Title

Intersectional Criminalization en el Valle: The Criminalization of Formerly Incarcerated and System-Impacted Chicanas in California's Prison Alley

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/68v919q5

Author

Lerma-Gonzalez, Veronica

Publication Date

2022

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, MERCED

Intersectional Criminalization en el Valle: The Criminalization of Formerly Incarcerated
and System-Impacted Chicanas in California's Prison Alley

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

Veronica M. Lerma-Gonzalez

Committee in charge:

Professor Zulema Valdez, Chair
Professor Laura T. Hamilton
Professor Marjorie S. Zatz

2022

The Dissertation of Veronica M. Lerma-Gonzalez is approved, and it is acceptable

in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

_____

Dr. Laura T. Hamilton

_____

Dr. Marjorie S. Zatz

_____

Dr. Zulema Valdez, Chair

University of California, Merced

2022

For Richard.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Research Fellowship and the Feminist Criminology Graduate Research Honorable Mention Scholarship, which helped offset participant compensation and other research-related costs. I am particularly appreciative of the William T. Grant Foundation, the UC President's HSI Pre-Professoriate Fellowship, and the Fletcher Jones Fellowship.

Last but certainly not least, I would like to thank my family, for whom I could not have done this without their love, care, and encouragement. Thank you to my parents, Richard and Lydia Lerma, for believing in and supporting my dreams. Thank you for giving me everything I needed to succeed, even though you never thought it was enough (it was). Thank you for the sacrifices you have made for me, the ones I saw and the ones I didn't. Thank you to my brothers, Richard, Raymond, Rico, and Robert. Even though y'all are not entirely sure what I do, I know you are proud of me, and that is what is most important. Raymond, thank you for making me laugh. Rico, thank you for being down whenever and wherever. Robert, thank you for helping with Richie; I could not have survived this past year without you. Richard, thank you for showing me that being smart is cool. If you were still here, there is no doubt in my mind that you would have been the first in our family to get a Ph.D. I dedicate this dissertation to you.

To my husband, Kristopher, thank you for literally everything. Thank you for being my biggest cheerleader on this journey. Thank you for the daily affirmations and reminders that I am supposed to be here doing this work. Thank you for your selflessness, never once complaining when I said, "Looks like we're staying in Merced another year" (year after year). Thank you for listening to me read every paper, practice every talk, and for coming to all the nerdy functions. I could not have asked for a more supportive partner. Thank you. I love you.

Thank you to my daughter Richie and my godson River for the joy and light you bring to my life every day. Thank you for reminding me to take a break because it is not that serious. Thank you for your patience during all those times I could not take a break. Thank you for motivating me to keep going and for giving me a reason when I could not find one within myself. I hope this dissertation is proof that you can accomplish even your wildest dreams. I love and adore you both more than anything in this world.

Finally, I acknowledge the loved ones I have lost while pursuing this degree at UC Merced. You witnessed the start of this journey, and I know you are watching from above as I finish it. In loving memory of my second mom/Tía Annie, Grandpa Rudy (Easy!), Nino Nico (¡Chale!), Tía Genevieve, Tío Marcus, father-in-law Tony, godson Roman, and my babies Mercy and Jeremiah.

Veronica M. Lerma

University of California, Merced
Department of Sociology
5200 North Lake Road, Merced, CA 95343
Email: vlerma@ucmerced.edu

EDUCATION

University of California, Merced

2022   Ph.D., Sociology (Expected)
                 Qualifying Exams: Race and Ethnicity (Fall 2015); Gender (Spring 2016)

2015   M.A., Sociology
                 Thesis: "The Equal Rights Amendment and the Case of the Rescinding States: A Comparative Historical Analysis"

University of the Pacific

2013   B.A., Sociology
                 Minor: Gender Studies
                 Magna Cum Laude

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Intersectionality; Criminalization; Latinx Sociology; Race and Racisms; Gender; Comparative Historical Sociology; Chicana Feminist Theory; Law and Society; Education; Qualitative Research Methods

PUBLICATIONS

2021   Nielsen, Kelly, Laura T. Hamilton, and <u>Veronica Lerma</u>. "Tolerable Suboptimization: The Racial Consequences of Defunding Public Universities." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*. https://journals.sagepub.com/eprint/JVYXPHQUACEY9UPQPU4A/full

2021   Lerma, Veronica. "Student Labor and Centers of Support." In *Broke: The Racial Consequences of Defunding the New University*. By Laura Hamilton and Kelly Nielsen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

2020   Lerma, Veronica, Laura T. Hamilton, and Kelly Nielsen. "Racialized Campus Labor, University Appropriation, and Student Resistance." *Social Problems* 67: 268-303.

MANUSCRIPTS UNDER REVIEW & IN PREPARATION

Lerma, Veronica. "Intersectional Criminalization: How Chicanas Experience and Navigate Criminalization through their Relationships with Latino Men and Boys." Revise and resubmit.

Hamilton, Laura T., Kelly Nielsen, and Veronica Lerma. "'Diversity is a Corporate Plan': Racialized Equity Labor among University Employees." Revise and resubmit.

Lerma, Veronica. "Rescinding the Equal Rights Amendment: Constructed Confusion and the Downfall of the ERA." Revise and resubmit.

Lerma, Veronica. "Unfit Hyper-breeders: Controlling Images and the Criminalization of Chicana Motherhood and Reproduction." In preparation.

Hamilton, Laura T., Kelly Nielsen, and Veronica Lerma. "Policing College Campuses: The Production of Racialized Risk." In preparation.

Canizales, Stephanie L., Veronica Lerma, and Marjorie S. Zatz. "Cause Lawyering in Uncertain Times: How Immigration Attorneys Navigate the Landscape of Asylum Claims for Central American Youth Fleeing Gangs." In preparation.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2016-2019   Research Assistant (Dr. Laura Hamilton), University of California, Merced
- Research on how organizations support and hinder Black and Latinx student success. Responsibilities: primary student interviewer; comparative historical research on the two project sites; ethnographic observations; analytical development.

2014-2016   Research Assistant (Dr. Marjorie S. Zatz), University of California, Merced
- Research and editing for the book, *Dreams and Nightmares: Immigration Policy, Youth, and Families* (University of California Press, 2015).
- Research on Central American child gang members fleeing gang violence through U.S. asylum. Responsibilities: comparative historical analysis, archival research of legal opinion; summation of

appellate court decisions; assist in interviewing asylum attorneys; interview transcription; academic writing.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Spring 2022   Teaching Fellow: Department of Sociology, University of California, Merced. Sociological Theory.
Fall 2021   Teaching Fellow/Instructor of Record: Department of Sociology, University of California, Merced. Intersectionality.

2013-2014   Teaching Assistant: Department of Sociology, University of California, Merced. Introduction to Sociology.

GRANTS, HONORS, AND AWARDS

2020-2021   UC President's HSI Pre-Professoriate Fellowship
2020   Honorable Mention for Ford Dissertation Fellowship
2019-2020   Fletcher Jones Fellowship
2019   Honorable Mention for Ford Dissertation Fellowship
2018   Honorable Mention for *Feminist Criminology* Graduate Research Scholarship ($500)
2017-2019   William T. Grant Scholars Mentoring Grant ($60,000)
2017   UC Consortium on Social Science and Law Summer Research Fellowship ($2,233)
2014-2021   UCM Department of Sociology Summer Research Award
2011-2013   Tri-County Academic Scholarship

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2022   Lerma, Veronica. "Criminalizing Chicanas: How Criminalization is Relationally Constructed and Experienced." Pacific Sociological Association. Sacramento, CA.

2021   Lerma, Veronica. "Chicanisma in the Academic Trenches: Incorporating a Chicana Feminist Working Class Consciousness." California Sociological Association. Virtual Conference.

2021   Lerma, Veronica. "Intersectional Criminalization: How System-Involved Chicanas Experience and Navigate Criminalization through Latino Men and Boys." California Sociological Association. Virtual Conference.

2021	Lerma, Veronica. "Criminalization en el Valle: The Criminalization of Formerly Incarcerated and System-Impacted Chicanas in California's Prison Alley." Pacific Sociological Association Annual Conference. Virtual Conference.
2020	Nielsen, Kelly, Laura T. Hamilton, and Veronica Lerma. "Administering Austerity: Racial Consequences for Higher Education." Sociology of Education Annual Conference. Asilomar, CA.
2018	Zatz, Marjorie S., and Veronica Lerma. "Negotiating Asylum Cases for Gang Involved Youth." Leveraging Social Science Expertise in Immigration Law and Policy Roundtable. Law and Society Association Annual Conference. Toronto.
2017	Zatz, Marjorie S. and Veronica Lerma. "Making the Case: How Immigration Attorneys Negotiate the Landscape of Asylum Claims for Gang Involved Youth and Young Adults." Law and Society Association Annual Conference. Mexico City.
2016	Zatz, Marjorie S., and Veronica Lerma. "Alleged Gang Membership and Asylum Claims." Law and Society Association Annual Conference, Seattle, WA.

INVITED TALKS

2022	"Race, Ethnicity, and Intersectionality." Guest Lecture. Soc 001: Introduction to Sociology. University of California, Merced.

ACADEMIC SERVICE

2015-2016	Sociology Graduate Student Association, University of California, Merced *Sociology Graduate Student Representative*
2015	Graduate Student Diversity Council, University of California, Merced *Graduate Student Representative*

EXTRA TRAINING

Teaching Workshops

Fall 2021	"Principles of Pedagogy." Center for Engaged Teaching and Learning Workshop. University of California, Merced.

Summer 2021 Engaged	"Teaching Institute: Back to the Future Instruction." Center for Teaching and Learning Workshop. University of California, Merced.
Summer 2021 Engaged	"Using CatCourses to Organize Course Instruction." Center for Teaching and Learning Workshop. University of California, Merced.
Summer 2021	"Using Zoom for Academic Instruction." Center for Engaged Teaching and Learning Workshop. University of California, Merced.
Spring 2021	Institute for Evidenced-Based Teaching Practices. Center for Engaged Teaching and Learning Workshop. University of California, Merced.
Summer 2020 Teaching	"Preparing to Teach in the Online Environment." Center for Engaged and Learning. University of California, Merced.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

American Sociological Association
American Society of Criminology
Pacific Sociological Association
Society for the Study of Social Problems

REFERENCES

Zulema Valdez
Associate Vice Provost for the Faculty, Professor of Sociology
University of California Merced
zvaldez@ucmerced.edu

Laura Hamilton
Professor and Chair of Sociology
University of California, Merced
lhamilton2@ucmerced.edu

Marjorie S. Zatz
Interim Vice Chancellor for Research & Economic Development, Professor of Sociology
University of California, Merced
mzatz@ucmerced.edu

Abstract

Intersectional Criminalization en el Valle: The Criminalization of Formerly Incarcerated
and System-Impacted Chicanas in California's Prison Alley
By
Veronica M. Lerma-Gonzalez, Ph.D.
University of California, Merced
Zulema Valdez, Ph.D., Chair

Despite the overrepresentation of Mexican American women and girls or *Chicanas* in the
juvenile and criminal justice systems, research has paid little attention to their
criminalized experiences. This is a surprising gap in knowledge, given that while
imprisonment rates for all racially marginalized groups have steadily declined over the
past 20 years, they *increased* for Latinas. Oversight may be explained by the central
focus on race in criminalization scholarship, which privileges the racialized experiences
of boys and men of color but fails to consider the conditions that shape criminalization
for girls and women. This singular focus on race defines criminalization as a process of
racialization, conflates criminalization with boys and men of color, and ignores other
identities through which race is experienced.

This dissertation applies an intersectional perspective to the study of
criminalization by investigating how race, gender, and sexuality condition the
criminalized experiences of system-involved Chicanas living in California's rural Central
Valley. Drawing on life-history interviews with 38 formerly incarcerated and system-
impacted Mexican American women, this multi-level intersectional analysis asks: 1)
How do race, gender, and sexuality, as distinct and intersecting systems of oppression,
shape the criminalization of Chicanas? 2) How is criminalization, as a concept and
process, necessarily reconfigured by an intersectional approach?

Findings reveal three unique processes or mechanisms of punishment that differentiate Chicanas' experiences of criminalization from those of their Chicano male counterparts. First, Chicanas' interpersonal relationships with Latino men and boys exacerbated their experiences of criminalization. Second, Chicanas' reasonable responses to gendered and sexualized interpersonal violence were criminalized by institutions traditionally associated with support and protection (e.g., schools, social service agencies, and the police). Third, Chicanas were criminalized through the "unfit hyper-breeder" controlling image, which ascribes sexual, reproductive, and maternal deviance, and operates in the education, family court, and welfare systems.

Taken together, I argue that criminalization is a multi-level, racialized, gendered, and heteronormative process and experience that is reflected in everyday interactions, reproduced in social institutions, and embodied in larger systems of white supremacy and hetero-patriarchy. I develop an analytical framework I call *intersectional criminalization* to capture this process. This is a more comprehensive framework for understanding how intersecting identities and systems of oppression criminalize and reproduce inequality for previously unaccounted groups. What is more, by centering the voices of a group of women who have been traditionally overlooked, this research makes visible structures of inequality and power that go unnoticed and that uphold the carceral state.

CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

After pulling up to the small white house adorned with a makeshift wooden ramp, I texted Alicia to let her know that I had arrived for our scheduled interview. As I waited, I noticed a small park across the street where I used to play as a child. Fifteen minutes passed, and Alicia still had not replied to my text. I tried to convince myself that despite the numerous "no-shows" I encountered while conducting this research, my old childhood friend would surely not stand me up; after all, she was the first to respond to the research recruitment flyer I posted on Facebook. Alicia and I went to school together until the 10th grade, when we were both kicked out for separate incidents. Although we lost touch after that, I was aware of her later entanglements with the carceral system, thanks to local law enforcement posting her mugshots as a part of its weekly "Most Wanted" social media campaign.

Fifty minutes had passed when I decided to give up and make the hour and a half trek back home. As I started my car, Alicia emerged in the distance, speed walking with another young woman. The two were visibly unsettled. Three teenage boys trailed not far behind them, while one recorded on his cell phone until a neighbor yelled at them to stop. Alicia walked up to my car, nearly out of breath: "I am sorry, Veronica, but I can't do the thing today. I gotta get my car out of impound." "What happened?" I asked. "We just got pulled over at gunpoint by the fucking cops for no reason, and they took my car." We rescheduled for the following afternoon.

As I walked up that shaky wooden ramp the next day, Alicia greeted me at the door while holding her 9-month-old on her hip. "Sorry about that yesterday, homegirl.

Shit's crazy out here." After inviting me in, I noticed two women sitting on the couch; I recognized one from the day before. "That's Lizette, and that's Nina. They've been locked up too and want to be interviewed." After our introductions, we sat down in Alicia's grandmother's living room. "So, what happened yesterday?" I asked. Nina responded, "Alicia and I got arrested last night—not arrested but pulled over at gunpoint, for no fucking reason!" Alicia elaborated,

> We were just coming from the cigarette store [down the street], and [the police] drew us out of the car with their guns. I was telling them, "This is extreme!" Like to pull us out by gun, you know. And the windows were tinted so they couldn't see that [Nina] was in the back[seat]. They thought that only I was in the car, and I was telling them, "Noooo, she's in the car!" Because I don't want them to try to shoot because all you need to do is move wrong… Yeah, so it was stressful. My grandma passed by in her car. The whole neighborhood was out and saw all that happen and for no reason at all, you know… Honestly, I think that they just wanted to mess with us.

"Has that happened to y'all before?" I asked. "Yeah, it happens a lot." Nina replied, "and it was embarrassing walking back. Everybody has… their phones out videotaping. I'm like, 'Oh my God, we're gonna be on Facebook!'" "It's already on Facebook," Lizette interjected. "I saw it last night." "Fuck, man!" Nina said as she looked down, shaking her head.

Being stopped by the police at gunpoint for often no reason was a common experience for Alicia, Nina, Lizette, and many other women interviewed in this study. For these women, every day presented the possibility that they could be arrested or even shot and killed by the police. Throughout their lives, they have been subject to constant surveillance and discipline in nearly all their interpersonal and institutional encounters. This is what life is like for Chicanas who are criminalized. Criminalization is an all-encompassing, dehumanizing project that strips away fundamental rights, bodily

2

autonomy, dignity, physical and emotional well-being, and life chances. While research has advanced important insights into the criminalization of men and boys of color, it has had little to say about Chicanas' experiences with criminalization. This dissertation seeks to fill this void.

Statement of the Problem

At over two million people incarcerated, or almost 1 percent of the total U.S. population (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2020), the United States not only has the highest incarceration rate in the world, but it has also earned the dubious distinction of incarcerating more racial and ethnic minorities than any other country. Although people of color make up just 37 percent of the U.S. population, they represent almost twice that of the prison population (67 percent) (The Sentencing Project 2020a). The current system of "mass incarceration"—characterized by extreme rates of imprisonment and justified as a method of crime deterrence (Garland 2000)—functions mainly to incapacitate marginalized people of color and their communities with little evidence of reducing crime (Alexander 2010). Some scholars have argued that older systems of racial oppression, including slavery and the emergence of Jim Crow laws after Reconstruction, have not been dismantled but merely transformed into our current regime of criminal (in)justice (Alexander 2010; Wacquant 2001).

While men comprise a greater proportion of the prison population, women are being imprisoned at a faster rate. Between 1980 and 2019, the number of incarcerated women increased by more than 700 percent—a rate 50 percent higher than that of men (The Sentencing Project 2020a). Unsurprisingly, mass incarceration has not affected all women equally. Black and Latina women are incarcerated at more than 1.7 and 1.3 times

the rate of white women, respectively (The Sentencing Project 2020a). The overrepresentation of incarcerated women of color reveals the carceral system as a site where multiple intersecting systems of oppression converge and are meted out unequally.

Latinas represent an important but underwritten chapter in the story of mass incarceration. Scholarly inattention is especially glaring when Latinas generally (The Sentencing Project 2020a) and Chicanas specifically (Díaz-Cotto 2006) are overrepresented in the carceral system. Even while imprisonment rates have significantly fallen for Black women, Black men, and Latino men between 2000 and 2019, rates *increased* for Latinas (The Sentencing Project 2020b). Latinas are also more than 2.5 times as likely to be imprisoned in their lifetimes than white women—or 1 in 45 compared to 1 in 111 (The Sentencing Project 2020b). Not paying closer attention to Chicanas' experiences with criminalization and the carceral state, then, is increasingly problematic given the current historical context.

Scholarly oversight may stem from how criminalization is conceptualized. By emphasizing the racialized experiences of boys and men of color and treating gender as an often-unmarked category for masculinity, criminalization is primarily defined by the single axis of race. This focus on race normalizes and naturalizes men's experiences while treating women as passive actors (Collins and Bilge 2020). Failing to fully consider the unique conditions that shape criminalization for girls and women of color, moreover, may inadvertently imply that they share similar experiences with their male counterparts or preclude their scholarly examination altogether (Brunson and Miller 2006; Morris 2016). Thus, the central focus on race prevents a complete understanding of Chicana criminalization.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is twofold. First, this study explores the unique ways in which criminalization processes target and punish Chicanas' racialized, gendered, and sexualized identities across multiple levels of analysis. Second, this study develops an analytical framework I call *intersectional criminalization* to better understand how race, gender, and sexuality, embedded within interlocking systems of white supremacy and hetero-patriarchy, condition criminalization by centering the analysis on the experiences of system-involved Mexican American women living in California's Central Valley.

Research Questions

1. How do race, gender, and sexuality, as distinct and intersecting dimensions of identity and systems of oppression, combine to shape the criminalization of Chicanas at the level of the individual, community, and institution?

2. How is criminalization, as a concept and process, necessarily reconfigured by an intersectional approach?

Background Literature Review

Criminalization

I draw on Victor Rios's (2011) definition of criminalization as "the process by which styles and behaviors are rendered deviant and treated with shame, exclusion, punishment, and incarceration" (p. xiv). As a process and lived experience, criminalization consists of constant surveillance, harassment, and discipline. Rios distinguishes between material criminalization—or physical manifestations of criminalization, such as police harassment, exclusion from public spaces, and punishment from zero-tolerance

policies—and symbolic criminalization, the social stigma and degradation resulting from profiling, policing, and punishment.

Criminalization is not contingent upon criminality, meaning one does not have to commit a crime to be labeled a "criminal." Nor is it confined to the criminal justice system; it extends to schools, communities, social services, and the family. The multi-spatiality of criminalization renders the hyper-criminalized as criminal in nearly all spaces they occupy, a process Rios (2011) captures with the "youth control complex," a self-reinforcing system channeling male youth of color into the criminal justice pipeline.

The effects of criminalization, what scholars call "collateral consequences" or "invisible punishments" (Travis 2002), are far from innocuous. They can include "social incapacitation"—when marginalized populations are prevented from "functioning, thriving, and feeling a sense of dignity and humanity in daily interactions with institutional forces" (Rios 2011: 160). Forrest Stuart (2016) identifies "cultural collateral consequences" that reconfigure interpersonal relationships in marginalized, hyper-policed communities (see also Lopez-Aguado 2018).

Criminalization is viewed through a racialized lens. It is treated as a race-creating system that regulates racially marginalized populations, (re)produces racialized inequities, and is experienced as a "racial microaggression" in everyday life (Lopez-Aguado 2018; Rios 2011). Because of this central focus on race, men and boys of color hold center stage in this line of scholarship. Gender is frequently treated as a marker for masculinity or not explicitly noted (for exceptions, see Rios 2011; Stuart and Benezra 2018).

Theoretical Framework

Prominent criminalization frameworks reflect research focused on boys and men of color, emphasizing race without explicitly accounting for gender or sexuality. Yet, a consideration of hetero-patriarchy—a keystone system of privilege and oppression—is necessary to fully capture and explain the experiences of non-men and boys. This study adopts an intersectional framework to understand how race, gender, and sexuality, among other categories of difference embedded in systems of domination, condition criminalization processes and experiences. According to Patricia Hill Collins (2015: 2), "The term intersectionality references the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities." Intersectionality is well-suited for examining criminalization. As Dorothy Roberts (1993: 1945) explains, intersectionality allows for exploring the interconnectedness of systems of oppression and how they help determine "who the criminals are, what constitutes a crime, and which crimes society treats most seriously."

Intersectional Criminalization

Utilizing an intersectional lens, this study expands upon existing racialized criminalization scholarship by developing the analytic framework, *intersectional criminalization*. This more comprehensive framework augments current conceptualizations of criminalization by conceiving it as a racialized, gendered, and heteronormative process and experience that is reflected in everyday interactions, reproduced in social institutions, and embodied in wider systems of white supremacy and hetero-patriarchy.

Intersectional criminalization holds that gender, sexuality, and race matter differently for girls and women than for boys and men within the context of a social structure that is comprised of interlocking systems of oppression and privilege. Applying an intersectional criminalization framework to the study of Chicana criminalization builds on the work of criminalization scholars in four ways. First, this approach brings to the fore the *relational* nature of criminalization by attending to how interactional dynamics among individuals situated within the matrix of domination mediate criminalization. For example, I show that Chicanas' experiences of criminalization are shaped by their proximity to and relationships with criminalized Latino men and boys.

Second, this study builds on the work of feminist of color scholars to reconsider how victimhood and resistance are criminalized. In doing so, I detail how interpersonal violence is transformed into structural violence when institutions meant to offer support and protection criminalize actions necessary for survival. Third, this research investigates the role of controlling images and how they operate to criminalize Chicana motherhood, reproduction, and sexuality. As will be discussed, controlling images justify limited state support while at the same time legitimizing state disciplinary intervention measures in Chicanas' lives and parenting.

Finally, by focusing on Chicanas in the rural Central Valley, this analysis draws needed attention to an understudied, multiply marginalized group living in an impoverished and overlooked region. Most criminalization studies are situated in major urban areas and, as a result, little is known about how criminalization is experienced in a rural context. This research, then, highlights an understudied region and lays the groundwork for understanding how criminalization is shaped by geographic location.

Brief Description of Data and Methods

The data for this dissertation consists of life-history interviews with 38 formerly

incarcerated (N=25) and system-impacted (N=13) Mexican American women, ages 18-

35, living in California's Central Valley. Interviews were conducted from spring 2018 to

winter 2020. Life-history interviews allowed for eliciting criminalized experiences from

the respondent's perspective while being simultaneously attuned to intersecting

dynamics.

The Great Central Valley: California's Prison Alley

Sometimes referred to as the "other California," the "Appalachia of the West," or

"Calibama[1],"the Central Valley has also become known colloquially as "prison alley"

(Gilmore 2007). Beginning in the early-1980s, California launched "the largest prison

building program in the history of the world" (Rudman and Berthelsen 1991: i).

Abolitionist scholar Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007) likens California's prison boom to a

"prison fix" to resolve problems of surplus in finance capital, land, labor, and state

capacity. Since 1984, twenty-three prisons have been built in California, half of which are

located in the Central Valley (Braz and Gilmore 2006). For context, just 12 prisons were

built between 1852 and 1964. The primary location of these new prisons is no

coincidence since during the prison boom in California, prisons were strategically placed

in vulnerable rural communities, as outlined in the Cerril Report (Gilmore and Wilson

2003). According to Gilmore and Wilson (2003: 5),

> The Cerrill Report suggests that companies target small, rural communities whose
> residents are low income, older people, or people with only a high school
> education or less: communities with a high proportion of Catholic residents; and

---

[1] I would like to credit this term to Victoria Casillas

communities whose residents are engaged in resource extractive industries such as agriculture, mining, and forestry. It might be coincidence that California's prison-building frenzy began the year Cerrill released its report, and that the state's new prison towns match the criteria in that report — rural, poor, Catholic, agricultural, modestly educated.

Thus, the new prisons were purposefully built "at the edge of small, economically struggling, ethnically diverse towns in rural areas" (Gilmore 2007: 7). These multiply marginalized towns were enticed by the economic prosperity and job creation state officials ensured would come. Many towns, like the city of Corcoran, even campaigned for prisons to be built within their city limits. Prosperity, however, never came. Instead, the California prison boom, alongside deindustrialization and centralization of agricultural land in the Central Valley, created conditions for these towns to become dependent on prisons (Gilmore 2007). Currently, there are 13 state prisons and four federal prisons in the San Joaquin Valley alone. Moreover, many Central Valley counties now have among the highest incarceration rates in the state (California Criminal Justice Statistics Center 2021).

Definition of Key Terms

"Chicana" refers to a woman of American origin and Mexican descent and ancestry (Baca Zinn and Zambrana 2019; Mirandé and Enríquez 1979). In this study, I use the terms *Chicana* and *Mexican American woman* interchangeably. The terms "Chicano," "Chicana," and "Chicanx"[2] are broadly, and often vaguely, conceptualized. These terms are sometimes used to denote all people of Mexican descent residing in the U.S., regardless of their immigration and/or citizenship status (Segura 1992, 2003; Solórzano

---

[2] I use "Chicanx" and "Latinx" to honor the fluidity of gender and sexualities (Mendoza Aviña 2016). "Chicanx" is a more inclusive, gender-neutral term that moves beyond the gender binary inherent in terms such as "Chicana/o" and "Chican@" to include transgender and non-binary Mexican American people.

and Bernal 2001). Additionally, Chicanx sometimes refers specifically to the U.S.-born children of Mexican immigrants. In this study, I make a distinction based on birthplace and use "Chicana" to refer only to those women of Mexican descent born in the U.S.; however, I do not make a distinction based on generational status.

It is important to note that not all Mexican Americans identify with the term Chicanx, and some may outright reject it based on its social, cultural, and/or political connotations.[3] For this reason, research participants were asked how they self-identify and wish to be identified, which informs the labeling I use to classify individual respondents. None of the participants in this study rejected the term "Chicana," and most self-identified this way on the *Personal Background Survey* (see Appendices I and J) or in their interviews. Respondents who opted instead for "Mexican American" or "Latina" are identified as such in their select narratives.

Moreover, in this study, "system-impacted" references individuals who have been significantly affected by the incarceration of a close loved one (i.e., parent, sibling, partner). This term can also include individuals who have been arrested and convicted but were never incarcerated. All system-impacted respondents in this study identified as having been significantly impacted by the incarceration of a close loved one, and many also had experience being arrested and charged with a crime.

Overview of Dissertation Chapters

---

[3] Originally, "Chicano" was a derogatory term that referenced poor Mexican American people. Gaining popularity during the 1960s Chicano Civil Rights movement, the term's usage was transformed to denote ethnic pride. For some more conservative Mexican Americans, "Chicanx" represents a refusal to assimilate into mainstream American society.

This dissertation consists of seven chapters: I) Introduction; II) Theorizing Latina Criminalization; III) Methodology; IV) Criminalization through Interpersonal Relationships with Latino Men and Boys; V) Twice Victimized: How the Criminalization of Chicanas' Survival Strategies Reproduces Harm at the Institutional Level; VI) Unfit Hyper-breeders: Controlling Images and the Criminalization of Chicana Sexuality, Reproduction, and Motherhood; VII) Discussion and Conclusion.

Chapter II provides a review of relevant literature. Specifically, I engage three bodies of scholarship. First, I discuss racialized criminalization research on street-level and school criminalization, noting how this scholarship does not adequately capture the experiences of racialized women and girls of color. Next, I draw on the work of feminist criminologists in their studies of system-involved women and girls of color to highlight how an intersectional perspective reveals mechanisms of punishment not uncovered by single-axis frameworks. Third, I examine research on controlling images associated with Latinas specifically and Latinxs generally. I suggest that controlling images provide a conceptual link between the first two bodies of literature by serving as an ideological justification for criminalization via intersecting stereotypes and tropes. I end this chapter with a discussion of the intersectional criminalization framework.

Chapter III addresses the study's method and analysis. I detail and justify the study's research aim, questions, design, and procedures. I outline my recruitment strategy and describe the study's participants and the research setting in which they are situated. Next, I give a step-by-step overview of data collection and analysis. I close this chapter with a discussion on ethics, trustworthiness, and researcher bias.

Chapter IV, V, VI are this dissertation's substantive chapters, each highlighting a specific criminalizing mechanism or process. Chapter IV explores the relational nature of criminalization and how gendered and sexualized interpersonal relationships with Latino men and boys can drive and exacerbate Chicanas' experiences of criminalization. I find that racialized, gendered, and heteronormative assumptions about Latinas' interpersonal relationships condition these experiences over the life course. How Chicanas navigated intersectional criminalization took two forms, both of which came at a cost to personal and collective well-being.

Chapter V examines the connection between criminalization and victimization. I find that Chicanas' reasonable responses to gendered and sexualized interpersonal violence were criminalized by institutions traditionally associated with support and protection (e.g., schools, social service agencies, and the police). As a result, Chicanas were "twice victimized"—once in their interpersonal relationships and then again in their institutional encounters. I argue that when the state criminalizes survivors who attempt to resist and/or cope with interpersonal violence, it inflicts its own harm by (re)producing suffering. Thus, criminalization is a form of structural violence.

Chapter VI investigates the role of controlling images in legitimizing and perpetuating Chicana criminalization. I find Chicanas were criminalized through a controlling image that I call the "unfit hyper-breeder," which targets Chicanas' sexuality, reproductive capacities, and motherhood roles for punishment. I trace three institutionalized variants of the unfit hyper-breeder over the life course to show how system-involved Chicanas' life chances are adversely affected when stigmatizing discourses that ascribe sexual and maternal deviance are expressed through institutional

13

practices. Despite the ideological power of the unfit hyper-breeder image to legitimize and perpetuate institutional inequalities, formerly incarcerated Chicanas mothers resist this image by employing parenting strategies consistent with socially prescribed notions concerning "good" mothering.

Chapter VII is the final chapter of the dissertation. This chapter summarizes and discusses the study's arguments and substantive findings. Additionally, I reiterate the significance of the study and outline research limitations and avenues for future research. I conclude with a discussion on broader implications and policy recommendations.

CHAPTER II:

THEORIZING LATINA CRIMINALIZATION

This dissertation draws on an interdisciplinary body of literature to understand Chicana

criminalization. Specifically, I engage in the fields of racialized criminalization, feminist

criminological research on system-involved women and girls of color, and controlling

images. I argue that criminalization scholarship can best be informed by adopting an

intersectional approach. Merging these three bodies of literature allows for a more

nuanced understanding of criminalization as an intersectional process and experience. For

example, importing the insights of intersectional feminist criminologists challenges the

masculine body of racialized criminalization literature by identifying processes of

criminalization that are distinct from that of boys and men of color. Research on

controlling images associated with Latinx bodies and communities provides a conceptual

bridge between single-axis and intersectional frameworks by situating the discursive

strategies that legitimize and perpetuate Chicana criminalization.

I begin this chapter with an overview of racialized criminalization in the context

of street-level and school criminalization. Next, I turn to a review of feminist criminology

research on the criminalization of victimization and racialized motherhood. I then explore

controlling images attached to Latina/Chicana motherhood, fertility, and sexuality, and

Chicanx criminality via assumed gang membership. I conclude by outlining my

theoretical framework, *intersectional criminalization*.

Racialized Criminalization

Criminalization is a form of punitive social control that operates to regulate populations

thought to need control. Early criminalization scholarship located this process as occurring exclusively within the realm of the criminal legal system and through the "development and diffusion of criminal law" (Jenness 2004: 149). However, more recent scholarship expanded traditional conceptualizations to consider how criminalization may be initiated within and/or mutually reinforced by institutions not commonly associated with the criminal justice system, such as schools, communities, social services, the media, and the family.

Criminalization research is increasingly critical of the carceral system. Scholars in this vein are generally less concerned with understanding "criminal offending" and more interested in how certain groups are socially constructed as "criminals" (see, for example, Gurusami 2019; Lopez-Aguado 2016; Rios 2011; Stuart 2016). As a result, race has become central to understandings of criminalization. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, criminalization is conceptualized as a racialized project, process, and experience (Anderson 2012; Lopez-Aguado 2018; Rios 2011; Wacquant 2001; Western 2006). I suggest that the centrality of race may have inadvertently foregrounded men and boys of color at the expense of other genders. Thus, the racialized criminalization framework limits how we theorize criminalization and whom we consider criminalized.

The Police and Street-level Criminalization

Street-level criminalization refers to criminalization occurring within the community by the police. As a race-making institution, the police exact racial control (Carlson 2020; Vitale 2017; Wacquant 2001; Western 2006). They disproportionately target, search, and sanction Black and Brown people and communities, reproducing racialized ideas about crime and who the criminals (and victims) are, which in turn justifies state violence

against Black, Indigenous, people of color (BIPOC) under the colorblind guise of "crime control" (Bonilla-Silva 2017; Carlson 2020; Epp et al. 2014). "Suspiciousness" is similarly shaped by race (Alpert et al. 2005; Beckett et al. 2006; Carlson 2020; Welch 2007). Police gang units, for example, enlist stereotypes of Mexican-origin people as gang members as a pretext for hyper-policing Latinx neighborhoods (Durán 2009; Lopez-Aguado 2016; Zatz 1987). In this way, policing maintains racial segregation by keeping non-white bodies out of white spaces (Carroll and Gonzalez 2014; Meehan and Ponder 2002; Novak and Chamlin 2012). According to Jennifer Carlson (2020: 402), "U.S. policing has both shaped and been shaped by the conflation of racialization and criminalization." Beginning with the institution's origins in slave patrolling and forcibly removing indigenous populations from their lands (Singh 2014; Vitale 2017), police have played a pivotal role in upholding white supremacy throughout U.S. history.

