotel were able to secure a good benefits package, decent hours, and decent wages. Both Rose and Emma told me that people who worked for this hotel tended to stay there for many years. They themselves had worked at the hotel for over a decade. The changes that the hotel wanted to make to their hiring practices would undermine their job security. Unjust labor practices such as the ones this hotel attempted send a very specific message to the workers; their labor is not valued and is expendable. These are the kinds of economic constraints that the women in this study have to contend with. Particularly for the women in this study who do not have any sort of labor protection, such as a union, their work comes with a certain level of precariousness that affords them less job security. This included low wages, undesirable hours, and little flexibility in scheduling. In trying to mother their children according to the standards they set for themselves, women in the hospitality industry must make decisions for their families based on a limited array of options. Thus, while every woman who participated in this study had mothering ideologies that guided their decisions regarding work-family balance, the actual options available to them were significantly constrained by the economic structure of the hospitality industry.

Ann, for example, is a housekeeper at a hotel in the Central Business District of New Orleans. She had started working there several years before with the intention of working her way up to a management position. Ann had worked at several hotels before this one, having been a housekeeping supervisor before in Slidell. Thus, although all her children were now adults, she had worked in the hotel industry for some time, and had raised children while

working in the industry. When I asked what her workplace could do to make it easier to raise a family, Ann responded with frustration and confusion,

It's, I mean, I don't understand the questions you ask me, I don't understand them, because I'm explaining, it's not hard to work and have kids. I don't know if it is for some people, but it's not hard for me. It's not, it's, okay, if, my baby 27, so, when she was young, I was working for, when I was staying here, I was working for Housing Authority. Okay, I would leave the house at 6 in the morning so I wasn't there to watch my baby go to school. So, what I did was, I stopped working in New Orleans, and I found me a job in Slidell.

Here, Ann describes her choices as the result of her individual agency. She wanted to be home to see her daughter get on the bus in the morning. Her description of her parenting decisions are very much centered on her mothering principles. In this instance, Ann is defining good mothering as being physically present for her children. She continued,

It's, what, it's the way you do things, if you want to raise yourself and not let your kids raise they self, you have to make a decision. It's, it's not hard. This is what it got to be. My daughter is this age, I need to be here for her. So the job I got, I got to quit this job, and it doesn't matter how long I been at this job, I got to quit this job because I got to raise this child. You see what I'm saying?

Ann, like the other women in this study, put their children at the center of all their work decisions. Ann's telling of her decision is similar in that she is doing what she feels is in the best interest of her daughter. To not let her children "raise they self" is saying that raising children requires physical presence. The idea that her daughter getting on the bus by herself equated to raising herself suggests that, for Ann, if she is not there then she is not mothering. Therefore, in her telling of her decision, it was not a hard decision to quit her job at the Housing Authority and start work as a housekeeper. Again, Ann is framing her decision to switch jobs as a result of her mothering principles. She continued to explain how she chose her next job,

So, and then you find something where it fits in with your, your work ethic and your children. My daughter go to school for this time, I go to work after she go to school. I get off work at a certain time, my daughter be on her way home from school. And that's how, that's how I surround myself with my job and my kids.

The next job Ann chose, housekeeping, centered on her daughter's school schedule. In this way, Ann centralizes her personal agency in her telling of her work decisions and raising children. Her decisions, however, occur within a context of constraints. That is to say, Ann had to quit her job at the Housing Authority in order to be physically present for her daughter. The fact that she had to quit and find work in another industry indicates a lack of flexibility in her previous job. This is typical of women working in low-wage, precarious occupations (Chang, 2000; Wright, 2006). For middle- and upper-class, professional women, this would likely not be a reason to quit their job. As Weigt and Solomon (2008) point out in their comparative study of low-wage service workers and assistant professors, the professors in their sample had more flexibility in their schedule. That is, their work allowed them more bargaining power so that they could find a balance between work and home that was more amenable to their children's needs. Service workers, on the other hand, did not have this flexibility. Women in professional occupations do not typically have to quit their jobs when faced with an issue like scheduling, because they are in a position where they can better negotiate their hours. Moreover, women in professional positions do not risk losing money if they have to take off or adjust their hours. Women in the hospitality industry who need to take time off work for their children are risking losing money. If they cannot negotiate their hours, they have to find work elsewhere.

Leeny, for example, is a server and manager at a restaurant in the Uptown neighborhood of New Orleans. She has two children, a daughter and a son. At the time of our interview, her daughter lived in Texas with her father. Her son, who was four years old, lived with Leeny in Jefferson Parish. Leeny started working for the restaurant in January of 2011 after returning to New Orleans from Texas, where she had moved after Hurricane Katrina. By June of 2012, she had been promoted to "key holder," or manager. When I asked Leeny about the process of being

promoted to manager, she said that she went to work “no matter what the situation was.” She gave an example,

Like, say, for example, if I was in the emergency room with Phillip for nine hours the night before and I’m completely exhausted. I still have to go to work because even though Phillip’s sick, how can I pay for medical bills if I don’t have a job? How can I pay for medication if I don’t have a job? How do we eat or how do we keep a house if I don’t go to work? And at that point it was just me and Phillip, so there was no back up or anything.

The hospitality industry does not have the flexibility that would allow mothers to take time off without losing money. If they cannot negotiate hours, they have to find another job that has more desirable hours. If, like Leeny, they are tired after spending all night in the emergency room, they cannot take a day off after incurring unexpected medical bills. The decision to quit a job and find work with more desirable hours for their children, or going to work when that is not in the best interest of their health, are mothering decisions. They are decisions that allow for them to be present for their children and to continue providing for their children.

However, they are also decisions that are made based on the constraints of their occupations. Both examples reveal issues of flexibility for workers. Poor wages, inflexible hours, and a lack of benefits are all constraints that will influence a mother’s work and parenting decisions. Leeny, for example, would lose a day’s pay if she took the day off since she does not have sick or personal days. Neoliberal restructuring of the hospitality industry has made it easier for employers to cut costs (Herod and Aguiar, 2006; Zampoukos and Ioannides, 2011) and that while beneficial to their bottom line, come at the cost of workers’ health, safety, and livelihoods. When companies do not offer the resources to make decisions that better enable them to care for themselves and their families, their workers will have to make decisions that 1) can put themselves at risk and 2) increase their mobility. Ann had to move from job to job. Leeny had to work, to stay moving, even when she needed to be still. A lack of flexibility, of sufficient

wages, and benefits hinders a mother's ability to effectively raise her children. Thus, in order to raise their children, they must navigate the constraints of their work in the hospitality industry.

Amber, for example, is a drink server at a casino in New Orleans and a mother of four adult children. I met Amber through the union, and at the time of our interview, she had been fired for organizing to unionize the casino. At the time of our interview, Amber was experiencing a period of severe downward mobility. She had just been laid off from the casino for her involvement with the union. She had worked in local casinos for 20 years, and had worked in this particular casino for 13 years. Amber described herself as a "stay-at-home mom with a full-time job." She worked the night shift at the casino, which allowed her to be a "stay-at-home" mom to her children during the day (e.g., dropping them off and picking them up from school). She entered casino work because it provided her enough money to leave her second husband, who was physically abusive. After she left her husband, she began working the night shift at the casino. The biggest benefit that Amber described about working in the casino is the money. Amber was able to cover her children's expenses and also had enough disposable income to provide for her children in ways that went beyond their immediate needs. She turned down a supervisor position that would have relocated her to Florida because she would not make the kind of money she made as a beverage server. She gave an example of a family trip to Florida,

[...] we had picked up and went to Gulf Shores one weekend – actually, that's the trip that convinced me that I didn't want to do it, 'cause he'd [Amber's son] went through a real bad experience with his dad. So I was like, "Come on, let's just go. It's my week, I'm off the next few days – let's go to the beach," to get his mind off of it. So I took my two boys, their two girlfriends, and my daughter and her boyfriend, and paid for everything. I'm like, "Man, I can't; I can't not be able to do this."

In this sense, Amber describes mothering principles that simultaneously emphasize her role as a financial provider and her physical presence. She was able to work hours that allowed her to be home during the day and she was able afford to do things for her children such as a spur of the moment vacation. Still, working in the casino did present challenges to raising children. Unionizing was a possibility that Amber saw as helping her better care for her family. She became involved with the unionizing campaign at the casino in order to make the changes she felt were necessary. She described the problems she encountered working at the casino,

I didn't like the thing that I'm trying to change, that we had no voice. They could do whatever they wanted to us, and we had no say. Stop our raises, not give us – cut our pay, not pay us for this. Like they used to pay us \$100.00 for working a party; not, no, you get your pay plus your tips. It's like they couldn't change anything, we couldn't say anything about it [...] "But we don't like this." "Oh, well." Basically – and the favoritism. There's so much favoritism, which that's anywhere you go, but in the service industry, favoritism affects how much money you make, because if they give somebody else a better schedule because they like them more than they like you, then that affects your ability to provide for your family. And they have the power right now. That's one thing I didn't like.

Amber's description of her work environment shows the impacts of a workplace with few, if any, labor protections. Although Amber described having more economic flexibility than many of the women in this study, her story also showed that her economic security could be easily threatened without any regulation. What Amber describes in the above passage is a lack of bargaining power. As a result of the changes in pay, hours, and favoritism, Amber felt her family's livelihood was being threatened. Thus, while Amber did make more money than many of the women in this study, she was not necessarily more financially secure. Like the other women in this study, Amber raises her children according to her mothering principles (i.e., a stay-at-home mom with a full-time job). However, the lack of labor protections that eventually led her to join the unionizing campaign demonstrates economic constraints as well as social stigma. Her lack of bargaining power in the workplace was an economic constraint in that it

threatened her financial security. A lack of regulations exists because of the ways in which economic policy favors corporate bottom lines over the economic well-being of the workers.

This is consistent with the literature on work and mothering that scholars such as Weigt and Solomon (2008) note in discussion of low-wage service workers. Barnes (2008), in her examination of structure and agency in the life of a working poor, single mother, finds something similar as well. Working class and working poor women make parenting decisions within the context of constraints. The woman Barnes (2008) profiled in her case study often had to make unconventional work decisions (e.g., turning down a promotion) so that she could maintain public assistance. The literature on work and family demonstrates that when lives and livelihoods are structured by constraints, working poor women often had to make decisions that defy conventions about work and upward mobility. The participants in this study take this discussion further. Although the literature recognizes the constraints working class and working poor women navigate, work and family are often discussed as two spheres that need to be balanced. What the participants in this study reveal is that, for them, work is not something that needs to be balanced with family. Instead, work is an integral part of their mothering principles and is not separate from raising a family.

For Ann, Leeny, Amber, and the other participants in this study, work was necessary to care for their children; work and family were not separate entities. If Ann had a job with more flexibility and bargaining power, she may not have had to quit her job at the Housing Authority. If Leeny's employers had offered sick or personal days, she could have taken the day off to be with her son. She wouldn't have to make the choice between caring for her sick son and losing a day of wages (which would further jeopardize her ability to care for her son). If there were more labor protections to monitor the casino and, perhaps, seniority policies that protected against

nepotism, Amber might not have to worry that their labor practices might negatively impact her family. The structure of their hospitality occupations, rather than make it easier to raise children, made it more difficult. Since their work decisions were mothering decisions, unfair or unhealthy labor practices could be to the detriment of their families.

Neoliberal restructuring that resulted in the rise of the service industry is achieved through government deregulation, privatization, and retrenchment of social welfare (Harvey, 2005). These changes have made it easier for companies to undermine unions, adopt cost-cutting measures that are good for their bottom line, but detrimental to the economic well-being of their employees. It is a form of restructuring that is based on the idea that we must emphasize the needs of the economic elite; their accumulation of wealth is the key to economic growth (Harvey, 2005). Associated with the value placed on the wealthy is a depreciated value placed on the working class and poor. Policies such as the retrenchment of social welfare suggest that poverty exists not because of systemic issues, but because of their individual choices. Therefore, it is not the responsibility of the government, or of corporations, to protect the well-being of their workers. Neoliberal economic restructuring has made it easier for companies in the hospitality industry to reduce protections for workers to maximize their bottom line. In an age where the importance of family is emphasized not only on a moral level, but in our social welfare policies (Hays, 2003), neoliberal economic restructuring has actually made it more difficult to raise a family. This is the context in which the participants make their decisions.

The work decisions that the participants reported are also characterized by mobility. There were participants like Ann, who move from job to job to find work that falls in line with her mothering principles and allows her to provide for her children. Participants like Leeny continue to work even when their bodies need them to be still. Others, like Janet and Jo,

commute long hours to work in downtown Seattle. Janet lives in Covington, which is about 45 minutes south of Seattle (in good traffic) and Jo lives in Eatonville, which is about 2 hours south of Seattle. The constraints of the hospitality industry contribute to this mobility. They also experience social mobility. The financial insecurity that comes with the hospitality industry means that mothers must constantly move through financial insecurity; their livelihoods are rarely stable. Since customer flows in tourism districts are typically seasonal, their mothering decisions also often fluctuate. As Leeny said of the summer months in New Orleans, when tourism flow is low, “My budget goes on a budget.” Workers in the hospitality industry also experience social mobility. What Amber’s story shows is that one constraint of the hospitality industry, a lack of bargaining power, meant that she moved back and forth between upward and downward mobility. The lack of resources and protections for workers means that mothers do not have the institutional power to create a more desirable work environment. As a result, the decisions they make within the constraints of their job are characterized by mobility.

The seasonal nature of hospitality work is what sets it apart from other service sector work. Their livelihoods are highly reliant on their customer flow. When that flow significantly decreases, so does their livelihood. On a visit to a unionized hotel in Seattle, an organizer for the hospitality union told me that from late December through early March, when Seattle tourism is at its slowest, many of the workers at a unionize go from full-time to on-call work. As a result, they temporarily lose their benefits. Although they are brought back to full-time work when business picks up, there is a significant block of time when they encounter significantly reduced work hours. This is both an example of the constraints of hospitality work as well as their mobility. The seasonality of hospitality work can put significant strains on income as well as benefits they may receive in their workplace. Lily, for example, a hotel housekeeper in Seattle,

had to take a second job cleaning offices in order to support her six children. Thus, the constraints of hospitality work are that since the industry itself is one that is constantly mobile and dependent on tourism flows, so too are the livelihoods of the mothers who work within it.

The Stigma of Hospitality Work: Surveillance and Regulation of Working-Class Mothers

The women in this study also had to contend with a variety of stigmas attached to their work in the hospitality industry. Stigma, in this case, refers to ways in which their work in the hospitality industry was either otherized, penalized, or both. As low-wage, service sector occupations, work in the hospitality industry is often degraded work. It is not seen as respectable or serious work. Moreover, hospitality work is often seen to be in conflict with good mothering. As such, mothers who work in these occupations must navigate stigma as they make decisions for their families.

Three of the women reported feeling judged when they tell others about their line of work. Janet, for example, noted that she was younger than a lot of the other mothers at her daughter's school and worked as a food server when the others were stay-at-home moms. As a result, she sometimes felt as though the other mothers did not take her seriously,

But I think other parents of kids my daughter's age, it's harder to find people closer to my age. And a lot of the times, maybe it's me interacting with them. I just feel like, I feel like kind of, (put around?) them (laughs). I don't know, like I don't do scrapbooking, I don't do gardening, I don't know, I (inaudible). And, you know, I work in a bar, or, a restaurant, like I said, I don't know how seriously they take me, but, I just haven't been very good at making other mommy friends that have kids my daughter's age. Now, this time, I'm going to have a lot of friends with babies, my son's age, but, my daughter is, she (made?) a lot of friends, so I send her on play dates I just don't hang out with their parents (laughs).

When interacting with other parents at her daughter's school, Janet experienced the markers of age and occupation. That is, the fact that she was younger and worked in a "non-serious" job (or perhaps the fact that she worked at all) made it difficult for her to befriend the other mothers. Her occupation as a food server, then, was a marker when she tried to interact

with others outside the workplace. Amber told a similar story about telling others what they do for a living. Because of her schedule, Amber is often operating on very little sleep. Another mother commented on this,

I actually told one mother one time, who kinda looked at me and said something catty or whatever, and I said, “Yeah, and I make more money than you and your husband put together, bitch, so back the fuck off of me.” It would make me mad. It was like, “So what, I’m nothing because I’m a waitress? I’m a college- educated woman, and I spend more time with my children than you do, and I make twice as much money as you do, so mind your business, basically, and leave me alone.”

Amber is describing something here that is similar to Janet. Other people see the line of work they are in and assign meaning to their labor that serves to stigmatize them. Janet feels alienated from the other mothers in her daughter’s class, while Amber has to assert herself as an educated woman who can make responsible decisions for their family. What both women are describing is a dynamic in which they are judged for being mothers in “unmotherly” spaces. Thinking of motherhood as embodied, as existing in time and space, Janet and Amber are being judged as women who are making bad decisions for the spaces they work within in. They are mothering when they are working. To those who judged them, however, their capacity to be good mothers was suspect because they worked in spaces such as bars and restaurants, which were deemed as deviant.