Street-level policing in the U.S. underwent a change during the 1990s as law enforcement officials enlisted harsher and more aggressive tactics and strategies against low-level misdemeanor offenses in a policing model known as "proactive" or "broken windows" policing (Fagan et al. 2016; Kohler-Hausmann 2013; Kubrin et al. 2010; Stuart 2016; Weisburd and Majmundar 2018). This change marked a shift from policing actual crime to individuals *perceived* as criminals (Dubber 2000; Durán 2009). Stop-and-frisk, whereby law enforcement officials search individuals based on suspicion of criminal activity, is a primary tool of aggressive policing. It is also a form of racial profiling, regardless of how "respectful" the officer is (Rios et al. 2020).

Such street-level criminalization, sometimes referred to as "the new policing" (Fagan et al. 2016; Heymann 2000), has resulted in increasing rates of involuntary police

contact among predominately low-income, racially marginalized groups (Rios 2011; Stuart 2016). As a result, poor, racially segregated neighborhoods are subject to hyper surveillance, more aggressive policing, and higher rates of police misconduct (Bass 2001; Kane 2002; Klinger 1997). Research has long-documented police harassment of Mexican American communities (see, for example, Acuña 2000; Díaz-Cotto 2006; Durán 2009; Escobar 1999; Mazón 1984; Mirandé 1987; Moore 1991; Morales 1972; Vigil 1988; Zatz and Portillos 2000). People who have brown skin or look "Mexican" are more likely to be harassed by the police (Romero 2006).

Hyper-policing leads to vast disparities within the criminal justice system and contributes to wide-ranging consequences. For example, hyper-policing negatively impacts physical and mental health in adults and children and affects racially marginalized youth's educational performances (Legewie and Fagan 2019; Sewell and Jefferson 2016; Sugie and Turney 2017). Sarah Brayne (2014) identifies "system avoidance" in which individuals with carceral contact avoid interaction with vital institutions, such as schools, jobs, and hospitals (see also Goffman 2012). Hyper-policing similarly affects how residents view police legitimacy, leading to legal cynicism (Anderson 1999; Durán 2009; Tyler et al. 2014). Lack of trust in the police stems from frequent negative police encounters (Weitzer and Tuch 2002).

Police are also a gender-making institution—although our understanding of *how* is narrowly concentrated in the study of masculinities. Much of the research on policing considers the experiences of men and/or presumes gender neutrality (Brunson and Miller 2006). Yet women comprised 44 percent of all involuntary police stops in 2015 and

accounted for 27 percent of actual arrests, while the use of police force against women quadrupled from 1999 to 2015 (U.S. Department of Justice Statistics 2018).

In their study of Black youth living in South Side Chicago, Forrest Stuart and Ava Benezra (2018: 176) describe the police as "premier 'masculinity-making institutions' in poor urban neighborhoods." They find that Black male youth embodied a specific brand of masculinity to convey innocence and reduce unwanted police attention. Rebuffing characteristics associated with the "cool pose" (Majors and Billson 1992), such as toughness and aggression, these youth displayed emotional sensitivity, care for others, and vulnerability through overstated displays of heterosexual affection with Black girls— a strategy the authors refer to as "getting cover." As a gendered and sexualized performance, getting cover co-constituted femininities as well, as girls performed "dominant, mainstream (typically white, middle-class) conceptions of femininity" to support this strategy (p. 188). This strategy, however, may not be readily available to criminalized girls and women of color whose femininities and sexualities are stigmatized and for whom embracing mainstream conceptions of femininity is not an option (García 2012).

Other scholars find that policing may reproduce "toxic masculinities" (i.e., domination of others, violence, emotional indifference), as it is often interpreted as a threat to manhood (Collins 2004; Jones 2014; Rios 2011). Black and Latino boys, for example, may internalize criminalization by enlisting coping strategies, like "acting bad," that provide legitimacy for policing and punishment (Rios 2011). The police officers themselves are also gendered agents who embrace aggressive masculinity (Carlson 2020; Herbert 2001). Carlson (2020) finds that racialized policing is enacted through two types

of masculinity: "The Warrior" who aggressively polices non-white criminals, and "The Guardian," who must protect white victims.

The police are not immune from deploying racialized, gendered, and heteronormative frames, as we see through their treatment of boys and men of color. However, research has paid little attention to police interactions with women and girls of color and how socially constructed assumptions about interpersonal relationships shape these interactions. While it was initially assumed that police treated all women with more courtesy and respect compared to men, an older study by Visher (1983) found that police interactions were largely shaped by the interplay of race and gender, with white women most likely to be treated with chivalry and leniency, and Black women more likely to be arrested than both white women and white men. A study by Rod Brunson and Jody Miller (2006) found that Black girls are more likely to be treated like a suspect when in the company of Black boys; however, they do not expound upon the process by which this happens. Chicanas are similarly absent from racialized policing research (for an exception, see Díaz-Cotto 2006). However, it is reasonable to expect that existing stereotypes that render Chicanas' intimate relationships criminal and depict them as willing to do anything for men may also shape their institutional encounters with authority figures.

School Criminalization

Along with the introduction of increasingly harsh policing in the street, policing in schools via school police, or "school resource officers," and zero-tolerance policies funnel youth of color into the school-to-prison pipeline (Hirschfield 2008; Irwin et al. 2013; Wald and Losen 2003). During the 1990s, a moral panic developed over a

supposed surge in youth crime rates. Black and Latinx youth were viewed as threats to society and branded as "superpredators" and "folk devils" in the media and by politicians (Barron 2000), which justified harsh and disparate criminal justice and education policies. Students of color are disproportionately targeted for punishment, surveillance, and arrest in school compared to their white peers (Casella 2003; Ferguson 2001; Lipman 2003; Morris 2016; Perry and Morris 2014; Rios 2011; Wald and Losen 2003).

Schools are an important site of investigation because they not only serve as a "pipeline" to the criminal justice system, but they are also themselves carceral sites (Wun 2016; see also Rios 2011). According to Portillos, González, and Peguero (2011: 174), "The criminalization process in the criminal justice system mirrors the criminalization occurring in schools for Latina/o youth" (see also González and Portillos 2007; Katz 1997; Rios 2011). Teachers view Latinx youth as "educationally deficit and future criminals" (Portillos et al. 2011: 174) and accuse them of wrongdoing without any investigation (Katz 1997). In predominately Latinx schools, school personnel's perceptions of Latinx youth as dangerous, criminal gang members (as opposed to students) legitimizes criminalization via policies that prevent students from walking or hanging out in groups or wearing certain colors (Katz 1997; Lopez-Aguado 2016; Portillos et al. 2011; Rios 2011).

School criminalization can have life-altering consequences. Informal and formal labels applied by school officials criminalize students of color, who are then ushered into the criminal justice system via punitive policies. Paradoxically, school criminalization can drive Latinx youth into violence, crime, and gangs (Katz 1997; Rios 2011). According to Rios (2006: 48), "youth who are criminalized react to criminalization

through criminality." Marginalized youth may embrace these labels to maintain dignity and resist institutional discrimination and exclusion (Katz 1997; Rios 2011). Susan Katz (1997) suggested Latinx students are "caught in a push-pull process of resistance against teacher stereotyping" (p. 93), where they are labeled gang members when they are not in gangs and when they go to school, they are kicked out. In this context, dropping out of school may be a logical choice (Katz 1997).

In his influential study, Rios (2011) finds that Black and Latino boys living in California's Bay Area were labeled deviant, incessantly surveilled, and punished in their schools and communities well before their formal entrance into the criminal justice system. They were sealed with a permanent criminal identity by the time they committed their first offense, usually a misdemeanor. Rios captures this process through the "youth control complex" (see Chapter I), or a self-reinforcing, multi-institutional system of criminalization. Rios suggests that the youth control complex is an overlooked collateral consequence of mass incarceration and criminalization but operates much in the same way: to control and contain people of color.

Rios applies the youth control complex to boys only, which may be why he conceptualizes it as solely a racialized process. However, scholarly evidence suggests that young Latinas are subject to a similar process. For example, Jerry Flores (2016) finds that system-involved young Latinas face increased surveillance and punishment from their schools and families upon leaving juvenile detention facilities. He refers to this process and experience as "wraparound incarceration."

It is surprising that the experiences of girls of color are not considered more, given that they are the disproportionate recipients of school discipline (Losen and

Gillespie 2012; Morris 2007; Morris 2016; Wun 2016). While zero-tolerance policies purport gender-neutrality, they criminalize girls specifically for defending themselves against gender-based violence at school (Neve and Pate 2005). What is more, zero-tolerance policies not only enlisted social imagery of boys of color as superpredators, but they also drew on unsubstantiated claims that girls of color engaged in more violent crimes and were more likely to join gangs (Jones 2010; Miller 2008).

Black feminist scholarship on the school criminalization of Black girls has begun to challenge male centrism in school criminalization research. For example, Connie Wun (2016) shows that Black girls suffer high levels of criminalization, surveillance, intimidation, harassment, and brutality in school for seemingly normal behaviors through formal and informal modes of school discipline. As the constant subjects of racialized and gendered punishment, sexism and anti-Black racism render Black girls more likely to be disciplined by adults and their non-Black peers. Black girls are three times more likely than white girls to receive office referrals, which is larger than the gap between Black and white boys (Morris and Perry 2017). Monique Morris (2016) contends that school beliefs, policies, and practices criminalize Black girls, marginalize their intelligence, and deny their humanity. The supposed inferiority of Black femininity facilitates their criminalization, which, in turn, creates conditions that "push out" Black girls from the education system.

Research examining the criminalization of Chicana youth is lacking (for an exception, see Flores 2016). This is surprising given the overrepresentation of young Chicanas in the juvenile justice system (Díaz-Cotto 2006; Lyon and Spath 2002) and the fact that Latina youth are more likely to be detained, sent to a detention facility, and serve

longer sentences when compared to white girls (Lopez and Nuño 2016). The experiences of this group are important for a more complete understanding of criminalization. A consideration of Chicanas may push scholars to consider how race, gender, sexuality, as well as social class, nationality, and citizenship status, intersect to channel youth into the criminal justice system.

In sum, the scholarly body of literature on racialized criminalization currently examines criminalization through the experiences of boys and men of color, as evidenced by research on street-level and school criminalization. While the racialized criminalization framework has produced important insights, its male-centered focus fails to address the unique experiences of girls and women generally and Chicanas/Latinas specifically. The emphasis on boys and men of color is due, in part, to the conceptualization of criminalization as a process defined by race. When race is the only consideration, we are left with partial explanations of criminalization that only apply to men and boys of color, without considering how gender and sexuality also shape these experiences. This absence is increasingly problematic given Chicanas' growing incarceration rates, but it is unsurprising, as the singular focus on one axis of inequality leads to intersectional oversights. Therefore, criminalization scholarship must adopt an intersectional lens to account for this interaction. The insights offered by feminist criminology scholars in their studies of incarcerated and formerly incarcerated women of color would greatly enhance criminalization scholarship.

Feminist Criminology Research on System-Involved Women of Color

Challenging the primacy of race (and, by extension, masculinity) in criminalization literature requires centering the experiences of women and girls of color. Feminist

criminologists have long noted the need for intersectional analyses that are simultaneously attuned to race, gender, and sexuality (see, for example, Harris 2011; Potter 2015; Richie 2012; Silliman and Bhattacharjee 2002; Sudbury 2005). Feminist scholars of color, in particular, have identified distinct processes that shape outcomes for system-involved women and girls of color, illustrating a dynamic interplay between the interpersonal and the structural levels. This research underscores the importance of racialized, gendered, and heteronormative frames in criminalization processes. For example, exposure to interpersonal and state violence (Arnold 1990; Díaz-Cotto 2006; Richie 1996) and racialized motherhood coupled with state dependency (Gurusami 2019; Gutiérrez 2008; Roberts 2012) are two distinguishing features that are uncovered when race, gender, and sexuality are taken as co-constitutive.

Violence and Victimization

Feminist criminology studies reveal that what is unique to the criminalization of girls and women of color are life histories of violence and victimization (see, for example, Arnold 1990; Chesney-Lind 1988; Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983; Díaz-Cotto 2006). The "criminalization of victimization" (Chesney-Lind 2002) distinguishes these experiences from men and boys and serves as an entry point into the criminal justice system. Over the past few decades, feminist criminologists have advanced the "pathways approach" to understand women's criminal offending. This approach conceptualizes a connection between victimization and an increased risk for criminal offending and criminal justice system involvement (see, for example, Arnold 1990; Belknap and Holsinger 2006; Chesney-Lind and Rodriguez 1983; Chesney-Lind and Sheldon 2013; Daly 1998; DeHart 2008, Gilfus 1992; Heimer 1995; McDaniels-Wilson and Belknap 2008; Salisbury and

Van Voorhis 2009; Schaffner 2006). The pathways approach revolutionized the field of criminology, leading Joanne Belknap (2010: 1080) to refer to it as "the single most important contribution of feminist criminology."

The pathways approach situates gendered criminal offending within the context of a patriarchal society that inflicts violence on girls and women (Gaarder and Belknap 2002). Childhood physical and sexual abuse are primary indicators of system involvement (Saar et al. 2015). For example, the most common crimes for which girls are arrested (e.g., substance abuse, running away from home, and truancy) are also widely known indicators of abuse. This overlap is manifested in what has become known as the "abuse-to-prison pipeline" or, more poignantly, the "sexual abuse-to-prison pipeline," whereby girls, especially girls of color, who experience physical and sexual assault are streamlined into the carceral system *because* of their victimization (Saar et al. 2015). Thus, imprisonment is the state's continuation of violence and coercive control in the lives of already victimized women and girls (Neve and Pate 2005).

It is not simply that abuse predisposes girls and women to criminal offending, but rather it is the strategies they enlist to cope with trauma and resist abuse that are criminalized. More simply, women's and girls' survival skills are criminalized (Neve and Pate 2005). For instance, while fighting back against victimization and/or turning to drugs to deal with unresolved trauma may be rational responses for women and girls who are structurally dislocated from institutional- and community-level supports, they are criminalized actions (Arnold 1990; Bowles et al. 2012; Díaz-Cotto 2006; Jones 2010; Richie 1996; Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009).

One problem with the pathways approach is its name, which suggests that women can choose which path they take and that these paths are removed from race, class, and gender inequalities (Comack 2018). Interpersonal violence must be situated within structural violence caused by racialized, gendered, heteronormative, colonial, and class oppressions (Hackett 2013). Patricia Hill Collins (1998: 919) suggests that violence "may serve as the conceptual glue that binds" systems of domination.

Black feminist scholars advanced the intersectional argument that a process of victimization initiates criminalization processes and that interlocking systems of oppression shape both. Regina Arnold (1990) found that for incarcerated Black women, "pre-criminal" behavior (i.e., running away, stealing food, dropping out of school to work) is a human response to extreme childhood trauma. Black women's and girls' resistance to violence, though rational and necessary for survival, violate societal norms governing femininity. Additionally, interpersonal violence was worsened by systemic racism and economic marginalization, which constrained the options available to study participants. Similarly, Beth Richie (1996) argues that the coping strategies of Black women in relationships with violent male partners are criminalized and that "criminality" is often a response to male coercion and violence. Richie finds that it is not the result of a rejection of traditional gender roles but rather a deep commitment to upholding hegemonic notions of gender and racialized expectations, with no acceptable way to do so, that leads to "criminal behaviors"—making incarceration practically inevitable. Richie captures this process with her theory of gender entrapment.

These and other studies show that Black women, as the disproportionate victims of violence, are rarely granted access to victimhood (Collins 2000; Richie 1996; Roberts

2012; Wun 2016). Criminalization denies claims of innocence for multiply marginalized groups. According to Richie (1996: 5), this is "because the nature of their abuse and their social position result[s] in their being labeled 'criminals' rather than 'victims of crimes.'"

Thus, understanding how violence against Chicanas shapes their experiences of criminalization is critically important. Latinas are especially vulnerable to intimate partner violence (IPV). They are more likely to be killed by their intimate partners but less likely to use formal help-seeking services (i.e., healthcare and social service agencies) (Alvidrez 1999; Azziz-Baumgartner et al. 2011; Lipsky et al. 2006). Barriers to help-seeking include individual, interpersonal, and structural factors (Liang et al. 2005). For example, personal feelings of shame, lack of information, inaccessible resources, poverty, language barriers, legal barriers, social isolation, and the presence of children can affect whether a Latina seeks protection from an abusive partner (Bauer et al. 2000; Bui and Morash 1999; Denham et al. 2007; Goldman 1999; Menjívar and Salcido 2002; Morash et al. 2007; Perilla et al. 1994; Rivera 1994; Vidales 2010).

Other scholars note that culture may have an influence (Amerson et al. 2014; Flake 2005; Perilla et al. 1994; Torres 1991; Vidales 2010). For instance, the cultural ideals of *marianismo* and *simpatía*, which dictate that women be passive and non-confrontational, and *familismo*, defined as extreme loyalty to the family, may impact Latinas' decisions to seek help (Faulkner and Mansfield 2002). However, scholars do not agree on the role of Latinx culture in shaping these decisions, with some scholars finding no association at all (e.g., Sabina et al. 2012). Moreover, viewing Latinas' experiences through the single lens of ethnicity ignores other overlapping identities (Caetano et al. 2000; Dugan and Apel 2003; Marrs Fuchsel et al. 2012).

In her study of the life histories of Chicana *pintas*, or formerly incarcerated women, living in East L.A., Juanita Díaz-Cotto (2006) argues that criminal behavior is a coping strategy for untreated physical, sexual, and emotional abuse within the home, and a way to resist institutional and interpersonal violence. As young girls, the women in Díaz-Cotto's study were punished for violating racialized notions of hegemonic femininity through acts viewed as "delinquent" to mainstream society, such as abusing drugs and contesting law enforcement. Once alienated from their families, these women turned to their neighborhoods, which were often gang-affiliated, for support. Because of the criminalization of Chicanx *barrios*, Chicanas were further victimized by police harassment and sexual violence.

Latina girls are at an increased risk for racialized, gendered, and sexualized violence on the streets while trying to evade interpersonal and state violence (Díaz-Cotto, 2006; Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2013; Flores et al. 2017; Lopez 2017; Morín 2008; Olguín 2010; Schaffner 2008). In their study of young Latinas "on the run" from law enforcement, Flores, Camacho, and Santos (2017) found that young Latinas who turn themselves in to the police are not offered any services to deal with trauma and are often returned to the same living conditions that caused them to go on the run in the first place (see also Flores 2016).

This institutional response to, and reproduction of, violence against women and girls of color has been referred to as "secondary assaults" (Williams and Holmes 1981; see Martin 2005). Secondary assaults can occur when a police officer decides not to investigate a report of domestic violence (Spohn and Tellis 2014) or when prosecutors

decide against a course of action because they represent "undesirable" or "non-credible" survivors (Corrigan 2013; Martin 2005).

Sexism and racial and ethnic discrimination shape how police officers view Latina survivors and the Latinx community more generally as inherently violent (Rivera 1994). For example, Jenny Rivera (1994) finds that the police do not take Latinas' reports of domestic violence seriously because they view violence as commonplace within Latinx households. For system-involved Latinas, "delinquent behavior" is attributed to deficits in Latinx families and culture, and histories of abuse and trauma go unaddressed (Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004; Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014). Thus, research suggests that Latinas, like Black women and girls, are also denied victimhood status when they are criminalized as "bad" girls and women in need of control instead of survivors who need support (Neve and Pate 2005).

Criminalized Motherhood

Feminist criminologists identify motherhood as another mechanism that distinguishes the criminalized experiences of women of color from their male counterparts. Mothers of color do not fit hegemonic ideals of motherhood and are often labeled bad and unfit (Roberts 1993). The mainstream ideology of mothering is based on a white, middle-class, heterosexual standard (Baker and Carson 1999). Notions concerning "good" and "bad" mothering are rooted in the parenting model of "intensive mothering," which is "child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labor-intensive, and financially expensive" (Hays 1996, p. 8). This model dictates that biological mothers put their needs second to those of their children, who require all their time, energy, attention, money, and

emotional capacities (Hayes 1996; McMahon 1995; Smart 1996). Mothers who violate

these standards are often stigmatized as "bad mothers."

Mothers of color (Roberts 1993), teenage mothers (Horowitz 1995; Luttrell 2003),

"welfare moms" (Collins 2000; Hays 2003; Horowitz 1995; Seccombe 2007), drug-

addicted mothers (Baker and Carson 1999; Litt and McNeil 1997; Murphey and

Rosenbaum 1999), and system-involved mothers (Arditti 2012; Brown and Bloom 2009;

Dodge and Pogrebin 2001; Golden 2005; Gunn et al. 2018; Sharpe 2015) fall outside the

socially constructed parameters of normative parenting. Their stigmatized motherhood is

further compounded by the fact that these groups are often overlapping (Arditti 2012;

Horowitz 1995; Sharpe 2015).

Formerly incarcerated mothers of color, in particular, are described as "maternally

unorthodox" (McMahon 1995), having violated mainstream mothering norms. Formerly

incarcerated mothers are more stigmatized than formerly incarcerated fathers (Chesney-

Lind 2002; Gunn and Canada 2015). In society's view, mothers are supposed to be the

family's moral compass, and having a criminal record is indicative that a mother's

priorities lie elsewhere and not with her children (May 2008; Raddon 2002). Formerly

incarcerated mothers are said to have "doubly failed" both as women and as mothers

(Gámez 2019: 80; Beckerman 1991; Hairston 1991; Jones 1993).

Mothers reentering society after incarceration encounter numerous obstacles.

Reentry is a gendered phenomenon (Brown and Bloom 2009; Heidemann et al. 2016) that

is criminalizing and traumatizing (Williams et al. 2021). Reentry unfolds across

numerous criminal justice and welfare bureaucracies, such as parole/probation, public

assistance, mental health, and child welfare (Halushka 2020; Mijs 2016; Miller 2014;

Miller and Stuart 2017). Reentry is already a daunting task that may be more difficult for formerly incarcerated mothers seeking to reunite with their children (Arditti 2012; Bloom and Brown 2011). These mothers must meet the requirements of multiple institutions that often have competing demands while enduring hyper-surveillance from different entities and the social stigma attached to their carceral histories (Chesney-Lind and Pasko 2013; Cobbina 2010; Covington 2003; Richie 2001). Susila Gurusami (2019) suggests that the state criminalizes the maternal labor of formerly incarcerated Black mothers to justify continuous state intervention in their parenting.

Navigating this interconnected web of bureaucratic punishment and surveillance is called the "runaround" (Halushka 2020). In their study of formerly incarcerated men, John Halushka (2020) describes the runaround as a physically and mentally exhausting process that increases distrust of state officials and the likelihood of recidivism. Hulushka (2020) did not examine formerly incarcerated mothers' experiences of the runaround; however, because women are usually the sole and/or primary caregivers to their children pre-incarceration (see Arditti 2012; Bloom and Brown 2011), it is reasonable to expect that their parenting may engender more intense scrutiny. Indeed, "motherhood under the gaze of the state" (Mitchell and Davis 2019: 424) is complicated and criminalizing, making child reunification and successful reentry extremely difficult.

Social service agencies and the criminal justice system impose socially constructed ideas about what constitutes good mothering and implement harsh penalties against women who do not conform to these socially prescribed roles (Garcia 2016). These sectors are gender-biased systems that uphold traditional gender roles and increasingly work together to punish system-involved mothers (Dulay 1989; Franklin and

Fearn 2008; Goulette et al. 2015; Steffensmeier et al. 1998). For example, the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997, also known as "fast-track adoption," sped up the time children could be adopted while in foster care. For instance, a mother's parental rights could be terminated if her child(ren) spent 15 of the last 22 months in foster care. With nearly 60 percent of women in prison and 80 percent of women in jail who are mothers (Prison Policy Initiative 2021), this policy has had significant consequences for incarcerated and formerly incarcerated mothers, the majority of whom are mothers of color whose children are more likely to end up in foster care (Genty 1998; Hayward and DePanfilis 2007; Simmons and Danker-Feldman 2010).

Feminist criminologists implicate various institutions in the criminalization of racialized motherhood. For example, Dorothy Roberts' (2012) argues that the U.S. prison and foster care systems over-police and punish Black mothers, who are then punished for their disadvantaged positions. The child welfare and welfare systems are two institutions that play an especially significant role in criminalizing racialized motherhood. Next, I review studies in these two areas.

Child Welfare System

The child welfare system is charged with protecting children from abuse and neglect. As the "investigative arm of the child welfare system" (Fong 2020: 616), child protective services, or CPS, receives reports of suspected child maltreatment from mandated reporters representing various state agencies, such as the police, teachers, social workers, and medical professionals. If a maltreatment claim is substantiated, child welfare caseworkers have the power to remove children from parental custody and place them

into state custody. The family court system then decides whether to grant family reunification or terminate parental rights altogether.

The child welfare system is the primary system of governance of life in the private sphere. It has a dual capacity for coercive control—as demonstrated in its ability to separate families—and care—illustrated in its ability to provide support and resources to families in need (Fong 2020; Pelton 1989; Roberts 2014). This system of surveillance disproportionately targets poor families of color (Berger and Waldfogel 2011; HHS 2020; Roberts 2014) and is a common feature in marginalized communities (Roberts 2008). This is not because low-income parents of color are more likely to mistreat their children but because the child welfare system, like the criminal justice system, is called upon to deal with various family issues and needs that often result from structural inequalities (Fong 2020).

According to Brown and Bloom (2009), racism, sexism, and poverty not only shape women's pathways into the carceral system, but they also lead to adverse actions taken by the child welfare system. Women of color and their children are disproportionately represented in the child welfare system (Brown 2010; Lu et al. 2004; Putnam-Hornstein et al. 2013). Being involved with this system is very stigmatizing, as it punishes marginalized parents for failing to meet hegemonic parenting standards (Abramovitz 1988; Kielty 2008; O'Brien 2001; Opsal 2011; Williams et al. 2021). Roberts (2002, 2014) argues that the child welfare system relies on gendered and racialized constructions of maternal fitness to police and punish Black mothers. Indeed, the foster care system's "punitive" turn is given legitimacy by stereotypes of Black maternal unfitness (Harris-Perry 2011; Roberts 1997, 2014).

Formerly incarcerated mothers involved with the child welfare system find their motherhood even more devalued (Kielty 2008; O'Brien 2001; Opsal 2011; Williams et al. 2021). The child welfare system places significant barriers on formerly incarcerated mothers of color who attempt to regain custody of their children upon release, making it harder to reunite with their families (Lee 2016). Incarcerated mothers are more likely to have their parental rights terminated (Genty 1988; Glaze and Maruschak 2010; Hager and Flag 2018).

The Welfare System

The welfare system criminalizes racialized motherhood by coupling criminality with state dependence. The neoliberal logic of minimal state intervention promoted an ideology of criminalized dependency, which began to proliferate in the 1970s. Thus, the system of mass incarceration corresponds with the retrenchment of the welfare state (Wacquant 2001). Gains made by the Civil Rights movement, which increased access and use of public resources by people of color, coincided with proposals and policies to reduce welfare state expenditures. According to Martha Escobar (2016: 10), "It is when the welfare state is compelled to address the needs of communities of color, when the potential for women of color to experience state-sanctioned domesticity develops, that welfare is criminalized and the shift from 'welfare to work' takes place."

The 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) solidified the punitive shift in the welfare state (Haney 2004). It imposed shorter time limits on how long one could receive aid in their lifetime, put into place more narrow eligibility requirements—such as "benefit caps," which limited the number of children one could have while receiving aid—and required recipients to work for their

benefits through "welfare-to-work" policies. The PRWORA created Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) to replace the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. Prompted by conservative fears that AFDC promoted dependency and encouraged behaviors antithetical to escaping poverty, TANF championed the idea that those who do not work do not deserve support (Harvey 2005).

The restructuring of welfare criminalized dependency and became a way to regulate the sexuality and reproduction of poor women of color (Roberts 2014). Mothers of color were blamed for the intergenerational transmission of poverty at the same time they were excluded from state-subsidized support. According to Roberts (2014), "By identifying procreation as the cause of deplorable social conditions, reproductive punishments divert attention away from state responsibility and the need for social change" (p. 1778). Thus, the over-incarceration of women of color criminalizes dependency, ascribes maternal deviance, and limits the reproductive abilities of women of color (Escobar 2016; Hays 1996). Escobar (2016) argues that this type of reproductive control should be viewed as "racialized warfare."

Criminality influences perceptions of deservingness, and both are racialized, gendered, and classed constructs (Escobar 2016). Welfare caseworkers enlist stereotypes of aid recipients as lazy, irresponsible, and morally deficient (Lara-Millan and Gonzalez van Cleve 2017). As a result, Black and Latina mothers are disproportionately subject to benefit denial (Mauer and McCalmont 2013). When mothers of color are constructed as undeserving of help and support, need is addressed not by aid—but by punishment and incarceration.

The coupling of criminality and feminized racialized dependency via welfare retrenchment relied on racialized and gendered stereotypes of mothers of color as maternally unfit, irresponsible, and criminal. For example, the "welfare queen" provided ideological justification for excluding Black women from state-subsidized support (Collins 2000; Roberts 1997, 2014). Latinas are also often depicted as government leeches who give birth to future criminals. They are labeled as promiscuous "mamacitas" whose imagined hyper-fertility threatens the welfare state and white reproductive dominance (Escobar 2016; Gutiérrez 2008; López 2003).

Research on criminalized motherhood and dependency tends to focus on Black or Latina migrant mothers. For example, Escobar (2016) argues that the criminalization of Black motherhood via assumed criminality and state dependency is re-mapped onto Latina migrant mothers. Black mothers are conceived as the "enemy within," whereas Latina migrant mothers are "the enemy from without." Escobar finds that Latina migrant women are ascribed criminality via their assumed "illegality" in the U.S. as non-citizens. Latina migrants are believed to cross the border without authorization so that they can give birth to future criminals, drain underserved state resources, and secure citizenship for themselves via their "anchor babies" (see also Chavez 2004). According to Escobar, "Following this logic, (im)migrant mothers are the ultimate thieves since, through their motherhood, they are able to 'steal' that which is valued most by the US body politic—citizenship" (2016: 46).

To summarize, feminist criminology scholarship on system-involved women and girls of color identifies life histories of violence and victimization and racialized motherhood as central and distinct mechanisms of punishment. Thus, when intersectional

frameworks are enlisted other sources of inequality are uncovered and implicated in upholding systems of oppression. We also begin to see the influential role of stereotypes or "controlling images" in perpetuating criminalization. Next, I discuss the ideological function of these images and how they help to situate Chicana criminalization in the context of criminalizing social imagery.

Controlling Images

Controlling images are negative stereotypes or caricatures that, according to Collins (2000), are "designed to make racism, sexism, poverty, and other forms of social injustice appear natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life" (p. 69). Controlling images do the ideological work of defining socially marked groups as inferior and inform attitudes that justify unequal treatment of subordinated groups (Beauboeuf-Lafontant 2009; Dow 2015; Harris-Perry 2011; Schwalbe et al. 2000). In doing so, controlling images uphold intersecting systems of oppression. What is more, controlling images are relational; they "require a normative group to be defined against" (Gurusami 2019: 131). Controlling images reaffirm whiteness and aid the process of "othering" (Pyke and Johnson 2003).

Research on controlling images is a common thread that ties together scholarship on racialized criminalization with feminist criminology research on system-involved women and girls of color. Controlling images are important to understandings of criminalization because criminalization relies on false perceptions and "threatening criminal imagery" (Schneider and Schneider 2008, p. 351; see also Katz 1997). In other words, controlling images legitimize and perpetuate criminalization, so it is crucial that we understand their deployment and function. Below, I discuss three related images

concerning Chicana/Latina motherhood/reproduction, sexuality, and (presumed) gang membership. These images reveal criminalizing discursive strategies wielded against Chicanas.

Controlling Images of Latina Motherhood and Reproduction

Stereotypes that draw on race, gender, and sexuality serve an important function in the criminalization process by legitimizing the control and punishment of "dangerous others." As we saw above, welfare retrenchment relied on the stereotype of Black mothers as drug-addicted welfare queens who were neglectful of their children. The welfare queen trope criminalizes Black mothers by constructing them as unfit parents who transmit deviant or otherwise undesirable traits to their children (Dow 2015; Elliott and Reid 2019; Soss et al. 2011; Windsor et al. Golub 2011). This discourse places Black mothers under stricter scrutiny and surveillance, exposing them to a greater risk for punitive treatment in a variety of institutional contexts (i.e., in the child welfare system, welfare system, education system, and carceral system) (Collins 2000; Elliott and Reid 2019; Roberts 2002).

While prior research finds that controlling images render Black mothers neglectful, "bad mothers" (see, for example, Collins 2000; Gurusami 2019; Roberts 2002), controlling images overly identify Latina migrant mothers, especially Mexican migrant mothers, in the mothering role (Gutiérrez 2008). This characterization is rooted in the image of the "hyper-breeder," which depicts Mexican-origin women as "prolific" and "problematic" "baby machines" who do not believe in using birth control and whose imagined superior reproductive capacities are likened to animals (i.e., "women who breed like rabbits") (Guitérrez 2008).

38

Latinas are viewed as "reproductive threats to society" with "dangerous" levels of fertility (Chavez 2004). Historically, nativist attacks on Latinx migrant communities enlisted the hyper-breeder image to create fears of a Latinx invasion. Anti-Latinx immigrant sentiment and policies in the 1980s and 1990s drew on discourses of Mexican hyper-fertility and perpetuated the belief that Latinas only had children to secure citizenship and government assistance (Chavez 1997, 2004; Chock 1996; Guitérrez 2008; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1995; Wilson 2000; Zavella 1997). For instance, the hyper-breeder controlling image was deployed to advocate for California's Proposition 187 (or the "Save our State" initiative), which sought to deny public education to undocumented migrants, as well as vital healthcare and other resources to migrant women and their children.

Social science research has a long history of perpetuating the hyper-breeder image. For example, in a 1982 review of social science literature, Sally Andrade found that "an exaggerated 'super-mother' figure emerges from a summary… of Mexican American women: the unceasingly self-sacrificing, dedicated, ever-fertile woman totally without aspiration for self or initiative to do other than reproduce" (p. 229). The field of sociology, in particular, has advanced depictions of Mexican-origin women as hyper-breeders in need of control. For example, Ruth Allen (1931) conducted the first sociological study of Mexican-origin women, highlighting their supposed hyper-fertility and total submissiveness to men. In her paper later retitled "Competitive Breeding," Allen (1958) argued that Mexican women have many children so that they do not have to work in the fields.

Even sociology's most problematic theoretical models are based on Mexican mothers and their families. For example, the culture of poverty thesis first put forth by Oscar Lewis in 1959, which attributes poverty to the purported deviant values of the poor, is based on a case study of poor Mexican families. Interestingly, while social scientists have been fascinated by Latina fertility since at least the 1970s—and offered cultural deficit models premised on the idea that Latinx culture is especially favorable to childbearing and opposes contraception—the fertility rates of Mexican and Mexican American women significantly declined between 1960 through the 1990s (Chavez 2004; Gutiérrez 2008).

This social construction of hyper-fertility must be situated in the context of race, class, and gender domination and viewed as an assault on the bodily autonomy of Mexican-origin women. According to Elena Gutiérrez (2008: 127), "The condescending and classist identification of Mexican women as hyper-fertile baby machines obscures how social pressures within the United States may have infringed on the rights of women of Mexican origin to have as many children as they may want." Nowhere is this infringement more evident than in the United States' history of coerced sterilization of women of Mexican descent that continues in ICE detention centers to this day.[4]

However, the hyper-breeder image is all-encompassing and attacks the fertility of all Latinas regardless of citizenship status. According to Leo Chavez (2004: 176), "The politics of fertility and reproduction are not limited to immigrant Latinas, but includes U.S.-born Latinas, whose high fertility is characterized as partly responsible for

---

[4] For research on the sterilization of Latinas, see Lopez 1998; Vélez-Ibáñez 1980, 1999.

demographic changes occurring in the nation's racial composition." Thus, Latina

reproduction is a threat to the nation and has become a target of state violence (Chavez

2004; Escobar 2016).

While the hyper-breeder image targets the reproduction of all Latinas regardless

of citizenship status, the anti-immigrant logic supporting this controlling image cannot be

applied to U.S.-born Latinas. Chicanas share an attachment to their ethnic and migrant

communities as Mexican American women, yet their status as U.S. citizens renders them

racially distinct. As Chapter VI will discuss, although the women in this study were

viewed as hyper-fertile and a drain on state resources by various institutional actors, they

were not characterized as self-sacrificing "super mothers." On the contrary, like Black

mothers, they were treated as "bad mothers." Chicana mothers are generally perceived as

passing on cultural deficits and poverty to their children (De Gaetano 2007; Ochoa 2011).

For this reason, a new set of images had to be applied to multi-generational Mexican

American women since they cannot be legally deported or denied resources reserved for

U.S. citizens.

Controlling Images of Latina Sexuality

Like the hyper-breeder, the controlling image of Latina hyper-sexuality is also pervasive

(Gutierrez 2008; López 2003; Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014). Latina adolescent

sexuality is especially stigmatized and used to marginalize and demonize young Latinas

in various institutional settings (Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014). Schools are a prime site

where controlling images are reproduced, and the stereotype of Latina hyper-sexuality is

perpetuated (Bettie 2000; Dunning-Lozano 2018; García 2009; Kelly 1993; Rolón-Dow

2004). Teachers view Latinas as "prostitutes" because of how they dress and do their

makeup (see, for example, Katz 1997). School personnel view Latinas through their racialized and classed identities, which renders them more adult-like and sexually mature for their age in the minds of school officials (Bettie 2003; Ferguson 2001; Fields 2008; Hyams 2006; Morris 2007; Pascoe 2007). For example, Julie Bettie (2000) found that while Chicana high school students were not more interested in boys and sex than white girls, school officials interpreted race and class differences in performances of femininity (e.g., clothing and makeup styles) as evidence of heightened Latina promiscuity and sexual immorality.

García (2009) found that teachers perceive young Latina sexuality as non-normative and deviant, and Latina girls are constructed as "perpetually at-risk for pregnancy" due to Latinx culture (p. 536). Latinas are generally not believed to have ambitions beyond having children (Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014). García (2009) contends that teachers draw on the good girl/bad girl dichotomy by enlisting racist and heterosexist stereotypes of Latina girls as promiscuous "teen moms." While all girls must contend with the good girl/bad girl dichotomy, good girls are imagined to be white, and girls of color are viewed as innately bad, which shapes their experiences with authority figures (García 2009; Jones 2010; Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014; Miller 2008; Stephens and Phillips 2003).

Similarly, the teen mom stereotype is prominent in the criminal justice system. Research shows that this stereotype influences juvenile justice professionals' assessments of Latina girls (see, for example, Bond-Maupin et al. 2002; Gaarder, Rodriguez, and Zatz 2004; Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014; Pasko and Lopez 2018; Schaffner 2008). Moreover, the Latina teen mom trope is applied to all young Latinas regardless of

citizenship status but may hold different connotations for U.S.-born Latinas. For instance, Vera Lopez and Meda Chesney-Lind (2014) found that juvenile justice clinicians applied the teen mom stereotype to all Latinas regardless of immigration status. However, Latina migrant girls were seen as good girls who become pregnant at a young age because Latinx culture endorses it. At the same time, "Americanized" U.S.-born Latinas were viewed as "bad girls" who come from "chaotic families."

Though it should go without saying, the myths of Latina hyper-sexuality and hyper-fertility are unfounded. Latina girls do not have sex earlier or with more partners than white girls, nor are there significant differences in the number of children U.S.-born Mexican American women have compared to white American women (Chavez 2004). However, controlling images do not need to be rooted in reality to be believed as true. According to Roberts (1997: 8), "Myths are more than made-up stories… They can become more credible than reality, holding fast even in the face of airtight statistics and rational argument to the contrary."

Latina sexuality is often portrayed in one of two extremes, "the virgin" and "the whore" (García and Torres 2009; Gil and Vazquez 1996; Zavella 2003). According to García and Torres (2009: vii), "Latinas are essentialized as either long-suffering, traditional, and sexually repressed, or eroticized as promiscuous and out of control." Both portrayals have been attributed to Latinx culture. The cultural ideal of *marianismo* mentioned earlier prescribes appropriate gendered and sexual behavior by dictating that Latinas embody virtues of the Virgin Mary, such as modesty, virginity, self-sacrifice, caregiving, dutiful, and submission to men (Galanti 2003; Gil and Vazquez 1996; Stevens 1973). Sex is for procreative purposes only and may only occur within the context of a

43

long-term committed heterosexual relationship. Violating this ideal brings shame onto one's family and future spouse (Faulkner 2003; Gil and Vazquez 1996; Stevens 1973). Women who are, or are presumed to be, lesbian and/or promiscuous are labeled "deviant whores" who are unfit for motherhood (Gómez and Marín 1996).

Marianismo exists in relation to, and not as a consequence of, *machismo* (Hussain et al. 2015). This complimentary cultural ideal prescribes appropriate gendered and sexual behavior for Latino men. *Machismo* dictates that Latino men be dominant, aggressive, oppressive to women, hyper-sexual, and have multiple sexual partners (Marín et al. 1993). Unlike women, a man's status improves with each sexual partner. Under these two relational ideals, Latinas are expected to repress their sexuality, whereas Latino men are expected to express it (Gil and Vazquez 1996). The gender and sexual role expectations of *marianismo* and *machismo* contribute to wider stereotyping in society and are enlisted to justify various social problems (Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014).

Controlling Images of Chicanx/Latinx Gangs

Research on racialized criminalization also recognizes the significance of controlling images on constructions of criminality. However, criminalization is often equated with "super predators," "hoodlums," "thugs," and "gang bangers" in ways that forefront the experiences of boys and men of color (see Collins 2004; López 2003; Rios 2011). Many of the images that scholars analyze to understand criminalization come from the experiences of Chicano men and boys. Historically, portrayals of the *bandido*, the *pachuco*, and the *cholo* vilified Mexican American men, placing them at a distinct disadvantage in the criminal justice system (Montoya 1994, 1997; Muñoz et al. 1998; Ontiveros 1993, 1995). Mainstream depictions of Chicanos as criminal gang bangers

44

reduce their credibility and contribute to the reproduction of the "Latino crime threat" by casting Latinos as permanent or "career" criminals (Chavez 2008; Flores 2014). Muñoz et al. (1998) argue that "stereotypical images of Mexican (male) criminality, coupled with cultural differences between Anglos and Mexicans, justifies and rationalizes the maintenance of a double standard of justice where Mexicans receive negative disparate treatment in criminal justice encounters" (p. 154). This "double standard of justice" has been referred to as "gringo justice" (Mirandé 1987; Montoya 1997; Trujillo 1974) and is supported by empirical evidence (see LaFree 1985; Tinker et al. 1985).

The media play a crucial role in perpetuating criminalizing discourses. José Luis Morín (2008: 20) maintains, "The power of the media lies not only in its ability to project fear but also its capacity to convey a highly racialized picture of crime to the public." Through racist (and sexist) fear-filled images of "crack whores," "crack babies," and "crack heads," for instance, the media constructed and capitalized on a culture of fear to generate support for the War on Drugs (Alexander 2010). Such controlling images legitimize racialized criminalization.

Scholarly research on "moral panics" (Cohen 1972) captures how Chicano youth are constructed as violent criminal gang members. Stanley Cohen (1972) suggested that a moral panic occurs when a group of people becomes defined as threatening to social values and/or interests. Moral panics are based on a perceived rather than actual threat. The process of arousing this threat results from deliberate manipulation of public opinion by politicians, law enforcement officials, and the mass media (Chambliss 1995). Marjorie S. Zatz (1987) finds that the social imagery of Chicano gangs as violent combined with

the representation of Chicanxs as "different" contributes to the social imagery of Chicano youth gangs as "volatile social dynamite."

Stereotypes of Chicano gang members justify criminalization via punitive institutional policies and practices aimed at Chicanx people (Durán 2018). Specifically, the War on Gangs has made the criminal labeling of Chicanx youth as gang members more consequential (Katz 2003; Zatz and Krecker 2003). Initiated in the mid-1990s, the War on Gangs is comprised of several anti-gang initiatives, such as automatic sentence enhancements for documented gang members and the introduction of gang databases, which allow for targeted persecution of Latinx youths (Durán 2008; Morín 2008; Villarruel et al. 2002; Walker et al. 2007; Zatz and Krecker 2003). A crime does not even have to be committed to land one on the gang database; however, if a crime is committed while on "gang file," it results in an automatic sentence enhancement. Police intelligence gathering under the War on Gangs has become central to the criminalization of Latinx youth. Through gang membership—actual or presumed—Latinx youth are labeled criminals.

The War on Gangs solidified the conflation of gang membership with being Latinx (Zatz and Krecker 2003; see also Durán 2009). Even though Latinx youth are no more likely to be in gangs than white youth (Winfree et al. 2001), ascribing gang membership primarily to Black and Latinx youth means that white youth are one of the only groups viewed as non-gang members (Durán 2009). Although being in a gang is not a crime, and most gang activity is non-criminal and/or minor, the depiction of Chicanx gangs as violent criminal enterprises (Klein 2004) rationalizes the criminalization of Chicanx youth (Díaz-Cotto 2006; Mirandé and Lopez 1992).

Thus, racialized criminalization is conceived as a process informed by the controlling images of Black and Brown men and boys, neglecting how racialized, gendered, and heterosexist images of Brown women and girls facilitate Chicana criminalization. This omission is interesting given that Latina girls are viewed as "thieves, *cholas*, and lowlifes" who are also "susceptible to gang involvement," drug use, and sex work (Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014). Chicanas are often subject to gendered, racialized, and heteronormative assumptions that they will "stand by" their family and men. Media portrayals of *cholas* perform this relational task and are particularly stigmatizing (Vigil 2008). As Urban Dictionary[5] highlights, a Chicana is frequently viewed as a "chola" who is "down for her *barrio* and is in a gang" (also see Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014). Chicanas are viewed as passive and subordinate to their men—likely to be complicit in men's desires (Lopez 2013). In addition, performances of femininity among Latinas are often criminalized in a way that white middle-class expressions of femininity are not (Bettie 2000; García 2012). These expectations inflect the assumptions of the police, school officials, and other institutional authorities about how and why Chicanas will act and are thus implicated in Chicanas' intersectional experiences of criminalization.

While not the focus of racialized criminalization scholarship, gang scholars identify gang-involved Chicanas as the most criminalized Latina subgroup (see Cepeda and Valdez 2003; Díaz-Cotto 2006; Harris 1994; Mendoza-Denton 2008; Moore 1991; Valdez 2007; Vigil 2008). However, this research tends to focus on the individual "at-

---

[5] See https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=chola.

risk" behaviors of Chicana gang members—for example, drug use and unsafe sexual practices—and is often less concerned with racist, hetero-sexist perceptions that ascribe gang involvement, hypersexuality, and drug addiction to all Chicanas regardless of gang status (for exceptions, see Díaz-Cotto 2006; Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014). Continuing to develop critical intersectional theorizing is essential for disrupting harmful ideas that perpetuate Chicana criminalization in the first place.

Research on controlling images of Chicanas bridges scholarship on racialized criminalization and feminist criminology studies on system-involved women and girls of color. Understanding the discursive strategies at work in reproducing criminalization allows for more nuanced mechanisms of punishment to be revealed. Furthermore, bringing these three bodies of literature together lays the groundwork for my analytical framework, intersectional criminalization. While these fields of research are helpful in situating and informing our understandings of Chicana criminalization, Chicana criminalization cannot be sufficiently understood by extrapolating the study findings of other groups, namely boys and men of color or Black and Latina migrant women. Ultimately, what is needed is a systematic analysis of how race, gender, and sexuality, among other categories of identity and axes of oppression, intersect to shape the criminalization of young Chicana women and how these women experience criminalization in their everyday lives.

Theoretical Framework

Intersectionality

Intersectionality theory emerged from the intellectual activist labor of radical women of color. While the *term* intersectionality was introduced in 1989 by legal scholar Kimberlé

Crenshaw, the *idea* behind intersectionality is much older. However, the history of intersectionality is contested. Some scholars trace "intersectional-like thinking" (Hancock 2016) to Black women revolutionaries in the 19th century, such as Maria Stewart, Sojourner Truth, and Anna Julia Cooper. Others, like some indigenous feminist scholars, locate its genesis even earlier (see, for example, Clark 2016). For this reason, Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge (2020) suggest that it may be more fruitful to consider not one but *many* histories of intersectionality.

Intersectionality theory investigates relationships among and between intersecting and interdependent systems of power—such as white supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism—and social categories—such as race, gender, age, and ability—at the individual, group, and institutional levels. While intersectionality refers to particular intersections (i.e., the intersection of race and gender), the *matrix of domination* (Collins 2000) refers to how these intersections are organized in society. The matrix of domination allows us to understand how a single person may occupy multiple positions of advantage and disadvantage in a given social context.

Intersectionality revolutionized the way sociologists conceive power and identity by contributing the idea that interlocking social forces shape group- and individual-level experiences (Collins and Bilge 2020; Romero 2018; Yuval-Davis 2006). Systems of power and "categories of identity" are conceptualized as co-constitutive and mutually shaping. Analytic interactions are not treated in additive or multiplicative terms (Choo and Ferree 2010). By conceiving oppression and identity this way, intersectionality attempts to dismantle reductionist views of social arrangements that treat social categories as independent, static, and discrete, while at the same time subverting binaries

and resisting the tendency to universalize or homogenize group experiences based on these categories (Carastathis 2014; Combahee River Collective [1977] 1983; Collins 200; Crenshaw 1991; Glenn 2000; Moraga and Anzaldúa 1983; Nash 2008).

Intersectional Criminalization

This dissertation enlists an intersectional framework to conceptualize the relationship between race, gender, sexuality, and criminalization. I argue that criminalization is best understood through an intersectional lens. The one-dimensional racialized criminalization framework fails to take seriously gender and sexuality and thus cannot fully account for the criminalized experiences of non-men and boys of color. Additionally, the sole focus on race limits our view of criminalization and how it (re)produces vast inequalities and reinforces multiple systems of oppression.

My analytical framework *intersectional criminalization* captures how criminalization is an institutionalized process and lived experience shaped by one's positioning within the matrix of domination. This approach allows for scholarly investigation into often neglected group experiences and how those experiences differ and parallel. Intersectional criminalization decenters the centrality of race to consider how other points of intersection simultaneously shape criminalization. Specifically, I apply this framework to understand how criminalization is shaped by the intersection of race, gender, and sexuality in the lives of system-involved Mexican American women.

Enlisting an intersectional lens allows for hidden mechanisms of punishment to be uncovered and analyzed. As this dissertation will demonstrate, Chicanas were criminalized through three unique processes or mechanisms of punishment: interpersonal

relationships, resistance to victimization, and controlling images. Intersectionality has advanced scholarship in each of these areas.

First, as a relational paradigm, intersectionality is particularly suited for uncovering processes of relationality operating within multiple domains of power (i.e., structural and interpersonal). I will show how gendered, racialized, and heteronormative expectations of Chicanas' interpersonal relationships shaped their experiences of criminalization. Second, intersectional approaches to violence against women and girls of color destabilize damage-centered theorizing to center resistance and agency in the face of structural constraints. When it is the response to trauma and victimization that is being punished, criminalization must be situated within a system of violence that connects macro-level structures of racism, heteropatriarchy, nationalism, and classism (Collins and Bilge 2020). Third, intersectionality can help us understand why certain groups are more vulnerable to harmful stereotypes (Norris and Billings 2017). As critical social theory, intersectionality challenges racist, classist, and heterosexist stereotypes that criminalize Latinas.

CHAPTER III:

METHODOLOGY

Aim of the Study

This study aims to contribute a more comprehensive understanding of criminalization by developing an approach I call *intersectional criminalization*. This approach reconceptualizes the concept of criminalization to capture a racialized, gendered, and heteronormative process and experience that is reflected in everyday interactions, reproduced in social institutions, and embodied in larger systems of white supremacy and hetero-patriarchy. This is achieved by centering the analysis on formerly incarcerated and system-impacted Mexican American women living in California's rural Central Valley.

This study was guided by two primary objectives. First, it set out to uncover criminalization processes that target Chicanas' racialized, gendered, and sexualized identities in ways that differ from their male counterparts. Second, this research sought to investigate how criminalization is experienced in everyday life—how it shapes interpersonal and institutional encounters, and how Chicanas view themselves in a society highly stratified by race, class, gender, and sexuality. The specific research questions that were formulated in Chapter I are restated as follows:

1. How do race, gender, and sexuality, as distinct and intersecting dimensions of identity and systems of oppression, combine to shape the criminalization of Chicanas at the level of the individual, community, and institution?

2. How is criminalization, as a concept and process, necessarily reconfigured by an intersectional approach?

In this chapter, I discuss: (1) research design; (2) study procedures; (3) recruitment strategies; (4) study participants; (5) research setting; (6) data collection; (7) data analysis; (8) ethical considerations; (9) study trustworthiness; (10) researcher bias and positionality; and (11) methodological study limitations.

Research Design

This dissertation enlists qualitative methods to understand criminalization as a process and lived experience among Chicanas. Qualitative methods are well-suited for conducting intersectional research, as they are adept at uncovering processes and understanding life experiences and meaning construction (Denzin and Lincoln 2003; Merriam 1998; Shields 2008; Weiss 1994). As a methodology, intersectionality has been employed in various ways. Leslie McCall (2005) introduced a typology of three approaches to intersectionality research that differ based on their treatment of social categories. These orientations include the "intercategorical," "intracategorical," and "anticategorical" approaches. While McCall (2005) and others view these approaches as mutually exclusive, others identify considerable overlap among them (see, for example, Misra 2018).

This dissertation employs a methodology of intersectionality that blends elements from the "intracategorical" and "intercategorical" approaches (McCall 2005). The intracategorical approach begins with the premise that the use and recognition of social identity categories, such as race, sexuality, and gender, provides a basis from which to analyze Chicanas as a social group who share such identities, while also acknowledging the complexity that exists between Chicanas "who cross the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups" (Dill 2002: 5) "at neglected points" of intersections" (McCall 2005:

1774; Nash 2008; Norris and Billings 2017). This approach is sometimes called the "voice" approach to intersectionality because it analytically foregrounds the voices of particularly disadvantaged groups (Choo and Ferree 2010).

However, because I enlist categories of identity but emphasize relational processes, I similarly employ elements of the intercategorical approach. This approach, also referred to as the "relational/process model" (see Jones, Misra, and McCurley 2013), adopts the analytic use of categories to identify relationship patterns of inequality between the categories. This approach helps identify new and/or undertheorized intersections, and which intersections may be most salient in a given context (Misra 2018). Taken together, these approaches reveal "the complexity of lived experience" (McCall 2005: 1774) situated within systems of power that facilitate the analysis of criminalization as a racialized, gendered, and heteronormative process and lived experience.

I conducted life-history interviews with 38 formerly incarcerated and system-impacted Chicanas living in the Central Valley. Life-history interviews elicit interpretation of life events and experiences from the respondent's perspective and are especially useful in discussing events that may be stigmatized, traumatic, and/or uncomfortable (Creswell 2013; Denzin and Lincoln 2013; Marshall and Rossman 2015; Richie 1996). With its roots in standpoint theory, life-history interviews offer an opportunity to better understand criminalization from Chicanas' point of view. Interviews revealed Chicanas' perceptions of their own lives in their own words; their backgrounds, feelings, attitudes, emotions, opinions, and what is meaningful to them. Their narratives highlight how they view themselves and the world around them, how they come to define

criminalization, the meaning they assign to it, and its impact on their daily lives, thereby

illuminating the *process* of criminalization—when the process initiates, the conditions

under which it does, and its consequences. Life-history interviews uncover complex

patterns, relationships, and processes operating at multiple levels of analysis, facilitating

the examination of criminalization at the individual, interpersonal, and structural levels

(Richie 1996). What is more, in utilizing life-history interviews to center Chicana voices,

this study seeks to disrupt the perpetuation of damage-centered, deficit theories by

attempting to understand how these women exert agency in the face of limited

opportunities and structural constraints.

One often-cited limitation of the life-history method concerns the issues of

validity and reliability. Validity refers to the appropriateness of the research design and

methodology (Leung 2015), or the degree to which the methods used accurately capture

respondents' meanings. On the other hand, reliability refers to the consistency or

reproducibility of the study's findings. Participant bias, or the truthfulness and/or

accuracy of the events presented by the respondent, may impact a study's validity and

reliability (Brink 1993). Self-reporting measures are subject to recall and conscious and

unconscious distortions of reality. The argument could be made, for example, that

research participants may have distorted the truth to avoid self-incrimination. This is a

valid methodological concern; however, respondents were not asked about "criminal

behaviors" but how they experienced criminalization.

While I maintain that my respondents' testimonies offer vital insight into how

system-involved Chicanas interpret their experiences of criminalization over the life

course, I also recognize that since I was unable to directly observe respondents'

institutional encounters—for example, with family court, the police, or in their schools—these accounts are partial and subjective. Steps taken to ensure study validity, reliability, and trustworthiness are discussed later in this chapter. However, it is worth mentioning that the critique concerning validity is rooted in a positivist tradition premised on the idea that there is an objective reality in the world "out there." My goal, however, is not to uncover universal truths but to understand criminalization from my respondents' perspectives.

Study Procedures

After a full board review, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved this study in August 2017. At the time, this research focused on formerly incarcerated Chicanas, ages 18-25, living in two Central Valley towns. However, recruitment challenges prompted the decision to open the study up to the entire Central Valley region and increase the age limit to 35. This study modification received IRB approval in October 2018. Research findings suggesting that criminalization began before formerly incarcerated respondents' formal entrance into the carceral system motivated the decision to include system-impacted Chicanas as a means of better understanding how criminalization processes may occur independently of committing a crime. This study modification was approved in fall 2019.

In March 2020, California Governor Gavin Newsom issued shelter-in-place orders as a response to the COVID-19 global pandemic, bringing research recruitment to a halt. Although a few interviews were conducted after the "lockdown," the findings presented in this dissertation are primarily based on the data collected before March

2020. For this reason, formerly incarcerated experiences are centered in this study, as these interviews were completed before the pandemic reached California.

Recruitment Strategy

Selection criteria for the formerly incarcerated sample were based on the following characteristics: (1) U.S.-born Mexican American women; (2) between the ages of 18 to 35 years old; (3) living in the Central Valley; and (4) previously incarcerated. Selection criteria for the system-impacted sample were as follows: (1) U.S.-born Mexican American women; (2) between the ages of 18 to 35 years old; (3) living in the Central Valley; and (4) significantly impacted by the incarceration of a close loved one, such as a parent, sibling, or spouse.

Because I concentrate on the experiences of U.S.-born women, I do not focus on immigrant detention or the criminalization of (im)migrants, what is now referred to as "crimmigration." While this scholarship has advanced important insights into the criminalization of Latina migrants (see, for example, Escobar 2016; Gutiérrez 2008), little research has explicitly analyzed the criminalization of U.S.-born Latinas. Moreover, lumping the experiences of native and migrant Latinas together runs the risk of masking important nuances at work in criminalization processes. Centering the analysis on U.S.-born Chicanas distinguishes between criminalized experiences rooted in nativity or legal status, which are also prevalent in the Central Valley due to patterns of migration and work among migrant agricultural laborers.

Second, the 18-35-year-old age category sheds light on a specific stage in the life course when criminalization may be more consequential for Chicanas' life chances. Studies of formerly incarcerated adult women of color tend to conceptualize the term

"adult" broadly and enlist the arbitrary age range of 18 and older, obscuring how experiences, and interpretations of those experiences, vastly differ for a 20-year-old compared to a 50-year-old. The 18-35-year-old age cohort, on the other hand, centers the analysis on women who were either born into or came of age during the era of mass incarceration.

Third, most criminalization studies are situated in major urban areas and, as a result, little is known about how criminalization is experienced in and shaped by geographic location. By focusing on Chicanas in the rural Central Valley, my analysis draws needed attention to an understudied, multiply marginalized group living in an impoverished and overlooked region.

Finally, including formerly incarcerated and non-incarcerated women in the analysis allowed me to locate hidden mechanisms of control that punish and police Chicanas regardless of conviction history. The system-impacted sample serves as a control group, illuminating how criminalization is not dependent on breaking the law. Whereas examining the experiences of those who have had formal contact with the carceral system reveals "more about the culture of punishment and criminalization" (Rios 2011: 11) than about so-called deviant behaviors. Thus, including the study's two sample populations permits me to identify within and across group differences, search for disconfirming evidence, and theorize criminalization absent of criminality.

Recruitment for this study enlisted a multi-pronged approach and employed a snowball sampling method. According to Biernacki and Waldorf (1981: 141), snowball sampling relies on "referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest." An advantage of this method is

that it often yields a higher response rate because researchers are vouched for by a trusted source (Small 2008). Despite the non-randomness of this method, snowball sampling was best suited for this study because of its utility in finding vulnerable or "hidden" populations that are often difficult to locate (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981).

I began recruitment by drawing from previous contacts from my completed proof-of-concept pilot study conducted in the fall of 2015. When recruiting through a snowball sample, issues related to anchoring invariably arise. For example, there is little way of knowing whether the study sample accurately reflects the target population. To mitigate the effects of in-network biases, I cultivated varied "chains" (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981) of key contacts to help identify potential participants.

Next, research recruitment flyers (see Appendix A and Appendix B) were employed to boost recruitment efforts and identify potential respondents that would not have been located through my own or key contacts' networks. Printed flyers were displayed in locations that offered opportunities to target the population under study, such as in county probation department offices, community centers that provide reentry services for formerly incarcerated people, and on community college and four-year university campuses. Locating support services in the resource-poor Central Valley that cater to the specific needs of system-involved women proved to be a challenge, as the few resources that do exist for formerly incarcerated people are often reserved for a male clientele. Consequently, research flyers displayed in community centers and shelters did little to boost recruitment. A couple of participants were recruited through probation department offices. The most successful means of recruitment, however, came via digital

recruitment. Electronic flyers were circulated on social media platforms and email

listservs and accounted for most of this study's enrollment.

Communication with potential participants occurred over the phone, text, email,

and social media private messenger applications. For research referrals, I began each

communication by stating a version of the following script:

> "Hi, my name is Veronica Lerma. I am a graduate student at UC Merced, and I am doing a study on [formerly incarcerated or system-impacted] Mexican American women in the Central Valley. _____ gave me your contact information because they thought you would be a great person to speak with. I am contacting you to ask if you would be interested in participating in an interview. In this interview, you will be asked about your experiences with family, school, community, and the criminal justice system. You will not be asked to share anything you are uncomfortable with, and your information will be kept confidential. The interview is expected to last between 1 and 3 hours. Interviews may take place in a setting you are most comfortable. For your participation in this study, you will receive a $25 VISA gift card.

Potential participants who learned about the study through recruitment flyers contacted

me directly, usually via text, direct message, or email. The screening process became

more consequential at this stage, as I often received inquiries from women who did not

meet all the eligibility criteria. Potential respondents were screened by confirming

verbally or through written documentation that they met all inclusion criteria.

During each communication, I asked potential participants if they had any

questions or concerns and offered to send the *Informed Consent* document (see Appendix

C and Appendix D) in advance so that they could make the most informed decision. Once

respondents agreed to participate in the study, an interview was scheduled at a time and

place that was most convenient and comfortable for the respondent. In the case of non-

response, follow-up contact was initiated after two weeks and then again after one month.

After this, I ceased contact. The names, contact information, dates of communication, and

dates of scheduled interviews were maintained on an Excel spreadsheet, encrypted and saved on the hard drive of my password-protected personal computer.

Study Participants

A total of 38 formerly incarcerated and system-impacted Mexican American women living in rural and urban communities throughout the San Joaquin Valley, commonly referred to as the Central Valley's "South Valley," were interviewed (see Figure 1 in Appendix E and Figure 2 in Appendix F). Of these interviews, 25 identified as formerly incarcerated and 13 identified as system impacted. Across both samples, respondents' ages ranged from 20 to 35 years old.

Most respondents reported a low socioeconomic status, living in predominately low-income communities of color, and were poor or working class. As illustrated in Tables 1 and 2 (see Appendix G and Appendix H), educational levels ranged considerably from 9th grade to master's degree. Higher educational attainment was reported amongst the system-impacted sample, with all but one having graduated high school and most completing some college-level education. In contrast, nearly half of the formerly incarcerated sample did not finish high school. Employment status also varied greatly. Joblessness was more common among formerly incarcerated respondents, with half unemployed or unable to work due to a disability. For those who were employed, jobs included farm work, fast food, selling wireless phones, cleaning houses, clerical work, and one substitute teacher. On the other hand, only two system-impacted respondents were unemployed outside of the home at the time of our interview. Participants in this sample were concentrated in jobs in the medical, financial, and education fields.

Cis-gender, heterosexual women make up most of the study's sample, while eight participants, or 21 percent, identified as lesbian, bi-sexual, or pansexual (three declined to identify at all). Over half of all respondents are mothers, with 19 formerly incarcerated moms and seven system-impacted moms.

Although this study includes both formerly incarcerated and system-impacted women, it is important to note that these categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, nearly all formerly incarcerated respondents were also system-impacted before formally entering the carceral system, and six system-impacted participants had spent a night in jail (usually a holding cell for intoxicated offenders to sober up). Given the ambiguity of these categories, many respondents were unsure of which category they belonged to. To provide clarity, I define "formerly incarcerated" as having experienced at least 30 days of confinement in a county, state, or federal correctional facility. This delimitation is based on conversations with respondents and observing when sample groups' experiences significantly diverge in terms of consequential life chances. Thus, some women who responded to the system-impacted call for research volunteers were placed in the formerly incarcerated sample and vice versa. The uncertainty of these terms is consistent with the idea that system-impacted and formerly incarcerated respondents share criminalized experiences, thereby revealing the process of Chicana criminalization. Nevertheless, there are some differences between these two groups that this dissertation also highlights. Despite the uncertainty of these terms, this study focuses primarily on the experiences of formerly incarcerated respondents, with system-impacted voices enlisted mostly to corroborate these experiences.

While criminal history was not a central focus in the interviews, formerly incarcerated respondents were asked on the *Personal Background Survey* (see Appendix I and Appendix J) to provide a general synopsis of their prior arrest, conviction, and incarceration histories. Participants were asked for: the number of arrests and incarcerations (as these numbers may be different), age at the time of first and last arrest, whether they were previously or currently under state surveillance (i.e., parole or probation), length of incarceration(s), where they were incarcerated (i.e., prison, jail, youth authority, or juvenile hall), and offense type(s) (i.e., drug, property, violent, felony, misdemeanor, etc.).

Pinpointing exact numbers of arrests and/or incarcerations was not always possible for respondents, particularly for those who had extensive contact with the carceral system. In these cases, respondents were asked to give estimates. It was not unusual for an interviewee to indicate being arrested 20 or more times. Similarly, recalling the lengths of each incarceration could be difficult for some. These respondents were asked to estimate a combined incarceration length total.

Table 3 (Appendix K) provides an overview of the carceral histories of formerly incarcerated respondents. Among formerly incarcerated participants, two-thirds reported at least five arrests (and one respondent reported 30 arrests). Age at the time of first and last arrest ranged from 11 to 35 years old. Half of the formerly incarcerated respondents (12) were incarcerated five times or more, and more than a quarter of the sample reported ten or more incarcerations. The combined length of incarcerations ranged from four months to 14 years. Respondents were confined to federal and state prison, county jail, California Youth Authority (CYA), juvenile hall, and group homes. All participants were

incarcerated as adults, except three women who were incarcerated only as youths. Five

participants who were incarcerated as adults were incarcerated as youths as well. The

charges for which respondents were sentenced ranged from personal (i.e., assault,

kidnapping), property (i.e., robbery, auto theft, shoplifting), inchoate (i.e., conspiracy,

aiding and abetting, attempted murder); statutory (i.e., drug and alcohol-related offenses),

and financial (i.e., identity theft, fraud). At the time of the interviews, two respondents

were on parole, 13 were on probation, and ten were not under state surveillance.

Respondents in the system-impacted sample reported similarly high levels of

police contact in the form of police stops and questioning (see Table 4 in Appendix L).

Only two respondents reported never being stopped by police, while the majority

reported being stopped and questioned by the police five or more times between the ages

of 12-32. As stated above, six of these women experienced an arrest that resulted in one

night in jail. Respondents in this sample were also asked how many people they knew

who are, or have been, incarcerated. Since recalling exact numbers was not usually

possible, respondents were asked to give estimates. Numbers ranged from three to over

20 people, with roughly 85 percent knowing five or more people who have been

incarcerated; all knew at least three, and six knew more than 15.

Research Setting

This study is based in California's Central Valley (see Figure 1 in Appendix F). Though

understudied, the Central Valley is a prime site for sociological inquiry. Covering about

18,000 square miles—roughly the size of England—the Central Valley is made up of 18

counties, spanning from Shasta County to Kern County (or from Redding to Bakersfield).

The Central Valley is actually two valleys: the Sacramento Valley in the north and the

San Joaquin Valley in the south. With a population of 6.5 million, the Central Valley is the fastest-growing region in California (Jennings 2010). Agriculture is the primary industry. In fact, the Central Valley is one of the most productive agricultural regions in the world, producing more than half of the country's fruits, vegetables, and nuts (California Department of Food and Agriculture 2014).

As previously mentioned, all respondents lived in the south San Joaquin Valley. Despite massive agricultural production, the San Joaquin Valley is home to deep-rooted inequality. For example, the Valley's largest metropolitan cities—Stockton, Fresno, Modesto, and Bakersfield—are among the poorest in the nation (Wozniacka 2012). Poverty rates for every county are also higher than the state average (Kasler 2019). Moreover, each metropolitan area—Bakersfield, Visalia-Porterville, Stockton, Merced, Modesto, Fresno, and Hanford—had among the highest unemployment rates in the country, with all but Hanford in the top 40 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2020).

The Central Valley has the highest rate of income inequality in the state, with high-income households earning 14.1 times as much as poor households (Public Policy Institute of California 2016). Between 2007 and 2014, income inequality increased by 25.9 percent, and household income in the bottom 10 percent declined by 27 percent (Public Policy Institute of California 2016). Finally, educational attainment is lower here than in the rest of California, often by about 5-10 percentage points (Kasler 2019). In Merced County, for example, where the only South Valley research university is located, 69 percent of residents had a high school diploma compared to 83 percent of Californians more broadly.