The stigma attached to hospitality work could also result in consequences during custody proceedings. Lucy, for example, works as a bartender at a bar in Post Alley in downtown Seattle. She is a single mother who raises her daughter in downtown Bellevue, an upper-class city east of Seattle. Her work in the service industry provided her with enough of an income to support her daughter in such an expensive area. Lucy has also owned several businesses herself, and has done consulting work for other businesses. Although she sees bartending as a strategic

choice in raising her daughter - she can make a lot of money and can keep flexible hours – she has also found that others do not respond the same way when they hear what she does for a living, I've helped a lot of people. I'm a networker, I put a lot of people together, I'm educated, I mean, I know what's going on in the world. I have many people who've tried to recruit me out of this industry and the number one thing I've heard for years as a bartender is, "why do you, what do you, why are you a bartender?" Like, you should be doing something else. You know, and people don't realize that you choose to bartend, you can work four days a week if you wanted to. Make a hundred thousand dollars a year [...] and raise a family by yourself. So, but always, it's frustrating, because it's like, well what's wrong with my job? I like my job. Or people will say, "When are you going to get a real job?" Well, I have a real job. It's interesting.

Even though Lucy makes good money and is able to raise her daughter in downtown Bellevue (an upper-middle to upper class city east of Seattle), and thus sees her work as professional, others see her labor as menial. This can take an emotional toll, as it did with Janet as she tries to interact with other mothers at her daughter's school. The social stigma of hospitality work can also, however, have more significant consequences. For Lucy, her occupation had repercussions for her during a custody battle with her ex-husband. Part of the reason Lucy worked in the hospitality industry is because her ex-husband, a successful attorney, offered no financial support and she found herself in constant custody battles with him over her daughter. For this reason, Lucy typically won custody disputes despite her ex-husband's special knowledge of the legal system. The last time she found herself in court, however, she temporarily lost custody of her daughter while an investigation was launched on her ability to parent. Since her ex-husband was an attorney, he had the legal savvy to argue for an investigation. The judge decided that, since Lucy was a bartender and her ex-husband was a wealthy attorney, her ex-husband would be awarded custody of their daughter until the investigation was complete. The judge's decision to temporarily award custody to the father was not guided by any proof of neglect or abuse, but by the meaning he assigned to her labor. The

investigation worked in Lucy's favor and she eventually regained custody of her daughter. Nevertheless, she was a mothering body who worked in a space that the judge deemed un-motherly. As a result, Lucy suffered consequences as a result of the stigma attached to her labor.

Amber experienced something similar during custody proceedings with her ex-husband. She worked nights at the casino so that she could have her days free to emulate a stay-at-home mom for her four children. During the day she was able to take them to school, pick them up, and take them to all their doctor appointments and games. At night, they slept at the house of a friend who offered low-cost childcare so that Amber could go work in the casino. For Amber, this was an ideal situation. She made good money at the casino that allowed her to provide for her children, and was still able to be physically present for them. She works full-time, makes good money, and is also a full-time mom. In her eyes, she is the trifecta of the "good" working mother. In the eyes of other people with similar incomes, but who work in occupations with more status, however, her decisions are stigmatized.

A judge felt differently about her work routine and Amber went from full custody of her children to shared custody. This story came up while we were talking about the drawbacks to her work at the casino while trying to raise a family,

The biggest one was that I actually lost full custody of my kids because I worked at night. We had joint custody, and to get that I had to resort to working doubles so I was only working three days a week at that time in order to not lose that. Because people just can't grasp the fact that it's okay for mom not to be home at night with her children, you know? That's just such a horrible thing in everybody's eyes. You're out all night and your children are home with who? They're in good hands, but I'm home all day – don't you get that? I spend more time with my children than anybody who works 9:00 to 5:00, I promise you. But they just couldn't wrap their heads around that, the court system, so yeah, that was the worst drawback.

Her work in the casino was a source of stigma that resulted in reduced custody of her children. In a similar way as Lucy, a judge could not reconcile Amber's occupation with her

mothering principles. For him, working full-time as a drink server in a casino, and being there for her children full-time, did not add up, especially because she worked nights. Living up to her own mothering principles meant that she had to make unconventional decisions about childcare. Her ex-husband, and ultimately a judge, felt justified in reducing her custody, despite her ex-husband's history with domestic violence. What is also important to note about Janet, Lucy, and Amber is that their line of work provides them middle-class incomes. They are able to send their children to schools in better school districts, and have more disposable income than a lot of the women in this study. Other women who did not report this level of stigma, such as Rose, primarily associate with mothers who are in similar lines of work. This discrepancy between the "status" of their jobs and their incomes might be partly responsible for their experiences, particularly with being judged by other parents. Nevertheless, along with the economic constraints discussed previously, the women in this study are navigating social stigma as they try to live up their own mothering principles. Losing custody is also an example of mobility for their children. Having to move back and forth between parents, particularly when the father is financially neglectful (e.g., Lucy's ex-husband) or physically abusive (e.g., Amber's ex-husband) can be stressful, dangerous, and destabilizing. That their decisions, which were centered on the well-being of their children, and not any actual danger to their children resulted in reduced custody speaks to the ways in which stigma influences their movement as they try to raise their children.

The literature on work, family, and punitive social control often focuses on welfare reform and the shift in social welfare policies under neoliberalism (Hays, 2003; Marchevsky and Theoharis, 2007). What the literature often does not discuss is how these same punitive lines between work and family also exist for women who do not utilize public assistance. What these

interviews reveal is that women in the hospitality industry work in occupations that are not valued in dominant society. As a result, as they make decisions for their families, they must not only navigate the constraints of their work, but also the stigma associated with their work. While this may not be a state-sanctioned form of stigma in the same vein as TANF and the welfare-to-work program, the women in this study must engage in an almost Foucauldian self-monitoring in order to make the best decisions they can for their family. They experience surveillance of their work and lifestyles in a variety of ways, including monitoring from other mothers and the court system. Stigma, then, proves to be a significant constraint that women in the hospitality industry must navigate as they make decisions for their children.

In a similar fashion as their navigation of job constraints, the stigma associated with their work can also contribute to their mobility, and the mobility of their children. When participants like Janet know they will encounter stigma from the other mothers at their child's school, they must ideologically navigate stigma in order to be present from their children but also protect themselves from unwanted comments. This could mean only interacting with other parents when necessary, like Janet, or confronting parents who stigmatize their work, as Amber did. When the stigmas attached to their work led to institutional punishments such as reduced custody, their children could also experience increased mobility. Having to move from one parent's house to another can have significant emotional and physical impacts on children. Lucy's financially negligent ex-husband and Amber's physically abusive ex-husband both engage in behaviors that should raise questions about their own ability to effectively raise children. Nevertheless, it was Lucy and Amber who suffered the consequences for being in occupations that were seen as being in conflict with good mothering.

What is most striking about their experiences with stigma, and the literature does not address, is not that they do not stay-at-home, but that they are in degraded occupations. Even though the other mothers in her daughter's school were stay-at-home moms, Janet spoke as if it was the kind of work she was in that contributed to her stigmatization rather than the fact she worked at all. Similarly, Lucy and Amber reported being work for the line of work they were in, not necessarily because they were working mothers. The scholarship on work and family, which tends to focus on middle- and upper-class, professional, White women, does not adequately address how the *type* of work women engage in contributes to their experiences raising children. This study's focus on the hospitality industry indicates that for women who do not work in professional positions, service work can be a significant source of stigma that they must navigate in order to effectively raise their children. The decisions they make within the constraints of stigma, like the constraints of their work, are characterized by mobility.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the work decisions the women in this study make are mothering decisions. They do not talk about work and family as two separate spheres that need to be balanced, but rather discuss work as a necessary strategy in living up to their mothering principles. However, they work in an industry that is fraught with constraints. Thus, although the women in this study are asserting their agency in making choices that are in the best interest of their children, the constraints of the hospitality industry influence what choices they have available to them. Furthermore, as they navigate the constraints of the hospitality industry, they must also navigate the stigma attached to their work. Hospitality work is degraded work. It is seen by others as inferior as well as being in conflict with good mothering. Women who work in these industries, then, experience judgment from others that can range from snide comments from other parents to

institutional consequences such as losing custody of their children. Thus, mothers in the hospitality industry make decisions for their children at the intersection of their mothering principles, the constraints of their jobs, and the stigmas associated with their jobs. These decisions are characterized by mobility: physical mobility (moving from job to job), ideological (navigating stigmas) and economic (moving between upward and downward mobility). Creating stability for their children entails constant movement.

Chapter Five

Maternities and Mobilities: Transnational Migration, Safety Nets, and Patriarchy

As shown in the previous chapter, the decisions the participants made for their children were characterized by mobility. They moved between jobs, moved within their jobs, and moved ideologically, as they navigated their mothering principles, their job constraints, and the stigma attached to their work in the hospitality industry. Another way in which mobility emerged from their interviews was through relocation. Due to a lack of resources and safety nets, the women in this study often had to move in order to find those resources elsewhere. This study defines “safety net” as either 1) state safety nets (e.g., public assistance or infrastructure), 2) interpersonal safety nets (e.g., extended kin networks), or 3) personal safety nets (e.g., personal savings). Lacking even one of these safety nets was enough to force the women in this study to relocate. Relocation, in some cases, significantly restructured their families. Their telling of their decisions to move reveals that, for those who are limited by social and economic constraints, increased mobility can come with significant costs.

In this chapter, I discuss the various contexts that pushed the women in this study to relocate. The first section examines the migration of women born outside the United States. A poor economy in their home country “pushed” them towards to the United States in search of employment. The second section of this chapter explores the relocation of U.S-born women who relocated to other cities and states due to a lack of state safety nets. A lack of supports such as affordable childcare or adequate public transportation forced many women to relocate to other cities. The third section of this chapter focuses on gender violence. Gender violence refers to both physical and non-physical forms of violence such as harassment and stalking. A lack of resources for survivors of intimate partner violence (particularly non-physical forms of intimate

partner violence) could force the women in this study to move. Finally, some women moved to other areas because they had the desire and the means. Although their decision to move was not spontaneous, higher incomes provided them with options that most women in this study did not have. These sections are tied together is that, for all the women in this chapter, their decision to move was a mothering decision. Their decision to relocate in search of employment and safety nets were decisions they made to care for their children. However, their decisions were also underscored by constraints. Thus, their increased mobility is not necessarily a choice of opportunity, but a decision made within a context of limited choices.

“Everything is about economy”: Mothering and Migration in the Neoliberal Era

Establishing a sustainable livelihood for one’s family, particularly for families with limited means, can force some to leave their countries of origin. When the economy of their home country declines, many are forced to move to the United States in search of employment. Several of the women in this study had migrated from other countries. Their discussion of their decision to migrate reveals that a poor economy can itself be an inadequate or non-existent safety net. During this era of neoliberal economic restructuring, many women in the Global South had to migrate to countries in the Global North in search of employment (Chang, 2000; Sassen, 2012). The links between a neoliberal political economy, migration, and gender have been well-documented in the literature. The hospitality industry benefits directly from their increased mobility (as they do from the increased mobility of the other women discussed in this chapter). Scholars such as Chang (2000), Wright (2006), and Gaspar de Alba and Guzmán (2010) argue that it is actually the intent of countries in the Global North to increase the mobility of women in the Global South in order to create a surplus labor force. This history of immigration and global capitalism are what set the women in this section apart from the other participants discussed in

this chapter. What they share in common, however, is that neoliberal economic restructuring contributed to their increased mobility. The decisions they made regarding work, their mothering decisions, were underscored by the constraints of neoliberal urban governance.

When asked about their motivations for leaving their home countries, most gave the same response; a poor economy in their home countries meant they were unable to find work. Some women did not have children until they moved to the United States. Emily, who migrated from Greece, and Valentina, who migrated from México, both started families once they moved to the United States. Nevertheless, their motivations for moving to the United States and starting a family here were motivated by a poor economy back home. Others, however, experienced a significant restructuring of their family after moving to the United States. Camila, for example, is a housekeeper in downtown Seattle. She moved to the United States in 2000 from Puebla, México. She lives in SeaTac with her husband, her cousin, her cousin's husband, and her cousin's three daughters. Camila helps her cousin raise her two daughters. She cited a poor economy as the reason for leaving México for work in the United States,

Pues, venimos aquí a los Estados Unidos para superarnos, porque en nuestro país es muy difícil porque no hay trabajo, y si hay, tiene que tener mucho estudio uno, y yo no tengo suficiente estudio. Nada más cursé un – o sea, lo que es necesario de la educación, pero no una carrera. Entonces para tener eso, necesitamos algo más. Y ya porque mi esposo decidimos venir para acá a ver algo mejor. Entonces gana poquito. Me dijeron que – pues es de limpieza, pero gana uno más que allá. Allá, pues, no es lo mismo, y ya ayuda uno a la familia de allá también.

Well, we came here to the United States to advance, because in our country it is very difficult because there is no work, and if there is, one has to have a lot of education, and I don't have sufficient education. I studied no more than – well, what education is necessary, but I don't have a degree. So to have that, we need something more. And so my husband decided to come here to find something better. So he makes a little. They told me that – well, it is cleaning, but it earns more than over there [México]. Over there, well, it is not the same, and one helps the family over there as well.

What Camila is saying here is that a living wage job in México required a higher level of education than she had. As such, she and her husband had to come to the United States to find

work. Although the work “*es de limpieza* (is cleaning),” she is able to make a wage that allows her to support herself and send remittances back home to her family. Camila’s story is common among many who migrate to the United States from Central and South America. With the passage of policies such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which decimated local economies, many had no choice but to come to the United States in search of employment (Chang, 2000).

What makes Camila’s story interesting is the family she formed here upon her arrival. Although her nieces are not her biological children, and their parents are still in the picture, she and her husband help raise them. They split a lot of household duties with her nieces’ parents such as getting them to school, preparing breakfast for them in the morning, and watching them when they get home from school. Camila also sees herself as having responsibility in ensuring that her nieces are well-rounded,

Pues, yo trato de ayudarla a mi prima para la educación. Siempre cuando veo que algo está mal, yo les corrijo, les digo, “Está mal, no hagan esto.” Ellas también los toman bien porque siempre yo les explico, les digo [...] “Porque el niño ya te pegó tú vas y le pegas también, eso no, porque violencia con violencia no vamos a ningún lado. Simplemente decir, ‘No más me pegues.’ Pero hasta ahí. Sí, no, vas y le dices a un adulto, ‘Me está golpeando, o ¿por qué?’ Pero de irte a regresarte a golpes -,” o sea trato también de decirles que no, no está bien. Ver de qué películas – muchas películas uso de cosas, de balas. Todo eso también poco a poco los niños se van metiéndose en la cabeza [...] no las dejo ver eso yo a ellas. Yo las dejo ver casi caricaturas más en español para que aprendan ellas también la segunda lengua de nosotros. Porque en inglés, pues ellas van a la escuela, lo hablan, lo escriben y todo eso, pero en la casa siempre les hablamos español.

Well, I try to help my cousin with education. When I see something is wrong, I always correct them, I tell them, “That is bad, don’t do that.” They also behave well because I always explain to them, I tell them [...] “Because the boy hit you don’t hit him as well, because violence with violence doesn’t help either side. Just say, ‘Don’t hit me anymore.’ But that’s it. Yes, don’t, go and tell an adult, ‘He is hitting me, or why?’ But to resort to hitting” – or I try to tell them that no, it’s not okay. I watch what movies – many movies use things [drugs], and bullets. All of that, little by little, is getting in their heads [...] I don’t let them see that. I let them see more Spanish cartoons so that they learn our second language. Because in English, well they go to school, they write and all that, but in the house we always speak to them in Spanish.

Camila's explanation of her role in raising her three nieces shows elements of teaching them how to deal with conflict, monitoring what they are exposed to on television, and cultural transmission. Camila helps her cousin in ensuring that their language, Spanish, is not lost as the girls enter English-speaking schools. It was her mobility, the decision to migrate, that led to the living arrangement she has now. Camila did not clarify that she did not have children of her own until we sat down for the interview. When I told her about my study, she believed she qualified based on her involvement with her nieces. Economic constraints forced Camila and her husband to relocate to the United States where she restructured her sense of family. In her relationship with her nieces, Camila demonstrates mothering principles even though she is not their mother. The ways in which economic constraints increased her mobility gave rise to a transnational family in which she had to care for her cousin's children. Furthermore, since Camila lives with her extended family for economic reasons and her job at the hotel contributes to their financial stability, when Camila is working, she is mothering. The decisions she made for employment and for her family are underlined by her mobility.

Furthermore, her story reveals another important aspect of migration and mobility as a result of economic constraints: they change the structure of family. Granted, the nuclear family is a "reality" that has never adequately described any family (Coontz, 1993). What Camila demonstrates, however, is that the migration that results from, say, a poor economy forces women to make choices that change their mothering strategies and, consequently, the structure of their family. Jimena, for example, is a cook at a restaurant in the French Quarter who migrated to New Orleans from Honduras. At the time of our interview, Jimena had been living in the United States for eight years. She has three children, all of whom still live in Honduras. Her oldest daughter, who is 19, is married and now has a child of her own. Her two youngest

children, ages 17 and 15, live in Honduras with Jimena's mother. Jimena told me about her decision to leave her children behind and find work in the United States,

¡Ah! La decisión, la necesidad por salir adelante, sacar a mi mamá, a mis hijas porque nosotras fuimos criadas muy pobres. Entonces, yo no estudié porque yo fui la última hija de mi mamá. Entonces, yo la miraba que ella sufría. Entonces digo – “No, voy a tomar una decisión, viajo a Estados Unidos para que mis hijas tengan otra vida mejor.” Gracias a Dios ellas – pienso así, trabajar duro y traérmelas a que vengan a estudiar acá.

Oh! The decision, the necessity to advance, advance my mom and my daughters because we were raised very poor. So, I didn't study because I was my mom's youngest daughter. So, I saw that she was suffering. So I said, “No, I'm going to make a decision, I will go to the United States so that my daughters will have a better life.” Thank God they – I think like that, work hard and bring them to me so they can study here.

Jimena's story is a common one for many women who make the decision to migrate to the United States. Many women have to make the decision to leave their children behind and seek employment in the United States in order to support them. Not only do their home countries become reliant on the remittances they send back (Chang, 2000), but their absence also changes the structure of their family (Parreñas, 2005). Jimena has to raise her children without being physically present. She has a clear goal for them. Jimena's primary goal in her work decisions is to ensure economic upward mobility for her daughters. However, the economic constraints of her own country meant that she had to find ways to help them achieve that goal without being physically present for them.

For the women who migrated to the United States, their work decisions are underlined by their mobility. Furthermore, their work decisions are mothering decisions. Not everyone who migrated to the United States had children when they left their home countries. Many of them had children when they arrived to the United States. What their stories have in common, however, was that a poor economy in their home countries forced them to leave. As Sarah said about her father's decision to bring her to the United States from Haiti,

Everything is about economy. Yeah. In the past, Haiti was a good, you know, country. It's still good but, you know, economy. They come here, there's better things that you don't get over there.

The women I interviewed had nothing bad to say about their home countries besides economic constraints. Consistent with the literature on migration and labor, they did not think the United States was necessarily “better” than their home. Their mobility stemmed from economic constraints. Once they get here, however, their options for employment are limited to low-wage service sector occupations. The decisions they make about work once they are here, center on the needs of their children. Rose works as a hostess at a hotel restaurant because the serving positions, a tipped occupation that she is qualified for, has undesirable hours because they sometimes have to stay after closing. Jimena works as a cook thousands of miles away from her children so that she can send remittances back home. Camila took on mothering duties for her three nieces after having to migrate to the United States from México.

Those who migrate to the United States as a result of economic downturn in their home countries are often among the most disenfranchised. As such, when they come to the United States, the employment opportunities available to them are significantly limited. The occupations available to them are largely “unskilled” labor in service industries that offers low-wages and few labor protections. Women like Lily, for example, held two jobs – as a hotel housekeeper and cleaning offices – in order to provide for her six children. The effects of neoliberal economic restructuring on gender and migration contributed to their decision to move to the United States. The decision to relocate was a work decision and, thus, a mothering decision. As such, when the women in this section made the decision to leave their country of origin to seek employment, they were mothering. Their decisions, however, were guided not by choices but a lack of choices. Trade liberalization under neoliberal economic restructuring

(Stiglitz, 2003) made it necessary for them to leave. Their decisions, then, were made within the context of severe economic constraints.

Mobility and Social Safety Nets

In a similar way as the participants who migrated to the United States from other countries, the women in this section also made the decision to relocate based on economic constraints. While they did have the privilege of citizenship, the women in this study also had to contend with a lack of safety nets under neoliberal economic restructuring. They navigated the constraints of their work, a lack of work, and safety nets and those decisions resulted in their increased mobility. As a result, they made the decision to relocate to a city where the safety nets they needed existed. Like the women in the previous section, the women in this section are making work decisions (and, thus, mothering decisions) for their children. Neoliberal economic restructuring, however, limits the options available to them through cuts to social spending. The participants, then, experienced an increased mobility that was characterized by constraints.

Chris, for example, is a cook who has worked in several New Orleans restaurants before moving to Texas with her boyfriend and son. Chris had been working in the service industry in New Orleans for over a decade. Before moving to Texas, Chris worked as a cook at a restaurant in the French Quarter while her husband managed a small café in Uptown. Chris only worked weekends at the restaurant and cared for their 3 year old son the rest of the week. Before working in the French Quarter, Chris had been a cook at a strip club on Bourbon Street. When she became pregnant, she became severely ill. When she had to take two days off, the owners of the bar fired her. Having a young child at the same time that her boyfriend had been demoted at his job, resulted in financial trouble that forced them to relocate to Texas,

AH: [...] So, what made you have to leave?

C: Well, when things fell apart financially I had to come out here to Texas.

AH: So when did, kind of when did things start to change financially with [the restaurant]?

C: It had always fluctuated. It was more with my fiancé's job. And our bills became piled up. He wasn't getting his hours, I wasn't getting any hours, and bills were just basically topping on top of each other.

AH: Okay.

C: Pretty much from the time I got pregnant and I couldn't work anymore is when we struggled all the time.

Having a child comes with significant expenses for any family. When those expenses cannot be met, it can lead to increased mobility. When asked why she did not take on more hours at the restaurant, Chris replied that she did not have adequate childcare. Her boyfriend worked Monday through Friday at the café, and Chris had to watch their son during the week. Unable to access childcare, Chris, her fiancé, and their son relocated to Texas to live with her fiancé's mother. Her mother-in-law, then, became an extended kin network (i.e., an interpersonal safety net) that she could rely on for childcare so that Chris could take on more hours.

Access to childcare can be a significant barrier for women with children in the hospitality industry. The Restaurant Opportunities Center (2013) surveyed over 200 restaurant workers about their childcare needs and conducted focus group interviews with 13 women in Houston, Detroit, and Los Angeles. The participants of their study identified three barriers to meeting childcare needs as workers in the restaurant industry: childcare affordability, accessibility, and career mobility. The mothers in this study spent 35 percent of their weekly wages on childcare and less than 7 percent received childcare assistance. In terms of accessibility, half of the mothers surveyed reported having erratic schedules, last minute shift changes, and an average of

53 minutes to commute to childcare and then work. Finally, childcare also impacted career mobility. Almost half of the mothers in the study suffered negative consequences when they arrived late or left early due to childcare. A third of the participants said childcare impacted their ability to work desirable shifts (Restaurant Opportunities Center, 2013). Chris's story is consistent with these findings. Since she and her fiancé were struggling financially, they could not afford formal childcare. She had already suffered negative consequences during her pregnancy, and a lack of affordable childcare made it impossible for her to take on more hours at the restaurant. As a result, she and her fiancé had to move to Texas where there were more social safety nets in place. Through her mother-in-law, Chris had an extended kin network that would provide childcare so that she could work at the Italian restaurant she is currently employed at. Furthermore, once she arrived in Texas, Chris found that the state infrastructure was better suited to her family in other ways. Although he was still being tested during the time of our interview, and thus had not been officially diagnosed, Chris told me that her son has autism. When she arrived in Texas, she found that the state infrastructure to offer services to her son was much more efficient than what existed in Louisiana. Due to a lack of safety nets in New Orleans, Chris and her family were forced to relocate.

In a similar fashion, Leeny also told stories of increased mobility. Leeny was born and raised in New Orleans. When Hurricane Katrina was approaching in 2005, she and her sister evacuated to Texas. While there, Leeny had two children, a son and a daughter. Leeny liked living in Texas, and would have liked to stay there if possible. She smiled at her current boyfriend as she told me this, indicating that he was part of the reason she could not return to Texas. Leeny had returned to New Orleans approximately three years prior to our interview with

her son. Her daughter had stayed with her ex-boyfriend in Texas. Leeny had returned to New Orleans in search of employment,

Leeny (L): I came from Texas in December of 2010 and I started working at [the restaurant] in January of 2011.

AH: And you had that job lined up for you when you got here?

L: No. My dad's wife was just like, "There may be a job opening." And I took a chance, and I was actually the first person they hired. When I was there it was just me and the owner in the front of the house.

AH: Oh, interesting. So [the restaurant] was just opening.

L: Mm-hmm, I think they opened that December.

AH: Oh, okay, interesting. And those opportunities just weren't in Texas?

L: Not really, it's just because, there's a lot of opportunities in Texas but you have to have reliable transportation. And if you don't have a car, it's not, it's easiest catching a bus in the city because you can catch the bus and be somewhere in 45 minutes as opposed to everything is all the way on the other side of town, you may take two hours on a bus in Texas. Even driving, if you have a, even driving in Texas, it's like going to Baton Rouge and back when you just going from home to Wal-Mart.

AH: Okay, so transportation and opportunity combined just kind of made it more feasible to work here.

L: Mm-hmm, because like I said I'm literally an eight minute walk. When I moved back here I was actually living with my dad, and when I got the job at [the restaurant] saved up the money and got this apartment because I'm like, "This is perfect!" I can walk right to work, even when it's pouring rain, it's only an eight minute walk to work it'll be fine.

Leeny left Texas, a state she was enjoying living in and which she had significant ties through her sister and her children, in search of employment. Her struggles to find employment in Texas did not necessarily result from a lack of jobs, but a lack of transportation. A poor public transportation system can have devastating effects on poor communities. Bullard (2004) in "The Anatomy of Transportation Racism," cites the ways in which inadequate public transportation can alienate poor communities (typically poor communities of color) from job

centers. For Leeny, a lack of public transportation meant that she had to relocate to New Orleans. What is more, like with Jimena and Camila, her move significantly restructured her family. Since her daughter was in a gifted program at the school she attended in Texas, Leeny made the decision to leave her daughter with her ex-boyfriend and bring her son to New Orleans. Her relocation to New Orleans resulted in separation from one of her children. Considering the costs of moving to another state, that a lack of public transportation was enough to make her take on those costs indicates that the economic constraints of remaining in Texas outweighed the costs of moving. Furthermore, in New Orleans, Leeny was able to rely on an extended kin network in order to provide childcare for her son. She has a cousin who lives in the same apartment complex that can watch her son if he gets sick. Her father also lives nearby, and has a car. She uses his car to take her son and her younger brother to school, and her father picks them both up from school in the afternoon. Thus, like Chris, Leeny left one city due to a lack of a safety net (i.e., public transportation) for the interpersonal safety nets she had through an extended kin network in New Orleans.

The stories Chris and Leeny tell about their mobility, their decision to relocate from one state to another, reveal what kind of impact the absence of even one safety net can have on a family's economic security. That they took on the financial costs of moving in order to circumvent the impacts of inadequate childcare and public transportation indicate that the costs of remaining in their current home outweighed the cost of moving. Childcare and public transportation, on their own, seem like small reasons to take on those kinds of financial costs. However, both are closely tied to future economic security. A lack of inadequate childcare meant that Chris could not take on more hours at her job. Since her fiancé had been demoted, not being able to work herself made it impossible to continue living in Louisiana. For Leeny, a

lack of efficient public transportation meant that she was isolated from job opportunities in Texas.

Some women in this study showed what a presence of social safety nets can provide for families working in the hospitality industry. Carrie, at the time of our interview, had just bought a home with her husband in the Gentilly neighborhood of New Orleans. During her pregnancy, they were renting a home in Riverbend. They were preparing to raise their son there and had just received permission from their landlord to convert a room into a nursery. They had a stroke of luck, however, in being able to purchase a home,

We lived in Riverbend. I lived on Dante Street. We were a renter. Actually, that's where we lived when we had Eli. While I was pregnant, I was eight months pregnant, I had just actually quit the [the restaurant]. I'd quit a month before I had Eli. My feet had gotten really swollen and I couldn't walk any more. I just couldn't wait tables any more. I couldn't put my feet in shoes. I was wearing flip-flops at this point. It was just lots of fluid, I had to quit. So we went to the bank to see what our two-year plan was and we qualified for a house and we had qualified for this grant as well. So we got a grant, we purchased a house in Gentilly, and it's nice. It's like the perfect house to raise our family in. We're really lucky. Eli's really lucky to be able to have this space.

Pregnancy put Carrie in a position where she could no longer work in the hospitality industry. This is common for women in the hospitality industry when they get to their third trimester since workplaces do not offer paid maternity leave. What sets Carrie apart from Chris and Leeny, however, is when she found herself experiencing downward economic mobility, there were programs in place that she and her husband were able to utilize. Purchasing a home was not in their immediate plans. Again, they had just received permission from their landlord to convert a room into a nursery. But a grant they happened to qualify for allowed them to become homeowners. Carrie said of her new home in Gentilly,

I think it's a relief for us at this point. The fear of never becoming a homeowner because of the lifestyles that we live, me working in the service industry and him being an artist and having contract jobs, something that's not stable, it was a fear, it was a fear that we had. I think we're a

lot more peaceful now that we were able to acquire a house to raise our family in, and it's ours. That brings safety to our environment and it's comforting.

Thus, while Carrie also had a story of mobility and relocation, hers was rooted in increased security rather than insecurity. That is, even though she lived with similar economic constraints as Chris and Leeny, her decision to move resulted from the *presence* of a safety net; a grant to purchase a home. Carrie acknowledges in her narrative that her line of work in the service industry, and her husband's occupation as an artist, significantly limit their options in terms of upward mobility. The presence of a social support to buy a home offered Carrie an increased sense of security. For Chris, Leeny, and the other women who also had to relocate due to economic constraints (who will be discussed in the next section), their relocation did not necessarily result in increased security. Chris lives in a small apartment with her fiancé, son, mother-in-law, and brother-in-law. Leeny is separated from her daughter and while she does have employment, is still living paycheck to paycheck. Jimena is able to secure some money to her mother and daughters back in Honduras, but also must worry about what her absence will mean for her children's exposure to crime. What Carrie's story adds to this narrative is an understanding of how providing non-punitive, social supports to families in need can increase their chances of upward mobility. Without those supports, the women in this study experienced an increased mobility that solved certain problems (i.e., childcare and transportation), but did not necessarily improve their economic constraints.

Mothering through Patriarchy: Economic Constraints, Safety Nets, and the Ex

Another way in which women in this study experienced increased mobility was through a need to escape abusive, patriarchal environments. Like the women in the previous section, these women's stories indicate a lack of safety nets, particularly from the state. Three women in this study – Lily, Amber, and Ruth – all had to move because of their relationships with either their

ex-husband, or other men in their lives. Gender violence occurs in various ways, including physical and non-physical forms. When women make the decision that it is no longer safe for them to remain in their current environment – whether it be their residence, their city, or their state – the options available to them to 1) protect themselves and their family and 2) maintain stability for their children are severely limited. For the women in this study who were experiencing gender violence, relocation was their most viable option. Like the women in the previous two studies, they had to make decisions around work and mothering that were characterized by mobility. Moreover, like the women in the previous two sections, these three women had to navigate a lack of resources, specifically for survivors of gender violence. Their discussions of violence, family, work and relocation further articulate how women in this study had to navigate a variety of constraints in order to mother their children.

Originally from México, Lily had her first four children in Texas, and was pregnant with her fifth child when her husband left her for another woman. After continuous harassment from her ex-husband and his new partner, Lily made the decision to relocate with her children,

[Me fui] Porque quería irme muy lejos, muy lejos, para que el hombre, mi ex esposo y la mujer con quien se fue me molestaran. Porque cuando vivía en Texas, él me molestaba mucho, no me dejaba vivir tranquila [...] Por eso me fui. Y escogí Seattle, primero porque estaba muy lejos y luego porque aquí vivía una amiga mía o vive una amiga mía y ella me dijo, “vente, aquí te ayudo.” Fui por eso.

[I left] because I wanted to go far away, very far away, because the man, my ex-husband and the woman he left for harassed me. Because when I lived in Texas, he harassed me a lot, he wouldn't leave me alone to live peacefully [...] That's why I left. And I chose Seattle, first because it was very far and then because a friend of mine lived here and she told me, “Come, I'll help you here.” That's why I left.

Although it is not always recognized as such by the state, continued harassment is a form of non-physical, gender violence that men can utilize. Lily left a violent situation towards a place where other safety nets did exist. In this case, she had a safety net in the form of extended

kin; a friend who could provide temporary housing for Lily and her children as well as help Lily find employment. It was gender violence, however, that led Lily to decide relocation was her most viable option. The resources available for women experience gender violence are limited at best. What is more, the resources that do exist often conform to neoliberal ideals of individualism and personal responsibility, which do little to hold men accountable for their actions but a great deal to blame and punish women for becoming victimized (Bumiller, 2008). As such, there are few resources that provide viable, livable options for women trying to escape gender violence. When women are experiencing non-physical forms of violence, the options decrease even further. This is the context in which Lily had to make decisions for herself and for her children. Her need for employment intersected with her need for emotional safety. As a result, she had to relocate.