The region's vast socioeconomic disparities have been directly linked to deindustrialization, agricultural centralization, the economic exploitation of generations of Brown migrant agricultural laborers—who facilitated the Valley's booming agribusiness—and, more recently, the Great Recession (Braz and Gilmore 2006; Gilmore 2007; Public Policy Institute of California 2016). According to Braz and Gilmore (2006), the socioeconomic marginalization of Central Valley communities precipitated their being the primary targets for society's "undesirable elements," such as toxic dumpsites, incinerators, and, importantly, prisons. As a result, residents are subjected to some of the worst air quality in the country, and the groundwater is so unsafe for consumption that some have categorized it as a "human rights abuse" (Francis and Firestone 2011: 501; see also Kasler 2019). Moreover, as noted in the Chapter I, massive prison expansion has occurred nearly exclusively in the Central Valley, leading to some of the highest incarceration rates in the state (California Criminal Justice Statistics Center 2021).

Data Collection

Most interviews were conducted from spring 2018 to winter 2020. Participants were formally interviewed once, although informal conversations often followed with participants who wished to stay in contact. Interviews typically ranged in length from one to three hours, with the average interview lasting about an hour and a half. Most interviews were conducted in person in public parks, coffee shops, bars, and participants' living rooms. Some interviews were conducted via video call (e.g., FaceTime and Zoom), and a couple were conducted over the phone.

At the start of each interview, I went over the *Informed Consent* document (see Appendix C and Appendix D). In most cases, I read the form to respondents, except when

the consent form was requested before the scheduled interview. After reading the consent document, respondents were asked if they had any questions or concerns. Once these were addressed, participants were asked, "Do you agree to participate in this study? As detailed below, IRB required written consent for the system-impacted sample but waived it for the formerly incarcerated sample. As such, respondents either gave verbal or written consent and were offered extra time, if necessary, to make their decisions.

Next, participants were asked to complete the *Personal Background Survey* (see Appendix I and Appendix J), a brief survey used to obtain basic background information that may not be covered in the interview. I offered to read and fill out the survey for in-person interviews, although most opted to fill it out themselves. This survey asked for demographic information about the participant's age, race/ethnicity, sexual identity, education level, motherhood and marital status, employment status, income level, and religion. Although demographic questions were identical, background surveys for the two sample groups differed slightly in that the formerly incarcerated questionnaire solicited general information on carceral histories, and the system-impacted questionnaire asked respondents how many of their close loved ones had been incarcerated, how many times they have been stopped or questioned by the police, and if they had ever been arrested. All participants were assured that the background survey was only a supplement to help me get to know them better and that they did not have to answer any questions they were uncomfortable with answering.

With respondents' permission, interviews were recorded to ensure accuracy. Before I began the recorder, participants were reminded to avoid divulging any information that may be incriminating or especially identifying. They were also reminded

that if at any time they needed to stop or take a break from the interview, I would pause the recording.

Life-history interviews followed a semi-structured, in-depth format. I enlisted the aid of an interview guide to help direct rather than define the boundaries of the conversations (see Appendix M and Appendix N). The open-ended, semi-structured nature of the life-history interview allowed for flexibility, deeper insight, and a more conversation-like interview. Questions addressed family background, experiences with institutions of social control (e.g., juvenile and criminal justice systems, school, family, and social services), feelings towards criminalization, motherhood, and future goals and aspirations. Since my focus is on criminalization and not criminality, formerly incarcerated respondents were not asked about past or present, real or alleged unlawful activities. However, these discussions inevitably came up in openly talking about their life experiences. Most women were careful not to divulge any incriminating evidence.

To establish interviewee comfortableness, interviews began with a set of general, non-threatening questions, such as "How long have you lived in [your Central Valley town]? "What does a typical day look like in your life?" "What do you like to do for fun?" However, these priming questions often did little to set a comfortable tone for more personal questions, as I quickly learned that forming a narrative about one's own life is a privilege not afforded to everyone. Seemingly innocuous questions like, "Can you tell me about yourself?" were sometimes met with a rough and suspicious, "What do you want to know?" Some respondents were not used to being asked about themselves and required a great deal of probing. On the other hand, opening up was much easier for women currently or previously involved in substance abuse treatment.

Gaining respondents' trust is key to a successful interview (Fontana and Frey 1994). In the qualitative interview, rapport must be established quickly. Good rapport consists of mutual trust, respect, and creating a safe space for personal and sensitive information to be shared (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). Having respected "homegirls," or *veteranas*, endorse this study by sharing my recruitment flyers lent a great deal of validity to this study and was often the first step in gaining respondents' trust and establishing credibility. My tattoos and dress style also provided an avenue to build rapport. For example, upon meeting, one interviewee commented, "I didn't know they had homegirls in college."

I was also open and honest with my respondents about my social location and life experiences, especially those related to family, addiction, and the carceral system. According to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006: 317), "Establishing trust is best achieved by reducing the hierarchy between informants and researchers." This hierarchy can be reduced through shared common ground and the free flow of information that circulates both ways. My participants and I shared many commonalities, and I often identified with their experiences. However, as I later discuss, my insider/outsider positionality was not always advantageous.

Pilot interviews suggested that the term "criminalization" was not typically in respondents' vocabularies. More common were the words "stereotype," "judgment," "discrimination," "punishment," and "shame." For this reason, my loosely guided interview questions did not reference the word "criminalization" unless a participant mentioned it first; typically, these were the activist women in the study. Alternatively, I asked: Have you ever felt judged because of your criminal record? What sorts of negative

stereotypes have you encountered? Have you ever felt like you were punished or mistreated even when you did nothing wrong? How did this make you feel? How do you deal with this negative treatment?

After in-person interviews were concluded, respondents were given a $25 VISA gift card for their participation in the study. For interviews conducted via video or phone call, respondents were mailed a $25 VISA gift card. Although Weiss (1994) asserts that providing monetary incentives may entice low-income participants to participate in research studies, I had great difficulty getting most interviewees to accept the gift card. However, it was important that I compensate respondents for their time and show my appreciation for their willingness and candor. All interviewees were asked for referrals for other potential research participants. Within 24 hours of the completed interview, participants received a follow-up email, text, or private message thanking them for their participation, reminding them to reach out with any questions or concerns, and to let me know if they knew someone interested in participating in the study.

Detailed fieldnotes were taken after each interview to capture immediate observations and reflections and to explore emerging themes across interviews. Most of the interviews were transcribed verbatim by me. In a few cases, when financial resources permitted, longer interviews were transcribed by the transcription company, Rev.com. I verified each outsourced transcription to the audio recording. Once interviews were transcribed, audio recordings were deleted. Participants were assigned pseudonyms, maintained on a master list in an Excel spreadsheet, and all identifying and/or incriminating information was redacted from interview transcripts. All data materials and

research documents were stored on Box, a secure server, accessed only from my personal, password-protected laptop computer.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using the qualitative software program NVivo 12. Analysis was conducted alongside data collection. Simultaneous data collection and analysis forces researchers to pay analytic attention to the data from the beginning of the collection process and remain in constant reflection (Corbin and Strauss 2008; Emerson et al. 1995; Gslene 1999). This inductive/deductive approach to analysis proceeded in the following steps: First, I "open-coded" (Corbin and Strauss 2008) transcribed interviews line-by-line to gain a general sense of the data, paying close attention to how participants encountered and experienced criminalization. This "initial coding" system (Charmaz 1995) allowed the data to be broken into more manageable categories that would later facilitate the identification of patterns and processes.

Next, focused codes were applied to capture major themes that emerged during open coding. At this stage, several criminalization processes were identified that were unique to Chicanas compared to their male counterparts. For example, relational ties were identified as a unique mechanism of punishment with a significant influence on criminalization. Finally, during selective coding (Charmaz 1995), related codes were grouped under three general categories—criminalization through relationships to criminalized men and boys, criminalization through resistance to interpersonal violence, and criminalization through the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image—and were developed into this dissertation study's three empirical chapters.

Throughout the coding process, theoretical memos were maintained. Memo writing aids in the exploration of ideas, the formulation of hypotheses, and the identification and elaboration of patterns and processes (Charmaz 1995). Memos likewise assist in clarifying categories, theorizing the relationship between categories, and understanding the conditions under which categories arise (Charmaz 1995). In these theoretical memos, I employed the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1965), which utilizes a logic of comparison to compare different people (e.g., accounts, experiences, beliefs, actions, situations), the same person over time, and categories with other categories. This logic of comparison helped form an analysis that goes beyond individual cases to define patterns and situate research findings within a broader sociological context. Ultimately, memo writing was most beneficial to the theoretic and analytic development and refinement of the intersectional criminalization framework.

Ethical Considerations

As researchers, we have an ethical obligation to safeguard the anonymity and confidentiality of our research participants. Respect for my respondents' privacy was treated with the utmost regard. Although the risks associated with a breach of confidentiality were minimal, the effects could be severe, particularly for formerly incarcerated respondents, ranging from embarrassment, emotional distress, and/or negative social and/or legal consequences. The first precaution taken to minimize this risk was the "Waiver of Informed Consent" for the formerly incarcerated sample. Since the only identifying information linking participants' names to the study would have been their written consent, the IRB recommended and approved that this documentation be waived.

Similarly, the *Background Information Survey* did not include a line for respondents to write their names. Instead, surveys were number-coded in the order the interviews were conducted. The surveys were then scanned to the Box server, and original paper copies were shredded and disposed of by a secure shredding company. Furthermore, I did not address participants by name on the interview recording, and I encouraged interviewees to refrain from using specific names and details, such as their family members' names and places of employment. As stated above, all identifying information was removed from the interview transcript, and the audio recordings were deleted. Respondents' identities were concealed through assigned pseudonyms and alterations to identifiable characteristics.

Trustworthiness

Study trustworthiness, or a study's validity and reliability, was established through triangulation of data and methods. First, multiple sources of data (Denzin 1978), such as interview transcripts, surveys, fieldnotes, and outside media reports (i.e., news media reports and social media postings), were analyzed to ensure the accuracy of accounts. Two forms of data collection instruments—interviews and surveys—aided the process of establishing validity. Moreover, the addition of the system-impacted sample corroborated emerging evidence that criminalization was less about crime and more about punishing and incapacitating multiply marginalized others. The inclusion of both sample groups allowed for greater opportunities to search and allow for the possibility of disconfirming or negative evidence. Finally, member checking, also known as "respondent validation," was enlisted with some respondents, especially those who are profiled extensively, to verify any unclear details and ensure account accuracy. I also utilized member checks to

discuss emerging findings with a couple of study participants, which provided an outside view and helped to prevent misinterpreting the data (Maxwell 2005).

Researcher Bias and the Insider/Outsider

Just as qualitative research does not purport objectivity, neither do I. As a system-impacted, prison abolitionist, Xicana feminist from the Central Valley, I hope this work contributes to efforts that not only illuminate intersecting criminalization processes but, more importantly, lend academic support to divestment in, and the dismantling of, the carceral state. I am not interested in conducting research that merely "sheds light" on inequalities to a scholarly audience. Rather, my goal is to impact broader change that will benefit the women who gave so much of themselves for this research.

Although objectivity may not be the goal of qualitative research, it is vital that we, as researchers, are reflexive about how our social positioning, personal experiences, and biases shape the research process. Charmaz (2002) contends that researchers must be reflexive at every stage of the research process. Bloomberg and Volpe (2016: 55) assert, "Maintaining a reflexive approach ensures a critical review of the involvement of the researcher in the research and how this impacts the processes and outcomes of the research. After all, it is only through the analysis of your subjectivity by way of a judicious process of reflectivity that you can guide your own actions in a more insightful way."

My intersecting identities and biographical experiences have shaped everything about this research. For example, my research interest in Chicana criminalization is motivated by personal experience and witnessing those close to me become criminalized and wondering why and how. It is precisely my closeness to this research that shaped the

emotional toll it has taken on my well-being. Recruitment, for instance, was a long, arduous process, made even harder by all the hateful, often racist and sexist comments I received anytime I shared my research flyer on a community Facebook page. Residents commenting "#BuildThatWall" and telling me and "my cholo" (spouse) to "go back to Mexico" are just two examples (for another example, see Appendix O). Often, comments ridiculed the women under study and likely made it difficult for some to come forward. During data collection, there were also times when this research probably affected me too much. Hearing countless stories of trauma and injustice has left me heartbroken, angry, overwhelmed, and helpless throughout the research process.

I have struggled with where I fit in this study and wondered whether I was problematizing my role as a researcher enough. My life history sometimes mirrors many of the experiences recounted in this dissertation. I have been to jail and my life has been impacted by family members' incarcerations. I am also a survivor and a recovering addict. I know what it is like to be kicked out of school, mistreated by institutions that were supposed to help me, followed in stores because an employee thought I was stealing, and held at gunpoint by the police. These are just some of the daily life experiences that I share with the women in this study.

However, I occupy an "insider/outsider" positionality. Although we share many commonalities, including ethnicity, gender, class, and citizenship status, there were also significant differences between respondents and myself. The most significant of these differences concerns the life chances afforded to me via my educational privilege. My educational capital shaped how respondents viewed me and automatically rendered me an outsider, with many ascribing me to a higher-class status than was the case. Patricia

Zavella (1993) also experienced this during fieldwork on her research with working-class Chicana mothers. Relatedly, as a system-impacted Chicana, my life chances have not been affected by the carceral system in the ways most formerly incarcerated participants have experienced. If anything, my limited contact with the carceral system is tokenized and fetishized in academic spaces and may even lead to a research fellowship or grant.

As an insider/outsider, I do not claim an affinity that makes me the most qualified to conduct this research. At times my insider/outsider status has worked against me and made me question whether I should be doing this research at all. For example, I naively thought that my social location and personal connections would make recruitment a breeze. I assumed my familial ties to gangs would boost recruitment, especially among gang-involved women. However, I quickly learned that my role as a researcher made me suspicious and prevented Norteñas from even speaking to me because of the prevailing gang policy that Norteños, the predominant area gang, do not consort with outsiders. On the other hand, Sureñas were reluctant to talk with me because of my familial connection to their rival gang. Active gang members[6] are thus underrepresented in this study, save for a few Bulldogs in the Fresno area where I do not have family. However, as this research will show, gang membership was often ascribed to respondents regardless of their actual gang status.

I have realized that it is impossible to keep my private life separate from the research I conduct. I no longer hide or apologize for my personal connections and commitment to this work. While some may reduce my scholarship to "me-search," I

---

[6] Many participants identified as former gang members or gang-affiliated.

believe my experiential knowledge provides me with a unique perspective and sensitivity that cannot be learned from a textbook or earned with a degree. Still, it is important that I continually reflect on how my many and complex identities shape who I am and want to become as a scholar so that I can reduce the harm inflicted on the communities I care about.

Methodological Study Limitations

One methodological study limitation concerns sample size. A few factors contribute to this study's smaller sample size. First, system-involved Chicanas are a vulnerable, hard-to-reach population that was understandably distrusting of outsiders, especially of researchers associated with universities. Second, many potential respondents lacked access to stable housing and reliable forms of communication, which made contact difficult. Finally, data collection took place during a global pandemic. Even after receiving IRB approval to conduct interviews over the phone and on Zoom, potential respondents' lack of access to these forms of communication still posed a challenge.

Despite these recruitment challenges, I maintain that for this study—an in-depth interview study as opposed to a representative survey study—exposure, or the amount of time I spent interviewing, mattered more than how many people I interviewed. With the combined amount of time that I spent interviewing and with the population under study, I believe I reached ample exposure time. Furthermore, I reached saturation when themes and patterns began to emerge repeatedly across the study's two samples. This level of exposure and saturation allows me to draw the conclusions I do with confidence.

Related to sample size is the uneven number of respondents interviewed across the study's two sample populations. Initially, I sought to conduct an equal number of

interviews with formerly incarcerated and system-impacted women. However, due to time and resource constraints and the COVID-19 pandemic, I was unable to collect my target goal of 25 interviews with the system-impacted sample. For this reason, the criminalized experiences of formerly incarcerated Chicanas are foregrounded, as dissertation writing began after these interviews were completed and while system-impacted interviews were still being collected.

System-impacted Chicanas are an interesting and unique group worthy of study. Their experiences are just as important to understanding criminalized processes and experiences as their formerly incarcerated counterparts, as they allow for theorization around criminalization absent of criminality. Future research will be based on an equal number of interviews so that criminalization processes can be pinpointed with more accuracy, with an eye toward points of similarity and difference. While important distinctions are discussed in this dissertation, future projects will explicitly account for nuances in criminalization processes between these two groups, such as those that exist on the job market, in family and household dynamics, and in how these experiences are discussed and navigated.

CHAPTER IV:

CRIMINALIZATION THROUGH INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

WITH LATINO MEN AND BOYS

Introduction: Smiley's Story

Smiley is a 28-year-old Chicana from a small, rural town outside Stockton, CA. Although

she has never been incarcerated, save for one night in the drunk tank in her early

twenties, she is socially marked in the community and by law enforcement as a criminal

alongside her gang- and justice-involved brothers. This label follows her everywhere she

goes and has taken a toll on her well-being. Smiley changed her last name in the hopes

that distance from her widely known surname would protect her against criminalization.

However, all this achieved was a strain on her family ties and even more stress, as the

mark of criminality placed on her brothers and family name has been impossible for

Smiley to escape.

When I began thinking about doing a dissertation project on criminalization, I

immediately thought of Smiley. I grew up in the slightly larger next town over and have

known her family for most of my life. Everyone seemed to know the De la Cruz family

and that each of Smiley's seven brothers and countless cousins were active gang

members and had served time in prison. To the rest of the community, the De la Cruzes

were violent, out of control, and just plain trouble. Many residents are afraid of them. To

me, this family was not very different from my own.

Smiley has medium brown skin, a petite frame, and is conventionally very

beautiful. Her warm, enthusiastic personality is so cheerful that strangers are often caught

off guard. So, how did Smiley become labeled a violent criminal gang member like her brothers despite not having a criminal record or being in a gang? How did the criminalization of her male family members influence her experiences of criminalization? And how do her intersecting identities shape this process?

As I dug deeper, I discovered that Smiley's case was not unique. Most of the women I interviewed, regardless of incarceration history or gang status, experienced criminalization through Latino male relatives, peers, and/or romantic male partners. Like their male counterparts, Chicanas were criminalized partly due to their racialized and socioeconomic identities as Chicanxs living in impoverished, segregated communities. However, over time and through various institutional contexts, they simultaneously experienced criminalization via gendered and often heterosexual relational expectations.

Recent work has begun to investigate how interpersonal relationships mediate criminalization. Stuart and Benezra (2018) examined how Black male youth avoid street-level criminalization through exaggerated heteronormative displays of affection with Black girls (see also Brunson and Miller 2006). This line of research emphasizes the importance of gender dynamics and cross-gender intimate relations for criminalization processes. However, little is known about how gendered and sexualized relationships matter for criminalized women and girls of color.

This chapter addresses the gap in research by examining a key feature of Chicanas' criminalization: how their interpersonal relationships with Latino men and boys shape their experiences of policing and punishment. When we apply an intersectional perspective to criminalization, the importance of relationships becomes readily apparent because, as a theory, intersectionality is particularly useful in analyzing

relationships among people, categories, processes, and systems. Thus, *intersectional criminalization* allows for a more comprehensive understanding of how criminalization is relationally conditioned and experienced.

This chapter asks: How do system-involved Chicanas' relationships with men and boys shape their experiences of criminalization over the life course? How do they navigate criminalization through men and boys? Drawing on the life-history narratives of formerly incarcerated and system-impacted Chicanas, I argue that relational ties to Latino relatives, peers, and heterosexual partners can drive criminalization. Racialized, gendered, and heteronormative assumptions about Latinas' roles in their interpersonal relationships condition their experiences of criminalization over the life course.

In what follows, I demonstrate the process through which familial ties to justice- and gang-involved men and boys criminalized young Chicanas in school. In adolescence, Latino male peer networks influenced their experiences of street-level criminalization, as respondents became the indirect targets of police surveillance and harassment. Criminalization became a fixed status for adult Chicanas involved in heterosexual relationships with criminalized men when police assumed they were privy to and supportive of Latino criminality. Negotiating criminalization through men took two forms, reflecting a choice between maintaining freedom *or* interpersonal relationships— both options proved a hefty cost for Chicanas.

Childhood and Early Adolescence: Criminalization through Familial Ties

Chicanas' earliest institutional encounters with intersectional criminalization occurred in school when they were labeled and treated as violent, multi-generational criminal gang members. Participants struggled to remember a time before they were criminalized

because they had been born into criminalized families, and the gang status (actual or alleged) of fathers, brothers, uncles, and male cousins was transferred onto them. As a result, respondents were excessively monitored and punished for normal youth behaviors and low-level infractions by teachers, counselors, administrators, and school resource officers. This treatment had severe consequences, with many participants reportedly being "pushed out" (Morris 2016) of the education system.

Anita, a 30-year-old formerly incarcerated Chicana from Merced County, recalled: "I had a group of cousins [who] went [to my middle school] before me and were gang members. The year before I started school, my cousin… [was] shot in his head in a gang-related shooting. Our last name isn't very common, so [school officials] automatically put our last names together and targeted me." As Anita explained, school officials treated her as a threat after her cousin's murder when they assumed that she and her family would be out for revenge. While not in a gang herself, criminalization often begins with labeling. Rios (2011) shows that such labeling perpetuates "a vicious cycle" of criminalization whereby institutions enlist informal labels, such as coming from "bad families," to apply more serious labels, such as "criminal gang member," which in turn justifies intense surveillance and harsher discipline.

Although Anita was a high-achieving student enrolled in AP courses, she received numerous referrals and suspensions for minor infractions, such as talking in class and being tardy. When she was expelled in high school for getting into a fight, a transgression that typically results in a school suspension, she decided not to go to the alternative high school because she was "embarrassed." Fearing that attending this new school would cement her ascribed criminal identity, Anita never finished high school.

Anita's experience was not uncommon; schools were often referenced as sites where institutional actors like teachers and school resources officers ascribed the criminal behavior of family members to girls with no criminal records or gang ties. For example, Giggles is a 20-year-old system-impacted Chicana from Kings County. At the time of our interview, she was working full-time as a waitress and taking classes at the local community college, where she is considering a major in computer science. Despite not having any direct system involvement, Giggles also recalled a punitive school experience. She attributed the fact that her school's resource officer "would always check in on the classroom where I was at to make sure I was doing what I was supposed to" and a general perception of her as a "troublemaker who was up to no good" to the fact that her brothers were gang-involved. For Giggles, having a parent who was serving a lengthy prison sentence and brothers who are gang- and justice-involved set her apart for hyper surveillance and punishment in school. As she contends, "because of who my family is, I couldn't escape that judgment."

Luna is a 35-year-old formerly incarcerated Chicana and youth advocate in her Merced County community. She recalled, "I got labeled by a school resource officer just like [my brother]. We were already on their radar. They would always let us know how they knew our family members." Lamenting the recent addition of police officers to the county's K-8 schools, Luna noted that the girls of color she mentors now report similar experiences:

> That still happens to youth I've worked with—talking about their school resource officers. Now, just in the last two years, MPD added school police officers to each of the K-8 schools. So, we hear about them being criminalized even younger…. They're being targeted and labeled at school. Their families are calling me like, "Such-and-such resource office went and pointed out my daughter at lunch and

told her, 'I got my eye on you. I heard your dad's getting out." Or "I heard your brother just got sentenced." This is not the type of shit that kids want to listen to when they're trying to be at fricking school, trying to get an education, [and] trying to have a good future.

Luna's experiences with school criminalization have made her a powerful youth advocate. She has learned to spot how girls of color are criminalized by the education system and funneled into the criminal justice system. She has experiential knowledge of how labeling based on interpersonal relationships with criminalized men can have detrimental outcomes. I return to her story in the following section.

While school criminalization mainly was influenced by respondents' male family members, in one case, women relatives were a contributing force. Letty, a 35-year-old formerly incarcerated Chicana from Merced County, attributed her stigmatization to her older sisters. "They used to call us the 'Sanchez Gang' when we were in school. And I think that was because of the… *chola* style. [School officials] didn't like that, so automatically it was judgment… Like I am either a troublemaker or that I'm going to cause problems or harm them." While the *chola* is imbued with cultural significance rooted in Chicanx culture, as a racialized and gendered performance and aesthetic, mainstream depictions render *cholas* as violent criminals who do not fit within normative white, middle-class femininity (Moore 1991; Vigil 2008). However, it is also the case that *cholas* are stigmatized because of *who* they are assumed to be romantically connected with (i.e., *cholos*).

School criminalization had life-altering consequences. When schools focus on punishment, underlying problems may go unnoticed, untreated, and/or become criminalized. For these women, connections to male family members—of which they had

no control over—set them on trajectories for educational and later life struggles. Mayra is a 25-year-old formerly incarcerated Chicana from Kings County who called me from a sober living facility after seeing my recruitment flyer in the probation office. Referencing the gang status of her father, uncle, and brothers, she reflected on her school experience:

> I did [get in trouble] a lot at school. They thought I was a troublemaker… because of my family background… even though I wasn't [a gang member], I just had family that was…. I got kicked out in 8th grade… I got suspended so many times that they finally expelled me and sent me to the [community] day school, an alternative [school]… I feel like they discriminated against me a lot. I feel like they didn't want to give me the right resources [for my undiagnosed ADHD]. Instead, they just kicked me out of school and threw me with all the kids that were like 20 times worse than me. Maybe I wouldn't have gotten caught up in that lifestyle that I got into if they had just worked with me a little more.

Mayra's story reflects a pattern wherein participants who earned low grades and displayed behaviors, such as fighting, drinking, or missing class, were classified as delinquent instead of needing help. In Mayra's case, symptoms of her neurodevelopmental disorder were criminalized because she was viewed through the lens of her male relatives' carceral histories. Being expelled from her traditional public high school and sent to an alternative school for "at-risk" youth did not benefit Mayra in any way. Instead, this move may have fast-tracked her into the criminal justice system. Mayra dropped out of school in the 11th grade. The "lifestyle" she references is her lengthy battle with drug addiction, which resulted in six stints in jail on drug-related charges, ranging from two months to one year.

Adolescence: Criminalization through Male Peer Networks

Latino male peer networks contributed to Chicana criminalization during adolescence. These friendships permeated respondents' frequent interactions with law enforcement and early encounters with the carceral system. It was not uncommon for interviewees to

estimate being stopped by police upwards of thirty times (if they could pinpoint a number at all) beginning in adolescence. Hyper-surveillance and frequent police contact placed respondents at greater risk for arrest and incarceration. Once formally in the system, many received excessive criminal charges and incarceration sentences.

While research shows that youth report more encounters with the police than adults (Leiber et al. 1998), young Latinas' police encounters are underexamined (for an exception, see Flores 2016). My research demonstrates that simply being in the company of Latino friends made respondents the indirect targets of police surveillance and harassment. Being stopped by the police for non-criminal behaviors, such as walking to and from school with friends, was a common occurrence. Esther, a formerly incarcerated Chicana from San Joaquin County, explained:

> You know you walk in groups because your parents always tell you, "Do not walk alone. You can get kidnapped." So, you walk in groups, but once you start walking in these groups, [the police] stop you. [They will ask], "What do you guys have? Why are you guys walking in groups?" [And we respond], "Well, because we're going home." [And they will say], "Oh, no. Hold on. Empty your pockets. You match somebody who did this [or] you look like somebody who did that."

While Esther's Latino male peers made her a target for police surveillance in the community, her familial ties made her vulnerable to more suspicion and stricter scrutiny. She recalled that when police stopped the groups she was with, they would single her out for extra questioning, which typically resulted in her being handcuffed and searched. She described police repeatedly running her name through their computer database, looking for a record of wrongdoing even though there wasn't one: "Yeah, it was harassment because they would never charge me with [anything]." Although never charged with a crime, Esther estimated being stopped, questioned, and handcuffed more than 20 times in

middle school alone. As a young adult, she was caught driving under the influence, a misdemeanor, typically resulting in a two- to three-day sentence. Esther, however, received four months in the county jail, an outcome she attributes to her last name and recurrent police encounters.

Police documented Letty as gang-affiliated through her association with Latino male peers who were also presumed to be gang members. As she recalled:

> Back in my younger days… the interactions with [police] were always because there was a group of us [girls and boys]. Automatically it was, "You all, up against the wall!" [They would] run our names, take our pictures, [and] put us all on files in their trunk. They had files for all of us supposedly "gang-affiliated" kids that were "running the streets"… Some of them were dicks and wanted to be throwing people against cars and buildings and being abusive.

Reina, a 28-year-old system-impacted musician from San Joaquin County, was also labeled a gang member through her association with male friends. She stated, "[The police] had me labeled as a gang member supposedly. I couldn't wear certain colors. Even though I was always respectful… [it was because of] who I hung out with." These experiences illustrate that, like their male counterparts, Chicanas are subject to hyper-surveillance and policing; however, unlike their male counterparts, who may stave off unwanted police attention through proximity to women and girls, Chicanas are particularly vulnerable *because* of these relationships. As Letty's account also reveals, encounters between police and youths of color can quickly escalate towards violence.

Moreover, respondents described experiences where police assumed they were helping their male peers commit a crime. Lydia, a 26-year-old formerly incarcerated Chicana from Stockton who was working toward a bachelor's degree in criminal justice, recalled:

I got pulled over once before at gunpoint because I was driving in a car with nothing but guys. The cops were like, "PUT YOUR HANDS OUT THE CAR. I NEED TO SEE YOUR WRISTS!" [The cops] were doing the extreme… It was just crazy. And they said the reason why they pulled me over [was] "because you have a light out in the back." So, after he let me go, I went to the back, and the light was on. So, it was just a bogus excuse, but it was just because he saw a packed car of dudes and then me as a female driver. I'm sure they already assumed like, "Hey, she's gonna be the getaway." I guess it all depends on who you're with… when it's like with a group of people, of guys, that's when they do the most."

The racialized, gendered, and heteronormative assumption that Chicanas play a supportive role in Latino males' criminality (i.e., Chicanas are "supporting their men") perpetuates intersectional criminalization via gendered relationships and expectations. As the only woman in the car, Lydia believed the police suspected her of aiding and abetting her male passengers. Even if police were merely conducting a routine traffic stop, drawing their weapons for a broken taillight is an extreme use of intimidation.

Reina recalled a similar experience, telling me, "Since middle school, I've been getting pulled over all the time… [and] harassed by the cops." After her brother was sent to prison on gun-related charges, the following incident occurred:

I was walking in [a small rural town], and I saw a friend, [so] I jumped in his car because he offered to give me a ride… Two detectives pulled me over and asked for my name. [I] told [them] my name, and one [detective said], "Oh, that's you?" They knew who I was, and they were looking for guns because they supposedly heard gunshots and thought I was the one who had them. Obviously, they found nothing.

According to Reina, the police assumed she was somehow involved in a prior shooting incident, perhaps even storing the guns for a male accomplice.

Hyper-surveillance and frequent police contact placed Chicanas at greater risk for arrest. Once formally in the carceral system, respondents received harsh legal

consequences that they attributed to their relational ties with criminalized men. Luna

made the following connection:

> I was already treated bad growing up because of who [my mom's husband] was,
> who his family members and his associates were. It already affected me before I
> got locked up. It's the reason why me and my brother weren't given no chances.
> They were just like, "You're done. You guys are getting sent away." I don't
> know, girl. It affected everything—my incarceration, how law enforcement and
> the system viewed me… because we were already labeled.

Beginning at age 13, Luna would be arrested nearly 20 times and incarcerated

approximately 15 times over the next 20 years of her life. Once in the grips of the

carceral system, criminalization ensured that Luna would not receive a fair shake at

justice. Research shows that youth of color are denied innocence and their youth status

through a process of "adultification" (Epstein, Blake, and González 2017; Byfield 2014;

Crenshaw, Ocen, Nanda 2015). Luna's experience underscores how the criminal labeling

of Latinas is not innocuous but has very real consequences for their life chances.

The consequences of criminalization via male family members and peers at an

early age combined with the denial of innocence that is often extended to white youth—

especially white girls (García 2012)—is demonstrated in the cases of Chicanas who were

charged as adults while still minors. Selena was born into a family of Bulldogs—a large,

Fresno-based gang. Her father, brothers, and cousins were justice-involved and were

widely known in the community. Selena was marked by law enforcement as a gang

member despite never joining the gang.

At the time of our interview, 21-year-old Selena had just finished serving six and

a half years in California's Youth Authority (CYA)—a prison for youth. At 14, she was

sentenced to 11 years for having a verbal altercation with a white woman. Because she

was carrying a pocketknife in her backpack, which she did not produce during the altercation, Selena was sentenced for attempted murder and terrorist threats. The discrepancy in her charges and the disproportionate severity of her sentencing was not lost on Selena. For example, she stated, "I got 11 years for making threats, and I'm in there for attempted murder. There's people in there that killed people and did two years, you know?"

A pretext for Selena's disproportionate sentence was the state's psychological evaluation, which demonstrated that, as she put it, her "mentality was higher than a 14-year-old, so that's why they threw the whole book at me." Research shows that Latina girls face a "Latina penalty" in the juvenile justice system (Pasko and Lopez 2018). Juvenile justice professionals apply negative stereotypes to deny young Latinas their youth status and any presumption of innocence, resulting in harsher legal consequences (see also Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014; Gaarder, Rodriguez, and Zatz 2004).

Not only did the judge allow biased prejudicial evaluations into the trial, but he also used them to sentence her based on an adult standard. Selena was not the only one who disapproved of the judge's ruling:

> Even the [motions air quotes] "victim" … told the judge, "Hold on, sir. I understand what she did was wrong, but 11 years is a little overboard." And the judge snapped at her. The judge was like, "Either you're with her or against her because if you're with her, I could just drop the charges now." And she was like, "Well, she needs to know what she did was wrong."

Lupe is a 35-year-old formerly incarcerated Chicana from Madera County whom I met through Project Rebound—a university support program that provides services and resources for formerly incarcerated students. After being charged with attempted

carjacking, Lupe was also tried as an adult; she was only 16 when she received a nearly

seven-year sentence and two strikes on her criminal record.

> I got six years and ten and a half months. I got two strikes… I stayed in juvenile hall for a year because I was waiting to go to Chowchilla (the largest women's prison in the US). They never had a case like mine in [Madera County]. I was the first female juvenile to be tried as an adult and to be sentenced to prison time. So, they didn't really know how to handle my case… At that same time, one of my homies had gotten busted [and] was going through the same thing, but his [case] was for murder. He was being tried as an adult too—the first juvenile male in Madera County. Basically, the DA said they were going to make examples out of both of us. They did. They tried us as adults and we both got prison time.

When asked why she thought she received such a harsh sentence, Lupe believed it had to

do with her father being a prominent gang member and drug dealer in the community.

"They weren't going to give me a chance coming from the family I come from," she told

me. The comparison between her case and her Latino male friends' case is poignant,

illustrating that even though Lupe was convicted of a lesser offense, both were tried as

adults. After turning 18, a legal loophole allowed Lupe to serve the remainder of her time

in CYA; she was released when she was 23.

Relational ties to Latino family members and friends placed Chicanas at greater

risk of being "caught up" (Flores 2016) in the legal system. For Chicanas, gendered (and

presumed sexual) relationships with their male peers were no protection against

criminalization, as can be the case for boys of color (see Stuart and Benezra 2018). In

some instances, these relational ties did not help; in others, respondents were targeted

precisely because of them. Nowhere is this more apparent than in respondents'

heterosexual relationships as adults.

Adulthood: Criminalization through Male Partners

Criminalization became a constant feature for adult formerly incarcerated Chicanas involved in intimate relationships with criminalized Latino men when police assumed they supported their partner's suspected criminality. Criminalization through male partners structured daily life, with several reporting near-daily police contact because of this. Police often harassed respondents for incriminating information on their partners, typically under threat of police violence or incarceration. While participants generally refused to comply, these encounters further entrenched them in the carceral system.