Amber was in a similar situation as Lily when she decided to divorce her second husband. Amber began working in the casino so that she could make enough money to leave him. She told me the story about the first time he hit her after finding out she was pregnant, He didn't want me to have him. He wanted me to have an abortion. We were married, we both had decent jobs. When I wouldn't, I tried to leave him, and that's the first time he ever, ever hit me. He treated me like a goddess the whole time we dated, but right after we got married, like four or five – when I found out I was pregnant, it's like he turned into a totally different person. It was so crazy. And the first time he ever hit me was this one time he knocked me out cold and broke this bone in his hand. He hit me in the head. And when I came to, he's way over me apologizing, apologizing, I was like, "Fuck you – get the fuck away from me." Proceeded to hit on me, drag me around the apartment kicking me in the stomach, telling me he was gonna give me an abortion. And my two kids, Justin and Raylin, the two oldest ones, were there. Justin had to escape and go call 911.

Like many survivors of domestic violence, Amber did not leave her husband right away. She tried to make it work with her husband,

We went to therapy, marriage counseling, and all that, and got back together, 'cause it seemed like he had changed, but not long after, he went back to how he was. I was working then. I started working two jobs, bartending and at Sam's, 'cause I was gonna leave, and then I got pregnant again. He was an oopsie like big-time, 'cause like we might've had sex twice in a year, so it was like – anyway. Then like I said, I started working at Sam's and got away from him.

After their divorce, Amber's ex-husband began harassing and stalking her. She made the decision to take her four children and move to Oregon. She and her children lived there for about seven months before she was forced to return to New Orleans. Amber had successfully obtained restraining orders against her ex-husband for stalking. When she moved to Oregon, however, he was able to go back to court and demand that she come back with her children. He was successful. Amber was threatened with kidnapping charges, which would have made her a fugitive. She had no choice but to return to New Orleans. In the previous chapter, I discussed another time Amber's ex-husband had successfully used the court system, which resulted in reduced custody for Amber. Like Lily, Amber did not have a lot of resources available to protect herself and her children from an abusive ex-husband. What is more, her ex-husband seemed to have more rights in the court system than she did. Her inability to escape her ex-husband is a common story among domestic violence survivors. There is a lack of resources for women trying to escape abusive situations and the ones that do exist are often punitive. For women like Amber and Lily, a lack of resources led to their relocation to another state.

Ruth's story, after returning to New Orleans from Boston, is also marked by increased mobility. After her husband left her for another woman, Ruth and her daughter moved in with her father and brother in Metairie. Ruth came home from work one day to find her daughter up waiting for her. She told her that her uncle, Ruth's brother, had been molesting her. Ruth pressed charges against her brother and sent her daughter to live with her ex-husband. She remained in her father's house with her brother and her brother's wife. The day before the trial

was scheduled to begin, her brother committed suicide on the front porch. Her father, who blamed Ruth for her brother's death, kicked her out of his home. Since then, Ruth has been living with various friends until she can get back on her feet. At the time of our interview, Ruth was living with friends in Chalmette. She had a month to find her own place. Lacking residential security, Ruth's story is fraught with forced mobility. When her husband left her, she had to live with her father. When her father kicked her out, she had to move with various friends until she could save enough money to get her own place. As a result, she no longer has custody of her daughter. Furthermore, her son lives with his father in Boston. Ruth's story of mobility, economic constraints, and stigma has meant that she has to mother her children without being physically present. She lives an hour away from her daughter, and in a different state as her son. Moreover, she does not have a car, which means her ability to see her children is even more limited. Her story is similar to Jimena and Leeny, who both have to mother their children from a distance.

Ruth's father left her effectively homeless after her brother's suicide. What is more, Ruth had to relinquish custody to her ex-husband as a result of her brother's actions. Losing a son to suicide is traumatic and I will not speculate on what was going through her father's mind at the time. Nevertheless, under his roof, Ruth was forced to make decisions that penalized her for what happened to her daughter, while her brother did not seem to suffer the same consequences. He continued to live in the house while Ruth had to give up custody of her daughter in the process. And when he took his own life, which according to Ruth was because he knew he was going to be found guilty, her father made her leave. A lack of state, and interpersonal, safety nets during this time resulted in the loss of her daughter and residential insecurity. Although Ruth was able to establish other interpersonal safety nets when she found friends to live with, her

only viable options in the work force were low-wage hospitality occupations where, in Louisiana, she makes the server minimum wage. A patriarchal family structure in which sons are more valued than daughters led to her mobility and economic insecurity as well as the loss of custody of her daughter. The constraints of hospitality work in the New Orleans hospitality industry has made it difficult to save the money to find her own place and to eventually regain custody of her daughter. Even though, at the time of our interview, she was close to finding a home, Ruth said she was not ready to have her daughter back because of the line of work she was in. She wanted to have a more standard “9 to 5” job before she could feel comfortable taking her daughter back. Until she was able to afford going back to school to get her degree, Ruth didn’t see how it would be possible to have her daughter back working as a server and bartender on Bourbon Street. Her increased mobility due to the actions of her brother and her father are what made her lose her daughter in the first place.

Similar to the previous sections, Lily, Amber, and Ruth relocated due to a lack of social safety nets. Women who are being physically or emotionally abused, or sexually assaulted, have few resources available to them. Not only is there a lack of counseling for survivors, there is a lack of resources to help ensure that they land on their feet. Furthermore, the results of neoliberal economic restructuring include reduced spending on social welfare and policies that emphasize individuality and personal responsibility of the survivor over accountability for the abuser (Bumiller, 2008). This neoliberal shift in social spending and approaches to violence against women raise important questions about how things might be different for the women in this study had safety nets existed for them. Had Lily been able to access resources that could protect her from harassment, she may not have had to relocate to another city. Had the court system cared more about her ex-husband’s abusive behavior more than his rights as a father,

Amber may have had more options available to her as she tried to protect herself and her children. Had there been temporary and affordable housing available for them so she could get out of her father's house and maintain custody of her daughter, for example, Ruth might not have had to restructure her family so drastically in order to protect her daughter.

What these women also have in common is that their mobility is also coupled with their work decisions. Lily not only wanted to get away, but went to Seattle where she had friends (interpersonal safety nets) and was confident she would be able to find employment of some kind. Amber worked in the casinos and moved to Oregon for the same reason; to escape an abusive ex-husband. The casino paid enough money that she was able to leave him. Her move to Oregon helped her escape him again when he began stalking her. Ruth's decision to work as a server on Bourbon Street, an occupation she considered to be very degrading, came from her mobility after being kicked out of her father's house, and her desire to get back on her feet so she could regain custody of her daughter. Their mobility, then, is not only tied to patriarchy but to their work decisions, which for all three women, were mothering decisions. Finally, their increased mobility is tied to neoliberal economic restructuring. The ideas that cuts to social spending and an emphasis on individuality are keys to economic growth (Harvey, 2005) helped create the political economic context they made decisions within.

Desire and Means: Relocating to Nicer Neighborhoods

Several of the women in this study made the decision to move to more affluent neighborhoods. Like the other women in this study, the needs of their family were at the center of their decisions. Unlike the other women in this study, however, the women in this section had more options available to them. Thus, their decisions were not necessarily out of economic necessity but out of a desire to live in neighborhoods that were safer and in better school

districts. Lucy, for example, moved with her daughter to downtown Bellevue, a more affluent city east of Seattle across Lake Washington. Lucy is a single mother and is not wealthy. However, she does have some college education and has owned businesses in the past. She is in a different class position as many of the other women in this study. She wanted her daughter to have access to better schools and since Bellevue has a higher tax base, she would have better options for her daughter. Thus, her mothering principles guided her decision to move to Bellevue, but her higher class standing allowed her to make different decisions from many of the other women in this study.

In a similar fashion, Sophia moved with her family to Bainbridge Island from Seattle with her wife, who works in fisheries for a Washington tribe. In 2011, the median income of Bainbridge Island was \$92, 231. The most common industries in the city are professional, scientific, and technical services and the most common occupation amongst its residents are management occupations other than farmers and farm managers.¹ This is not a city that people move to out of economic necessity. Sophia discussed her decision to Bainbridge Island as a desire to live in a safer neighborhood. Her daughter had experienced some bullying at her school, which made Sophia and her wife decide to homeschool her. Furthermore, incidents such as the shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary made Sophia fear for the safety of her daughter. As a result, she decided to move to Bainbridge Island, which has a reputation for safety and that was a bit more isolated from Seattle. Like the other women in this study, Sophia made a decision about relocation that centered the needs of her daughter. However, where she relocated to was a result of means rather than economic necessity, or a lack of social safety nets.

¹ Taken from City-Data.com

Jo made a similar decision for family. Jo returned to the hospitality industry in downtown Seattle as a housekeeping inspector after working in an environmental science lab for several years. Her husband is an engineer. When the lab closed, Jo found work for as a temporary hire at a hotel on the Seattle waterfront. She had been working there for about a month at the time of our interview. Jo lives in Eatonville, a small rural town about 2 hours south of Seattle. Jo and her family used to live in Renton, a suburb south of Seattle. After an increase in violence, however, in which they had their car windows shot out, they decided they didn't want to live in the country. First, they moved to Fife. Eventually, they built a house in Eatonville. Like moving to an affluent neighborhood like Bainbridge Island, families do not build homes in the countryside out of economic necessity. Furthermore, it was not a lack of safety nets that pushed Jo and her family out of Renton. Like the other women in this study, however, Jo made a decision that she felt was in the best interest of her children. The difference is that, like Sophia, she had more options available to her.

What these stories have in common is that although the women in this section are putting their children at the center of their decisions to relocate, as the other women in this study did, they had more options available to them. All the women in this study want to make decisions that are in the best interest of their children. Family is at the center of everything they do. For some, this meant completely restructuring their families. Camila became a mother of sorts to her three nieces. Jimena has to mother her children from another country because it was not economically viable for her to remain in Honduras. Ruth, too, also had to restructure her family. She returned to New Orleans after living in Boston for many years to care for her ill mother. She left her son behind in Boston with his father. He had been diagnosed with Ewing's disease and Ruth decided it would be in his best interest to stay in Massachusetts, where there was better

healthcare. Once she got to New Orleans, Ruth ended up losing custody of her daughter after she was molested by Ruth's brother. Ruth, in a similar way as Jimena, has to mother her two children from a distance. It was a different set of political and economic circumstances that brought her to that place, but she had to restructure her family in order to mother them. Leeny also had to restructure her family by leaving one child in Texas. Since her daughter was in a gifted program at her school in Houston, Leeny decided it would be best for her daughter to remain with her father. Like the women who relocated to more affluent areas, Jimena, Ruth, and Leeny all made decisions to relocate that were centered on the needs of their children.

Unlike Sophia and Jo, however, they did not have the same array of options available to them. For women without means, mobility means moving to and from various constraints and supports. This could mean moving from job to job as discussed in the previous chapter. It can also mean relocating away from a constraint and towards a source of support. Leeny moved away from a city that lacked state safety nets through an inefficient public transportation to a city that presented more economic viability along with an extended kin network to help her raise her children. Chris moved from New Orleans, which lacked affordable childcare, to Texas where she could achieve economic viability through the support of her mother-in-law, who was able to provide childcare. Lily moved away from Texas, where there was no protection from her ex-husband, to Seattle where she had an extended kin network through a friend and was able to obtain public assistance for a time.

For the women in this study, economic viability and social supports are inextricably linked because the wages in the hospitality industry do not yield enough of an income to be able to live without social safety nets of some kind. Thus, mobility, even in this case, is more than relocation. It is constant movement through the various constraints they live within. For women

in the hospitality industry, mobility and relocation become necessary strategies in raising their children. The constraints of their work and local economies, and a lack of safety nets, means that many women cannot live up to their mothering principles if they remain where they are. When remaining in their current city, state, or country becomes impossible, mobility becomes another method for them to raise their children. As they move, then, they are mothering.

Conclusion

As a result of their increased mobility and the constraints developed through neoliberal economic restructuring, the women in this study often had to make the decision to relocate. A lack of safety nets “pushed” them out and the safety nets that did have adequate safety nets “pulled” them in. Some women in this study had to migrate to the United States from their country of origin. Trade liberalization and other neoliberal economic policies decimated many economies in the Global South. It became difficult enough to live there that the participants made the decision to leave. For some, this meant leaving their children behind. Among U.S.-born women, many had to relocate to another state in order to find gainful employment and adequate safety nets. A lack of affordable childcare, or even adequate public transportation, was enough to force women to leave cities that they otherwise enjoyed living in so that they could raise their children. Other women relocated in an effort to escape abusive, violent environments. Due to a lack of resources for survivors of gender violence, particularly non-physical forms of violence, several of the women in this study were forced to relocate to another state. Finally, some women in this study relocated because they had the desire and the means. For these women, their mothering decisions occurred within the same context as women who moved due to a lack of safety nets. However, since they lived in slightly different circumstances (e.g., an

affluent partner or higher incomes), the women who moved out of desire had more options available to them.

What the participants have in common is that their relocation came from an increased mobility that resulted from economic constraints. The lack of, and existence of, safety nets contributed to “push and pull” factors that made them move to another city, state, or country. Furthermore, the decision to relocate, like their work decisions, occurred at the intersection of their mothering principles, their job constraints, and the stigmas associated with hospitality work. It is important to emphasize that for the participants in this study, increased mobility was not a sign of opportunity, but a sign of constraints. Richard Florida (2003), in his discussion of work and leisure among a demographic he calls the “creative class,” argues that the rise of the creative class has led to an increased mobility. Florida (2003) interprets mobility as opportunity; it is a phenomenon that arises from the increased opportunities that the creative class creates. What these women demonstrate, as workers living in the same political economic context as the creative class, is that for workers in the low-wage hospitality industry (and one could argue that hospitality work is “creative” work), mobility is not a result of opportunity but of economic exploitation. When women in the low-wage hospitality industry are denied safety nets in the cities they live in, they are often forced to relocate elsewhere. Their mobility, then, arises from a place of economic and social subjugation.

Chapter Six

Motherhood Markers: The Body and the Social Construction of Motherhood in the Workplace

Hospitality work is a highly public form of employment. Hospitality workers are subject to a higher degree of visibility than other workers in the service industry. They are visible to their supervisors, who oversee their work and sometimes monitor their bodies in ways that are demeaning, or even illegal. Hospitality workers are also visible to their co-workers and to customers. Even “back-of-the-house” workers, such as hotel housekeepers, must interact with customers to some extent. Thus, workers in the hospitality industry must perform their labor under a public gaze. They do not, however, experience the public gaze in the same way. Race, class, gender, and sexuality all play a role in how people experience public spaces (Longhurst, 2001). Mothers who work in the hospitality industry must navigate the public gaze as they work to provide for their children.

In this chapter, I will discuss the concept of “motherhood markers” to explore how women with children in the hospitality industry must navigate the various ways in which their working, mothering bodies are stigmatized in the workplace. Longhurst (2001), in her analysis of bodies and pregnancy in public spaces, argues that people experience public space differently based on hierarchies of race, gender, and class, sexuality (Longhurst, 2001). These various hierarchies label marginalized bodies as “other,” which impacts how they experience public space. What this study revealed is that mothers who work in the hospitality industry experience visibility of hospitality work in a unique way. For the women who participated in this study, motherhood was one of the ways in which they could be “marked” as an Other at work. At times, the participants described these experiences as positive. Being a mother might have, for

instance, helped them bond with a customer who also has children or made them seem more trustworthy to their supervisors and co-workers. There were other ways, however, in which the participants described their experiences as negative.

One of the ways in which motherhood can mark the body is through pregnancy. The first section discusses the stories of five women who had the experience of being pregnant while working in the hospitality industry. Having a pregnant body at work impacted their experiences with their supervisors, with their co-workers, and with customers. This could mean an inappropriate comment from a customer or, in two cases, termination of employment. Another way in which the participants experienced the “markers” of motherhood in the workplace was through the simple knowledge that they were mothers. In the second section of this chapter, I discuss how being a mother impacted their experience with supervisors, co-workers, and customers.

Finally, I discuss some of the ways in which the participants’ were “marked” by other forms of stigma, specifically through their interactions with customers. These reports of markers are included here for two reasons. First, motherhood markers do not exist in a vacuum. They navigate the ways in which motherhood marks them as Other and markers that Otherize their working bodies simultaneously. Second, as will be seen in this section, as women navigate these various markers in the workplace, they are mothering. What this chapter ultimately argues is that as the women in this study mother their children in the workplace (because when they are working, they are mothering), they find that their mothering and working bodies are marked as Other.

Pregnancy in the Hospitality Industry: The Public Gaze and Politics of the Body

One of the ways that this concept of motherhood markers emerged from this study was through pregnancy. Five of the women interviewed for this study had experienced being pregnant at their workplaces. Women that work in the hospitality industry, particularly those working in tourism districts, work under a public gaze. They and their labor are part of the labor experience. Pregnancy, a very visual marker of motherhood, subjects expecting mothers to the tourist gaze in ways that they otherwise would not have. Although this could result in more beneficial outcomes such as increased tips, the women in this study also reported that being pregnant led to resentment from co-workers, inappropriate comments from customers and, in one case, termination of employment.

Janet is a server at a restaurant in Seattle's Pike Place Market. She was eight months pregnant at the time of our interview. She described her interactions with customers once she started showing,

Well, my torso's so little I feel like my stomach popped out right away. And so you have to, I don't know, you have to let people say what they want to say but it gets (laughs), it gets old. People say, "oh, are you having twins?" Or they'll ask how far along I am and when I tell them, they'll be like "must be a huge baby" or (laughs), you know, people are so inappropriate. Like I had a guy once, you know, he just said, "oh, when are you due?" it was a pretty casual conversation at first. But then it turned into, this, "my wife and I have been trying to have children but we've been having problems conceiving so we're trying in vitro right now." How do you respond to that? I'm serving your coffee, you know (laughs)? I'm sorry? So I think that, I don't know, people, when you're pregnant, have a weird feeling of just being able to say whatever they want (laughs). Or, people every day [say], "Don't go into labor while you're getting my food" and it's such a weird thing to say. I don't think I'd be here if I were going to go into labor right now, I don't know. People have weird comments. And you wouldn't believe how many people tell me to name the baby after them. People even write that on their checks, so, I don't know. It's good because obviously it helps, you know, when you're working for tips it helps for people to feel more connected with you, so I think in that regard it helps, but it sort of throws me off sometimes the obscure things that people say to me about it. They'll touch you more, like touch my belly. I don't mind being touched, it's more the things people say that throws me off.

Janet's stories of her encounters with customers when she started to show suggests two things about how pregnancy marked her in the workplace. First, her pregnancy helped the customers feel more connected with her, which resulted in better tips. Yet this also meant that customers felt comfortable commenting on her body and her pregnancy in ways that made her uncomfortable. Inappropriate comments about her body were an example of how motherhood markers otherized her and her body within her workplace. Janet also spoke as someone who preferred a certain degree of separation between herself and customers; she preferred that interactions remain more formal and professional. This is not to say that she had no desire to get to know her customers, but she also did not want to have personal, intimate conversations about her life with them. Her pregnancy, however, made her visible in a way that changed her interactions with customers.

Carrie, a bartender in the mid-city neighborhood of New Orleans, had previously worked in a restaurant in Uptown when she became pregnant with her son. She quit working double shifts when she realized she was pregnant, and eventually quit one month before her son was born. Carrie reported that the restaurant was more or less supportive of her, but that she did have some negative experiences once she got further along in her pregnancy,

There were some issues working [...] with being pregnant, but that came in later on in my pregnancy. It was just more with like people. There were some older people who I worked with who – it was just this weird coincidence that there were three older women who couldn't conceive children, and there was some resentment that popped up towards me, especially once I became big and I showed that I was pregnant. There's this aura that you just have when you're pregnant. You're like really happy and you're glowing and you're carrying this life inside of you. I think it emotionally affected other people and negatively got put back on me and I was resented by some people for being this girl who was young and pregnant and just got married, not that I was flaunting it but I carried it with me every day. And that became a little bit of an issue. There were some really nasty things that were said to me at some point in time which started to make it hard to work in that environment, which is crazy. It's not really expected, but I had to deal with that when I worked there.

The meanings Carrie assigns to her pregnancy, and the meaning she assigns to the reaction of her co-workers, indicate that motherhood put her in a different social position as some of her co-workers, which created tension. When asked for an example of one of these encounters, Carrie replied with a story that soon transitioned into her experiences with customers,

Yeah, so just on the side one of the ladies who couldn't conceive a child just came out and told me that it was difficult for her to work with me because every day she had to look at me and I was pregnant, I was going to have a child, and this was something that she could never have of her own. And that it had affected the other two women who also worked at that restaurant and they don't really want to work on the shifts with me because it's just – it was painful to them. On my shift, I just couldn't work that shift, I broke out in tears. I had to be like 6 or 7 months pregnant at the time and it made it a little hard. I had a conversation with the owner and the other two women and I guess there were some apologies, and then we just carried on, we carried on with our shifts. I continued working there. I didn't go back [to the restaurant] after – probably for that reason, though. There was just some awkwardness that had occurred. I felt like maybe I wasn't – I don't know, it was just kind of weird, like they weren't as warm as maybe they should have been. Like when you're pregnant I feel like people should be really supportive of you because it's a lot for a woman to go through, and it's a lot to work in the service industry, in a public job like that where you're serving people and you're pregnant. There's some discomfort there, you know? You walk up to a table and obviously you're pregnant, and like, "Hi, how are you doing?" and I probably made some tables feel uncomfortable because you're like eight months pregnant and you've got this really big belly and people can't ignore it and they're forced to have a baby conversation with you. I don't know, you're big and you're swollen and you're kind of wobbling, you know? I feel like people felt like they needed to tip you more because you were pregnant.

Pregnancy was a visible marker of motherhood that contributed to Carrie's experiences of Otherization in the workplace. Many scholars have examined how dominant narratives of pregnancy and motherhood differ according to race, gender, class, and sexuality (Bridges, 2011; Roberts, 1997; Hill Collins, 2000). While these studies tend to focus on the state, and Carrie's experience was with women who were more similarly situated as her, these studies shed light of the various ways pregnant bodies are interpreted by others. Carrie's pregnancy was a marker of

her age, her marital status, and her new social position as a mother. In other words, Carrie's excitement over her pregnancy was also met with stigmatization in the workplace.

Both Janet and Carrie discuss their interactions with customers and both discussed receiving more tips when they were pregnant. Their reports, however, had different tones. Janet discussed the tips as more of a perk. Carrie coupled her increased tips with stories of Otherization from her co-workers. Regardless, both report that their pregnant bodies Otherized them in the workplace. Since they were the only pregnant women working at the time, having a protruding stomach, the key marker of pregnancy, impacted interactions with customers in ways that other servers did not experience. Carrie seemed to interpret this gesture as further stigmatization. While she did report some positive experiences with customers, she also reported some awkward encounters as well,

Some people were really good about it. People I waited on some of the tables every week and they kind of kept up with your pregnancy and how you're doing and want to see ultrasound pictures. You know, they had their own families and women are always offering their own parenting advice and sharing their stories that they had with their child, or maybe they reminisced of when they were pregnant, and that was good. And I remember walking up to a table and no one wanting to make eye contact, like you being pregnant made them uncomfortable, you know what I mean? A specific person didn't really want to make eye contact with me [...] This is kind of weird, I felt like people ate more. I felt like people ordered more food when I was pregnant because I was big and fat and it made them feel more comfortable, like have an appetizer, an entrée, and then dessert, because they just weren't self-conscious about themselves, because it didn't matter, they had this really big girl waiting on them. I swear people ordered more food when I was pregnant. I had great, awesome high sales.

Carrie went on to say,

It's kind of intimidating. It's an intimidating thing to be in the public's eye and working in the service industry and being pregnant. I felt like I had to kind of like give myself a pep talk before I went to work when I was pregnant, to get through that shift. It became harder the longer, as I went through my pregnancy.

The public gaze, according to Carrie, is really at the heart of the Otherization she experienced in the workplace. For women with children, the public eye can be a source of

stigma both in physical markers of motherhood (such as pregnancy) and in the act of mothering itself. Women who participate in breastfeeding advocacy groups, for example, speak openly about the stigma, and the policing, associated with breastfeeding their child in public spaces. These same groups recently spoke out against Facebook. The social media corporation would regularly disable the profiles of women who posted pictures of themselves breastfeeding for 30 days. Facebook policy considered this an inappropriate display of nudity. Protestors argued that Facebook did not take issue with highly misogynistic images of women in submissive poses, but something as natural as breastfeeding a child was deemed obscene (Miller, 2012).

All mothers embody motherhood in some shape or form. Mothering is a highly gendered phenomenon that is almost always associated with women. Longhurst (2008), for example, discusses the puzzlement among her students when she asks them if men can mother. Although her students describe the act of mothering as nurturing, which is not directly tied to gender, they still associate mothering with a female body. Pregnancy is the most visible way a woman can embody motherhood and it is this visibility that Jane and Carrie expressed discomfort with. Their reports about customer interactions demonstrate an awareness of how their pregnant bodies are perceived by others. They could feel their position as an Other in the ways in which customers and co-workers inscribed meaning on their pregnant bodies.

Longhurst (2001) interviewed pregnant women about their experiences in the public realm. They reported an initial withdrawal from public spaces because of the ways in which their pregnant bodies were Otherized in public spaces. For the participants in this study, however, withdrawal was not a viable option. Hospitality work in front-of-the-house positions is highly visible. Furthermore, given the precarious nature of low-wage hospitality work, pregnant women do not have the option to withdrawal until it is absolutely necessary. Carrie, for

example, stated she left at eight months when it became impossible for her to spend such long hours on her feet. When a pregnant woman *has* to enter the public sphere every day, work within it and, more specifically, serve within it, pregnancy marks her in a unique way. The intersection of these two positions – worker and soon-to-be-mother- marked Janet and Carrie in a way that made her them feel even more like Others in the workplace. Those meanings that co-workers, customers, and employers (as will be seen with Kitten and Chris) inscribe on pregnant bodies are motherhood markers. Their visibly pregnant bodies made them “bodies out of place” (Lonhurst, 2000; Bell et al, 2001; Longhurst, 2008) or “space invaders” (Puwar, 2004). Their pregnant bodies marked them as bodies in conflict with the service their customers are entitled to.

For other pregnant women in the study, motherhood markers had more material consequences. Kitten and Chris were both fired from their jobs once they became pregnant. Kitten is a mother of a four month old son and a bartender in Pirate’s Alley in the French Quarter. She had recently returned to work about a week before our interview. At one point, a co-worker who had just finished her shift, Kay, came and chatted with me while Kitten went help a customer. During our conversation, Kay told me that the bar only hires women. That this establishment only wanted women standing behind the bar revealed a great deal about Kitten’s experience with her pregnancy.

At the time of our interview, Kitten had just returned to her original shift at the bar after working in another restaurant. She had to find work elsewhere because the owners of this bar fired her when she started to show,

Because I used to work here awhile back, and they actually fired me when I was pregnant (leaves to help customer). So yeah, when I was maybe about 5 months or 6 months pregnant, once I started showing, and they realized I was pregnant, they gave me a month’s notice to get

out of here, because they said I was a liability or something. So, they fired me for being pregnant.

When I inquired further about her being a “liability,” she told me that she wasn’t the first person this had happened to. Kitten made it a point to remain on good terms with her employers. She figured that once her son was born, if the bar had another opening, she might be able to get her job back if she remained on good terms with them. Her plan eventually worked. She was re-hired on a different shift. After a few months, a co-worker who had Kitten’s original shift was promoted to supervisor and wanted to start working days. Kitten was able to return to the night shift. This worked better for her and her son since her partner worked during the day. That the owner’s re-hired her after she had her son indicates that they did not care that she was a mother. They cared that she was pregnant. They didn’t want a pregnant woman standing behind the bar. When it came to needing a certain schedule to better care for her son, Kitten didn’t report any problems with getting her original shift back and said that the bar was, for the most part, a supportive workplace. Like Janet and Carrie, Kitten’s pregnant body was seen as a body out of place. In this small bar in the heart of the French Quarter, having a visibly pregnant body would threaten the image that the owners wanted to present to the customers. As a result, she lost her job and suffered significant financial losses as a result. .

Chris, whose move to Texas was discussed in the previous chapter, was also fired from a cook position at a strip club on Bourbon Street after becoming pregnant with her son. When she became pregnant with her son, who was three years old at the time of our interview, she had suffered with particularly bad morning sickness. When she had to call in for two days in a row, her employer fired her. The financial problems that Chris and her fiancé encountered started with her being from this job. They were never able to recover financially and when her fiancé was demoted at his job in the hospitality industry, it became all the more difficult to sustain

themselves and their son in New Orleans. What happened to Chris and Kitten are common in industries with a surplus labor force. An employer will often simply fire an employee and hire someone new; their labor is disposable (Chang, 2000; Wright, 2006). Hiring and training new employees can be costly. It may seem surprising, then, that an employer would choose to fire an employee that they know and trust and just hire someone new. However, in the age of neoliberal urban governance, which has created a surplus of low-wage labor, high turnover makes it easier to maintain a worker's exploitability. This is especially true for workers in "unskilled" occupations. As a result, it was easier for their employers to fire them for their pregnancy rather than allow them to continue working.

What is also striking about Chris' experience is that, unlike most of the other pregnant women in this study, she is a back-of-the-house worker. Her labor is not visible in the same way as Janet, Carrie, and Kitten. She did not have as much to say about customer interactions during her pregnancy. What is more, she had less to say about her customer interactions overall since her job did not require her to interact with customers in the same way. As such, Chris didn't report the stigma of the "public eye" in the same way that Janet and Carrie described. Nor did her employer call her a "liability" or express any concern for her visibly pregnant body. As a back-of-the-house worker, Chris wouldn't be as visible to customers. Nevertheless, Chris still experienced Otherization, the mark of motherhood, when she became pregnant. Even though her labor is not as public as workers in front-of-the-house occupations, her pregnancy was still seen as a hindrance to her employer.

Pregnancy is not only associated with a protruding belly, but through "leaks." Lactation, increased urination, hemorrhoids, and vomiting, while all normal aspects of pregnancy, can also be used to mark the pregnant body as something grotesque (Longhurst, 2001; Longhurst, 2008;

Chrisler, 2011). Like Kitten, Chris was also considered a liability to her employer. Kitten's employer did not want a pregnant woman standing behind the bar. They were concerned with what the "leaks" associated with her pregnant body would do to their bottom line. Chris's morning sickness, which we associate with vomiting, is another "leak" that dominant society associates with pregnancy. The "leaks" and "seepages" that their pregnant bodies signified to their employers were seen as a threat to their bottom line. Kitten's visibility caused concern for her employers, who worried about customer flow while having a pregnant woman standing behind the bar. Chris' employer saw the "leaks" of morning sickness as a threat to the profits he could extract from her labor. As a result, they were both fired from their jobs for being pregnant.

Motherhood marks pregnant bodies in a myriad of ways in the workplace. Like Janet and Carrie, Kitten and Chris experienced the intersection of their working bodies and their mothering bodies. The intersection of the two can be seen as in conflict with the structure of their occupations in the hospitality industry. That tension between what is expected of them as workers, and what their pregnant bodies represent, particularly a limited exploitability, can lead to negative encounters with customers, tensions with co-workers, and employers, and even termination of employment. Kitten experienced this embodied Otherness in a different way when she was fired. Longhurst (2001) also discusses the disciplining of employees' bodies through their physical appearance. An employer may monitor and regulate workers' bodies through a uniform or dress code. Just as important, however, is the flesh of their bodies. For example, employers' may monitor gait, fat, hair, muscles, skin tone, and facial features (Longhurst, 2001). In this case, the owners of the bar monitored reproduction. Even though it is illegal to fire a woman for being pregnant, the owners cited it as a reason to terminate her employment because she was a liability. Chris, similarly, lost her job after missing two days of

work due to morning sickness. Chris was, in essence, punished for being pregnant. Just as pregnant bodies can be seen as a threat to public order (Longhurst, 2001; Longhurst, 2008), they can also be seen as a threat to an employer's bottom line. As such, if their exploitability becomes limited, or if their visibility becomes a "liability," then an employer may decide to terminate their employment.

Therefore, it can be useful to see how a different work environment can have different outcomes for pregnant women in the hospitality industry. Janet spoke very highly of the restaurant and its owners. She had worked there for approximately three years. Aside from, perhaps, the women who worked for unionized hotels, Janet described a very different work environment from the other participants in this study. Janet works in the most equitable restaurant I encountered during my interviews. She made \$72,000 the previous year, she had full benefits, including life insurance for her and her children, and she received paid maternity leave. Her employers also promised her that she would be able to return to her original shift, which is the most desirable shift, when she returns from maternity leave. In the restaurant industry, it is hard to find benefits like these. As such, Janet spoke very highly of her supervisors,

But they're so, so flexible with me and they make sure I get to my appointments, make sure I'm feeling okay, and always checking on me to make sure I can lift. They're willing to give me off as much time as I would like, and they said when I come back I would still have my same schedule, which is really nice. And [...] I get paid maternity leave here, so six weeks off for a regular delivery or eight weeks for a c-section, paid. And I can take more time off than that [...] Yeah, they've been great.