Mercy, a 21-year-old from Stockton, had only been home from prison for a couple of days when the following incident occurred:

> The other day I was right here, I parked my car, got out, and a cop was right there with a gun drawn out on me. He's all like, "Aye, is your boyfriend shooting any guns out here?!" I was like, "Bro, I just got home from the gym. I don't know what you're talking about." He's all like, "So, if I search your car—" I was like, "I don't consent to no searches." … A lawyer told me what to say when a cop does that. Like it's gotten so bad that we even have to ask, "Aye, so what do we tell them so they don't search us." And he told me just to say that because when you say that, they have to leave you alone. But the cop was like harassing me… It's just how they are.

Mercy was stopped at gunpoint because police thought her boyfriend was shooting guns. Although she has "just gotten used to" this type of treatment, one should reasonably expect to conduct their daily affairs without fear of police violence and terror. Police harassment has become so frequent in her life that Mercy has even consulted an attorney to safeguard her rights.

Criminalization via romantic male partners is perhaps best encapsulated in Mousie's encounters with the police. Mousie is a 31-year-old San Joaquin County native who could not recall the number of times she has been to county jail (not uncommon for formerly incarcerated participants). It is hard to miss all the at-home tattoos that adorn

her chest, neck, and arms. Upon closer inspection, I notice that most of these tattoos are the names of her children, relatives who have passed away, and past lovers.

Like Mercy, Mousie's daily life is interrupted by the police. She is subject to constant surveillance due to the convicted offender, gang member, or otherwise wanted status of her children's fathers. As she explained:

> [The Police] hit my houses I don't know how many times. I remember when they went to my grandma's [and] surrounded and raided that house. They flipped my whole room upside down. They [asked my grandma], "Do you know what she's affiliated with?" … Them banging on doors, asking unnecessary questions, or making remarks is bullshit… I always got the remark, "Oh, she knows something. She's knows. I know she knows something." I always get that. I'm always put in cuffs and set on the side and, you know… I'll just sit there and be quiet. I don't know shit. That's all they need to know.

The police target women to gain intel on their male partners (see Durán 2009). In this case, the police assumed that Mousie not only knew of unlawful activities her romantic partners were allegedly engaged in but that she played a supportive role due to her refusal to comply with their demands. These assumptions were based on wider social expectations that govern Chicanas' intimate relationships.

Respondents on parole or probation were especially vulnerable to carceral threats posed by their connections with men. For someone under state-sponsored supervision, any minor infraction or instance of noncompliance could lead to a violation and another incarceration. Women on parole or probation may be even more vulnerable than their male counterparts. For example, Heidemann, Cederbaum, and Martinez (2016) find that women reentering society face more difficulty *because* of their relationships with men, whereas men's relationships with women contribute to successful reentry.

Parole and probation officers used threats of incarceration to get respondents to divulge incriminating information on their partners. As Luna detailed, "If you get a raunchy parole or probation officer, they try to do you dirty…. You get threatened, you get targeted, you get constantly harassed." Luna had firsthand experience with this type of treatment:

> When [my ex-husband] got locked up, [police] tried to mess with me. They tried to get my kids... They wanted to arrest me and take my kids to CPS so [he] would hurry up and plead out, but that didn't work out… They would harass me after that. They would watch my house—the sheriff and the police department… They were trying to intimidate me, driving alongside me while I was pushing a fricking stroller.

Not only were respondents exposed to a higher probability of arrest and incarceration, but many also faced gang sentencing enhancements through their association with gang-involved partners. The consequences of being documented as a gang member are significant. It gives police free rein to stop and harass respondents at whim. A gang enhancement also carries a mandatory prison sentence if found guilty. Alejandra explained how the gang label shaped her encounters with the police despite never actually being in a gang:

> I've never been a gang member. My kids' dad is a gang member… Now, I'm flagged on the paperwork as associating with gang members… I've had bad fuckin' experiences with cops because I have a four-way search clause. At any time, they can check my name, whoever I'm with, [and] if I'm in a house, that house gets searched… Anytime I get pulled over, the cops are dicks.… They know who my baby daddy is, so I get fucked with. When I get fucked with, they call about five cop cars out there [and] pull the car apart.

Similarly, Carmen, a 35-year-old formerly incarcerated Chicana from Fresno County, was documented as a gang member because the co-defendant in her case, her ex-boyfriend, was a gang member. "Since one of my co-defendants was a Bulldog, they put

that I was Bulldog-validated. They have it on paperwork… But I'm not a gang member though."

In sum, criminalization through men was shaped by the socially and relationally constructed expectation that Chicanas support, protect, and engage in the suspected criminal behavior of their male loved ones. Intersectional criminalization thus punishes Chicanas for their interpersonal ties. As detailed next, participants across sample groups differed in how they navigated criminalization through men.

Navigating Criminalization through Men

While all participants expressed sympathy for the criminalized men in their lives, navigating criminalization through men took two distinct forms. First, formerly incarcerated Chicanas involved in heterosexual partnerships often minimized their criminalized experiences while seeking to protect their significant others from incarceration. Some even confessed to crimes they did not commit so that their partners would avoid incarceration. In contrast, system-impacted Chicanas physically and symbolically distanced themselves from their criminalized male relatives and peers to avoid criminalization. Both strategies came at a personal cost, as respondents had to decide between retaining ties to loved ones or their freedom.

Minimization— "It's not as bad as the guys"

Despite similarly heightened levels of police contact, arrest, and incarceration, many formerly incarcerated respondents believed their male partners experienced a much worse reality. According to Mercy, "For us girls, it's not as bad as the guys. The guys get—even just for having a hat on in a car, you can get pulled over… They'll search your vehicle for no reason; you didn't even do nothing." Even though Mercy could not estimate the

number of times she has been subjected to unprovoked police encounters, it was her perception that it happened even more to her male peers and partners. While statistics indicate that Latino men are stopped more by the police than Latinas (U.S. Department of Justice Statistics 2018), what is telling about this narrative is the extent to which respondents minimized their own experiences of hyper-policing.

The desire to protect one's spouse from carceral violence was influenced by the real and pragmatic concern that police could and would brutalize or kill their partners. Mousie revealed that when she hears police sirens, she automatically fears for her children's fathers:

> I got two out of three baby daddies incarcerated. They're always getting locked up… I hate it because when you hear cop sirens, it's like… "Fuck! Is [he] ok? I hope nothing happened to him." Or if you hear about a bust or a raid, it's like, "Are they going to go after my baby's dad? Oh my God, I hope [he's] ok. The last thing I need is to lose him now."

The fear of police terror, combined with the selective over-incarceration of Brown bodies that disrupts and inflicts significant stress and hardship on Latinx families, and is disproportionately shouldered by Latinas, led Mousie and others to center their partners' well-being above their own. For example, when asked what she would change about the carceral system, Mousie responded that she would change how her children's fathers are treated and made no mention of her near-daily contact with the police: "I would say, them lying on my babies' daddies, *that's it*." Interestingly, at the time of our interview, Mousie was fighting to regain custody of her children, having lost custody while incarcerated. Yet, at a broader level, she saw the societal problem as its treatment of Latino men.

Mousie refused to cooperate with the police even at the expense of her freedom and confessed to a charge she had not committed. As she described:

I get questioned a lot. There were a few times when they were looking for my [second] baby's dad… There was no way in hell that I was going to put him out. They busted in the door and [asked], "Is there a [child's father's name] here?" I was like, "No. Who's that?!" And then they said, "[Child's father's nickname]." And I said, "That's what they call him?!" I'm not going to fuckin'—hell no! I don't know shit…. Then this other time, I got charged for a hit-and-run. I didn't do it. It was my [first] baby's dad, and I just fuckin' took the charge.... Another time, [police] swooped in on me. They were like, "So who was that guy you were rolling with?" I was like, "I don't know what you're talking about. As far as I know, I just met that fool. We were just going to go kick it." The cops probably think I'm the biggest skonka [slut] because I won't put them out. I make it seem like we are just gonna kick it for the night.

Feigning ignorance or offering a false confession were ways that Mousie protected her children's fathers from incarceration and separation from her and her children. Ultimately, though, she was the one who suffered child separation and deeper carceral entrenchment.

Refusing to snitch, of course, also represents following the "code of the street" (Anderson 1999)—a system of accountability governing street life—that men *and* women typically uphold (Jones 2010). Letty, for example, stated, "I got caught up in some B.S., and I'm not a snitch, so… I stood there, and I took it and did my time." Others may have been socialized into culturally prescribed gender roles associated with *marianismo*, such as that of a self-sacrificing caregiver who puts her family's needs above her own. Of course, the desire to prevent one's co-parent from going to prison is reasonable and should not be read as a cultural defect. Finally, refusing to comply with the police may have occurred under duress and fear of intimate partner violence. Thus, while respondents' orientation towards the carceral state may be read as resistance to state-sponsored violence against Latinos, it is also crucial to acknowledge the role interpersonal violence may play in shaping their actions.

Distancing— "They're my brothers, but…"

System-impacted Chicanas tended to strategically distance themselves from their

criminalized loved ones to prevent criminalization. This strategy usually involved

physically separating themselves from their male counterparts. Giggles, for example,

limited contact with her brothers. As she explained:

> Just driving with them, I feel like I'm going to get in trouble. If I'm with them, people stare at us; cops profile us as gang members…. So, I tend to not hang around with them because I know [it's] is not going to bring me any good. It sucks because they're my brothers, but at the same time, I don't want that attention around me… So, I don't really hang out with them. I don't really talk to them anymore. I'm kind of just growing up on my own over here.

Giggles employs a cultural frame that Forrest Stuart (2016) refers to as "copwisdom."

Becoming copwise involves honing the ability to "think like a cop" and modifying one's

behavior and self-presentation to avoid unwanted police attention. When Giggles is with

her brothers, she feels judged and fears trouble with law enforcement. Consequently, she

has chosen not to be around them anymore. At only 20, her description of "growing up on

my own" is poignant. Despite the emotional cost of separation from her family, Giggles'

potential alternative was worse. According to Stuart (2016), employing copwisdom

comes at a cost for personal and collective well-being. It interferes with communal ties

and reinforces the perception that socially stigmatized groups are criminals and deserving

of police attention. In this way, criminalization undermines interpersonal relationships.

Other system-impacted respondents took more extreme measures. At 18, Lola

moved from the small town where she grew up in San Joaquin County to escape

criminalization through family. She said, "It's not because I don't love my *primos* [male

cousins] and *tíos* [uncles]. I do, very much. I just couldn't take the constant harassment

and judgment anymore. For me, it was like I don't want the drama and stress. I rather just stick to myself." Distance from her criminalized family offered Lola the chance to live without criminalization through familial ties.

Although the distancing strategy complicates assumptions that Chicanas are more family-oriented and submissive, choosing between family and unwanted police attention was a source of heavily weighted, internal conflict for system-impacted respondents. As profiled at the start of the chapter, Smiley changed her last name to avoid criminalization through her brothers. However, as she explained, "I changed my name not because I am ashamed of my family, but because I have no opportunities. I sort of regret it and think about changing it back… I feel so bad, but it gives me anxiety. I get panic attacks and shit." Smiley's internal battle between family loyalty and safeguarding her emotional well-being has had real health impacts.

While "distancers" consciously dissociated themselves from criminalized family members, some made similar choices regarding their intimate relationships. For example, Giggles deliberately chose to remain single because she did "not want the drama" that comes with men. Now married to a white man, Lola expressed relief that she no longer dealt with the frequent carceral contact that characterized her past relationships with Latino men. Still, others like Smiley identified as lesbian or bisexual and were in relationships with women. In either case, sexuality influenced how system-impacted respondents navigated relational criminalization.

To summarize, differences in navigating criminalization through relational ties to men were influenced by what respondents were willing to lose. For formerly incarcerated Chicanas, protecting their partners from the carceral state outweighed threats to their own

freedom. System-impacted respondents paid a heavy emotional toll in losing or constraining family ties to increase their likelihood of personal freedom. Both groups were forced to choose between negative outcomes, and their well-being suffered in the process.

Conclusion

Intersectional criminalization is particularly suited for uncovering processes of relationality operating within multiple domains of power (i.e., structural and interpersonal). Building on previous scholarship, this approach maintains that the gendered, racialized, and heteronormative expectations of Chicanas' interpersonal relationships shape their criminalization. While previous research finds that young Black men strategically evade criminalization via their enlistment of young Black women, I found that Chicanas were not afforded a comparable strategy. In contrast, the assumption that they would "stand by" family and romantic partners (who were assumed to be criminals) made them vulnerable to criminalization through Latino men and boys. This process began early in life when school officials labeled respondents as criminal gang members because of how their male relatives were perceived in the community. During adolescence, Chicanas' male peer networks shaped criminalization, as illustrated in their early encounters with the police and larger carceral system. Finally, criminalization through their heterosexual relationships in adulthood cemented Chicanas' criminalized identities.

Navigating criminalization through men took two forms, both of which came at a personal cost. Formerly incarcerated respondents involved in heterosexual partnerships resisted state efforts to inflict more violence on Latino men and families by refusing to

comply with the police. While seeking to protect their male loved ones from a system they believed was more harmful to Latino men, this strategy involved minimizing their own carceral experiences, which often resulted in deeper carceral entrenchment. On the other hand, system-impacted Chicanas strategically distanced themselves from their criminalized male friends, family, and in some cases, potential heterosexual mates, to avoid criminalization and protect themselves against police violence. They did so by employing "copwisdom" (Stuart 2016), or changing their behavior based on their anticipation of police thoughts and actions. In safeguarding their freedom, however, respondents inadvertently reinforced ideas about criminality.

While I found that relationships with men can exacerbate experiences of criminalization among Chicanas, it is important to recognize that Latino men and boys are also subject to intersectional criminalization and racialized, gendered, and sexualized forms of institutional violence. It may be tempting to conclude that individual relationships are the problem; however, my findings point to more structural causes. The problem is not men but rather the system of white supremacist hetero-patriarchy in which these interpersonal relationships are embedded.

CHAPTER V:

TWICE VICTIMIZED: HOW THE CRIMINALIZATION OF CHICANAS'

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES REPRODUCES HARM AT THE INSTITUTIONAL

LEVEL

Lydia: There was [a news story] that I saw that was trending… I guess this Black girl… was getting [trafficked]… She was getting abused [and] raped until she turned 16, I believe. So, she killed the dude that was raping her all along, and now they want to give her a life sentence. And it's just like, "Whoa! Are you serious? What the hell? This girl has been through enough already, and now you're gonna throw her in prison?! That is crazy!"… What was her name?!

Mercy: It was probably me, huh? (Laughter).

Introduction

Cyntoia Brown Long is a sex trafficking victim and survivor who, at just 16 years old,

received a life sentence in 2004 for killing her rapist. In 2019, following considerable

public outcry, Cyntoia was granted clemency by the governor of Tennessee and released

from prison after serving 15 years. Her case is not an isolated one, but rather one that

accentuates how Black women and girls specifically, and women and girls of color

generally, are criminalized for resisting victimization. The violence and trauma they

experience in their interpersonal relationships, often at the hands of men, is then extended

to the hands of the state, where girls like Cyntoia are punished because they are viewed

not as victims of violence but rather as perpetrators of it.

It is not surprising that some women in this study identified with Cyntoia's story.

Nearly all of them recalled life histories of extreme violence, yet none of them were

granted victimhood status. Instead, like Cyntoia, they were twice victimized—in their interpersonal relationships and by the state.

This chapter utilizes the intersectional criminalization framework to reconsider the connection between victimization and criminalization. I find that reasonable responses to gendered and sexualized interpersonal violence were met with structural violence when institutions that are supposed to be supportive and protective (e.g., family, schools, the police, the courts, and social services) criminalized necessary survival strategies. When the state criminalizes survivors who attempt to resist and/or cope with interpersonal violence, it inflicts its own harm. Criminalization has lasting effects that shape life chances and (re)produce suffering. Thus, I argue that, as a multi-institutional-level process, criminalization should be viewed as a form of structural violence.

I begin this chapter by presenting detailed profiles of two women whose attempts to survive violence and manage trauma were met with punishment across various institutional contexts. I use these profiles to demonstrate a pattern wherein interpersonal violence is transformed into institutional violence via criminalization. I then draw on other participants' narratives to identify two primary survival strategies for dealing with interpersonal violence, which were informed by respondents' material conditions and structural dislocation from institutional- and community-level supports. First, respondents resisted victimization by either escaping abuse or physically fighting back. Second, because of their blocked access to necessary mental health treatment, respondents coped with emotional problems by turning to illicit drug use. The multi-institutional criminalization of respondents' survival strategies resulted in a cycle of interpersonal and structural violence.

The "criminalization of victimization" (Chesney-Lind 2002) and survival is central to how women and girls of color, the disproportionate victims of violence, are drawn into the carceral state. This, of course, is not a new revelation, as Black feminist scholars have long demonstrated that criminalization processes are shaped and sustained by systems of violence against women (see, for example, Arnold 1990; Jones 2010; Richie 1996). I build on this long tradition of scholarship by centering the life histories of Chicanas and suggesting that criminalization itself is a form of violence that inflicts long-lasting harm on particular social groups. Similarly, while feminist criminologists have advanced valuable insights on gendered "pathways" into the criminal justice systems (i.e., how victimization is a leading determinant of criminal offending), I take the focus off of "criminal behaviors" to understand how necessary survival strategies are criminalized (see also Jones 2010) and how the state commits violence against survivors of interpersonal violence.

Discussing Latina trauma and victimization is complicated. On the one hand, retelling stories of abuse for the sake of retelling them is a form of academic violence that reifies depictions of Latinas as perpetual and hapless victims and Latino men as dangerous and prone to domestic violence. Indeed, there is a long history of scholarly exploitation of Latinx trauma, which has done little more than fetishize abuse and advance theoretical deficit models based on Latinx communities. On the other hand, avoiding this subject altogether for fear of perpetuating stereotypes of Latinas as long-suffering and Latino men as especially abusive is also not a solution (González-López 2015; see also Crenshaw 1991; Richie 2000).

I am acutely aware of this tension and do my best to handle these stories with care. I try to balance the focus between interpersonal and institutional violence and agency versus structural constraints. In doing so, I foreground resistance and apply a sociological view of trauma. For instance, many of these women fought back against violent men, the state, and the institutions that protect them, challenging cultural and societal norms that govern racialized, gendered, and heteronormative expectations in the process. What follows is my attempt to honor their fortitude.

Mercy's Story

After arriving at a southside park in Stockton early one brisk March morning, I found a concrete picnic table sandwiched between four men playing basketball on the basketball courts to my left and another man sleeping on the wet grass to my right. I texted Lydia to let her know that I had arrived for our scheduled interview. Lydia emerged from the apartment complex across the street. Once we greeted each other, she told me that her friend had just been released from prison a few days prior and would like to participate in the interview. "She's just washing up and will be right down," Lydia said. About five minutes later, Mercy appeared, making her way across the street wearing light grey sweatpants, a black spaghetti strap shirt, and house shoes commonly referred to as "Deebo's." She was also carrying a stack of paperwork that had to be at least a few inches thick. "I don't know if you want to verify my paperwork. I'm sorry I don't have all of it on me right now," Mercy stated. "That isn't necessary," I assured her.

Mercy is smiley and a bit shy. She is a short, light-skinned Chicana with jet black shoulder-length wavy hair. Mercy also appears very young, and, upon meeting, I wondered how she could have already served a prison term. I soon learned that although

Mercy was only 21 years old, she had just completed an almost three-year stint in prison for shooting (but not killing) her rapist nine times.

Growing up, Mercy's home life was filled with abuse and neglect. She described her parents as "just two drug addicts." Her father left when she was around nine years old and has been in and out of prison her entire life. When Mercy was 16, her mother kicked her out of the house, a decision Mercy noted was influenced by her mother's drug use and severe mental illnesses. "My mom's been on drugs my whole life. She's in a rehab mental institution right now because she's not all there in the head. I mean, she kicked me out when I was 16, you know. Like she must not be there in the head. She's crazy. I guess I'm crazy too."

Surviving the streets of eastside Stockton would be difficult for anyone, let alone a multiply marginalized adolescent girl. Mercy recalled:

> Man, when I got kicked out at 16, I didn't have a job. I couldn't get a job because I wasn't old enough. When I tried to go back to my [continuation] school to apply for a [worker's] permit, they told me, "You can't because you fight a lot." I was like, "Well, what the fuck am I supposed to do? I don't live with my mom anymore." And they were like, "Well, we're sorry. We don't know." I was all like, "So what? Do I drop out?" And they were like, "If you drop out, you're gonna go to jail." It's like they trapped me. I tried to do good, and they just trapped me. So, that's why I had [the] robbery [charge]. I had to do stupid things to get by, and it's hard to shake off.

With no family to turn to, Mercy looked to her school for support but received none. School staff are mandated reporters and are tasked with reporting these kinds of incidents and providing support and emergency resources to youths in crises. For example, upon learning that a student was kicked out of their home and living on the streets, school personnel might contact Child Protective Services, regardless of whether the youth in need was known to engage in disruptive behavior. Not only did Mercy reportedly not

receive help from her school, but she was also denied a worker's permit, the only

legitimate avenue available to her to earn an income to support herself, because she had

been in some fights at school. She was also threatened with incarceration if she dropped

out.

Mercy did eventually drop out of school and did what she thought was necessary

to survive. Sometimes this involved stealing. Mercy was caught and served six months in

youth detention for armed robbery. Her earlier observation that she was "trapped" by an

institution that was supposed to help her resonates with Richie's (1996: 5) theory of

gender entrapment, which captures "how some women's everyday efforts to survive are

not only discounted… but are increasingly criminalized in contemporary society."

Struggling to cope with the emotional trauma of her home life and the daily threat

of street violence that young Latinas are disproportionately vulnerable to (see Flores et al.

2017), combined with the utter lack of community-level resources, Mercy developed an

addiction to drugs and alcohol, which resulted in several stints in juvenile detention on

DUI, drug-related, and public intoxication charges. Reflecting on her struggles with

addiction, Mercy made the following poignant connection:

> I was raised by two drug addicts—that's the story with my mom and dad. I grew
> up seeing what they do, and I guess—I have my own mind. I know right and
> wrong… [and] how to say no. But just through struggling, it made me angry. So, I
> just give in easily to drugs or drinking. It makes it easier for me to get by because
> I'm damaged.

For Mercy, drugs and alcohol were ways to cope with untreated trauma.

When Mercy was 18 years old, she was raped while unconscious at a kickback (a

small social gathering). Although she did not go into many details during our interview,

she encouraged me to read the widely circulated article about her case published in the

local newspaper. According to the report, which Mercy was interviewed for, going to the police was not a viable option. She feared retaliation from her attacker, a prominent gang member, and that the police would not believe her. Mercy was quoted as saying, "I wanted him to pay for what he did, to not get away with it… [So], I took a page out of his own book." The next morning, Mercy went back to the house where she was assaulted and shot her attacker nine times. Mercy attempted what Peterson (1999) refers to as "self-help homicide," an "illegal attempt to exact justice" (p. 32) in a situation involving severe intimate partner violence—a form of "patriarchal terrorism" (Goetting 1987; Harper 2017; Johnson 1995; Ogle et al. 1995).

Mercy's fear that she would not be believed was realized after the news story had gone "viral." Thousands of social media commenters lambasted her as a lying, drug-addicted sex worker. For example, "she wasn't raped, she's a prostitute" or "it's her fault for being a hoe" were common narratives. Commenters similarly enlisted Mercy's prior conviction history to advocate voting for Donald Trump for the U.S. presidency and used hashtags like #BuildThatWall and #Trump2020. Criminalization had extended to the online realm.

Mercy was just 19 years old when she went to prison. Although the premeditated attempted murder charge was eventually dropped, she still had to serve time for being a felon in possession of a firearm and ammunition (stemming from her armed robbery charge) and causing gross bodily injury to another person. While in prison, Mercy suffered more abuse by correctional officers (COs). Once, she was body-slammed by a guard while other COs looked on and received a concussion and broken shoulder. Mercy also spent three months in solitary confinement—a form of psychological torture with

significant consequences, especially on a young and developing mind. Research shows that juvenile and criminal justice systems exacerbate trauma by inflicting physical, psychological, and sexual violence and "routine" procedures like strip searches, restraints, and isolation (Saar et al. 2015). "Carceral trauma," as it has come to be referred to, is institutional violence (Williams et al. 2021).

Now out of prison, Mercy told me her biggest challenge would be finding employment. Later that day, she had a phone interview with a fast-food chain restaurant and was nervous about divulging her criminal record. "It's gonna be hard [to get a job]… I mean, it was before just with armed robbery. Now it's gonna be ten times worse with the strike, gun charges, and attempted murder charges. And me getting like a good, good job goes out the window. I'll be happy right now just with the fast-food job." Mercy, like most formerly incarcerated people, is experiencing the consequences of what Pager (2003) called the "mark of a criminal record," which produces employment disparities that fall along racial lines for system-involved individuals.

As we ended our interview, I asked Mercy what she thought people see when they look at her. This was her response:

> People who know me think I'm crazy and have lost my mind. Some people don't want to get near me. Other people want to kill me… But in society… Everything out here is based on your record, you know, everything. So, if they're looking at my record, they're probably gonna be like, "Oh, no! Get her out of here! She's gonna steal something! She's gonna kill someone!" But I'm not like that. I'm far from that. I'm actually a really nice person. I think people are quick to judge.

Mercy fell through the cracks of social welfare infrastructure and into the hands of the carceral state. Every institution that should have protected her, failed her—her family, community, school, and the police. Mercy's resistance strategies and coping mechanisms

made her a target for criminalization and more victimization. It also made it impossible for her to be positively evaluated by others. Criminalization is an enduring form of structural harm and punishment that continues long after incarceration. As a self-perpetuating process, criminalization reproduces violence at the community and institutional levels. Recognizing this, Mercy stated, "It's just messed up the way they put us away over the issues they create on us. They make us pay for the issues that they inflicted on us."

Luna's Story

I first encountered Luna a few years ago when a mutual friend shared her Facebook Live video of police arresting a young Latino man in my southeast Merced neighborhood. While this is not an uncommon occurrence where I live, what struck me about the video was Luna's commentary and how she knew personal details about every officer on the scene. Luna was loud and had no fear of the police. A couple of years later, we would meet in person through a local organization Luna was involved with that advocated for formerly incarcerated women and girls.

When asked about her home life growing up, Luna recounted an incredibly violent childhood. Describing abuse at the hands of her mother's second husband,[7] Luna elaborated:

> [It started when] I was about two and a half [and lasted] until I was 13. It consisted of physical abuse, molestation, rape… We went through a lot of stuff with him. We were physically [and] psychologically tortured. We got starved. We got beaten. We weren't allowed to move. We weren't allowed to talk. We weren't allowed to use the restroom without permission. We lived a pretty awful existence. When I think about my childhood, I'm just like, "Man, I can't even believe I lived through that."

---

[7] Luna would not describe this man as her "stepfather," so I refrain from doing so.

Luna's mother did not believe her about the abuse, despite at times participating in some of it: "She knew. She actually took part in some of it… I told her what he was doing to me [and] she looked me in my face—I was probably in first grade—and smacked the shit out of me and told me never to lie ever again. So, after that, I was like, '[If] my mom don't believe me, nobody else is going to believe me.'"

School may have served as a reprieve from abuse within the home, but it was no haven. Instead, as detailed in Chapter IV, Luna was criminalized in school because of her relationship with her mother's husband—a known gang member. According to Luna, "I loved going to school because I was sure that I would eat and that I wouldn't be getting beat up. I wouldn't be around my mom's husband. But I was labeled a gang member, a bad kid, a troubled kid, a mean girl, smart mouth. I got in trouble a lot."

When Luna was 13 years old, she was nearly killed by her mother's husband after he beat and stabbed her multiple times. This man would only serve a couple of months in jail for the incident. Luna explained the discrepancy: "Instead of attempted murder—a felony—he got to plead out to a misdemeanor aggravated assault on a minor under the age of 14… [It was because] he was a criminal informant for [the police department]."

A month after her mother's husband violently attacked Luna, she was incarcerated in juvenile hall. Throughout her adolescence, she would find herself in and out of juvenile detention and group homes. A frequent runaway, Luna was often homeless on the streets, making her vulnerable to police violence. As she recalled:

> I was physically and sexually assaulted by police officers when I was 13, 14, and 15. And these were during times when I would be getting arrested. They would take me out to the cuts and beat the fuck out of me. One time, a cop was driving and kept fucking braking, and I kept hitting my face into the cage. I was all

fucked up. Then he took me out by the canal, and he told me to get smart. I did. I knew he was going to hurt me. I thought he was going to fucking kill me. He beat the shit out of me, man. He beat me up, and I couldn't do anything. I lost a shoe. He took me and booked me into juvenile hall like that with a missing shoe, all fucking bloody and shit. Another cop was just like, "Fuck! We can't have no medical report." They ended up letting me go…. So that was that time. [Other] times, [the police] would beat me up [because] I would mouth off about getting searched. They would be sticking their hands up my fucking vagina, and I would be flipping out, going crazy… I ended up fucking that cop up in his mouth. I split his shit all the way through his gums. I got charged for that.

While police sexual violence is understudied, research demonstrates that young women, especially poor, racially marginalized women and girls, are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment, sexual abuse, and rape by the police (Brunson and Miller 2006; Kraska and Kappeler 1995; Miller 2008; Richie 2012; Ritchie 2017).

Luna accrued multiple charges of assault on an officer because she defended herself and refused to passively acquiesce to their abuse. As she stated, "I put hands back on cops. I talked mad shit to cops… It didn't matter that they had badges. The worst they could do was beat me, kill me. I already survived my mom's husband almost killing me."

While Luna's resistance did not go unpunished, fighting back against state and interpersonal violence was empowering and would later motivate her activism centered on dismantling the carceral state. For instance,

In my juvenile hall days, I started learning legal stuff, [like] how to advocate for myself, what my rights were as a young person in juvenile hall, and what [staff] can and can't do to me. I was tired of feeling helpless and like a victim. [My activism] started then. I was just sticking up for myself… I would challenge adults because I had been beaten down for so long that I was like, "Ain't no other man or adult gonna do me like this again."

Luna's experiential knowledge of the systemic injustices communities of color face because of the carceral system was cemented upon her release. Through witnessing how her brother was harassed and brutalized by the police, she began advocating on his

behalf and then for members of the larger community. Known to police as the "curbside lawyer," Luna started neighborhood police watch patrols and began filming their encounters with residents. As she explained:

> I had my own experiences [with the police], but it was my brother who was too afraid to assert himself. I see that a lot with people. They're so conditioned that even when they are off probation or parole, they're still getting stopped by the cops. And they're so traumatized that they don't feel like they can take their phone out and record. They don't feel like they can tell them, "No, I don't give you permission to search my car; I'm not on probation." And these cops know that they have some type of mental power over them, and they're abusing it. They're abusing our community members, and it is bullshit.

Unsurprisingly, Luna's work in the community put an even bigger target on her back. When I asked what the police thought of her, Luna replied, "Many of them despise me, especially the ones that I've put on blast or exposed. I even have videos as early as 2018 where the gang task cops were talking shit about me and the work I do with people and how they throw away our citizen's complaints." I saw this video and can substantiate this claim.

Luna was arrested during one of her nightly patrols. After entering a fast-food parking lot to film a police stop, the police cited Luna with a felony traffic violation. According to her, "They said that I broke traction when I drove into the parking lot at Sonic, where they pulled the guys over. I came in at under 15 miles per hour into the parking lot, but I had an old school Lincoln at the time that squeaked, you know what I'm saying [laugh]. Long story short, the DA tried to file a felony on me. Felony reckless driving. They tried to charge me with some bullshit."

Unable to afford an attorney, the community came to Luna's defense. "My organization had a fund because I couldn't get an attorney. They had to get me a civil

rights and criminal attorney to [handle] my shit. I went to court like three times, but they ended up dropping the case against me, but they were really trying. They tried to come for me." As a formerly incarcerated person, the consequences of an arrest are more severe. The stress took a toll on Luna's health. She explained:

> I could've done a year in the county jail or been sent to prison because of my priors… They knew what they were doing. It caused me so much stress [and] anxiety… I would still go to actions [after that], but it took a toll on me mentally. It took a toll on my physical health… I've kind of laid low because of all the stress. I felt super strong and confident stepping into my power before that incident [but] then they filed on me.

Now back in the system as an adult, Luna is again subject to the same police harassment she endured as a youth. With age, she now recognizes how trauma and institutional violence have shaped her life experiences:

> "I never even told anybody about what happened to me until I started getting more involved with all this community organizing and realized that I have a lot of fucking trauma… I have been abused by men since I was a small child. For me, dealing with the brutality of law enforcement and working with people and [hearing] their stories, I realized [that] I have stuff that I'm still working through now."

I highlight the life histories of Mercy and Luna not because they are especially violent and traumatic but rather because they are echoed throughout the data, capturing a typical cycle of interpersonal and institutional victimization among participants. These women endured home lives filled with abuse. The institutions that should have offered support and protection—family, school, police, and social services—reproduced this victimization by failing to act or inflicting their own violence by criminalizing rational responses to interpersonal violence and extending Chicana suffering. In this way, they were twice victimized at the interpersonal and institutional levels.

Chicanas' Survival Strategies and Criminalization as Structural Violence

114

In the following sections, I identify and expound on two primary strategies system-involved Chicanas utilized as they navigated interpersonal victimization: coping and resisting. In doing so, I demonstrate how Chicanas' survival strategies were criminalized by institutional actors associated with the criminal justice and social welfare systems. This criminalization, which I view as a form of structural violence, resulted in study participants being re-victimized at the community and institutional levels.

To *resist* means "to oppose actively, to fight, to refuse to cooperate with or submit" (Kelly 1988: 161). Regina Arnold (1990) defined it as the refusal to participate in one's own victimization. According to Elizabeth Comack (2018: 3), "Resisting denies the abuser certain forms of power." *Coping* refers to "the actions taken to avoid or control distress" (Kelly 1988: 160). Coping is mediated by available resources, which are shaped by one's social location (i.e., age, race, class, gender). As such, coping methods do not always result in positive outcomes, as is the case for women who turn to drugs and alcohol to manage the emotional toll of physical and sexual abuse (see, for example, Comack 1996; Díaz-Cotto 2006). Resisting and coping are survival strategies. Liz Kelly (1988) viewed *survival* as the "outcome of coping and/or resistance" that occurs when one continues "to exist after a life-threatening experience" (p. 162). Survival is a physical and emotional process (Comack 1996). For example, a study by Comack (1996) revealed that while incarcerated women physically survived victimization, many struggled to emotionally heal from the resulting trauma.

Resisting Violence and Victimization

Resistance was rooted in self-preservation and took two forms: fleeing abuse and fighting back. Growing up, many respondents ran away from abusive families. For instance, Lupe

frequently ran away to escape her father's abuse. She stated, "He would just beat the shit out of me sometimes... It made me angry toward him. I [wondered] why [my mom] wouldn't protect me. But she couldn't... He used to beat her too." Lupe could not turn to other family members for support because they were also subject to her father's abuse. Running away provided a temporary escape. However, as was usually the case, Lupe's parents would report her as a runaway to the police, and she would be arrested and either sent to juvenile hall or returned home for more abuse. Police typically arrest young girls instead of their parents in domestic violence situations (Chesney-Lind 2010; Sherman 2009).