Janet also reported that the owner, who had three children himself, was always very flexible with her if her oldest child was sick, or with any other family-related emergency. Of the women who spoke of their pregnancy, then, Janet seemed to have the most organizational support at her workplace. Although she did experience some Otherization among customers, Janet did not report the same motherhood markers among her employers and co-workers. Even

her tone describing customer interactions differed from Carrie and Kitten. Although inappropriate comments and touching clearly bothered her, it did not seem to cause the same level of stress that it did for Carrie and Kitten. Having a supportive work environment among her employers and co-workers were a significant buffer in dealing with customers.

It also matters that the participants were one of, if not the only, mothers in their workplace. Rose, a hostess at a hotel restaurant in downtown Seattle, is a mother of two sons. Rose was working at the hotel when she became pregnant with both of her sons. When asked whether she encountered any similar issues that other women in this study experienced, she said she did not encounter anything like that. One point that Rose made was that, in the hotel she worked at, almost everyone was a parent or a grandparent. The fact that she was a mother, then, did not single her out in the same way as some of the other women in this study. On the contrary, Rose said that her co-workers were very supportive of her and would do little things like getting her a chair to sit down and rest after being on her feet for a long time. Emma, a cook at a hotel in downtown Seattle, said something similar. Many of the women she worked with also had children. She spoke of how she enjoyed speaking with them about their families. Although she did encounter problems with the physical environment (kitchens are very hot, which became an issue during her pregnancy in the summer months), pregnancy did not mark her in the same way as other women in this study reported. Thus, similar to Janet, Rose and Emma demonstrate how organizational support – whether through supportive employers or supportive co-workers – can make a significant difference in the experience of pregnancy in the hospitality industry.

Although most of the participants had supportive partners, they also are not in a financial position where they can leave their jobs. Janet was fortunate enough to receive paid

maternity leave, which would allow her a short break from her job. Otherwise, all four women have jobs that require them to be under the public gaze. Pregnancy marked them in ways that, for their family's livelihood, had no real option but to endure until the decision was made for them. What the participants' discussion of pregnancy reveals that being pregnant can be an Otherizing experience for women in the hospitality industry. Furthermore, their workplaces rarely have supports and protections in place for them. While Janet did have some support through paid maternity leave, the hospitality industry is often a precarious industry to work in. The risks associated with a lack of labor protections and organizational support are exacerbated when the marks of motherhood (in this case, pregnancy) justify Otherizing them rather than accommodating their needs. Since women who work in the hospitality industry rarely have the option to leave the hospitality industry permanently, the ways in which pregnancy marks them in the workplace is particularly problematic.

Mothers in the Workplace: Workplace Interactions and Upward Mobility

In a similar way as pregnancy, just the knowledge that a woman in the hospitality industry has children can serve as a motherhood marker. Preparations for participant recruitment, and the recruitment process itself, revealed a great deal about the politics of motherhood within the hospitality industry. As one bartender in New Orleans told me, "This lifestyle doesn't really allow for that." Many bartenders and servers would respond to my inquiries with a polite smile and an explanation of why I would not have much luck finding a woman with children in the industry. What these informal conversations told me is that just having children, even if not visibly as with pregnant women, does still mark women and impacts their chances at finding employment in the hospitality industry. The women in this study reported that being a mother marked them in ways that their other co-workers did not experience.

What their stories reveal is that being a mother is another marker that impacts their experience on the job.

Labeija, for example, had two different stories to tell about having a son and working in the hospitality industry. Labeija is a 26 year old food server at a restaurant in Belltown, an upscale neighborhood in downtown Seattle that is popular for its trendy restaurants, bars, and boutiques. Labeija had been working in this restaurant since it opened two years before. When asked how having a son impacted her experience working there, she felt that it actually came to her advantage. The fact that she had a son indicated to her co-workers and supervisors that she was someone who was capable of taking on more responsibility. Motherhood, in this case, helped her earn trust in her workplace. In a previous job, however, Labeija said that having a son at home was seen as a nuisance to her employer. Before working in Belltown, Labeija worked in a bar in Lower Queen Anne. She described the bar as a “college bro-sky” place where many of the clientele were not from Seattle, and were the types that drank to get drunk. Her employers, although they did not say so outright, were not as supportive of the fact that she had a child at home,

[...] it was kind of seen, I felt, I don’t know, it was never said but I feel like it was seen as a nuisance almost [...] Yeah, I mean, sorry, I want to go home, it’s three in the morning. I’m not going to sit here and polish cups, I want to go to bed so I can wake up with my family, because they’re going to get up at the same time every day and so I’m in the late night schedule and they’re waking up at six, six-thirty, and I’m getting home and getting to bed at four is really difficult, so, I don’t know. When I worked [...] and I asked to go home for reasons like that, you know, for my personal reasons, my lifestyle, it was kind of seen as annoying and my boss didn’t like me for that. He was an asshole.

Labeija’s response here is more in line with what I would hear during participant recruitment. Being a mother limited her exploitability. This reminded me of what Dee said during our conversation, “I think it ties back to scheduling here. Being able to come in whenever

someone really needs you to come in and there's no question. It's like you're just expected to be there whenever they need you." In other words, women with children are less likely to agree to requests such as staying late to clean cups when they have children waiting for them at home.

Some women reported that being a mother impacted their interactions with co-workers. Amber, for example, reported some negative encounters with her supervisors for needing time off for her children after the supervisor received complaints from her co-workers,

[...] because it's kinda like sometimes they make you feel guilty if you have to take off of work for something for your kids. Because they get flak from your coworkers, basically; your coworkers are like, "Why do we have to pick up your shift because your kid has something going on? I don't have kids, so I don't ever put anybody else in a bind because of my kids, so why should I have to cover your shift 'cause your kid's got a field trip?"

Amber countered these interactions by surrounding herself with co-workers who were mothers as well. Amber also received a negative evaluation due to her use of time off through the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA). Over the course of a year, Amber and her children had sustained injuries that required surgeries. Her second-to-youngest son had lost several fingers in a construction accident where he worked. Her youngest son broke his ankle. Their injuries occurred within seven days of each other. Also during this time, Amber was rear-ended and suffered a herniated disc. Earlier that year, she had also fallen down the stairs and torn all the ligaments in her ankle. As a result, she used all her FMLA time. When the time came at the casino for work evaluations, her supervisors gave her a bad evaluation. She knew it was because of the time she took off from work. When I asked how, she replied,

Because the supervisor that gave me the evaluation slipped and said it. He said, "It's hard to evaluate somebody who's hardly ever here," which I did use 12 weeks of FMLA and six weeks of LOA [Leave of Absence] that year, 'cause I ran out of FMLA, but they were all valid – what's the word I'm looking for – valid reasons. I fell down my stairs, my son broke his leg, I got rear-ended, my other son lost his fingers, and I had foot surgery, all in the same year. So it wasn't like I was just skipping out; I wasn't playing hooky. I had serious stuff going on. And then when I had a meeting with the HR rep, the way she explained it to me, apparently they can only

give a certain quota of role model evaluations. Because the way she explained it was say you have ten servers, and all of them are on the same level, but five of them worked 40 hours, worked all their shifts, and the other missed half their shifts. There's got to be a tiebreaker, so the five who are always here are gonna get the role model, while the other five won't. I'm like, "Oh, so you're saying you held my FMLA against me." "Oh no, ma'am, that's not what I'm saying." I'm like, "That is what you're saying. That's exactly what you're saying. You're just putting it in different words, because you can't say that." So that's how I know.

Motherhood marked Labeija and Amber in ways that Otherized them. The fact that they were mothers conflicted with their employers' ability to extract as much labor from them as possible. Furthermore, Labeija and Amber enacted their rights as workers in order to care for their children. Labeija refused to work overtime and Amber utilized her FMLA benefits in order to be physically present at the times they saw fit. Since it was their responsibilities as mothers that led them to do this, it was their mothering that was stigmatized within the workplace. The literature on mothering in the workplace often focuses on the lives of middle-class, professional women. For them, work may or may not necessarily be a mothering decision. The women in this study, however, who interpret work as a mothering decision, work in the hospitality industry for their children. This does not mean they have it easier, but rather that for them raising children is not something that needs to be "balanced" with work. When situations arise where they feel the demands on their labor are interfering with their ability to be present for their children, they find that being a mother leaves them vulnerable to punishment. In Labeija's case, it was resentment from her employer. In Amber's case, it was a bad evaluation, which could have long-term consequences for promotions and raises. While this is similar to mothers in professional positions, who might lose a promotion or raise for having children, it is also different in that the precarious, low-wage environment of the hospitality industry makes it more difficult to negotiate. For them, the marker of motherhood means that, in a neoliberal

environment of surplus, low-wage labor, having children conflicted with their employers' ability to extract the maximum amount of labor from them.

Women who did not report this same level of Otherization, like Rose and Emma, worked in positions where there a lot of other women with children or, like Janet, had a lot of organizational support through their employers and co-workers. The interviews with the participants in this study, combined with informal interviews and conversations I had during the recruitment process, indicated that motherhood can mark women in the hospitality industry in ways that otherize them. This can lead to negative encounters with co-workers and supervisors or, as in one case, denial of a promotion. Although just having children does not render women as visible in the workplace as pregnancy does, being a mother can still be an Otherizing experience in the workplace. The regulation and control of workers bodies described in much of the labor literature (Chang, 2000; Longhurst, 2001; Wright, 2006) serves to keep them exploitable. For women in the hospitality industry, their job entails being under the tourist gaze. When it interferes with their exploitability, motherhood can mark them in ways that lead to economic and social repercussions.

Working Bodies and Social Markers: Customer Interactions in the Hospitality Industry

Although motherhood is a significant marker that women experience in the workplace, it is not the only one. Women in the hospitality industry also have to navigate lines of gender, class, and sexuality while they work. Even though the stories in this section do not directly tie to their social position as mothers, it sheds light on what women in the hospitality industry experience to be the kind of mother they want to be to their children. Furthermore, these stories serve as a reminder that social hierarchies do not occur in a vacuum. Mothers in the hospitality industry must navigate motherhood markers while they simultaneously navigate other hierarchies

within the hospitality industry. Finally, when mothers in the hospitality industry encounter these other markers in the workplace, they are mothering. Part of their experience in the hospitality industry, which is a mothering decision to adequately care for their children, is to navigate these various hierarchies in the workplace.

For example, Lily and Camila are both hotel housekeepers in downtown Seattle. Both women migrated from Mexico in the 1990s and had been working in housekeeping positions for over 10 years at the time of our interview. Lily started in hotel housekeeping and was working as a housekeeping supervisor at the time of our interview. She told me about several degrading experiences with customers while working in the hotel.

Hay clientes muy necios, que todo les molesta. Habido clientes que hemos limpiado el cuarto, sé que la cama está limpia, que las sábanas están limpias y vienen y me dice “Cámbiame. Yo quiero ver que traes las sábanas limpias. Quítalas.” El cliente paga y el cliente manda. Entonces, molesta pero hay que hacerlo. Tenemos que quitar todo delante del cliente, poner sábanas limpias, cobijas limpias, todo como él quiere.

There are guests who are very irritating, they all bother the housekeepers. There have been guests where we’ve cleaned the room, I know the bed is clean, that the sheets are clean, and they come to me and say, “Change them in front of me. I want to see you bring clean sheets. Remove these.” The guest pays so the guest makes demands. So, he’s bothersome but you have to do it. We have to remove everything in front of the guest, put clean sheets, clean blankets, everything how he wants.

What Lily is describing here is class-based, dehumanizing treatment. When Lily says, “*El cliente paga y el cliente manda* (the guest pays and the guest demands),” she is saying something about how, in the hospitality industry, money and power determine individual worth. Although this particular guest engaged in behavior that created more work for the housekeeper and dehumanized her, it is his right as a guest to do so. Lily gave another example that really speaks to the impacts of dehumanizing treatment from hotel guests,

Ha habido clientes que nos dejan muy malas notas, malo, malo. Ha habido clientes que - es lo que menos me gusta. Nosotros tenemos un sueldo, es voluntario si dejan propina, okay, es

*voluntario, si no dejan, está bien, pero lo que no me gusta es que hay clientes que agarran un notita y ponen “thank you” y dejan un penny. Eso – yo no limpio cuartos, pero se lo hacen a mis muchachas. **Eso nos hace – nos bajan el autoestima, que no dejen, pero eso nos sentimos como una burla.** No tienen que dejar nada. Ha habido clientes muy buenos, que salen y nos dicen “Muy buen trabajo. Me gustó mucho todo.” Y no dejan nada, pero eso ya, nos sentimos contentas. Y, hay otros clientes que simplemente, ni bueno, ni malo, pero eso es trabajo y ni modo.*

There have been guests who leave us really mean notes, mean, mean. There have been guests – it’s what I like the least. We have a salary, it’s voluntary if they leave a tip, okay, it’s voluntary, if they don’t leave one, it’s fine, but what I don’t like is that there are guests that write a note and put “thank you” and leave a penny. That – I don’t clean rooms, but they’re doing that to my girls. *That makes us – they lower our esteem, that they don’t leave, but that makes us feel like a joke.* They don’t have to leave anything. There have been very good guests, that leave and tell us “Great job. I really liked everything.” And they don’t leave anything, but that in itself, we feel happy. And there are other guests that simply, neither good nor bad, but that’s work either way. (Emphasis added)

Incidents like these reduce the women in these positions to working bodies whose value equates to the labor they perform. When Lily says “*nos bajan el autoestima, que no dejen, pero eso nos sentimos como una burla* (they lower our esteem, that they don’t leave, but that makes us feel like a joke),” she is voicing pain the results from a lack of respect for the work the housekeepers perform. The physical demands of housekeeping work are very high. It has one of the highest rates of occupational injuries and many housekeepers are prone to several chronic conditions such as carpal tunnel syndrome (Seifert and Messing, 2006). Ann, for example, takes regular cortisone shots to treat plantar fasciitis; a myofascial condition that occurs when the plantar fascia (a tendon that runs along the bottom of the foot and attaches to the Achilles tendon) tightens and develops small tears. Lily reported that the work is hard on her knees. The hotel housekeepers who participated in this study work in occupations that require them to subject themselves to physical pain in order to best serve tourists. They perform back-breaking work, literally on their hands and knees, so that hotel guests can have perfectly made beds and

spotless bathrooms. When customers treat them this way, they are bringing class differences, and the power associated with those differences, to the forefront.

Camila told me about a time a male guest exposed himself to her,

Bueno, en esa ocasión, me llamaron porque decía que el huésped no le servía algo del baño y yo fui, toqué como normal, y ya me abrió y solo asomó la cabeza y me dijo, “Oh, sí, no sirve ahí,” así que un poco molesto. Dice, “Pero está bien, puedes pasar.” Y ya, pasé, pero no me di cuenta que él no tenía ropa. Yo pasé, normal y vi. Y cuando regresé ya estaba así como si nada. Dice – yo me quedé así, dice, “Pero no te preocupes, tú puedes hacer tu trabajo yo aquí bien sin nada.” Yo le dije, “No, no, no, no, yo regreso más tarde, no, regreso.” “No, no, no, no te preocupes.” Y yo le dije, “¿Sabe qué?” Le dije. “Iré, yo estoy trabajando aquí, esto no está permitido que usted esté así. Yo sé que está usted en su cuarto, usted tiene su privacidad aquí, pero cuando yo venga aquí, por favor ¿te puedas poner algo? Porque yo no quiero que puede pasar algo malo.” Le digo, “Entonces yo – cuando esté usted listo, yo regreso.” “No, no, no, no, no.” Dijo, “No te preocupes, todo está bien.” Se fue y se acostó y empezó a hablar, “¿Y no te gustaría decir cosas que -,” yo le dije, “¿Sabe qué? Yo regreso más tarde.” Fui al front desk y le dije. Ya subió y cuando subieron ya tenía la ropa. Y agarra y me dice, “Lo que pasa es que venimos a ayudar a la muchacha porque dice que no puede componerlo. Ya no dijo lo que yo dije, ¿verdad? “Oh, no, no, sí,” dice, “está bien, no se preocupe, es que yo le dije que pasara, que estuviera bien.” Pero esa fue la experiencia que yo dije, “No, si yo vuelvo a ver alguien, yo ya no entro, que ya son hombres y da miedo.”

Well, this one time, they called me because they said the guest wasn't served something from the bathroom and I went, (played the role as usual?), and he opened the door for me and only poked his head out and said, (“Oh, yeah, no service there?”), (like he was a little annoyed?). He says, “But it's fine, you can come in.” And so, I went in, but I didn't realize that he wasn't wearing any clothes. I went in, normal, and I saw. And when I returned he was already like that as if it was nothing. He said – I remained there, he says, “But don't worry, you can do your job with me here, (no big deal?).” I told him, “No, no, no, no, I'll come back later, no, I'll come back.” “No, no, no, no, don't worry about it.” And I told him, “You know what?” I told him, “(I'm going?), I am working here, this isn't allowed that you're here like that. I know you're in your room, you have privacy here, but when I come here, please, can you put something on? Because I don't want something bad to happen.” I say to him, “So I – when you're ready, I'll come back.” “No, no, no, no.” He said, “Don't worry, everything is fine.” He went and lied down and began to speak, “And you wouldn't like to say things that - ?” I said to him, “You know what? I'll come back later.” I went to the front desk and told them. They went up and when they got there he had clothes on. And (he grabs me?) and says, “What happened is that we came to help the girl because she says she can't fix it.” “He didn't say what I said, right?” “Oh, no, no, yeah,” he says, “it's fine, don't worry, (it's like I told her?), it was fine.” But that was the experience where I said, “No, if I come to see someone, now I don't come in, when it's men who scare me.”

Exposing oneself to a housekeeper is a report that I heard both formally and informally while conducting interviews for this study. The man in Camila's story showed very little regard for how his behavior impacted her. Not only did he not put on his clothes, but when she voiced her concern he went to the bed and lied down. His behavior demonstrated indifference towards her comfort, her safety, and her labor. Since women tend to occupy low-wage service positions such as hotel housekeeping, the ways in which customers render class differential visible occur as they also render their gender visible.

There is a certain level of entitlement and ownership associated with reducing a person's body to their labor. Lily and Camila reported this in their experience with hotel guests. Both Lily and Camila have encountered treatment as hotel workers that is degrading and damaging to the psyche. Low-wage positions in the hospitality industry are also highly gendered, racialized, and classed positions. Women in "back-of-the-house" positions such as housekeeping work are increasingly occupied by non-white, non-U.S born women (Seifert and Messing, 2006). Both Lily and Camila migrated from Mexico, both work in the housekeeping department of a hotel and, thus, both experience the "invisibility" of back-of-the-house occupations. Their stories about customer abuse reveal the level of stigma attached to their labor. When a guest demands that a task be done in front of them (even though it had already been done), leaves a one-cent tip, or exposes himself, it says something about the classed and stigmatized nature of housekeeping work. In other words, low-wage work in the hospitality industry is seen by some to be inferior work. As a result, workers often find themselves subject to degrading and dehumanizing treatment while on the job. This is what Lily was referring to when she said that customer abuse can make workers feel like a joke. Hotel guests, however, sometimes see this labor as existing for their consumption. Although some guests are very kind, others feel justified in degrading the

workers who serve them. Housekeeping work, as well as other occupations in the hospitality industry, is marked by race, class and gender. The class markers of service labor also exist within other sectors of the hospitality industry.

Women in more visible positions in the hospitality industry, such as bartending and food service, also reported demeaning encounters with customers. Labeija has worked in several restaurants and bars in downtown Seattle. At the time of our interview, she was working in a restaurant in the Belltown district. Labeija described two encounters with customers, one of which led her to quit her job. The first incident occurred at her job in Belltown when a customer got angry over a problem with his order,

Labeija: Sometimes you get somebody that never, is always unsatisfied, you know, and you have to try to, like, hold your tongue while they're just being an asshole to you, you know, and you have to sit there and, like, take it, and they're making it personal and it's not personal. You know, when I didn't do that, I didn't make the price, I didn't make the menu, I didn't, I'm just the middleman. And then when it gets taken out on you, yeah, it's, that's probably my least favorite. Somebody throws their plate of food at you because there's, like, sauce on there when they asked for no sauce. Like, that kind of, chaps my ass. Like, why would you do that to anybody?

Anna Hackman (AH): And that happened to you at [the restaurant]?

Labeija: Yeah, he, like, threw the plate across the table and it, like, splattered everywhere. And there was, like, everybody was staring, so I had a whole section of, like, ten tables, one of the larger sections, and everybody felt terrible for me so I got a lot of sympathy tips, which worked out, you know, but it was just like, oh shit, wow. Like [...] my job is customer satisfaction, we can always help people if they need help, or if they don't like something we can get it re-done for them, like, I don't have any problem with that, I just have a problem when they, like, take it out on you and, like, I don't know, don't let you help them.

AH: Does that happen often?

Labeija: Yeah, absolutely. Some cases worse than others, but probably at least once every other week you get someone like that, if not every week. Probably get at least one person who stands out more than the rest that was just an asshole for no reason, having a bad day, or didn't like the fish, and it really, like, tore him up, you know, like, ooh.

AH: Yeah. So with that guy who threw the plate, for example, what did you end up doing after that? Like, how did you have to handle that situation?

Labeija: I was, like, I didn't say anything. I was just, kind of, jaw dropped, like, and then he walked out and, like, stormed away, and I was, like, alright, like, sorry, like, whoa.

In telling the story, Labeija not only notes the action itself, but her visibility. Serving food is already a very public, visible occupation. A server is the one who takes the order, brings the food, who hears a customer's complaints and who has to help fix any problems that arise. Although there are a plethora of people who keep a restaurant running, it is the server who the customer has the most contact with. Sophia said something similar about her experience working at a restaurant in Capitol Hill, a neighborhood in Seattle. When the restaurant changed ownership and began making drastic changes to the menu, Sophia was the one who would bear the brunt of the hostility from customers. Since it is the server's job to make sure customers have what they need, and since they are one of the more visible employees within a restaurant, they are the ones who are subject to a customer's ire if something goes wrong. Since visibility is such a central part of a server's job, when a server is publicly humiliated in this way, that visibility can feel magnified. This is what I heard in Labeija's words as she told her story. The "sympathy tips," the fact that the customer threw his food over what she felt was a very manageable problem (i.e., when she says "my job is customer satisfaction"), her stunned silence, all speak to the ways in which Labeija felt her visibility in this situation. Her magnified visibility is a marker of class. When the customer threw his food across the table, it was also across class lines. He was a customer, she was his server. He made brought an unspoken understanding of their class differences to the forefront and literally threw it at her. Customer abuse as the women above described are class markers. Harvey (2006), in his analysis of the political economy of public space, cites a poem about class and consumption by Baudelaire. A man and his partner sit at an outside table dining at a café. A visibly poor man and his two children stop to admire the

café, although they cannot afford to eat there themselves. The man dining with his partner, and who is the narrator of this poem, cites this as the time he fell out of love with her. Both he and his partner became increasingly aware of their class positions in this encounter. However, while the man felt guilt and sympathy about his upper-class standing, the woman he was dining with wanted to the café to make the poor man and his children leave so she didn't have to see them. Harvey (2006) uses this poem to make the claim that public spaces are designed for those with the most capital and, thus, the highest capacity for consumption. Those who work in these spaces, particularly hospitality workers, are expected to accommodate their consumption. Those who are "entitled" to that space, when their privilege is brought to the forefront in a very visible way, can feel guilt, discomfort, or even anger. All of these occurred when the customer made the decision to throw his food at Labeija. When one customer juxtaposed his class standing against Labeija by throwing his plate, the other customers became aware of their own class standing. At the center of all this was Labeija, who had to continue on with her shift after this occurred. This customer marked her by class, making it more visible than it already was, and that marked stayed with her in her interactions with the other customers.

At times, under the tourist gaze, workers are seen as part of the package. The various ways in which their bodies are marked along lines of race, gender, class, sexuality, and motherhood can influence their experiences with customers on the job. Ruth, whose story was also included in the introduction, works in a bar and nightclub on Bourbon Street. Her workplace was one in which she was expected to look "available." She expressed frustration at having to wear revealing clothing and full makeup in order to sell to male customers. In turn, male customers often viewed their servers' bodies as part of their purchase. Ruth shared stories

about New Orleans, tourist perceptions of New Orleans, and what that meant for her being a woman working in the hospitality industry.

Oh yeah! I get asked out 20 times a night. Like, like I'm for hire. I don't appreciate that. That's what I don't like, that's why I can't work upstairs. Wear the slinky night dress, I mean, if I'm going to wear a slinky night dress I want to be on a date (laughs). Not working people for money. 'Cause that's just one step to being a whore.

At her place of employment, Ruth reports being marked by gender as well as class.

Ruth's reports of sexual harassment on the job speak to the gendering of women's bodies in the hospitality industry. To say that she gets asked out as if she were for hire demonstrates a sense of entitlement that male customers feel towards her. Ruth works in a highly gendered environment in which women are marketed as being as much for sale as the alcohol. In addition to being asked out, Ruth has also had to have customers removed for putting their hands on her. Sexism and harassment from male customers is a common occurrence in her workplace. Ruth is subject to the "tourist gaze" as a woman working in the French Quarter. Ruth is also 42 years old, making her older than some of her co-workers. This contributed to another encounter with a customer that reduced her to tears,

Ruth: I was waiting on, I think it was 8 guys, and they were all Alabama fans. Assholes. And then they all wanted separate checks. And then something got, so, you got to figure, eight separate checks during three hours, and I put one thing wrong on another person's check. And the guy actually did make me cry. He kept insulting me left and right, because the kitchen was taking too long. I'm like, "I have no control. I'm very sorry. You see the kitchen right here, and when they put it up, I will give it to you. I am so sorry." But he just kept berating me left and right. So, finally I just, I don't know if it was my time of the month or it just got to me, I went to the bathroom, had myself a real good cry, came out, went like this (simulates wiping tears from her eyes and flicking them at the customer) like, "Hope that makes you feel like a fucking man." And when it came time to drop all the checks off, he wrote a note on the credit card slip, like, "That's why you're a waitress at 40. You make excuses." That's my worst experience, because that cuts deep.

Anna Hackman (AH): How long ago was that?

Ruth: Three weeks maybe, and see, I'm still tearing up over it. Because, yeah, I am a waitress at 40. Not much I can do about it.

AH: I'm interviewing women here and in Seattle and I hear that sometimes that they say they're a waitress or a server –

Ruth: Yeah, you're looked down upon, like you're a non-person. That, that hurts a lot.

AH: Does that happen a lot?

Ruth: No. That's why I think that one thing really stands out. Like, you get off on making people feel small? What do they call it, "scheidenfreud?" Well, good for you, asshole. That's why you're alone.

AH: So, after a day like that, I don't know if after work, what do you do?

Ruth: Oh, to like decompress?

AH: Yeah.

Ruth: Well that night I, what did I do? Oh, I drank heavily. I went home, I took my cab home, and I had my martinis. Smoked a little weed, and weed is not really my go-to thing, I like my vodka. But that night, just a little extra, "Gail, can I have a hit?" So yeah, after a night like that, I wanted to punch somebody. But that's not my nature. I mean, because I'm a true believer in karma. He's already miserable. So, fuck you.

Ruth revealed an intersection between gender, class, and age in her experiences with customers. This man saw her age, that she was a waitress, and a woman, and justified dehumanizing her for a mistake. Just as Labeija and Sophia reported mistreatment for things that were out of their control, Ruth also had endure degrading treatment from a customer for what was happening in the kitchen. Mistreatment from customers can take a real emotional toll on the workers. What Lily, Camila, Labeija, and Ruth have in common is something I heard from other workers as well: that a consumerist mentality can sometimes make a customer feel justified in berating or degrading the workers who are serving them. Unhappy customers, for some women in this study, were enough to make them quit their jobs. Sophia, for example, left her job in Capitol Hill when another customer berated her for the food. LaBeija left another job near the

Seattle Waterfront after receiving a five dollar tip on a 300 dollar bill. Workers in the hospitality industry are racialized, classed, and gendered bodies in the public sphere. Furthermore, since their job entails service to the customer, their bodies can often be separated from their humanity. Their bodies, marked as part of the consumption package, can subject them to violence and abuse from customers. .

What Ruth said about “drinking heavily” after experiencing customer abuse speaks to another issue that arose from their interviews; their experiences at work influenced their experiences at home. Sophia said customer abuse impacts her as a mother because she comes home to her daughter in a bad mood. Ruth feared that her line of work would contradict how her children interpreted her mothering principles. She told me what she says to her children about the line of work she is in,

I try and – my daughter knows I’m working as, I say a waitress. But I try and glaze over it. My son as well. I don’t even talk to them about if I have a date or not. No, they just need to know that mommy’s working. Mommy’s doing alright. They don’t need to know what my job entails. They don’t need to know that I have to put on face paint to come here. Because I think that would diminish me in their eyes. They don’t need to know this. ‘Cause I’m not particularly proud.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the decision to work in the hospitality industry is a mothering decision. When they are working, when they encounter these various markers in the workplace, they are mothering. As such, the women in this study demonstrate a concern that their mothering decisions at work might impact their mothering decisions at home. Whether it is coming home in a bad mood, or fearing that their line of work will make their children think less of them, the women in this study feel the markers of the workplace will mark their interactions with their children. Lily put her overall experience as a working mother this way, “*A la vida venimos a luchar y hay que luchar y con mucho esfuerzo se pueden sacar los hijos adelante* (We come into life fighting, and must fight, with a lot of effort once can help their children advance).”

The women in this study endure customer abuse for their children. When they work, they mother, and the classed and gendered environments they navigate while they are on the clock are part of the structure they work within in order to raise their children.

Conclusion

Motherhood markers, then, are processes of Otherization that can lead to negative encounters with employers, co-workers, and customers. While not all the experiences women had were necessarily bad ones, the women in this study did often report that their Otherness as mothers was problematic for them in the workplace. Women who were pregnant in the workplace found motherhood marked them in a very unique way. Many of the pregnant women in this study, who did not have the option to withdraw from public space, experienced inappropriate comments from customers, tension and conflict with co-workers and, in one case, termination of employment. Furthermore, being a mother can put limitations on workers' exploitability. Since mothers sometimes need flexibility for their children, the women in this study could experience tension with employers and co-workers. While being a mother could also help them bond with customers, which was particularly beneficial to tipped workers, it also marked them in ways that women without children did not experience.

Finally, motherhood markers do not occur in a vacuum. As mothers in the hospitality industry navigate the embodied markers of motherhood, they simultaneously navigate the markers of race, gender, class, and sexuality. As Others existing under a tourist gaze, mothers sometimes encounter customer abuse and violence as they try to provide a good quality of life to their children. As discussed in chapter four, the women in this study make decisions for their children at the intersections of mothering principles, economic constraints, and social stigma. They must navigate these various spheres as they make the best decisions they can for their

children. Along with the economic constraints of their work, their job also comes with its own stigmas. The class and gender stigmas associated with hospitality work mark them when they are in the workplace. Since they are mothering when they are working, understanding markers other than motherhood in the workplace is important in understanding what mothers in the hospitality industry encounter as they raise their children. Since mothering exists in time and space, mothering bodies shift between various spaces in order to raise their children. Thus, a woman with children who works in the hospitality industry to provide for her children does not cease to be a mother when she clocks in. When she encounters customer abuse and Otherness in the workplace she is not just a working body, she is a mothering body. In other words, even though they are not physically present with her children, when the women in this study are working, they are mothering.

What is also striking about motherhood markers and other forms of Otherization in the hospitality industry are the similarities between front-of-the-house and back-of-the-house workers. Motherhood markers could be seen among workers in both types of occupations. Although their jobs differ in their visibility, which did have an influence on their experience, both groups of workers experienced the markers of motherhood at equal levels. What their interviews show is that although the structure of front-of-the-house and back-of-the-house labor may differ, they are similar in their social position as service workers. Whether or not they work in more visible positions, women with children in the hospitality industry are marked in ways that stigmatize them. This is not to say there are no differences. Part of the reason a male customer exposed himself to Camila is because she was a back-of-the-house employee and thus there were few people around. Ruth would be less likely to encounter that specific form of sexual harassment on the job, although she did experience it in other forms. Thus, while both

Camila and Ruth experienced sexual harassment in their workplaces, the forms it took differed due to their differing levels of visibility in the hospitality industry.

There is an abundance of literature on the treatment of mothers and the stigmatization of their bodies. Chrisler (2011) argues that women's bodies – particularly leaks and lumps such as menstruation and fat – are viewed as threatening and stigmatizing. Other scholars have noted the prevalence of pregnancy discrimination, as well as discrimination against mothers, in the workplace (Reuter, 2005; Salihu et al, 2012). Furthermore, in the service industry, scholars have discussed customer violence and abuse as an issue of occupational health and safety because it increases the demands of emotional labor (Boyd, 2002; Rupp and Spencer, 2006). Boyd (2002), in her study of airline and railway workers, argues that just as physical labor is considered in terms of volume and intensity, so should emotional labor. Customer violence increases the demands of emotional labor, which can be detrimental to employee health (Boyd, 2002).

Hospitality work is a form of emotional labor that requires constant exposure to public space. Since hospitality work is also low-wage, precarious labor, workers can find themselves in problematic situations where they have little or no labor protections. The literature on the Foucauldian nature of the tourist gaze tends to focus on the experience of the tourist (Larsen and Urry, 2011). What the literature does not often recognize, however, is that the locals who are subject to the gaze are also often workers. Just as the performance of the gaze is an embodied one (Larsen and Urry, 2011), the role of workers under the gaze is also an embodied one; an embodied Otherness. It is an embodied role that tourists expect and that employers sometimes perpetuate for their own profit (Longhurst, 2001; Boyd, 2002). Their embodied Otherness is an expectation that the worker will do their part to contribute to the tourist experience. Janet, for example, discussed how she knows little things about Seattle (e.g., when the Ferris wheel opens

and how much it costs) because customers often ask her those kinds of details. Rose, a hostess at a hotel restaurant in downtown Seattle, also has to know about other restaurants in the area and other attractions that guests might be interested in. What these studies show is that the demands of emotional labor can take a real toll on workers' quality of life. The women who participated in this study add to the discussion through the relationship between their bodies and public space. In other words, their stories about motherhood and the hospitality industry bring space into the discussion. More specifically, their stories bring tourist spaces into the discussion.