Lupe's entrance into the juvenile justice system began when she resisted violence within the home. This is consistent with the gendered pathways approach: girls who are the victims of abuse are at an increased risk of running away to escape violence, making them more vulnerable to juvenile justice system involvement (Lopez 2017; Lopez and Pasko 2017; Salisbury and Van Voorhis 2009). As Saar et al. (2015: 12) contend, "When law enforcement views girls as perpetrators, and when their cases are not dismissed or diverted but sent deeper into the justice system, the cost is twofold: girls' abusers are shielded from accountability, and the trauma that is the underlying cause of the behavior is not addressed. The choice to punish instead of support sets in motion a cycle of abuse and imprisonment that has harmful consequences for victims of trauma." I further contend that this punishment is also violence. Recall from Chapter IV that Lupe served nearly seven years in a youth prison for stealing a car and running away from home.

Many respondents who grew up in abusive families entered abusive relationships as young adults. Research shows a correlation between experiencing child abuse within

the home and intimate partner violence later in life (Browne et al. 1999). Latinas, in particular, are more vulnerable to "the danger and lethality of IPV" (Harper 2017, p. 225). They are more likely to be killed by their partners (Azziz-Baumgartner et al. 2011). Elena, a 33-year-old formerly incarcerated woman from Stockton, told me, "If there was a doom's day or [it was the] end of the world, I think I could survive because I survived my entire childhood and [my ex]." Elena escaped her abusive mother at 16 when she found out she was pregnant. However, she unknowingly fled to an equally violent domestic partnership. According to Elena, "It was a really bad relationship. He was very abusive and did drugs. I kind of got used to it."

One month after they were married, Elena discovered her husband was expecting a child with another woman. The years of abuse and untreated trauma had boiled to the surface, and Elena "snapped" when she caught the two together and threw a brick at their windshield. The police were called, and Elena was charged with attempted murder. After several months in the county jail, the judge reduced the attempted murder charge to felony vandalism. Elena was released from jail but had to serve the remainder of her sentence in the alternative work program (AWP). Her criminal charges and subsequent stint in jail meant that CPS had to get involved.

With nowhere to go and fearing homelessness might result in permanent child custody loss, Elena went back to her abusive husband. "I went back to the father of my kids based on like, where am I going to live? I have a home with him. I'm just going to suck it up." Elena worked two jobs and secretly saved up enough money to get an apartment and left her abusive ex-husband. Her experience illustrates how one can reach their breaking point after years of victimization. This, of course, was not considered by

the police, the courts, or the child welfare system. Instead, she was re-victimized by these institutions through her incarceration and the threat of losing custody of her children.

Letty's experiences serve as another example of the institutional violence the state inflicts on Latinas when they attempt to escape their abusive partners. After enduring years of spousal abuse, Letty looked to the police and courts for protection, but these avenues did little to support women survivors.

> I've dealt with the court system for domestic violence… They are more [supportive of] the men than they are [of] the women. And that's another thing that upsets me about the system; they don't want to hear a woman's side of the story. But when it comes to domestic violence, [they ask], "Why do you stay with him? Why do you take him back?"… Like my ex … In just one year, he was arrested 38 times [for] violations of a no-contact order, which he never got charged with. Do you know what [the police] did? They turned around and said "drunk in public" on each of those arrests. They would arrest him and let him out within a few hours. He knew all the Sheriff's department; he knew all the police department… I don't know what he was doing, probably snitching on people, but for them to know it was domestic violence and turn around and give him the drunk in public… That's how messed up the system is.

Letty was subject to more abuse by her ex-husband each time he violated the legally binding no-contact order that the police refused to uphold. As in the case of Luna's abuser, Letty's ex-husband may have been protected as a criminal informant, which sends the message that supplying intel to law enforcement may be of more value than women's lives.

When asked what she would change about the system, Letty answered, "It would be how they treat women… Not giving the help or protective orders that are needed when it's needed. Instead of waiting until we are in the hospital and [then] saying [that] it is because we didn't do what we were supposed to the first time… They need to start focusing more on the abuse that women go through."

Letty's experience with the police and family court system is supported by research. For example, police officers have the discretion to ignore reports of domestic and sexual abuse (Spohn and Tellis 2014). Even when they do call on the police to mediate domestic violence situations, Black and Latina women report more "negative" encounters with police compared to white women, who report "mostly positive experiences" (Ptacek 1999: 161). Moreover, undesirable victims, such as those who may be system-involved, poor, and/or women of color, are not adequately represented in court and are subject to more scrutiny by defense attorneys, judges, and juries (Corrigan 2013; Greeson et al. 2016; Konradi 2007; Martin 2005; Powell et al. 2017; Small 2015; Williams and Holmes 1981). Thus, it should be no wonder why Latinas underreport instances of intimate partner violence, as they are often re-victimized and re-traumatized by institutional "supports."

Next, as already illustrated in Mercy's and Luna's testimonies, some participants resisted by literally fighting back. Following Nikki Jones (2010), I view fighting as a necessary survival tool, especially for multiply marginalized women and girls. In her research on inner-city Black girls, Jones finds that fighting was not an act of defiance but a rational, normative response to violence. However, herein lies a gendered dilemma, what Jones refers to as the dilemma "between being good and ghetto," whereby managing potential threats violates mainstream appropriate feminine behavior, and yet following prescribed gender roles can get one killed in violent situations. The women in this study also confronted this dilemma. However, when institutional supports were not available, the choice was always clear.

Chicanas were criminalized for fighting back and defending themselves and their

children from violent men. Ramona was a registered nurse from a small town in San

Joaquin County. One night a man broke into her house and sexually assaulted her toddler

daughter. However, it was Ramona's actions that would send her to prison on kidnapping

and torture charges. Ramona recounted the events of that night:

> So, the way it happened was this man that I ended up "kidnapping" or whatever
> broke into my house. I heard a voice, [so] I came to my kids' room to check on
> them. When I walked into my [3-year-old] daughter's room, I saw a man jacking
> off. He [saw me] and ran out the window… I ran outside and dragged him back
> in. That was considered kidnapping on my behalf… They justified [the charges
> and sentence] by saying that I was a "menace to society" when all I was doing
> was defending [my daughter]… Even though he was the one [who] tried to rape
> my daughter, he was looked at as a victim…. There was no justice. But I don't
> regret what I did. I really don't.

Ramona was arrested for defending her daughter in her own home. Her observation that

the assailant was seen as a victim in need of protection from her is supported by the fact

that, while under arrest, the arresting officer broke Ramona's hand: As she explained,

"The cops treated me like a dog. They had no mercy whatsoever. I had my hand broken

[because of] how they bent it when they grabbed me to [handcuff me]. They bent it way

too much. Like it was just way, way in, and it snapped."

Ramona found herself a perpetual target for police harassment upon release from

prison. "When I first got out of prison, the cops remembered me from [the] kidnapping

[incident]. And they were like, 'Oh, you're that fuckin' girl that did this.' They profiled

me, and they would watch me all the time. They would follow me and stuff. Just harass

me." Ramona had no recourse against this intense surveillance as a person on parole.

Ramona's conviction caused her to lose her nursing license, and she now

struggles to find gainful employment. "After the kidnapping, they stripped my license…

That's [been] the hardest change in my living situation. Because of my criminal background, I can't get a regular paying job… McDonald's won't even hire me because of my criminal background. A lot of people don't give me the time of day. So, I usually have to go to [work in] the fields."

Ramona wanted others to understand that "I'm not this evil person that people perceive me to be. I feel like I haven't done anything wrong but defend [my baby] and probably another baby that could have gone through what my daughter [did]." Because Ramona was not viewed as a victim in this situation, self-defense was not an available claim. Her efforts to resist victimization by fighting back to protect her daughter were criminalized and have had life-altering consequences. Not only did she go to prison, but she is also now subject to frequent police harassment, lost her nursing license and any viable means of employment, and is viewed by her community as "evil" and a "menace to society."

Ramona, like Mercy and Luna, fought back against sexual violence. Ramona protected her daughter from a pedophile, Mercy sought retribution against her rapist, and Luna fought the cops who sexually assaulted her. In each instance, they resisted further victimization. Denied victimhood status, they essentially rejected the victim label altogether. Luna's earlier assertion that she was "tired of feeling helpless and like a victim," Mercy wanting her attacker to "pay for what he did and not get away with it," and Ramona not feeling any remorse for her actions (e.g., "I don't regret what I did. I really don't") illustrate how they cast themselves not as victims but as survivors. However, their survival was criminalized by the institutions we should look toward for

121

protection, support, and justice. This is how institutional criminalization reproduces

victimization by inflicting ongoing harm.

Coping with Trauma

The second survival strategy involved participants' illicit coping methods to deal with

emotional trauma. Substance use is common among women who experienced extreme

physical and sexual abuse (Brown and Anderson 1991; Miller et al. 1993; Straus and

Kantor 1994; Windle et al. 1995). Following Comack (2018), I take a sociological view

of trauma, which situates trauma as not a psychological disorder "but as the lived

experience of residing in a settler colonial, capitalist, patriarchal society" (p. 28). The

advantage of enlisting a sociological framing, according to Comack, is that it:

> [A]voids the tendency to construct the women as "psychologically damaged" or
> as "embodying victimization." Despite the life-altering experiences of trauma
> they have endured, there is much more going on in a woman's life than can be
> captured in the label "victim." To cast the women as "survivors" only captures
> part of their stories. It fails to adequately encompass their incredible resilience in
> being able to contend with ongoing socially created sources of trauma in their
> lives. *Bringing those socially created sources of trauma to the foreground means
> mapping out the structural processes and systemic factors that have come to bear
> on women's lives* (p. 28, emphasis mine).

This structural view of trauma shows how respondents' material conditions and structural

dislocation constrained their agentic choices. Participants were effectively blocked from

accessing necessary mental health care and resources due to their marginalized class

statuses and under-resourced communities where such supports were either inaccessible,

unaffordable, or did not exist. At times, drugs and alcohol seemed the only coping

mechanism within grasp.

At the time of our first interview, Mousie was living in a residential drug

treatment facility seeking help for her methamphetamine addiction. She had just given

122

birth to a child whose father was recently murdered. At the same time, she had no familial support and struggled to manage her bipolar and post-traumatic stress disorders. Discussing these challenges, Mousie stated:

> [Mental health is] something I'm really trying to work on [here]. The meds aren't working yet, but a lot of it has to do with post-trauma and everything else I'm going through…. I have to take five different meds… You just don't know what the fuck someone's going through until you actually hear their story. Like I said, I'm scared for my safety because someone just killed my baby's dad, and they could come after me because I'm his baby's mom…. It's sad. You don't got your mom or your dad or your grandma or nobody. You can't run nowhere to call home. You can't run nowhere for security. You can't run nowhere to fuckin' get laced up with advice. You have no one. I don't have nobody, dude.

Mousie's situation would be overwhelming for anyone. Healing these emotional wounds requires a support network, and most of Mousie's closest family members have passed away. Mousie also had to figure out where she would live and how she would support herself and her children once she completed treatment. At the same time, she feared for their safety in the wake of her child's father's murder by rival gang members.

Mousie's debilitating mental illnesses prevented her from working. She applied for government assistance but was denied Social Security benefits because of her age. Mousie explained, "They're denying me because supposedly I'm too young." "You're too young to have anxiety?" I asked. "Right?! That's what I said. I'm too fucking young to qualify for any type of benefits and there's no hardship or survivor's benefits for when your baby's dad dies."

While drug treatment was helping, Mousie had some problems with the counseling and recovery staff. She described the following negative encounter with her substance abuse counselor:

> You know you go to [rehab] for help, and sometimes the counselors do not understand that they're the counselors and we're the clients. It's like, do your job! You're supposed to deal with people like us. The other day I got into it with a counselor. She said, "You need to understand, I'm not the one." And I looked at her, and I go, "YOU need to understand, I ain't the one! Don't fucking come at me with that bullshit."

Treatment staff thought Mousie was "too aggressive" and indicated that other residents were afraid of her. In this tense exchange with her counselor, the staff member tells Mousie that she is not the one to be messed with, to which Mousie replies that she isn't either. During one of our many phone calls, Mousie got into an argument with another resident over phone privileges and was kicked out of the treatment facility; she was less than a month away from graduating with her recovery certificate. With no place to go, Mousie went to a shelter with her newborn baby but was kicked out of there too. When we spoke again a year later, Mousie was pregnant and back on drugs but still seeking help for her addiction.

Mousie looked to various social welfare agencies for help dealing with the trauma she incurred from years of interpersonal violence. In each instance, she was turned away or punished. This lack of support and criminalization reproduced the victimization she had already endured.

Participants understood that their ways of coping with past trauma set them apart for negative treatment. As in the case of Mousie, it dictated their institutional encounters and shaped the way others viewed them and, in turn, how they viewed others. Teresa, a formerly incarcerated woman who was homeless in Fresno at the time of our interview, stated, "I think a lot of people who have records have post-traumatic stress disorder from jail, living on the streets, and witnessing a lot of violence… Just because someone has a

record doesn't mean they're a bad person… they might have had something traumatic happen to them, so they react a lot differently."

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which can include intrusive thoughts (i.e., flashbacks), symptoms of avoidance (i.e., feelings of detachment), and symptoms of arousal (increased hypervigilance), was prevalent among respondents who witnessed and endured extreme violence and victimization. Because PTSD often went undiagnosed and untreated, illegal drugs provided a brief respite. From a structural point of view, where access to mental health support is blocked or denied, turning to illicit coping mechanisms makes sense. As Neve and Pate (2005: 32) powerfully argue:

> It is unrealistic to tell women and girls not to take drugs to dull the pain of abuse, hunger, or other devastation or tell them that they must stop the behavior that allowed them to survive the multigenerational impacts of colonization, poverty, abuse, and disability without providing them with income, housing, and medical, educational, or other supports. We must absolutely reject the current tendency to jail women because of what they need and then release them to the street with little more than psychosocial, cognitive skills or drug abstinence programming, along with the implicit judgment that they are in control of and therefore responsible for their situations, including their own criminalization.

System-impacted Chicanas reported similar experiences of interpersonal and institutional victimization. For example, growing up, Marlo and her siblings experienced extreme physical and sexual abuse within the home. At 14, she and her five siblings were placed in foster care by CPS, where she experienced even more harm. As Marlo explained, "[Foster care] was very traumatic… That's when a lot of my disruptions and troubles, [such as] not caring and getting into fights and then failing out of school, happened."

Like others, school was not a refuge for Marlo. As she observed, "I felt that the school system was completely oblivious to what was going on and the clear cues [of

abuse]. Even elementary school was hard for me because I got my menstrual cycle between eight and nine years old, which was derivative of the sexual abuse that I experienced because my body was essentially pushed into puberty. I was constantly defending myself, and the school did nothing to protect me." Marlo was suspended for fighting and ended up dropping out. Soon after, she developed a meth addiction. Drugs provided Marlo a way to cope with the trauma that the school missed and the child welfare system reproduced.

Marlo went back to school as an adult, despite school criminalization pushing her out as a youth, and received a master's degree in marriage and family therapy. She now works as a behavioral health clinician. Marlo can recognize and begin healing the unresolved trauma she carries through her line of work. Ironically, surviving this trauma has become a source of remorse:

> My coworker [asked], "Have you ever thought of survivor's remorse?" And I had told her, "I've heard of it, but I've never really considered it." And she was like, "That's what you're going through." And it hit me because since I started my working profession, it would creep up on me here and there [when I would see] different people that I know that are on drugs, people I got into trouble with, but they got caught, and I didn't. I experienced a lot of survivor's remorse. The further I get from where I was, that some people I know [have] stayed and are still stuck at, I feel really guilty…. But even though I understand that I was never incarcerated, and I was blessed not to get caught, *I still felt punished by the services I needed*.

Marlo must navigate the tension between surviving despite all the barriers and feeling guilty for doing so. Although she has never experienced formal incarceration, she recognizes how criminalization has negatively impacted her life by denying her access to necessary support services. Her ability to survive physical and sexual abuse, the foster care system, drug addiction, poverty, and school expulsion has left her feeling guilty

126

because so many in her life have been unable to do so. Of course, the opportunity for a different pathway is also shaped by Marlo's ability to escape incarceration.

In sum, even though respondents physically survived past victimization, they struggled emotionally because they had nowhere to turn for support to manage the emotional consequences of long-term interpersonal violence. As a result, many looked to drugs and alcohol, which seemed the only accessible way to cope. The institutional exclusion, punishment, and trauma respondents experienced as they navigated social welfare bureaucracies to get help for their substance abuse issues and past trauma reproduced victimization.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have identified the criminalization of survival strategies as the second mechanism of punishment that distinguishes the criminalization of Chicanas from their Chicano male counterparts. This finding is consistent with the gendered pathways approach, which views interpersonal victimization as a primary determinant of carceral system involvement. However, I contribute a reframing of victimization to consider how criminalization is structural violence that reproduces victimization at the institutional level.

The life histories of the women profiled in this chapter illustrate how Chicanas are twice victimized, once at the interpersonal level and again at the institutional level. Most respondents reported interpersonal victimization by male family members and intimate partners. Two survival strategies—resistance and coping—are discussed, which reflect Chicanas' refusal to participate in their victimization and their constrained options for dealing with emotional trauma associated with interpersonal violence. Chicanas were

revictimized by various institutions traditionally associated with support and protection, such as family, school, social service agencies, the police, and the courts. These institutions criminalized respondents' necessary survival strategies, reproducing harm and prolonging suffering in the process.

Discussing a topic as sensitive as Latina victimization and trauma is a difficult subject to broach. In this chapter, I have attempted to highlight violence as an everyday, multi-level feature for Chicanas while at the same time avoiding the scholarly tendency to reduce them to only victims. However, it would be a disservice to downplay the real threats against Chicana lives. The intersectional criminalization framework allows for a more structural approach to understanding these topics, thereby resisting attributing socially constructed problems to individual and group-level pathologies. Moreover, as an intersectional concept, this framework centers resistance. Too often, we, as social scientists, hyper-focus on oppression. However, if we are genuinely interested in understanding power relations, we must be simultaneously attuned to resistance to systems of domination. Intersectional criminalization theorizes both oppression and resistance.

CHAPTER VI:

UNFIT HYPER-BREEDERS: CONTROLLING IMAGES AND THE

CRIMINALIZATION OF CHICANA SEXUALITY, REPRODUCTION, AND

MOTHERHOOD

"Every [court hearing], I think they read my case and are like, 'Fuck this girl. She's a little dope fiend too, just like all these other Mexican *cholas* from Fresno.'… I hope when this comes out, I'll have a better shot at getting my kids back." (Carmen, 32)

Introduction

Carmen was perhaps the most eager to participate in this study. Like many formerly

incarcerated mothers I interviewed, she lost custody of her children while addicted to

drugs and in and out of jail. Despite several years of sobriety, no further incidents on her

record, and working and going to community college full-time, she, like so many system-

involved mothers in this study, has been unable to reunite with her children. As she states

in the opening excerpt, her past experiences may align with existing stereotypes of

Chicanas as maternally unfit due to suspected criminality. Carmen believes this

stigmatizing discourse adversely affects her chances in family court.

This chapter investigates the role of stereotypes in system-involved Chicanas'

institutional encounters. I find that over the life course, Chicanas confronted three

stereotypical variations of one controlling image that I call the "unfit hyper-breeder." I

argue that the unfit hyper-breeder image exists within and across various institutional

contexts to criminalize Chicana sexuality, reproduction, and motherhood. I show how

Chicanas' life chances are markedly altered when the ideological power that sustains the

unfit hyper-breeder image is expressed through institutional practices. For formerly

129

incarcerated Chicana mothers, the consequences are especially severe, as many attributed negative institutional interactions and outcomes to harmful discourses they believed constrained their abilities to parent their children effectively and made the possibility for redemption nearly impossible.

I begin this chapter by introducing the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image. I show how this image is an evolved version of the images applied to Latina migrant women, drawing on new and historical discourses. Next, I trace stereotypical variants of the unfit hyper-breeder expressed in the education, child welfare, and welfare systems. For example, during adolescence, the "Latina teen mom high school dropout" stereotype negatively impacted Chicanas' educational experiences and opportunities by casting young Chicanas as hypersexual, unintelligent girls who eventually become pregnant and leave school. As adults, system-involved Chicana mothers, like Carmen, confronted the "drug-addicted *chola*" stereotype as they attempted to reunite with their children through the child welfare system. This stereotype depicted respondents as substance-abusing criminal gang members who are obsessed with their *cholos* and are incapable of change. In the welfare system, the "welfare hoe" stereotype rationalized limited access to state-subsidized motherhood based on the belief that participants would spend government aid not on their children but on drugs.

The unfit hyper-breeder image took on different, and sometimes overlapping, contours as Chicanas aged, but all versions shared a focus on Chicanas as sexually promiscuous, reproductively irresponsible, and incompetent mothers who are a drain on societal resources. What is more, the unfit hyper-breeder was an enduring image that had intergenerational effects. Respondents believed criminalization via the unfit hyper-

breeder image shaped their life chances in adverse ways by influencing how various institutional actors perceived them. While participants emphasized the role of stereotypes in shaping their experiences of institutional mistreatment and punishment due to their stigmatized sexualities and motherhood, I discuss how poverty also conditioned these experiences by constraining Chicanas' abilities to advocate for themselves and their families in their institutional interactions.

Despite the influential power of the unfit hyper-breeder image, system-involved Chicana mothers resisted constructions of themselves as bad mothers who are incapable of putting their children's needs above their own. I demonstrate how the parenting strategies Chicana mothers enlist in their encounters with the police minimized their children's exposure to the carceral state and reduced emotional and physical harm. This "decarceral motherwork" (Gurusami 2019) directly challenges the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image. I argue that in the context of criminalized motherhood, respondents' willingness to protect their children at all costs, even when it results in further criminalization, is consistent with socially prescribed ideals governing "good" mothering.

The Unfit Hyper-breeder

As mentioned in Chapter II, controlling images consist of stereotypes that naturalize institutional inequalities by informing attitudes and shaping belief systems at the individual level (Beauboeuf-Lafontant 2009; Collins 2000; Dow 2015; Harris-Perry 2011; Schwalbe et al. 2000). Controlling images mark certain groups as inferior, which justifies unequal and adverse treatment. Thus, controlling images provide ideological justification for the maintenance and reproduction of systems of domination. In this

context, controlling images are important to examine because criminalization relies on threatening imagery (Schneider and Schneider 2008).

Research on controlling images attached to Latina motherhood highlight the experiences of Latina migrant mothers. This line of research finds that Mexican-migrant mothers are overly identified in the mothering role and are viewed as self-sacrificing, dedicated "super mothers" (Andrade 1982; Gutiérrez 2008). However, I find that this image was not applied to the women in this study. Like Black mothers (see Collins 200; Gurusami 2019; Roberts 2002), system-involved Chicanas were constructed as "bad mothers."

The ideological construction of Chicana mothers as "bad" and/or "unfit" is rooted in two historical images. The first image is that of *la mujer mala* (the bad woman), a trope that dates to the Spanish conquest. *La mujer mala* is not a selfless mother figure but a hyper-sexualized, self-seeking woman who is consumed with and lusts after many men (Rincón 1971). The second image is encapsulated by the depiction of Mexican-origin women as "hyper-breeders"—an image first applied to Black women during slavery (see Collins 2000). Women of Mexican descent are viewed as "prolific" and "problematic reproducers" and imagined as women who "breed like rabbits" (Guitérrez 2008). As discussed in Chapter II, historically, conservatives have enlisted the hyper-breeder to justify denying Mexican migrant women legal status and excluding them from social support services—as was the case during California's Proposition 187 campaign— through the criminalization of their reproductive capacities (Escobar 2016; Gutiérrez 2008).

Since the hyper-breeder image is often invoked to exclude Mexican migrant women from the U.S. populace, this image cannot be applied wholesale to the women in this study who, by virtue of their U.S.-born status, cannot be legally deported or denied resources based on citizenship. Instead, these women faced a modified controlling image that takes elements from controlling images associated with criminality and sexual deviance and images related to hyper-fertility to provide new "justifications" for poor treatment by the state and social institutions.

The unfit hyper-breeder modifies and extends the traditional hyper-breeder. For example, the unfit hyper-breeder not only has too many children, but she also has too many children with too many men. This rendition of the hyper-breeder performs the similar task of criminalizing Latina reproduction and sexuality, but unlike the hyper-breeder, which depicts Mexican-origin women as hyper-fertile "baby machines" looking to secure citizenship status and resources through their offspring, the unfit hyper-breeder, like *la mujer mala*, has too many children because she is unable to control her sexual desires and yearnings for male attention. As I will show, respondents encountered the stereotype of hypersexuality and male preoccupation early in life while they were still in school. Additionally, the unfit hyper-breeder ascribes sexual and maternal deviance through criminality, namely through assumed drug abuse and criminal gang membership. The mainstream characterization of *cholas* and "welfare hoes" performs this task by assigning attributes that render Chicanas unfit for motherhood and undeserving of state-sponsored maternal support.

Chicanas' presumed hypersexuality, supposed superior reproductive capacities, and alleged maternal unfitness provide a rationale for their criminalization. The unfit

hyper-breeder controlling image rationalizes institutional exclusion, unfair treatment, and punishment by naturalizing increased surveillance and punitive policies and practices that target Chicanas' racialized, gendered, sexualized, and, in many cases, classed identities. The unfit hyper-breeder controlling image effectively serves to sanction and control Chicanas' bodies and behavior.

Institutionalized Variants of the Unfit Hyper-breeder

School and the "Latina Teen Mom High School Dropout"

As prior research indicates, schools propagate stereotypes of Latina hypersexuality and contribute to the moral panic over Latina teen pregnancy (Bettie 2000; Cherrington and Breheny 2005; García 2009; Rolón-Dow 2004). In my study, respondents' first institutional encounter with the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image occurred in school when they confronted the stereotype of the "Latina teen mom high school dropout." Participants reported that school officials viewed Chicanas as overly sexual, sexually irresponsible, and having little aspirations or utility beyond childrearing. This stereotype negatively shaped their educational experiences and trajectories, which had a lasting impact. Reduced to their sexualities and assumed imminent roles as young mothers, being Chicana was cast as antithetical to being a good student (see Rolón-Dow 2004 for a similar finding on Puerto Rican girls). Consequently, the Latina teen mom high school dropout trope stigmatized Chicana's adolescent sexuality, marginalized their intellect and student roles, and limited their educational opportunities.

Nearly all respondents discussed the Latina teen mom stereotype regardless of motherhood status, system involvement, or sexuality. Rosie is a 26-year-old system-impacted Chicana from Bakersfield. She holds a master's degree in criminology and is

working toward a high school teaching credential at California State University, Bakersfield. Rosie's interest in teaching at the high school level is motivated by her own high school experience, which she describes as unsupportive due to stereotypes concerning the inevitability of Latina teen pregnancy held by school officials. Rosie recalled the following exchange with her high school guidance counselor:

> When I was in high school, I told my counselor, "I want to go to college… but I'm lost." I didn't have the help at home to get to college… so I didn't know how to apply [or how to get] financial aid—none of that. So, I recall [saying to] my counselor, "I want to [go to college]; I just don't know what I am supposed to do." And she didn't make the comment in these words exactly, but she basically said, "Well, you're probably gonna end up getting pregnant." I remember feeling embarrassed, and then I got really angry. I never went back to her for help… So, that stereotype of, "Oh, you're just going to end up getting pregnant, dropping out, and getting married," really followed me in school.

Rosie believed that her guidance counselor was unhelpful because she assumed Rosie, by virtue of being Latina, would eventually become pregnant and drop out of school. Thus, any educational investment into Rosie's future would essentially be a waste of time and resources.

While guidance counselors are tasked with helping students achieve their college goals, for this guidance counselor, racialized, gendered, and sexualized stereotypes of Latinas rendered the possibility of a different future—one where Latinas do not drop out of high school to have babies—unrealistic. Young Latinas generally are not believed to have ambitions beyond having children (Lopez and Chesney-Lind 2014). Although Rosie was not a teen mom, her experiences illustrate how all-encompassing controlling images are: they are equally applied to and shape the experiences of all targeted group members.

Respondents who were teenage mothers were especially vulnerable to these stigmatizing discourses. Lizette is a 30-year-old formerly incarcerated mother from a

small town in San Joaquin County. After becoming pregnant in high school, she enrolled

in an alternative education program for teen mothers to receive more tailored support.

However, Lizette found the program faculty to be less than accommodating. One teacher

told her, "I know all about you Mexican girls from the hood." As Lizette explained, "She

acted like she knew my life. [As if] we [Chicanas] are all the same and only care about

guys." She went on to describe how one negative encounter with this same teacher led

her to drop out of school entirely:

> One day, I missed the bus. I was running late because I had issues with my kid
> that morning. I lived [two towns away]… so I had to find a ride. I was probably
> 30 minutes late. When I walked in, [the teacher] started talking crap, like she
> always did. I was already irritated. I was like, "Dude, fuck! At least I came. I
> could have said "screw this" and not come at all. At least I made an effort to come
> to school." [The teacher] kept talking shit [and] called my mom [to tell her that] I
> cussed her out… [After that], I was like, "I'm tired of this. Fuck you." And then I
> fuckin' walked out of class.

Teachers perceive Latinas as "perpetually at-risk for pregnancy" and sexually deviant

because of Latinx culture (García 2009, p. 536). While Lizette had many hostile

exchanges with this teacher due to this school official's biases against young working-

class Chicanas, this one set her over the edge. Institutional maltreatment often

necessitates protective responses. Even though Lizette's actions may confirm the Latina

teen mom dropout stereotype in the minds of others, stigmatizing narratives operate to

exclude. Her experience further illuminates how even in programs designed to support

the unique needs of student parents, controlling images proliferate to criminalize

Chicanas.

The Latina teen mom high school dropout stereotype was so ubiquitous and taken

for granted that respondents sometimes internalized it. Elena noted how the discourse of

"uneducated Latina teen moms" motivated her to go back to school as an adult after she dropped out when she became pregnant in high school. As she stated, "When I got pregnant, it was the biggest embarrassment for me, so I left school…. But If I'm ever going to survive, I need to get out of the stigma about Latinas [being] the highest population of single parents and that we're uneducated. I don't want to be that. I don't want to be labeled. I'm not going to be a statistic." This stereotype shaped Elena's views towards school, herself, and other Latinas. Equating this stereotype to social death underscores these images' power to constrict Chicanas' life chances.

Part of how controlling images provide ideological justification for institutional-level inequalities and condition life outcomes is by shaping belief systems at the individual level. Controlling images not only shape the way outsiders view group members, but they can also shape the way group members view themselves (Dow 2015). Instead of challenging the legitimacy of these stereotypes or the structural barriers that limit Latinas' educational attainment, Elena focused her energies on not confirming them. For her, controlling images were not ideological tools used to oppress Latinas; they were rooted in reality and treated as fact. Elena asserted:

> I actually have seen more Latina women dropping out of high school because they are teen parents. I am involved with the school district in Stockton, so I know for a *fact* that Mexicans, especially in south side Stockton, have the highest rates of teen pregnancy in school and the highest dropout rates. So, it's not just people stereotyping us and saying bad things about us; *it's actually a fact*.

Elena's perceptions are supported by recent demographic trends in California that indicate Latina teens are more likely to give birth than other racial/ethnic groups and that

the San Joaquin Central Valley has the highest teen birth rates in California.[8] However, these statistics are often harmfully wielded in a way that limits Latinas. Latinas' higher teen pregnancy rates do not justify school officials assuming that all young Latinas will become pregnant. In addition, the higher rates of high school non-completion among teen mothers may be a function of these students being "pushed out" (Morris 2016) of school by teachers and administrators who apply controlling images to these students. Controlling images need not be supported by statistical evidence; they just must be believed to be true and may create the very circumstances they purport to describe. It is easy to understand how harmful stereotypes can be internalized when that is the only message one is receiving.

The image of the uneducated Latina teen mom is enduring and impacted respondents long after their high school experiences. For example, now in graduate school, Rosie still contends with perceptions that equate Latina motherhood with lack of education. She noted that her graduate school community is surprised that she does not have children and revealed, "People don't really believe that I have a master's degree."

Similarly, as an enduring image, this stereotype had intergenerational effects. For example, formerly incarcerated mothers experienced what Dunning Lozano (2018) called "secondary discipline," a form of punishment that occurs when low-income mothers of color are subject to school discipline influenced by racialized, classed, and gendered discourses alongside their children. The teen mom image thus can have a multi-generational impact. For instance, as a parent, Letty felt "judged by the [school] district,

---

[8] http://www.seecalifornia.com/health/teen-pregnancy.html.

teachers, and staff." She attributed this judgment to her intersecting identities as a

formerly incarcerated Chicana mother, which constrained her ability to be involved in her

children's education. She elaborated:

> I am not allowed to attend my children's field trips [or] volunteer in their classes. I think it's because I am judged by my outer appearance. They do fingerprinting and background checks. From my understanding, they are only supposed to look ten years back, and I don't have anything [10 years ago]… They went back 20 years on my background check, probably because I'm Chicana. So, they denied me access to the school campus… That makes me feel like a bad mom, but I'm trying to be there for my kids.

While the stereotype of Latina youth hypersexuality serves as a barrier to educational

attainment, as an adult, this stereotype renders Latina motherhood increasingly criminal.

Letty was subject to a more scrutinized screening process, which she believes was

prompted by her *chola* aesthetic. This increased surveillance prevented her from taking

an active role in her children's education. While Letty wanted to be more involved,

Latina mothers are often viewed as complacent and uncaring because school personnel

perceive them as uneducated and unknowledgeable of how the school system works

(Manzó 2013).

Even though Letty attributed this treatment to stereotyping, her marginalized class

status may have also played a role. For example, when Letty addressed her concerns with

the school district, she was told, "Well, go get [your record] expunged and come back

and talk to us." This was not a viable solution, as Letty did not have the financial means

to do this. As she stated, "I was like, 'Where do you expect me to get all this money to go

do this?' Like if I just had the money to say, 'Here you go—expunge my record now.'"

In sum, the Latina teen mom school dropout stereotype was respondents' first

institutional encounter with the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image. Respondents

reported that school officials perceived young Chicanas as hypersexual, unintelligent girls who inevitably become pregnant and drop out of school. These perceptions shaped Chicanas' educational trajectories, which often lasted well into adulthood.

The Child Welfare System and the "Drug-addicted Chola"

For adult formerly incarcerated Chicana mothers, the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image took the form of the "drug-addicted *chola*." This image had significant repercussions for recovering mothers seeking to reunite with their children through the family court system by rendering them incapable of change due to broader perceptions of Chicanas as pervasive drug users who put the needs of their criminal gang-involved boyfriends before their children. While respondents attributed adverse actions and decisions made by child welfare officials to negative stereotypes of *cholas*, class status also shaped unfair treatment because respondents did not have the financial resources to support their families—a court-ordered requirement—and advocate for themselves and their children in family court.

As previously discussed, in Chicanx culture, the *chola*, like its predecessor, the *pachuca*, often symbolizes strength, empowerment, and resistance to white beauty standards not attainable to Chicanas (Vigil 2008). However, *cholas* are popularly imagined in the mainstream consciousness as violent, drug-addicted criminals who are preoccupied with supporting the criminal habits of their *cholos*. These attributes disqualify *cholas* from being perceived as good mothers in the public's view.