Conclusion

For the women in this study, mothering occurs at the intersections of their mothering principles, their economic constraints, and social stigma. They put the needs of their children at the center of every decision they made. However, they have to make decisions based on a limited array of options. Furthermore, their decisions are characterized by constant movement. Whether they move from job to job, or relocate to another neighborhood, city, state, or country, the women in this study constantly move as they try to create stability, to create stillness, for their children. They experienced mothering and mobility in a variety of ways. They navigated the constraints of their jobs and the stigma associated with it through their mobility. Sometimes, this meant relocation to another city, state, or even country. When a city or country lacks safety nets, many women will be forced to places where safety nets do exist. Furthermore, while the women in this study found that their work and mothering carried meaning outside the workplace, they also found that their work and mothering carried meaning within the workplace as well. Motherhood often marked them in ways that stigmatized and Otherized them among their supervisors, co-workers, and customers. While they sometimes saw benefits to their Otherization, they also experienced tension and, in some cases, termination of their employment. Women in the hospitality industry constantly move through various spaces – both physical and ideological spaces – in order to be the kinds of mothers they want to be for their children. Their mothering decisions and practices exist in time and geographic space, and they constantly navigate through contradictory, constraining, and stigmatizing spaces as they raise their children.

Bodies, Space, and Place: Embodied Mothering Inside and Outside the Workplace

The women in this study demonstrated that the decisions they made for their children are embodied decisions. That is, mothers in the hospitality industry must move, or not move,

through the stigmas attached to their bodies and to the bodies of their children. They possess bodies that exist in spaces that are deemed unmotherly in dominant society. Furthermore, for some of the women in this study, their children possess bodies that are presumed deviant in dominant society.

Puwar (2004) calls this “matter out of place” (pg. 10). Although Puwar (2004) focuses on women and people of color who find entrance into higher paid, professional occupations, the analysis is still useful in demonstrating how groups deemed other experience the public realm. She argues,

“The presence of women and racialised minorities continues to locate what are now insiders as outsiders. Being both insiders and outsiders, they occupy a tenuous location. Not being the somatic norm, they don’t have an undisputed right to occupy this space. Yet they are still insiders. Their arrival brings into clear relief what has been able to pass as the invisible, unmarked and undeclared somatic norm. These new bodies highlight the constitutive boundaries of who can pass as the universal human, and hence who can be the ideal figure of leadership. What has been constructed out in the historical and conceptual imagination is brought to the fore” (Puwar, 2004, pg. 8).

Women in the hospitality industry possess bodies that are “matter out of place.” Their working bodies are considered to be in conflict with their mothering bodies. When a pregnant woman serves food, or tends bar, she calls to question the “somatic norm,” which their employers, co-workers, and customers never had to question before. They are also “matter out of place” outside the workplace. A judge who awards custody to a hospitality worker’s ex-husband, or reduces her custody, because of her line of work is saying that when she brings her

mothering body into a “non-mothering” space, she is breaking gendered boundaries, which call her parenting into question.

The women in this study, however, did not dichotomize their working and mothering bodies in the same way. Rather, they interpreted their work decisions as mothering decisions. Their work in the hospitality industry was centered on their children. They navigated the constraints of their work, the work options they had available to them, and the needs of their children. For them, their work in the hospitality industry was for their children. When they were waiting tables, tending bar, cleaning hotel rooms, or cooking in the kitchens, they were also mothering their children. The constraints and stigma they encounter were based on assumptions on their labor, their bodies, and their capacity to adequately parent their children. What this study demonstrated is that those assumptions are inaccurate. The participants were more than capable of making good decisions for their children.

If their decisions were “unconventional,” it was due to the limited options they had available to them. Amber, for example, left her children with a babysitter at night so that she could work at the casino. A judge reduced her custody from full custody to shared custody because he could not understand how she could be an effective mother when her work made her “matter out of place.” She was a mothering body that, at night, existed in the “wrong” space.

Mothering through Constraints: The Structure of Hospitality Work and Mobility

Part of the reason Amber was able to do this was because of cost. The sitter was a personal friend who offered Amber childcare services at a very low price. Had there been 24 hour, affordable childcare available to Amber, she might have made a different decision. When mothers are systematically denied the resources to adequately care for their children, they are often forced to make decisions that deviate from our “common sense” understanding of proper

parenting. Had the women in this study made higher wages, had flexible hours, more bargaining power, and had access to more effective and sufficient safety nets, the decisions they made to raise their children may have been significantly different. The options actually available to them, however, meant that they had to raise their children within a variety of constraints. The decisions they had to make also increased their mobility. The women in this study moved from job to job, relocate to other cities, states, and countries, and had to move, ideologically and physically, through various spaces in which they experienced stigma and Otherness. As bodies out of place – mothers who work in “unmotherly,” degraded occupations – they had substantial limitations placed on the decisions they could make for their children.

Mothering and Labor Justice in the Hospitality Industry

What this study also reveals is the need for significant structural changes in the hospitality industry. Several of the participants had their own ideas of what could change. Higher wages, a federal minimum wage for servers, and in-house childcare facilities were all ideas hospitality workers had to improve their working conditions and make it easier for them to raise their children. There is also a need to increase labor protections for working mothers, particularly for pregnant women. A return to the literature after the interviews with Kitten, Carrie, Chris, and Janet revealed a real lack of investigation of pregnancy in the workplace, particularly for women in the low-wage service industry. What does exist tends to focus on professional women. Many of the occupations in the hospitality industry are physically demanding. Even servers and bartenders, who do not perform the physical duties of a housekeeper, are required to spend long hours on their feet. There is a real lack of literature on what women in the hospitality industry experience when they become pregnant. Considering that two of the participants were fired as a result, there is a real need to understand how to

improve their working conditions and protect them from punitive labor practices for being with child. Although the women in this study do the best they can and do manage to take excellent care of their children, they should not have to navigate the constraints and stigma they currently encounter. Stability and security are possible in the hospitality industry. Rose and Emma, who both work for a unionized hotel, have been there for over a decade. Mobility is a strategy that mothers in the hospitality industry have, but it does not have to be. A healthy, supportive work environment with living wages can be a step in ensuring that women in the hospitality industry are able to raise the healthy, productive children they work for every day. Although the participants found ways to care for their children, this study demonstrates that the structure of hospitality work, and the lack of social safety nets, puts significant and unnecessary constraints on them.

To better articulate how the hospitality industry can better serve the needs of women with children, I want to come back to Janet. Again, Janet is a server at a restaurant located in the Pike Place Market in downtown Seattle. At the time of our interview, she had one daughter and was eight months pregnant with her son. In many ways, Janet was an anomaly among the participants because she had significantly more options available to her. Other women in the study who didn't have as many constraints also had partners with middle-class incomes. Although the father of Janet's second child was very supportive and very involved in the pregnancy, Janet had primarily lived as a single mother. Still, the way she talked about work and family was significantly different from the other women in the study. This was because, relative to the other participants, Janet worked in a much more equitable labor environment. Janet, with time, was able to get the most desirable shift at the restaurant, which not only had more desirable hours but had the most customer flow. With wages and tips, she had made \$72,000 the previous

year. More than that, however, she had significantly more organizational support. Her employers offered full benefits and life insurance, she was given paid maternity leave, and she was promised her original shift when she returned from maternity leave.

Janet said that since the owner had three children of his own, and was a very family-oriented person, he was very supportive of Janet throughout her pregnancy. He took measures to make sure she was not physically exerting herself in ways that could endanger the baby, and constantly checked in with her to make sure she was feeling alright. For a non-unionized restaurant located in the heart of a city's tourism district, this level of organizational support is more of an exception than the norm. Ruth, for example, suffered a herniated disc after she started working on Bourbon Street. She returned to work after one week, despite a doctor's recommendation that's she should avoid physically strenuous labor for several months. Although her employers did not require her to do any heavy lifting while she recovered, the structure of the hospitality industry, in which her labor is in surplus, did not allow her to take the necessary time to recover. What is more, Janet's situation ensured that she did not lose money while took leave for her pregnancy. Other women in the study, like Ann who needed more flexible hours to put her daughter on the school bus, had to quit their jobs.

Future Directions

This study also identified several areas that require future study. Pregnancy in the low-wage service industry, for example, deserves further attention. Scholarship on pregnancy and labor, as well as popular narratives tend to focus on professional women. Janet, Carrie, Kitten, and Chris demonstrate that pregnant women in the low-wage hospitality industry have a significantly different experience from professional women. Working in degraded, low-wage occupations with few labor protections, as well as little to no organizational support, leaves

pregnant women vulnerable to workplace injustices that professional women do not experience. The literature on pregnancy in the workplace, however, lacks discussion of women in low-wage occupations. Labor and occupational health scholars might consider a focus on pregnancy in the low-wage service sector. As scholars such as Sassen (2012) and Chang (2000) remind us, capitalist interests rely on the labor and bodies of low-wage labor, particularly of women. As such, it is important to understand how neoliberal economic restructuring impacts the experiences of women. While most studies focus on the structure of work regimes, this study sheds an important light on the experiences of women, specifically women with children, outside the workplace. Women for whom work is not a “choice” are making decisions for their families that are limited by significant constraints, are stigmatized, and increase their mobility in ways that are not beneficial to their health, safety, and livelihoods. Understanding the decision making processes of women with children in the hospitality industry – in other words, understanding their lives outside the workplace – can help in creating a more just, livable work environment.

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Appendix 1

Interview Schedule (English)

- I. Consent
 1. Read over the consent form
 2. Choose a pseudonym
- II. Ice breaker and Motherhood
 1. Tell me a bit about yourself.
 - i. *Questions for Exploration:* Education, how long you've been in Seattle, relationship status?
 2. Tell me about your children.
 - i. *Questions for Exploration:* How many children, names, ages, where do they go to school, what do they like to do?
 3. Can you tell me about their father?
 4. Can you walk me through a typical day before you start work?
 5. Can you walk me through a typical day once you get home?
 6. Tell me about the neighborhood/city you live in.
 - i. *Questions for Exploration:* Where do you live? How long have you lived there? Where did you live before? What neighborhoods did you live in before? Tell me about your commute to work.
 7. *(If she doesn't live in the city)* Tell me about your decision to live outside the city.
 - i. *Questions for Exploration:* Have you ever lived in the city? What made you leave? Would you ever move back if you were able?
 8. Tell me what you like most about being a mother.
 9. Tell me what makes for a good mother.
 - i. *Questions for Exploration:* Tell me about the things you do to be a good mother for your children.
 10. Where would you like to see your children in five years?
 - i. *Questions for Exploration:* Tell me about the things you do to help your children get there.
 11. What are your fears/concerns for them as a parent?
 - i. *Questions for Exploration:* Tell me about the things you do to prevent these things from happening.
- III. Work
 1. Tell me about your job.
 - i. *Questions for Exploration:* How did you come to work here? Where did you work before? How does this job compare to other jobs you've had?
 2. Can you walk me through a typical work day?
 3. What do you like most about your job?
 4. What do you like least about your job?
 5. Do you mind talking to me about your relationship with your supervisor?
 6. Do you mind talking to me about your relationship with your co-workers?
 7. Tell me about your experience with customers/guests.

- i. *Questions for Exploration:* Tell me about your best experience with a guest. Tell me about your worst experience.
8. We're in peak tourism season right now. Tell me about what your job is like right now compared to other times of year when tourism is a little slower.

IV. Work-Family Balance

1. (*Go back to the things they discussed about being a good mother to their children*) On a scale of 1-10, 1 being poor, and 10 being excellent, how would you rate your job in terms of allowing you to meet the financial and emotional needs of your children?
2. Tell me about what makes you give your job this rating,
3. Tell me what your employer would need to do to get a higher rating from you.
4. Thinking about everything we just discussed, tell me how this job compares to other jobs you've had.
5. What did you do the last time one of your children got sick?
6. Do you talk to your children about your experiences at work? Can you tell me what you talk about?

V. Closing

1. Is there anything you would like to talk to me about that we haven't discussed yet?
2. Is there anything you would like to ask me?
3. Is there anyone else that you think I should talk to?
4. Can I contact you if I have any more questions?

Thanks for taking the time to speak with me. This will be a great contribution to my study.

Appendix 2

Interview Schedule (Spanish)

- I. Consentimiento
 1. Quiero revisar la forma de consentimiento con ti.
 2. Cuando termino este estudio, puedes leerlo. Voy a asignar seudónimos a todas las participantes para proteger su confidencialidad. Me gustaría si puedas escoger un seudónimo para que puedas saber cuándo estoy hablando de ti en mi ensayo. ¿Puedes escoger un nombre que puedo usar en mi documento?
- II. Introducción y la maternidad
 1. Dime de tú.
 - i. *Preguntas exploratorias:* ¿Cuál es su nivel de educación? ¿Cuánto tiempo hace que vives en los Estados Unidos? ¿Cuál es tu estado civil?
 2. Dime de tus hijos.
 3. *Preguntas exploratorias:* ¿Cuántos niños tienes? ¿Cómo se llaman? ¿Cuántos años tienen?
 4. ¿Puedes contarme de su padre?
 5. ¿Puedes contarme de su rutina en casa antes de trabajas?
 6. ¿Puedes contarme de su rutina en casa después de trabar?
 7. Dime de tu barrio.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* ¿Dónde vives? ¿Cuánto tiempo hace que vives en este barrio? ¿En cuál otros barrios vivías? ¿Cómo comparas este barrio con otros barrios en que vivías?
 8. Dime lo que te gusta más de ser madre.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* ¿Cómo comparas tus expectativas de la maternidad con la realidad?
 9. Dime lo que te gusta hacer cuando no estás trabajando.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* Dime de tus amigas. ¿También tienen hijos? ¿Qué te gusta hacer con ellas?
 10. Dime de otras madres con que hablas, por ejemplo, las madres de los compañeros de clase de tus hijos.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* ¿Cómo te llevas con ellas?
 11. Dime lo que se necesita para ser una buena madre.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* Dime lo que haces para ser una buena madre a sus hijos.
 12. Dime de tus sueños o objetivos para sus hijos.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* Dime lo que haces para realizar esos objetivos.
 13. Dime de tus miedos o preocupaciones como una madre.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* Dime lo que haces para evitar estas cosas.
- III. El trabajo
 1. Dime de tu trabajo.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* ¿Cómo empezaste trabajar aquí? Dime de los otros trabajos que tenías. ¿Cómo comparas este trabajo con otros trabajos que has tenido?

2. ¿Puedes contarme de tu rutina en tu trabajo?
3. Dime lo que te gusta de tu trabajo.
4. Dime lo que no te gusta de tu trabajo.
5. ¿Puedes contarme cómo te llevas con tus supervisores?
6. ¿Puedes contarme cómo te llevas con tus compañeros de trabajo?
7. ¿Puedes contarme de tu experiencia con clientes o huéspedes.
 - i. *Preguntas Exploratorias:* Dime un ejemplo de tu mejor experiencia. Dime un ejemplo de tu peor experiencia.
8. Ahora estamos en la temporada alta del turismo. Dime como comparas tu trabajo en el verano con tu trabajo cuando el turismo es más lento.

IV. El equilibrio del trabajo y la maternidad

1. (*Revisa sus respuestas de ser una buena madre*) En una escala de uno a diez, uno es mala y diez es excelente, ¿Cómo calificaría su trabajo como un lugar donde se puede satisfacer las necesidades de tus hijos?
2. Dime de tu respuesta.
3. Dime lo que tus empleadores necesitan hacer para recibir una clasificación más alta de ti.
4. Dime lo que hiciste la última vez que uno de tus hijos se enfermó.

V. Conclusión

1. ¿Hay algo de que quieras hablar que no discutimos?
2. ¿Tienes preguntas para mí?
3. ¿Hay alguien con que deba hablar?
4. ¿Puedo llamarte si tengo más preguntas?

Gracias por tu participación. Esta entrevista será una gran contribución a mi estudio.

Vita

Anna Hackman was born in Seattle, Washington. She obtained her Bachelor's degree in Spanish from the University of Washington in 2006. In 2009, she received her Master's degree in Mexican American Studies from the University of Arizona. She wrote her Master's thesis on the effects of the portrayals of women of color in mainstream hip hop and reggaetón on body satisfaction and BMI on college-age, Mexican women. She joined the doctoral program in Urban Studies at the University of New Orleans in 2009 with a concentration in urban anthropology. She was a part-time instructor in the Department of Planning and Urban Studies from 2012-2014.