Respondent mothers who lost custody of their children due to drug-related incarceration(s) found that once their parental rights were disrupted, regaining custody was an arduous task that they believed was made even harder by prevailing perceptions

that Chicanas are maternally unfit and incapable of maintaining sobriety. As profiled in the introduction, Carmen lost custody of her children while addicted to methamphetamines. She was also documented as a gang member through her connection to her children's father, her co-defendant in a criminal court case (see Chapter IV). Carmen believed that being labeled a gang member combined with her prior drug conviction worked against her in family court. Recall her earlier assertion: "Every [court date], I think they read my case and are like, 'Fuck this girl. She's a little dope fiend too, just like all these other Mexican *cholas* from Fresno."

Despite five years of sobriety and meeting all court-ordered requirements, Carmen has been unable to prove that she is fit to regain custody of her children. As she explained:

> I've been in and out of family court [for] so long trying to get [my children] back. The judges have changed twice on us… They throw me through all these hoops… Like, "Okay, you want [your children]? Well, do this." I'm like, "I've already done that." But there's no arguing, no talking [back]… They just keep [sending] me to more and more classes; classes [that] I've already done… I've paid for a lawyer to try to get my girls back and nothing. I've shown four and a half years [of] being sober, but I guess that's not enough either… I know it is because of my [history of] drug abuse and them thinking I'm a gang member. It has to be that. I try to tell them that I know that I've fucked up, but I'm better now, so what's it gonna take for me to get custody back? I've done everything under the sun they asked for and more… I've definitely been hurt by family court for not believing I'm capable of being a good enough mother.

Carmen attributes the challenges she confronts in family court to court officials' perceptions of her as a substance-abusing criminal gang member who is incapable of change and thus unfit to have her children back in her custody. She has exhausted all her efforts and resources, including hiring a family law attorney, which is not a negligible expense when you are low income. The anguish of being perceived as incapable of

141

"being a good enough mother" by a court that has the power to reunite and separate families is palpable. Carmen has become increasingly hopeless with each passing year: "I don't think this judgment and punishment will go away… I mean, I pray to God that it will every day… But I don't think it will."

Mothers who have substance abuse issues are often labeled unfit "throwaway moms" due to their failure to meet culturally prescribed ideas about good mothering (Allen et al. 2010). According to Gunn et al. (2018: 497), the label "addict" is an "enduring mark… seen as a permanent condition… When this mark is layered onto motherhood norms, the scope of the stigmatization widens."

Some respondent mothers did identify as *cholas* but knew mainstream characterizations disadvantaged them too in family court. Mayra, who lost custody of her children following a lengthy incarceration on misdemeanor drug-related charges, for instance, stated, "I feel judged because of the way I look, especially [by] CPS and [family] court. They just assume [that] I can't be a good mom because I'm a *chola*… And that is not the case; it's just what they decided about me." Being a *chola* was not incompatible with being a good mother for formerly incarcerated mothers. However, these self-definitions did not match common beliefs that conflate *cholas* with drugs and gangs.

Stereotypes of *cholas* not only ascribe criminality through drug use but also a hypersexualized willingness to do anything for men. Alejandra is a formerly incarcerated Chicana from a small town near Fresno. She has five children with four men and has lost custody of them due to incarcerations stemming from her past drug addiction. Despite working full-time and staying clean and out of prison for the past four years, Alejandra

has been unable to regain custody of her three minor children. When asked why she thought it had been so difficult, she stated, "Because I'm a *chola* [and] I have four baby daddies. Not because I was a hoochie or a hoe or anything, it's just because I didn't feel like being with somebody that was cheating and stuff, so I kept it moving. But the system sees it different, like all I care about is men."

Cholas are depicted as overly sexualized and preoccupied with Latino men—this image, according to Alejandra and other respondents, has material consequences in family court. Even though Alejandra rejected men who mistreated her and may not have been good influences on her children, she is read as fitting the stereotype of the *chola,* who is consumed with her singular desire for male attention. Like *la mujer mala*, she is promiscuous, having had relationships with many men. Cast as hypersexual and reproductively irresponsible, this image depicts Chicanas as unfit because they are supposedly unable and/or unwilling to put their children before men. Although Alejandra did not put men before her children and left troubled relationships, she believes she is punished for being a *chola* who has children with multiple men.

Recalling a strikingly similar experience to Carmen, Alejandra detailed the challenges she has encountered within the child welfare system:

> I went through the whole nine yards [with] CPS. I went through supervised visits, unsupervised visits, and third-party visits. I went to a [drug] program. I did parenting [classes]… But the judge wants me to give it more time to see if I'm going to go back to old ways. He also wants [to see] if I can support [my kids] with my job and without government [assistance].

Family court often requires that parents financially support themselves and their dependent children. This is especially concerning for formerly incarcerated mothers who are often barred from certain types of lucrative jobs (i.e., in healthcare) that would

provide an income to sustain a family (Allard 2002; Bergseth et al. 2011; Richie 2001; Spjeldnes and Goodkind 2009). Additionally, more formerly incarcerated mothers than formerly incarcerated fathers must reestablish a home and family connections upon release (Cobbina and Bender 2012; Severance 2004). Even when one finds a job, the demands of parole or probation and the child welfare system make keeping a job challenging (Johnson 2015) and can itself be a full-time job (Halushka 2020). Thus, the child welfare system places significant barriers on formerly incarcerated mothers of color who are faced with increased surveillance by social welfare agencies as they attempt to reunite with their children and support their families (Gurusami 2019; Lee 2016).

When we last spoke, Alejandra told me her latest custody petition was once again denied. She worries the courts are doing what they did with her oldest two children, that is, essentially waiting until they age out of the system. Like Carmen and Mayra, Alejandra feels the state has labeled her a bad mother beyond redemption. The similarity of these experiences indicates that these perceptions might not just be based on individual experiences and interpretations but instead reveal a larger trend in which stereotypes propagated by the child welfare system criminalize Chicana mothers.

Yet, rather than maternal unfitness, poverty was the real issue for women's struggles to reunite with their children. For instance, had Carmen been able to afford a better family court attorney, had Mayra been able to afford bail so that she would not lose custody of her children while she sat in jail fighting her case, and if Alejandra could find a job that would allow her to support herself and three dependent children, all three women would have stood a better chance at getting their parental rights restored. Thus, structural barriers posed by their marginalized class statuses reinforced the controlling

image of Chicanas as unfit mothers because they did not have the material resources to combat it. As Carmen explained,

> "It's like you get spit out of prison [or] jail, and they're like, "We want you to do good and fix your life." But how are we supposed to do that?... I feel like if I had a lot of money to get a really, really intense lawyer, maybe I could [get custody]. But I don't have that… I have to pay off all these fees for court and child support. Everything that I make goes right back to the fees… I'm sure people just say, "Fuck it" [and] go back to selling drugs or doing whatever. That's crossed my mind lots of times, but I don't want to do that.

Poverty exacerbates the impact of controlling images on poor and working-class Chicana mothers. However, while poverty may condition these women's lives, controlling images—which are not explicitly rooted in material conditions but rather stereotypes— are what respondents emphasized. This is understandable given societal blame placed on system-involved mothers of color for various social ills, which ignores structural issues that contribute to incarceration in the first place, such as the feminization of poverty (Fine and Torre 2006). The criminalization of Chicana motherhood relies in part on the criminalization of poverty and constructions of deservingness. This is explored more next.

The Welfare System and the "Welfare Hoe"

Like the social construction and stigmatization of Black mothers as "welfare queens" during the Reagan era (see, for example, Collins 2000), formerly incarcerated Chicana mothers were criminalized through what they referred to as the "welfare hoe" stereotype in their dealings with welfare state officials. The welfare hoe is a racialized, gendered, sexualized, and classed stereotype that depicts Chicanas as "lazy Mexican" government leeches who have children to obtain welfare assistance but use the money to fuel their drug habits. This image, which often overlapped with the "drug-addicted *chola*"

stereotype, criminalized Chicanas' motherhood, reproduction, and sexualities and aided the construction of Chicana mothers as the undeserving recipients of state support.

Dealing with the welfare system was a stigmatizing experience. Respondents reported difficult interactions with system officials that were reportedly influenced by negative stereotypes. For instance, Carmen said, "I was treated bad [when]I was on the streets. I had two little kids, and I was desperately asking them for some help and [the welfare caseworkers] just treated me like a little welfare hoe." Being stereotyped as a "welfare hoe" meant that need was met with suspicion and often exclusion.

Alicia, Lizette, and Nina, the three friends profiled in Chapter I, also discussed their negative experiences with the welfare system as we sat in Alicia's grandmother's living room. Alicia began: "They're kind of hateful towards us Mexicans. Like, 'Oh, the government is just handing you guys money.'" The belief that people of Mexican descent come to the U.S. to exploit the government's dole was pervasive. Adult Latinas are often stereotyped as having children to secure government assistance and/or citizenship (Chavez 2004). Alicia noted that not only does this narrative negatively shape institutional encounters, but it may also even limit the kinds of benefits Chicana mothers are eligible for but might not receive. For example, "It's the way they look at us… That limits people because they are not going to tell us what we are eligible for."

Just as the controlling image of the welfare queen ascribed crack addiction to Black mothers who received government assistance, the welfare hoe similarly relies on the presumption of substance abuse. This is unsurprising given that deservingness, as a racialized, gendered, and class construct (Escobar 2016), rests on notions of criminal offending. Respondents believed system employees assumed they would spend their

government aid on drugs. As Lizette stated, "I feel like they're looking at me like, 'Oh, she's just gonna use the money on drugs' even though I completed a [drug] program and… had to give them a certificate of [my completion as proof]. I don't even qualify for myself, [it's] for my kids." In 2015, California extended its CalWorks (cash aid) and CalFresh (food stamps) programs to include people with prior drug convictions; however, this support is often only for their dependent children. As a result, many study participants were barred in whole or in part from receiving government assistance. Despite widespread welfare ineligibility among participants, the stereotype of the welfare exploiter was enduring.

Even Chicana mothers who had no history of substance abuse encountered the welfare hoe stereotype. For example, unlike Lizette and Nina, Alicia does not have prior drug convictions on her record yet reported similar stigmatizing treatment. When asked why she thought she was viewed as a drug addict despite not having a history of substance abuse, Alicia responded succinctly, "Because I'm Mexican." The conflation of poor Mexican-origin mothers with drug addiction justifies their institutional exclusion from state-subsidized motherhood. This conflation did not go unchallenged. As Alicia asserted:

> "It's just because we are Mexican that a lot of people think, 'Oh, they're just on drugs.' Well, that's not always necessarily the case. It's because you're at home because you have nobody to watch your kids. It's because I'm broke. I can't find a job. I also don't have no car to get to a job. You're dealing with all these obstacles, you know?

Alicia articulates a structural-level analysis. The "obstacles" she mentions, such as affordable childcare, lack of transportation, and employment bars against formerly incarcerated people, contribute to the challenges of escaping poverty. However,

147

controlling images operating at the micro-level invisibilize systematic oppressions at the macro-level. By blaming poverty on individual-level behaviors, such as actual or alleged substance abuse, structural root causes and the ideological discourses that justify them go unnoticed. In this way, poverty helps to substantiate the application of controlling images while ignoring structural issues.

Like the *chola* stereotype, the welfare hoe also attributes sexual deviance. Chicanas on welfare were viewed as hypersexual and reproductively irresponsible because they could not control themselves. Some respondents were viewed as sex workers using government aid to supplement income from their line of work. For example, though not formerly incarcerated or a welfare recipient, Marlo has had to intervene on behalf of her formerly incarcerated sister, whose welfare caseworker believed she was engaged in sex work in her home. As she stated:

> My sister constantly gets harassed by her [case]worker because she's Chicana and a single mom. That worker insists that [my sister is] committing fraud… [The caseworker] is a Caucasian woman, [so] I felt that there was race involved. Spontaneously having agency workers go to my sister's house to see if there were any male individuals there… They're not supposed to do that…I was completely uncomfortable with it, so I reached out to the [caseworker] and just kind of said, "Do we need to have a discussion because that's harassment."

Marlo's sister is viewed with suspicion by her caseworker. The illegal surveillance she is subject to is reminiscent of "midnight raid" practices[9] ruled unconstitutional in the 1960s. As a human resource professional, Marlo uses her social capital to advocate for her sister. However, most respondents did not have access to this kind of support.

---

[9] Midnight raids were unannounced inspections of welfare recipients' homes that often occurred in the middle of the night. If a man was found in the home, the recipient mother lost her welfare support, regardless of her relationship with the man (Reich 1963).

To summarize, formerly incarcerated mothers encountered the stereotype of the welfare hoe as they navigated the welfare system. This image constructed Chicanas as the undeserving recipients of state-subsidized maternal support through ascribed sexual and maternal deviance and criminality. Respondents were perceived as drug addicts and sexworkers who steal hard-earned taxpayer dollars.

The fact that participants encountered a version of the unfit hyper-breeder across multiple institutions is evidence of their subjugation across many aspects of their lives. Marlo fittingly described it as "an injustice system [that is] made up of many different systems." Mousie provided an apt illustration of this system interconnectedness based on her own experience:

> I can't get a job because I get judged and, at the same time, the system gots you where they want you. They fuckin' run me in circles. Welfare wants you to "expand' but Housing [Authority] don't want me to go to school. I was enrolled in school, and they made me drop out because I didn't get a job. Welfare is connected with [HA], and they both want you to stay fuckin' living poor. You can't go to school [because] you have to work. Bitch, I can't get a job, and the school pays for us to go to school, so why the fuck can't I get a career? They don't want to see us [in school]. They want us where they want us, and it's a cycle to keep us poor.

References to "hoops," "cycles," and "circles" were commonly used. Navigating this overlapping web of welfare bureaucracies is what Halushka (2020) refers to as the "runaround," which is tremendously stressful, breeds distrust of state actors, and may even precipitate recidivism. Mousie refers to it as "a cycle to keep us poor" precipitated by judgment against Chicana mothers.

But Mousie's remarks also go beyond her own experience and illustrate how the system traps disadvantaged people, which sometimes leads to feelings of hopelessness and apathy. When asked where she thought she would be in five years, Mousie

responded, "I don't know... All I do is just get judged [when] people don't know my fuckin' situation. I'm not given a chance... So, I'll probably be in the same situation—still on welfare and fuckin' struggling to make it."

Resisting the Unfit Hyper-breeder Through Decarceral Motherwork

Motherhood is not a shield against criminalization; rather, it may be the very thing by which Chicanas find themselves criminalized. Nowhere were the material consequences of this criminalization more consequential than in respondents' encounters with the criminal justice system. In this section, I detail the particularly traumatizing experience of being arrested in front of one's children to show how, in the context of criminalized motherhood, Chicana mothers adopted strategies to protect their children from the collateral consequences of criminalization. Efforts to reduce state harm, threats of child custody loss, and/or the potential that their children would become criminalized during police encounters challenge the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image. The maternal labor Chicana mothers undertake in the face of state restriction and hyper-surveillance, and their motivations for doing so, signify parenting practices that are in line with the socially prescribed model of intensive mothering but are often criminalized because they are read as confirming stereotypes of maternal incompetence.

These findings are consistent with previous research on formerly incarcerated Black mothers who, despite and/or in response to constructions of themselves as "bad" mothers, labor to protect their children from overlapping sources of state violence even at the expense of further maternal criminalization. For example, Susila Gurusami (2019) finds that despite constructions of formerly incarcerated Black mothers as neglectful due to separation from their children, participants respond to controlling images precisely to

protect their children from state violence. However, their maternal strategies placed them in deeper conflict with the state. Gurusami uncovers a "spillover" effect in which prisons reproduce criminality after Black mothers are released from prison. The criminalization of Black mothering justifies state intervention and constrains their parenting.

I enlist Gurusami's (2019) concept of "decarceral motherwork" to situate my findings on the parenting strategies that formerly incarcerated Chicana mothers enlist to protect their children from state harm, challenging prevailing perceptions of maternal unfitness in the process. In her study, Gurusami (2019) introduces a typology of three parenting strategies that constitute "decarceral motherwork." These strategies include *collective motherwork,* in which information, resources, and childcare are shared amongst a community of formerly incarcerated Black mothers; *hypervigilant motherwork*, which involves shielding children from the state and strangers at all times; and *crisis motherwork*, which includes the labor Black mothers undertake to protect their children from an immediate threat to child custody or reunification.

Decarceral motherwork challenges the reduction of formerly incarcerated Black mothers to their criminal histories and, as Gurusami (2019) puts it:

> [Is] a creative and ingenious form of intensive mothering by formerly incarcerated Black women used to cultivate their children's well-being under conditions of extreme precarity… decarceral motherwork emerges from this tradition as a set of survival and resistance strategies to the everyday policing of Black motherhood, in which carceral ties act as the state's justification for pervasive surveillance and intervention. Therefore, *when formerly incarcerated Black women engage in decarceral motherwork, they destabilize controlling images of Black motherhood as a form of gender-racialized anti-carceral labor*" (2019: 139; emphasis mine).

The maternal labor of formerly incarcerated Chicana mothers is a response to the criminalization of Chicana motherhood and how they resisted institutionalized labels of

maternal unfitness. This labor is also consistent with what Grace Gámez (2019) called

"fierce mothering." According to Gámez (2019:78):

> Fierce mothering stands in opposition to, and in spite of, state constructions of good and bad mothers. It is an articulation of feminism that arises from lived experience. Mothers who are formerly incarcerated or convicted frequently perform their roles in between a rock and a hard place. Moments of nonchoice characterize their lives, and at tender junctures in their mother roles, they often make impossible decisions. Fierce mothering is characterized by those impossible choices and agonizing dilemmas through which mothers see their authority, expertise, and analysis evolve and sharpen. Fierce mothers redefine commonsense notions surrounding justice, rights, freedom, and the institution of motherhood.

I use the decarceral motherwork and fierce mothering frameworks to make sense of

Chicanas' parenting strategies during police encounters when their choices are

constrained by carceral forces outside their control. Specifically, I identify two parenting

strategies participants employed that are consistent with the decarceral motherwork

framework: crisis motherwork and hypervigilant motherwork.

Crisis Motherwork

When asked how the criminal justice system has impacted their lives, nearly all formerly

incarcerated mothers first mentioned the impact on their children. Children not only

experienced separation from their mothers because of incarceration, but many also

witnessed them being arrested and taken away by the police. This was described as a

traumatic experience for both the child(ren) and the mother. Due to heightened state

surveillance, being arrested in front of one's children was common for participants,

which posed an increased risk that CPS would get involved and remove the children from

the home. In response to the threat of state intervention and to minimize emotional harm

inflicted on their children, formerly incarcerated mothers adopted the strategy of

compliance in their police interactions. Compliance is a form of crisis motherwork that

involves obeying police demands to end carceral encounters as quickly as possible and with the least amount of collateral damage.

Mousie reportedly confessed to a crime that she did not commit to minimize the risk of CPS involvement and mitigate the emotional trauma inflicted on her children caused by witnessing their mother be handcuffed and taken away by the police. Recalling her last arrest, Mousie stated:

> My kids saw me being arrested because the cops followed me down the street as I dropped them off. I lied to the cops telling them I sold something when I didn't even sell it. I had nothing to do with it… I just wanted to take the wrap because I didn't want the cops on my fuckin' yard, talking to my kids. I don't want them investigating shit, looking into shit, and taking my kids. I just went [with the police]. And, yeah, my kids had to watch me get arrested.

Compliance, in this case, was not an admission of guilt, as Mousie was not guilty of committing a crime, but rather a strategy to protect her children and maintain custody. Her actions do not comport with mainstream depictions of Chicanas as "bad mothers." On the contrary, protecting children at all costs is consistent with societal prescriptions of competent parenting and is perhaps the ultimate confirmation of the "self-sacrificing mother." According to Mitchell and Davis (2019), the willingness to break the law and sacrifice personal freedom to ensure the well-being of one's children "exemplifies the essence of motherhood" (p. 430). Interfering with the law so that children would not become involved in the system was a necessary aspect of childrearing.

Compliance also mitigated the emotional toll on the mothers themselves. Being arrested in front of one's children was a painful experience tinged with guilt, even when no crime was committed. Respondents reported feeling helpless as an arrest constrained

their abilities to protect their children. The following exchange between Nina and Lizette underscores this emotional toll:

> Nina: The worst thing is getting arrested in front of your kids… My kids were crying. I was like, "Oh my God. I don't know what to say or what to do." I'm crying, like what the fuck do I do? I'm glad my mom was there, so CPS didn't come.
>
> Lizette: [When] my kids were there, [the police] already had me in the back of a police car, and [my kids] were all like, "Bye, mom!" I cried… It's like you don't want your kids to see… It makes me feel like shit.
>
> Nina: My kids are used to it now.
>
> Lizette: Yeah, well, my kids are used to it too.
>
> Nina: I just want to get it over with fast.
>
> Lizette: Me too.

Like Mousie, Nina and Lizette expressed a desire to end police encounters quickly to reduce harm to their children. Nina even expressed gratitude that her mother was present so that CPS would not have to get involved. But the two mothers also attempted to reduce emotional harm to themselves. Both women experienced sadness and guilt over their children witnessing their arrests, an occurrence so common that it may have become normalized in the minds of their children. In this way, crisis motherwork may be a strategy to reduce harm to children and the entire family unit.

Furthermore, mothers passed on the compliance strategy to their children to teach them how to navigate police encounters in a way that avoids criminalization and bodily harm. Letty worried that the criminalization she experienced through police hyper-surveillance was being transferred to her teenage daughter. Recalling a recent incident, she stated:

[My daughter] and I went to 7/11… I got pulled over in the parking lot [by] a white female officer. She turned around and started yelling at my daughter. I looked at [my daughter], and I was like, "Just shut up, just shut up." … But the cop still threatened to pull her out [of] the car and arrest her. And I was just like, "Wait a minute. My daughter's not even doing anything. She's a child." White cops are pricks that like to mess with you. [The police officer] was real quick to jump down my daughter's throat… That one scared me because she had the authority and could abuse it.

Modeling compliance is a survival strategy that formerly incarcerated Chicana mothers pass on to their children, who are also hyper-policed (see Rios 2011). Although Letty knows that there is often little one can do to de-escalate potentially violent carceral encounters, she teaches her daughter compliance to protect herself against criminalization or worse.

Part of the reason why mothers were quick to comply with the police is that, as we saw in Chapter V, resistance is criminalized and met with severe punishment and state violence. For participant mothers, the biggest threat was the loss of child custody. Luna was exposed to this threat when she refused to comply with police efforts to incriminate her ex-husband. Recall her earlier statement: "They wanted to arrest me and take my kids to CPS…They were trying to intimidate me, driving alongside me while I am pushing a fricking stroller."

Non-compliance opened Luna's home life to more surveillance and stricter scrutiny, the very things Mousie, Nina, and Lizette attempted to avoid. On multiple occasions, police showed up at Luna's residence on the pretense that they had received a domestic disturbance call and were conducting a welfare check, giving them entry into her home without requiring a warrant. Luna eventually went to talk to the police sergeant about the harassment, but this only made matters worse. According to Luna, "They were

trying to mess with me and retaliate against me. I didn't even make a formal complaint. I was just asking to be left the hell alone."

Police continued to show up at Luna's home, and she was eventually arrested during a "wellness check" while her son was present. Describing the encounter, Luna said:

> They were calling me a "fucking bitch" and a "fucking gang member," and my son was there in his room. I got up to assert myself because one of the cops went inside his room and closed the door. I flipped the fucked out. I was like, "Get out of there! Don't talk to my kid; he's only 7." I don't know what the fuck he could be doing to my son… The white cop came from across my dining room, threw me against the wall, and slammed me onto my coffee table. I swear I thought he broke my back. I couldn't breathe… I was like, "I'm filing a fucking complaint." And then [another cop] told me, "I'll call CPS right now."

The stereotype of Chicanas as gang members permeated this encounter and may have justified police harassment and brutality, as well as the threat of loss of custody, in the minds of the officers. This incident illustrates why system-involved mothers would want to comply with the police, even if they are not guilty of wrongdoing. Resistance to the carceral state often exacerbates the trauma it inflicts on children. On the other hand, compliance was a strategy to protect children while also resisting images of Chicanas as bad mothers.

Hypervigilant Motherwork

Respondents employed hypervigilant mothering by shielding their children from and/or limiting their exposure to the police to reduce the likelihood that they would also become criminalized. They did so by not allowing their children to play outside for fear that police would stop and question them. Keeping children inside was a way formerly incarcerated respondent mothers could maintain a watchful eye and protect their children.

Research on Black mothers uncovers a similar parenting strategy. For example, Elliott and Reid (2019) find that Black mothers calibrate their parenting strategies around fears that they and their children will become criminalized by the police and thus exposed to a greater risk of losing custody of their children. As a result, they "shelter" their children by monitoring and restricting their activities (see also Mitchell and Davis 2019). Examining the criminalization of Black childhood through the subordination of Black motherhood, the authors develop the concept of "family criminalization" to capture how criminalization is both a fear and reality that permeates life for Black mothers and their children. My study also finds that Chicana mothers labor to protect their children from becoming criminalized by monitoring and restricting their movement.

Other mothers took more drastic measures. Luna started homeschooling her son after police began targeting him at school because of her activism in the community. When a police officer told Luna's son that he had "an eye on" him at a city council meeting, she decided to take her son out of the public education system.

> That really fucked me up as a mom—being told, "We got a fricking eye on you."… I got [my son] out of there… He was being targeted at school because of the work that I was doing… He feels like he don't have no peace when he goes somewhere, like somebody's watching him. That's not normal. My son don't be out here doing drugs, running the streets… I homeschool my kids now.

To protect her son's physical and emotional well-being, Luna eliminated contact with criminalizing institutions. Marginalized mothers know that compliance and simply doing the "right" thing is not enough to ward off criminalization (Elliott and Reid 2019). When compliance was not enough, physically limiting movement was the only way to ensure their children would not become criminalized. Since the carceral state permeates most

social institutions, this strategy could involve restricting children's involvement with all institutional forces.

Chicanas' decarceral motherwork was a way for system-involved respondent mothers to protect their children at any cost. The strategies of crisis and hypervigilant motherwork demonstrate an adherence to the model of intensive mothering and are in line with hegemonic notions concerning "good" mothering. Though denied access to this cultural ideal, respondents' decarceral motherwork challenges the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image. While the unfit hyper-breeder depicts Chicana mothers as unable and unwilling to put their children before themselves, I found that Chicana mothers did everything in their power to protect their children and put their needs first, even if it resulted in further criminalization for themselves.

Conclusion

The criminalization of Chicana sexuality, reproduction, and motherhood is the third mechanism of punishment that differentiates Chicanas' criminalized experiences from their male counterparts. This chapter identified the role of a controlling image that I call the unfit hyper-breeder operating at the institutional level, which serves as an ideological justification for the institutional mistreatment, exclusion, and punishment of Chicanas. The unfit hyper-breeder ascribes maternal, reproductive, and sexual deviance through three distinct, but at times overlapping, racialized, gendered, and sexualized stereotypes. I demonstrate how, as Chicanas aged into adulthood, these images evolved and the consequences of such harmful tropes became more consequential.

Chicanas first encountered the unfit hyper-breeder in school through the "Latina teen mom high school dropout" stereotype. Respondents reported that school officials

viewed them as uneducable due to their perceived hyper-sexuality and aspirations toward

motherhood. This finding supports previous research on Latina adolescent sexuality,

which demonstrates that racialized gendered stereotypes limit educational access,

reinforce disadvantage, and uphold the supposed superiority of white, middle-class

femininity (García 2012; Rolón-Dow 2004). The Latina teen mom dropout stereotype

casts young Chicanas as incapable of succeeding in school while simultaneously

legitimizing school practices that exclude and/or discourage them from receiving an

education.

For adult formerly incarcerated mothers seeking to reunite with their children

through the family court system, the image of the "drug-addicted *chola*" was said to have

played a role in shaping the challenges they confronted while navigating the child welfare

system. Respondents believed mainstream depictions of *cholas* as substance-abusing,

cholo-obsessed criminals worked against them by constructing Chicanas as unfit and

incapable of sobriety and redemption. Additionally, participants attributed the "welfare

hoe" stereotype to their exclusion from state-subsidized motherhood. Participants

suggested institutional mistreatment and exclusion was premised on the notion held by

welfare caseworkers that Chicanas are reproductively irresponsible and exploit their

children and the welfare system to fund their drug habits.

While the unfit hyper-breeder took many forms, each served to stigmatize,

marginalize, punish, control, and/or exclude Chicanas' bodies, sexualities, and

motherhood roles. Though this "common sense" or "mainstream" characterization is

perhaps not surprising, given the salience and power of controlling images to permeate

our collective U.S. shared consciousness, such images do not capture completely or

accurately the lived experiences of Chicana mothers or their roles within families and communities. What is more, while participants emphasized the role of stereotypes and their consequences, I further demonstrate how poverty conditions these women's lives. Respondents' marginalized class statuses constrained their abilities to resist harmful discourses and advocate for themselves and their families in their institutional interactions.

Despite the influential power of the unfit hyper-breeder to define Mexican-origin women as sexually deviant, reproductively irresponsible, and maternally unfit, Chicanas' mothering strategies challenge these depictions. System-involved Chicana mothers' ability to parent is constrained by the unconstrained carceral system, which infiltrates family life within the "private sphere" of the household—a site where perhaps the harshest collateral consequences of the criminalization are meted out upon Chicana mothers and their families. In this context, I show how Chicanas adopt mothering strategies to protect their children from state violence, minimize trauma, and reduce the possibility that their children would also become criminalized during police encounters. Respondents enlist two strategies that included complying with police demands, regardless of whether they committed wrongdoing, and teaching their children to do the same as a means of ending police encounters as quickly and safely as possible. However, compliance is not a perfect safeguard against criminalization. For this reason, some mothers took more extreme measures by sheltering or restricting their children's activities to protect them from or limit their institutional encounters. Taken together, this "decarceral motherwork" (Gurusami 2019) resists the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image that depicts Chicanas as unable or unwilling to be good mothers. On the contrary,

this maternal labor signals Chicanas' willingness to do anything to protect their children, regardless of the consequences to themselves, and is consistent with conventional "good" mothering norms.

CHAPTER VII:

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

"It always goes back to our schooling. It would have made a big difference, you
know? Our lives could have been completely different. We could have been on
that couch, and you could have been on this one." -Alicia, 32

When I began this research six years ago, I had no idea the challenges ahead.

Recruitment issues, lack of support, personal hardships, and a global pandemic, among

other obstacles, have each made this project seem too hard at times. However, Alicia's

words in the above excerpt provide a much-needed reminder that while this work on

criminalization may be difficult sometimes, it pales in comparison to the women who

must live it every day. In this final chapter, I summarize this dissertation's findings,

outline its contributions to the literature, identify theoretical limitations and avenues for

future research, detail broader implications, and end with a discussion on policy

recommendations.

Summary of Research Findings

In this dissertation, I sought to answer the following research questions: 1) How do race,

gender, and sexuality, as distinct and intersecting dimensions of identity and systems of

oppression, combine to shape the criminalization of Chicanas at the level of the

individual, community, and institution? 2) How is criminalization, as a concept and

process, necessarily reconfigured by an intersectional approach?

I argue that criminalization is a multi-level, racialized, gendered, and sexualized

process and experience reflected in everyday interactions, reproduced in social

institutions, and embodied in wider systems of white supremacy and hetero-patriarchy.

162

My concept, intersectional criminalization, captures this process and helps us to better understand how these intersections condition criminalization and reproduce inequality for previously unaccounted groups. The mainstream racialized criminalization framework conflates criminalization with the racialized experiences of boys and men of color and does not fully capture or differentiate the criminalized experiences of girls and women of color. Moreover, conceiving criminalization as solely a process of racialization ignores other identities through which race is experienced, namely gender and sexuality. Approaches that do not take gender and sexuality into consideration and/or are designed to explain the criminalized experiences of men and boys cannot be merely extrapolated onto system-involved Latinas. Doing so runs the risk of masking crucial processes and structural-level forces that perpetuate systems of domination and uphold the carceral state.

Enlisting the more comprehensive intersectional criminalization framework, findings revealed three unique processes or mechanisms of punishment by which Chicanas were criminalized. First, I found that Chicanas' relational ties to Latino male relatives, peers, and heterosexual partners can drive criminalization. This finding contrasts sharply with prior research that suggests young men of color may avoid criminalization through their gendered and sexualized relationships with young women of color. This strategy was not available to study participants. In fact, interpersonal relationships with Latino men and boys *exacerbated* criminalization. Specifically, racialized, gendered, and heteronormative assumptions about the supportive role Latinas play in their interpersonal relationships conditioned their experiences of criminalization over the life course.

I identify a life course trajectory where familial ties to justice- and gang-involved men criminalized young Chicanas in school. During adolescence, relationships with Latino male peers played a more contributing role. Finally, during adulthood, relationships with Latino heterosexual partners solidified respondents' institutionalized identities as "criminals." Chicanas navigated criminalization through Latino men and boys by either downplaying their criminalized experiences or distancing themselves from their criminalized male loved ones. However, both strategies levied a hefty cost on Chicanas' well-being.

Second, I find that Chicanas' reasonable responses to gendered and sexualized interpersonal violence were criminalized by institutions traditionally associated with support and protection, such as schools, social service agencies, and the police. I argue that when the state criminalizes survivors who attempt to resist and/or cope with interpersonal violence, it inflicts its own harm by (re)producing and prolonging suffering. Thus, as a multi-institutional-level process, criminalization is a form of structural violence. The life histories of respondent survivors demonstrate a cycle whereby interpersonal violence gets transformed into institutional violence when Chicanas are punished for surviving abuse because they are viewed as the perpetrators, and not the victims, of violence. This results in Chicanas being "twice-victimized"—once in their interpersonal relationships and then again in their institutional encounters.

Finally, Chicanas are criminalized through a controlling image that I call the "unfit hyper-breeder," which targets Chicana sexuality, reproduction, and motherhood. I trace three institutionalized variants of the unfit hyper-breeder over the life course to show how system-involved Chicanas' life chances are adversely affected when

164

stigmatizing discourses are shaped and expressed through institutional practices. For example, respondents encountered the "Latina teen mom high school dropout" stereotype while they were in school. This image casts young Chicanas as incapable of succeeding in school—while at the same time legitimizing school practices that exclude and/or discourage Latinas from receiving an education—due to the presumed inevitability of Latina teen pregnancy held by school officials. As adults, formerly incarcerated Chicana mothers encountered the "drug-addicted *chola*," a stereotype based on mainstream portrayals of *cholas* as overtly sexual, substance-abusing criminal gang members. Respondents believed the proliferation of this image negatively impacted their chances of reuniting with their children through the family court system by rendering them maternally unfit and incapable of redemption in the minds of child welfare officials. The third variant is the "welfare hoe" stereotype, which depicts Chicanas as lazy, reproductively irresponsible mothers who exploit their children and the system and use government support to fund their supposed drug habits.

Despite the ideological power of the unfit hyper-breeder image to legitimize and perpetuate institutional inequalities, formerly incarcerated Chicanas mothers resisted constructions of themselves as "bad" and/or "unfit" mothers. I find that during their encounters with the police, participant mothers enlisted parenting strategies to protect their children from state violence and reduce the possibility that their children would also become criminalized—often at great cost to themselves. This "decarceral motherwork" (Gurusami 2019) involved complying with police commands, even when no crime was committed, and restricting children's institutional encounters. Formerly incarcerated Chicana mothers' willingness to protect their children at all costs, even when that meant

further punishment for themselves, resists the unfit hyper-breeder controlling image and is consistent with socially prescribed notions concerning "good" mothering.

Taken together, I find system-involved Chicanas are criminalized through their interpersonal relationships, survival strategies, and sexuality and motherhood roles. Thus, the intersectional criminalization framework identifies unique processes and conditions that differentiate the criminalization of Chicanas from their Chicano male counterparts. Ultimately, this broader framework has greater utility in examining and understanding criminalization than single-axis frameworks.

Significance of Research

My dissertation research advances criminalization scholarship in a few ways. First, my research demonstrates the need for intersectional frameworks in criminalization scholarship. My theoretical contribution, intersectional criminalization, reconceptualizes criminalization as a simultaneously racialized, gendered, and sexualized process and experience. Criminalization research centers the experiences of boys and men of color, and, in doing so, criminalization is conceived as only a racialized process. Without attention to other axes of oppression, the way in which criminalization is understood and applied reveals only part of the story. Intersectional criminalization decenters the emphasis on race by attending to how intersecting identities and interconnected systems of oppression shape criminalization. My work pushes scholars to think about how gender and sexuality—as an additional social group formation along with race—condition Chicanas' experiences of criminalization.

Second, by enlisting an intersectional framework—an inherently relational theory—my work demonstrates the importance of relationships in mediating

criminalization. This is a unique contribution that expands Rios's work explicitly by identifying how interpersonal relationships, and societal expectations governing those relationships, are used by institutional actors (e.g., teachers, police, social welfare caseworkers) to criminalize Chicanas specifically. This is not a pattern observed or discussed by scholars who focus on Latino men and boys.

Third, this work advances research on system-involved women of color to reconsider the role of victimization in criminalization processes. While the "criminalization of survival" is not a new revelation, I build on a long tradition of feminist of color scholarship by centering violence against Chicanas and suggesting that criminalization is itself a form of violence that inflicts intergenerational harm on multiply marginalized social groups. This reconceptualization shifts the focus from "criminal offending," as advanced by the gendered pathways approach, to considering how rational responses to violence are criminalized.

Finally, I focus on an understudied group – Chicanas – whose incarceration rates have increased faster than any other group in the United States. Latinas generally, and Chicanas specifically, fall through the scholarly cracks between the more perceived differences between Black and white girls and women on the one hand, and Latino men and boys on the other. Likewise, the conflation of citizenship status and nationality in criminalization scholarship on Latina migrant women invisiblizes Chicanas. Chicanas' experiences are not fully explained by Latino men, Black women, or Latina migrant women due to differences in racialization.

By centering the analysis on U.S.-born Mexican American women, this research reveals unique discursive strategies that justify and perpetuate criminalization. For

example, research on controlling images of Latinas highlights Latina migrant women's experiences. The "hyper-breeder" image overly identifies Latinas in the mothering role and has been enlisted to exclude Latina migrant women from U.S. citizenship and government resources. However, the Latina migrant "super mother" figure was not an image applied to the women in this study. Instead, I found they encountered a modified version of the hyper-breeder controlling image, which draws on elements associated with Chicanx criminality, hypersexuality, and hyperfertility. The controlling image of the "unfit hyper-breeder" is an adapted version of the images applied to Latina migrant women, as those images could not be applied wholesale to Chicanas due to their U.S.-born status. Thus, this study uncovers important nuances that shape criminalization for a group whose experiences are often homogenized under the broad category of "Latina."

Study Limitations and Future Research

While this is the first study of its kind to focus on the criminalization of formerly incarcerated and system-impacted Chicanas living in a rural context, there are several research limitations. Aside from the methodological limitations detailed in Chapter III concerning sample size and the underrepresentation of system-impacted respondents compared to formerly incarcerated respondents due to the COVID-19 global pandemic, there are also some theoretical limitations worthy of mention. For example, this study foregrounds race, gender, and sexuality, often leaving other points of intersection undertheorized, namely class and citizenship status. In terms of class, the study's sample is homogenous. To the degree that it is analyzed, social class is contextualized in other factors, such as race and place, that describe the research setting and respondents (i.e.,

poor, rural Latinx communities). Future research should pay more attention to how class status shapes criminalization processes and experiences.

Similarly, while all participants were U.S.-born citizens, their citizenship status was often questioned and likely contributed to whether they would be watched and/or disciplined in the first place. Despite being "documented," participants were inscribed with the mark of illegality. Settler colonialism, strengthened by white nationalist ideology, renders all Brown people—irrespective of indigeneity—as unwelcome "foreigners" who come to the U.S. illegally to extract unearned resources. Future research should carefully consider how citizenship status and the systems of "imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (hooks 2000) shape criminalization for both documented and undocumented Latinxs.

Moreover, by situating this study in the context of California's Central Valley, I sought to understand how criminalization was shaped by geographic location. Specifically, I wanted to understand how rurality and the historical legacy of rural white supremacy contextualize the everyday criminalized experiences of my respondents. While I understood early on the importance of centering my respondents' voices, it also became apparent that to answer these questions concerning criminalization and place, I would need to employ other methods, as these questions could not be addressed with life-history interviews alone. Unfortunately, a mixed-methods study was beyond the scope of this dissertation project.

The Central Valley is a product of multiple systems of oppression converging in one place. It is precisely because of who lives here that severe and persistent inequalities are allowed to continue. Time and resource constraints prevented a deeper exploration of

these ideas. However, a second book project will examine the historical legacy of racial capitalism in California's Central Valley. This next project builds off my first book by contextualizing the everyday criminalized experiences of my previous respondents by providing a clearer picture of the historical macro-level forces that created the conditions for intersectional criminalization. Drawing on archival data, such as newspapers, legal documents, and other historical records, I will trace how the system of racial capitalism, as expressed through struggles over land, water, and labor, have shaped the socio-political landscape of the region, rendering it a prime target of the carceral state.

Broader Implications

My research contributes an intersectional, multi-level approach to understanding social inequality, especially as it impacts Latinx communities. The study findings are critical and timely. Latinas' incarceration rates are outpacing their racially marginalized counterparts. Social scientists must be attuned to the multi-institutional processes that criminalize Latinas and disproportionately fast-track them into the criminal justice system.

Findings similarly point to structural-level explanations of criminalization. My work reveals how various institutions, such as schools, the police, the courts, and social services, disadvantage, exclude, and punish multiply marginalized bodies. Attending to how those intersections reinforce wider systems of oppression not only allows for a more nuanced understanding of structural inequities but also allows for uncovering more equitable and inclusive solutions that are in service of social justice.

My research has implications beyond scholarship and may contribute more broadly to systemic change. As an "intellectual activist project" (Romero 2018),

intersectionality does not attempt to merely explain intersecting oppressions but is "an important intervention strategy for doing social justice work" (Collins and Bilge 2020: 50). Next, I discuss how an intersectional criminalization framing can inform social policy and benefit system-involved communities.

Policy and Other Recommendations

"Everybody wants to know the struggle, but nobody wants to help." (Anita, 30)

At the end of each interview, study respondents were asked what they thought could be done to help support system-involved Chicanas living in the Central Valley. All interviewees mentioned the crucial need for accessible, affordable, and gender-responsive supportive programming and resources. Suggestions included free mental health and substance abuse counseling and treatment, access to safe housing and shelters, job training and placement, free GED programming, family reunification assistance, and childcare. The most cited suggestion was residential substance abuse recovery facilities that allowed children to accompany their mothers while in treatment.

The need for more resources is not surprising given the resource-poor regional context. Personally, I could not locate any gender-responsive supports for system-involved women and girls during recruitment for this study. The general supports that exist are often inaccessible, inadequate, unaccommodating, unsafe, and/or unaffordable. Alicia encapsulated these institutionalized barriers best:

> When I was in jail, [I heard about] different programs for when you get out, but they make it hard for you if you're a woman. Like [this one program that caters to men] wouldn't even talk to me… [Lack of] transportation is a big issue too. We need programs here in [town], but they are all in Stockton. It doesn't matter if there's programs out there that help, you have to be able to get to them. We also need more programs for women because these programs are all for the men. So, it's challenging, especially when you got kids and no car and don't have no

money. Even to get your GED, you have to have money [baby crying]. It's like, what do you do? Some programs want you to put in so many hours before they even help you. Like there's a Housing program that will pay part of your rent, but you have to stay at the shelter first. I don't feel comfortable staying in no shelter because I got two little ones. They put so many standards on these opportunities. And if there are programs, they're not being advertised. You have to do all the footwork, your own research, which is hard when you don't have a car, phone, or computer. They make it hard, and it gets discouraging. We just need help, you know?

The Central Valley is in desperate need of comprehensive, gender- and culturally-responsive supportive infrastructure. Not having access to institutionalized supports poses significant barriers for system-involved Chicanas, especially those who are formerly incarcerated. Women reentering the community must navigate multiple fragmented systems that impede successful reintegration (Bloom 2004). Parole and probation policy reforms should address the many needs of formerly incarcerated women to improve outcomes. As the women in the study made clear, these reforms should include, at minimum, free and/or accessible housing, financial assistance, maternal support, job and educational training, shelters that provide a safe haven for survivors of gender-based violence, and substance abuse treatment programs that accommodate women with children (see also Brown and Bloom 2009; Holtfreter et al. 2004).

While most respondents could not mention a program or community resource that has been beneficial, nearly all formerly incarcerated respondents who were pursuing a college degree mentioned the Project Rebound program at California State University, Fresno as a vital resource. Project Rebound is a college program that provides supportive resources to system-involved students navigating the post-secondary context. However, while this program is an important resource, it was not available to the vast majority of

not college-educated participants. Educational programming that supports the unique needs of system-involved students should begin in the K-12 system.

Moreover, lack of resources also means that there are no institutionalized supports to combat institutionalized criminalization. While it is true that the Central Valley is an understudied region, this is not the only or even most important reason it should be of scholarly interest. Part of my motivation for studying the Central Valley stems from the uniqueness of this region when compared to the urban areas most criminalization studies are situated in. While scholars conceptualize criminalization as multi-spatial, or a process reproduced across social institutions, I suspect that criminalization is also shaped by where one lives. I would further postulate that criminalization may in fact be worse in the Central Valley precisely because there are no supports here. In other words, geographically isolated and impoverished regions shaped by an ultra-conservative and punitive sociopolitical climate may exacerbate criminalization.

The findings of this study lend themselves to other policy recommendations. For example, along with others (e.g., Morris 2016; Portillos et al. 2011; Rios 2011), this research reveals the education system to be a prime site for the reproduction of criminalization. Indeed, most respondents' first encounters with intersectional criminalization occurred in school. My research specifically implicates school resource officers in (re)producing school criminalization. The use of police in schools began in the 1950s to reduce violence and manage racial tensions on school campuses. The gradual expansion, or mission creep, from ensuring school safety to enforcing school policy is related to the lack of regulation and policy guidelines governing SRO's roles and

responsibilities (Na and Gottfredson 2011). School police are now the fastest growing area of law enforcement (NASRO 2012).

Schools should not be carceral sites. Removing SROs from school campuses will be a significant step in decriminalizing them. As Ryan et al. (2018) assert, SROs should not be charged with managing student misbehavior and discipline. Not only does this criminalize school disciplinary issues, but SROs are also ill-equipped to handle such problems (Bracy 2010; Mukherjee 2007; Ryan et al. 2018). SROs do not receive comprehensive or uniform training, which is directly correlated with a lack of professional oversight. Research shows that the presence of SROs increases negative interactions between youth and law enforcement, as well as juvenile justice system referrals, and promotes the school-to-prison pipeline (Ryan et al. 2018). Moreover, the students most likely impacted are low-income, racially marginalized students (Anyon et al. 2014; Fabelo et al. 2011; Thurau and Wald 2010).

Some criminal justice reforms can help mitigate the consequences of intersectional criminalization, especially for formerly incarcerated women who are mothers and/or survivors of gender-based violence. For instance, survival strategies need to be decriminalized (Flores et al. 2017). Women who commit offenses associated with survival responses to victimization and untreated trauma (e.g., drug-related and status offenses) should be diverted from the criminal justice system and referred to substance abuse and mental health treatment. Additionally, sentencing guidelines should consider childcare responsibilities and incorporate measures to reduce family separation and parental rights termination (Brown and Bloom 2009; Engel and Munger 1996; Enos 2001; Flavin 2001). Relatedly, I agree with Brown and Bloom (2009: 333) that child

welfare agencies should work to support families "rather than serve as another mechanism of punishment."

Ultimately, this study's findings underscore the resiliency of rural Chicanas who, despite being multiply disadvantaged within the matrix of domination, persist and resist under the daily threats of the carceral state. While far from hapless victims, as evidenced by their challenges to racist hetero-sexist discourses and institutional practices, resistance to criminalization was constrained by their structural and material conditions. The carceral state permeates nearly all our social institutions and, as I have demonstrated, even shapes the interpersonal relationships we, as humans, rely on to exist. Individual efforts and incremental criminal justice policy reforms cannot remedy something woven this intricately into the fabric of society.

Intersectional criminalization will exist as long as the carceral state does. Substantial change is only possible through abolishing the police, prisons, and the punitive carceral logic that governs our social institutions. The criminal (in)justice system does not reduce crime or increase safety but rather exacerbates societal harm, particularly for poor people of color. Our current system of using policing, punishment, and imprisonment to deal with and solve social problems does not work. As abolitionist scholar and activist Angela Y. Davis (1998) stated, "Prisons do not disappear social problems, they disappear human beings. Homelessness, unemployment, drug addiction, mental illness, and illiteracy are only a few of the problems that disappear from public view when the human beings contending with them are relegated to cages."

While abolitionist perspectives are often dismissed as idealist and unrealistic, prisons and the police were not always called upon to deal with social ills. Indeed, our

current version of prison is only 200 years old (Davis 2003). What is more, many countries around the world do not rely on prisons and the police to the extent that the U.S. does and have lower crime rates. It is possible then to re-imagine a world in which social inequality is not addressed with punishment.

Abolition does not simply envision a world without prisons and police but requires a fundamental restructuring of society, one that addresses the social conditions that produce harm in the first place, such as poverty, harmful drug use, violence, and untreated mental illness (Critical Resistance 2012). One step is divesting in the prison industrial complex and investing in social programming. For example, increasing social spending on housing, welfare, healthcare, and education are proven harm-reducing strategies. While abolition is presented as a remedy for intersectional criminalization, abolitionist movements sometimes rely too heavily on racialized frameworks, inadvertently centering heterosexual men's experiences. Therefore, abolitionist movements must incorporate an "explicitly feminist framework" (Escobar 2016) and be grounded in understanding how intersectional criminalization functions as a tool of the carceral state.

Respondents were acutely aware of how the carceral state disrupted their lives. Many developed the necessary strategies to deal with this disruption. While I have attempted to highlight their agency and resistance, it would be an academic harm to fetishize their strength. Yes, these Chicanas are resilient, but had they had access to support and not been criminalized for simply existing, they would not have had to rely so much on their tenacity. I end this dissertation with the words of Mousie: "I want to live legit, like where the grass is really green. I want to have a home where we don't have to be on guard

and worry about the cops coming through all the time and ripping my family apart. I don't

want to deal with that shit no more."

REFERENCES

Abramovitz, Mimi. 1988. *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present.* Boston: South End Press.

Acuña, Rodolfo. 2000. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*. New York: Longman.

Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press.

Allard, Patricia. 2002. "Life Sentences: Denying Welfare Benefits to Women Convicted of Drug Offenses." Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing Project.

Allen, Ruth. 1931. "Mexican Peon Women in Texas." *Sociology and Social Research* 16:131-142.

———. 1958. "Competitive Breeding." Pp. 190-195 in *Race: Individual and Collective Behavior*, edited by E. T. Thompson and E. C. Hughes. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Allen, Suzanne, Chris Flaherty, and Gretchen Ely. 2010. "Throwaway Moms: Maternal Incarceration and the Criminalization of Female Poverty." *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work* 25(2):160-172.

Alpert, Geoffrey, John MacDonald, and Roger Dunham. 2005. "Police Suspicion and Discretionary Decision-Making during Citizen Stops." *Criminology* 43(2):407-434.

Alvidrez, Jennifer. 1999. "Ethnic Variation in Mental Health Attitudes and Service Use among Low-Income African American, Latina, and European American Young Women." *Community Mental Health Journal* 35(6):515-530.

Amerson, Rozanne, Rebecca Whittington, and Lisa Duggan. 2014. "Intimate Partner

Violence Affecting Latina Women and their Children." *Journal of Emergency Nursing* 40(6):531-536.

Anderson, Elijah. 1999. *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

———. 2012. "The Iconic Ghetto." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 642(1):8-24.

Andrade, Sally J. 1982. "Social Science Stereotypes of the Mexican American Woman: Policy Implications for Research." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 4(2):223-244.

Anyon, Yolanda, Jeffrey M. Jenson, Inna Altschul, Jordan Farrar, Jeanette McQueen, Eldredge Greer, Barbara Downing, and John Simmons. 2014. "The Persistent Effect of Race and the Promise of Alternatives to the Suspension in School Discipline Outcomes." *Children and Youth Services Review* 44:379-386.

Arditti, Joyce A. 2012. *Parental Incarceration and the Family*. New York: New York University Press.

Arnold, Regina A. 1990. "Processes of Victimization and Criminalization of Black Women." *Social Justice* 17(3):153-166.

Azziz-Baumgartner, Eduardo, Loreta McKeown, Patrice Melvin, Quynh Dang, and Joan Reed. 2011. "Rates of Femicide in Women of Different Races, Ethnicities, and Places of Birth: Massachusetts, 1993-2007." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 26(5):1077-1090.

Baca Zinn, Maxine, and Ruth Enid Zambrana. 2019. "Chicanas/Latinas Advance Intersectional Thought." *Gender & Society* 33(5):677-701.

Baker, Phyllis L., and Amy Carson. 1999. "'I TAKE CARE OF MY KIDS': Mothering
Practices of Substance-Abusing Women." *Gender & Society* 13(3):347-363.

Barron, Christie. 2000. *Giving Youth a Voice: A Basis for Rethinking Adolescent
Violence*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Bass, Sandra. 2001. "Policing Space, Policing Race: Social Control Imperatives and
Police Discretionary Decisions." *Social Justice* 28(1):156-176.

Bauer, Heidi Marie, Michael Rodriguez, Seline Szkupinski Quiroga, and Yvette Flores.
2000. "Barriers to Health Care for Abused Latina and Asian Immigrant Women."
Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved 11:33-44.

Beauboeuf-Lafontant, Tamara. 2009. *Behind the Mask of the Strong Black Woman: Voice
and the Embodiment of a Costly Performance*. Philadelphia: Temple University
Press.

Beckerman, Adela. 1991. "Women in Prison: The Conflict Between Confinement and
Parental Rights." *Social Justice* 18(3):171-183.

Beckett, Katherine, Kris Nyrop, and Lori Pfingst. 2006. "Race, Drugs, and Policing:
Understanding Disparities in Drug Delivery Arrests." *Criminology* 44(1):105-137.

Belknap, Joanne. 2010. "'Offending Women': A Double Entendre." *The Journal of
Criminal Law and Criminology* 100(3):1061-1098.

Belknap, Joanne, and Kristi Holsinger. 2006. "The Gendered Nature of Risk Factors for
Delinquency." *Feminist Criminology* 1(1):48-71.

Berger, Lawrence M., and Jane Waldfogel. 2011. "Economic Determinants and
Consequences of Child Maltreatment." OECD Social, Employment, and
Migration Working Papers, No. 111. Paris: OECD Publishing.

Bergseth, Kathleen J., Katie Richardson Jens, Lindsey Bergeron-Vigesaa, and Thomas D. McDonald. 2011: "Assessing the Needs of Women Recently Released from Prison." *Women & Criminal Justice* 21(21):100-122.

Bettie, Julie. 2000. "Chicas, Cholas, Trash, and the Presence/Absence of Class Identity." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 26(1):1-35.

———. 2003. *Women Without Class: Girls, Race, and Identity*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Biernacki, Patrick, and Dan Waldorf. 1981. "Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling." *Sociological Methods & Research* 10(2):141-163.

Bloom, Barbara. 2004. "Public Hearing: The Impact of California's Parole Policies on Women. Testimony to the Little Hoover Commission." Sacramento, CA.

Bloom, Barbara, and Marilyn Brown. 2011. "Incarcerated Women: Motherhood on the Margins." Pp. 51-66 in *Razor Wire Women: Prisoners, Activists, Scholars, and Artists,* edited by J.M. Lawston and A.E. Lucas. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Bloomberg, Linda Dale, and Marie Volpe. 2016. *Completing Your Qualitative Dissertation: A Roadmap from Beginning to End*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bond-Maupin, Lisa, James R. Bond-Maupin, and Amy Leisenring. 2002. "Girls' Delinquency and the Justice Implications of Intake Workers' Perspectives." *Women and Criminal Justice* 13(2/3):51-77.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2017. *Racism without Racists*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Bowles, Melissa A. Dana DeHart, and Jennifer Reid Webb. 2012. "Family Influences on Female Offenders' Substance Use: The Role of Adverse Childhood Events among Incarcerated Women." *Journal of Family Violence* 27:681-686.

Bracy, Nicole L. 2010. "Circumventing the Law: Students' Rights in Schools with Police." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 26(3):294-315.

Brayne, Sarah. 2014. "Surveillance and System Avoidance: Criminal Justice Contact and Institutional Attachment." *American Sociological Review* 79(3):367–391.

Braz, Rose, and Craig Gilmore. 2006. "Joining Forces: Prisons and Environmental Justice in Recent California Organizing." *Radical History Review* 96:95-111.

Brink, H.I.L. 1993. "Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research." *Curatonis* 16(2):35-38.

Brown, Geneva. 2010. "The Intersectionality of Race, Gender, and Reentry: Challenges for African-American Women." Issue Brief. Washington, DC: American Constitution Society.

Brown, George R., and Bradley Anderson. 1991. "Psychiatric Morbidity in Adult Inpatients with Childhood Histories of Sexual and Physical Abuse." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 148(1):55-51.

Brown, Marilyn, and Barbara Bloom. 2009. "Reentry and Renegotiating Motherhood: Maternal Identity and Success on Parole." *Crime & Delinquency* 55(2):313-336.

Brunson, Rod K., and Jody Miller. 2006. "Gender, Race, and Urban Policing: The Experience of African American Youth." *Gender & Society* 20(4):531-552.

Bui, Hoan N., and Merry Morash 1999. "Domestic Violence in the Vietnamese Immigrant Community: An Exploratory Study." *Violence Against Women*

5(7):769-795.

Byfield, Natalie. 2014. *Savage Portrayals: Race, Media, and the Central Park Jogger Story*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Caetano, Raul, John Schafer, Catherine L. Clark, and Kelly Raspberry. 2000. "Intimate Partner Violence, Acculturation, and Alcohol Consumption among Hispanic Couples in the United States." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 15:30-45.

California Criminal Justice Statistics Center (CJSC). 2021. "California Criminal Justice Profiles." Office of the Attorney General, California Department of Justice. http://casi.cjcj.org/

California Department of Food and Agriculture. 2014. "California's Central Valley: Producing America's Fruits and Vegetables." Washington, D.C. https://web.archive.org/web/20150623012337/http://naturalresources.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=368934

Carastathis, Anna. 2014. "The Concept of Intersectionality in Feminist Theory." *Philosophy Compass* 9(5):304-810.

Carlson, Jennifer. 2020. "Police Warriors and Police Guardians: Race, Masculinity, and the Construction of Gun Violence." *Social Problems* 67:399-417.

Carroll, Leo, and Lilliana Gonzalez. 2014. "Out of Place: Racial Stereotypes and the Ecology of Frisks and Searches Following Traffic Stops." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 51(5):559-584.

Casella, Ronnie. 2003. "Zero Tolerance Policy in Schools: Rationale, Consequences, and Alternatives." *The Teachers College Record* 105(5):872-892.

Cepeda, Alice, and Avelardo Valdez. 2003. "Risk Behaviors among Young Mexican

American Gang Associated Females: Sexual Relations, Partying, Substance Use, and Crime." *Journal of Adolescent Research* 18(1):90–106.

Chambliss, William J. 1995. "Crime Control and Ethnic Minorities: Legitimizing Racial Oppression by Creating Moral Panis." Pp. 235-258 in *Ethnicity, Race, and Crime: Perspectives Across Time and Place,* edited by D. F. Hawkins. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Charmaz, Kathy. 1995. "Grounded Theory." Pp. 27-49 in *Rethinking Methods in Psychology*, edited by J. Smith, R. Harre, and L.V. Langenhove. London: Sage.

———. 2002. "Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis." Pp 675-693 in *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, edited by J. Gubrium and J.A. Holstein. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chavez, Leo R. 1997. "Immigration Reform and Nativism: The Nationalist Response to the Transnationalist Challenge." Pp. 61-77 in *Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Impulse in the United States*, edited by J. F. Perea. New York: New York University Press.

———. 2004. "A Glass Half Empty: Latina Reproduction and Public Discourse." *Human Organization* 63(2):173-188.

———. 2008. The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Cherrington, Jane, and Mary Breheny 2005. "Politicizing Dominant Discursive Constructions about Teenage Pregnancy: Re-locating the Subject as Social." *Health* 9(1):89-111.

Chesney-Lind, Meda. 1988. "Women in Prison: From Partial Justice to Vengeful

Equity." *Corrections Today* 60:82-86.

———. 2002. "Criminalizing Victimization: The Unintended Consequences of
Pro-Arrest Policies for Girls and Women." *Criminology and Public Policy*
2(1):81-91.

———. "Jailing 'Bad' Girls: Fighting for Girls: Critical Perspectives on Gender and
Violence." Pp. 57-59 in *Fighting for Girls: New Perspectives on Gender and
Violence*, edited by M. Chesney-Lind and N. Jones. Albany, NY: State University
of New York Press.

Chesney-Lind, Meda, and Lisa Pasko. 2013. *The Female Offender: Girls, Women, and
Crime*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chesney-Lind, Meda, and Noelie Rodriguez. 1983. "Women Under Lock and Key: A
View from the Inside." *The Prison Journal* 63(2):47-65.

Chesney-Lind, Meda, and Randall G. Sheldon 2013. *Girls, Delinquency, and Juvenile
Justice*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Chock, Phyllis Pease. 1996. "No New Women: Gender, 'Alien,' and 'Citizen' in the
Congressional Debate on Immigrations." *Political and Legal Anthropology
Review* 19(1):1-9.

Choo, Hae Yeon, and Myra Marx Ferree. 2010. "Practicing Intersectionality in
Sociological Research: A Critical Analysis of Inclusions, Interactions, and
Institutions in the Study of Inequalities." *Sociological Theory* 28(2):129-149.

Clark, Natalie. 2016. "Red Intersectionality and Violence-Informed Witnessing Praxis
with Indigenous Girls." *Girlhood Studies* 9(2):46-64.

Cobbina, Jennifer E. 2010. "Reintegration Success and Failure: Factors Impacting

Reintegration among Incarcerated and Formerly Incarcerated Women." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 49(3):21-231.

Cobbina, Jennifer E., and Kimberly A. Bender. 2012. "Predicting the Future: Incarcerated Women's Views of Reentry Success." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 51(5):275-294.

Cohen, Stanley. 1972. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers*. MacGibbon and Kee Ltd.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 1998. "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation." *Hypatia* 13(3):62-82.

———. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.

———. 2004. *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. New York: Routledge.

———. 2015. "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas." *Annual Review of Sociology* 41:1-20.

Collins, Patricia Hill, and Sirma Bilge. 2020. *Intersectionality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Comack, Elizabeth. 1996. *Women in Trouble: Connecting Women's Law Violation to their Histories of Abuse*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

———. 2018. *Coming Back to Jail: Women, Trauma, and Criminalization*. Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.

Combahee River Collective. [1977] 1983. "The Combahee River Collective Statement."

Pp. 272-282 in *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, edited by B. Smith. New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press.

Corbin, Juliet, and Anselm Strauss. 2008. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Procedures and Techniques for Developing Grounded Theory*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Corrigan, Rose. 2013. *Up Against a Wall: Rape Reform and the Failure of Success*. New York: NYU Press.

Covington, Stephanie S. 2003. "A Woman's Journey Home: Challenges for Female Ex-Offenders." Pp. 67-104 in *Prisoners Once Removed: The Impact of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families and Communities*, edited by J. Travis and M. Waul. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140:139-167.

———. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6):1241-1299.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé, Priscilla Ocen, and Jyoti Nanda. 2015. *Black Girls Matter: Pushed Out, Overpoliced, and Underprotected*. New York: Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies at Columbia University.

Creswell, John W. 2013. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Critical Resistance. 2012. "What is Abolition?" Critical Resistance. Oakland, CA.

Daly, Kathleen. 1998. "Women's Pathways to Felony Court: Feminist Theories of

Lawbreaking and Problems of Representation." Pp. 135-156 in *Criminology Crossroads: Feminist Readings in Crime and Justice,* edited by K. Daly and L. Maher. New York: Oxford University Press.

Davis, Angela. 1998. Masked Racism: Reflections on the Prison Industrial Complex." Retrieved from: http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/davisprison.html

———. 2003. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press.

De Gaetano, Yvonne. 2007. "The Role of Culture in Engaging Latino Parents' Involvement in School." *Urban Education* 42(2):145-162.

DeHart, Dana D. 2008. "Pathways to Prison: Impact of Victimization in the Lives of Incarcerated Women." *Violence Against Women* 14:1362-1381.

Denham, Amy C., Pamela York Frasier, Elizabeth Gerken Hooten, Leigh Belton, Warren Newton, Pamela Gonzalez, Munni Begum, and Marci K. Campbell. 2007. "Intimate Partner Violence among Latinas in Eastern North Carolina." *Violence Against Women* 13(2):123-140.

Denzin, Norman K. 1978. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. 2003. *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Díaz-Cotto, Juanita. 2006. *Chicana Lives and Criminal Justice: Voices from El Barrio*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

DiCicco□Bloom, Barbara, and Benjamin F. Crabtree. 2006. "The Qualitative Research Interview." *Medical Education* 40(4):314-321.

Dill, Bonnie Thornton. 2002. "Work at the Intersections of Race, Gender, Ethnicity, and

Other Dimensions of Difference in Higher Education." *Connections: Newsletter of the Consortium on Race, Gender, and Ethnicity* (Fall):5-7.

Dodge, Mary, and Mark R. Pogrebin 2001. "Collateral Costs of Imprisonment for Women: Complications of Reintegration." *The Prison Journal* 81(1):42-54.

Dow, Dawn Marie. 2015. "Negotiating 'The Welfare Queen' and 'The Strong Black Woman': African American Middle Class Mothers' Work and Family Perspectives." *Sociological Perspectives* 58(1):36-55.

Dubber, Markus D. 2000. "Policing Possession: The War on Crime and the End of Criminal Law." *Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology* 91(4):831-996.

Dugan, Laura, and Robert Apel 2003. "An Exploratory Study of the Violent Victimization of Women: Race/Ethnicity and Situational Context." *Criminology* 41(3):959-979.

Dulay, Kathleen. 1989. "Rethinking Judicial Paternalism: Gender, Work-Family Relations, and Sentencing." *Gender & Society* 3(1):9-36.

Dunning-Lozano, Jessica L. 2018. "Secondary Discipline: The Unintended Consequences of Zero Tolerance School Discipline for Low-Income Black and Latina Mothers." *Urban Education* https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0042085918817343

Durán, Robert J. 2009. "Legitimated Oppression: Inner-City Mexican American Experiences with Police Gang Enforcement." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 38(2):143–168.

———. 2018. *The Gang Paradox: Inequalities and Miracles on the U.S.-Mexico Border*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Elliott, Sinikka, and Megan Reid. 2019. "Low-Income Black Mothers Parenting

    Adolescents in the Mass Incarceration Era: The Long Reach of Criminalization."

    American Sociological Review 84(2):197-219.

Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 1995. *Writing Ethnographic*

    Fieldnotes. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Engel, David M, and Frank W. Munger. 1996. "Rights, Remembrance, and the

    Reconciliation of Difference." *Law and Society Review* 30(1):7-53.

Enos, Sandra. 2001. *Mothering from the Inside: Parenting in a Women's Prison*. Albany,

    NY: State University of New York Press.

Epp, Charles, Steven Maynard-Moody, and Donald Haider-Markel. 2014. *Pulled Over:*

    How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Epstein, Rebecca, Jamilia J. Blake, and Thalia González. 2017. "Girlhood Interrupted:

    The Erasure of Black Girls' Childhood." Washington, DC: Georgetown Law,

    Center on Poverty and Inequality.

Escobar, Martha D. 2016. *Captivity Beyond Prisons: Criminalization Experiences of*

    Latina (Im)migrants. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Fabelo, Tony, Michael D. Thompson, Martha Plotkin, Dottie Carmichael, Miner P.

    Marchbanks III, Eric A. Booth. 2011. *Breaking School's Rules: A Statewide Study*

    of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice

    Involvement. New York: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

Fagan, Jeffrey, Anthony A. Braga, Rod K. Brunson, and April Pattavina. 2016. "Stops

    and Stares: Street Stops, Surveillance, and Race in the New Policing." *Fordham*

    Urban Law Journal 43(3):539–614.

Faulkner, Sandra L. 2003. "Good Girl or Flirt Girl: Latinas' Definitions of Sex and Sexual Relationships." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25(2):174-200.

Faulkner, Sandra L., and Phyllis Kernoff Mansfield. 2002. "Reconciling Messages: The Process and Implications of Latinas' Sexual Talk." *Qualitative Health Research* 12(3):310-328.

Ferguson, Ann Arnett. 2001. *Bad Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Fields, Jessica. 2008. *Risky Lessons: Sex Education and Social Inequality*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Flake, Dallan F. 2005. "Individual, Family, and Community Risk Markers for Domestic Violence in Peru." *Violence Against Women* 11(3):353-373.

Flavin, Jeanne. 2001. "Of Punishment and Parenthood: Family-Based Social Control and the Sentencing of Black Drug Offenders." *Gender & Society* 15(4):611-633.

Flores, Edward Orozco. 2014. *God's Gangs: Barrio Ministry, Masculinity, and Gang Recovery*. New York: NYU Press.

Flores, Jerry. 2016. *Caught Up: Girls, Surveillance, and Wraparound Incarceration*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Flores, Jerry, Arian Ochoa Camacho, Xuan Santos. 2017. "Gender on the Run: Wanted Latinas in a Southern California Barrio." *Feminist Criminology* 12(3):248-268.

Fong, Kelley. 2020. "Getting Eyes in the Home: Child Protective Services Investigations and State Surveillance of Family Life." *American Sociological Review* 85(4).610-638.

Fontana, Andrea, and James Frey. 1994. "The Art of Science." Pp. 361-376 in *The*

Handbook of Qualitative Research, edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Francis, Rose, and Laurel Firestone. 2011. "Implementing the Human Right to Water in California's Central Valley: Building a Democratic Voice Through Community Engagement in Water Policy and Decision Making. *Willamette Law Review* 47(3):495-537.

Franklin, Cortney A., and Noelle E. Fearn. 2008. "Gender, Race, and Former Court Decision-Making Outcomes: Chivalry/Paternalism, Conflict Theory or Gender Conflict?" *Journal of Criminal Justice* 36(3):279-290.

Gaarder, Emily, and Joanne Belknap. 2002. "Tenuous Borders: Girls Transferred to Adult Court." *Criminology* 40:481-517.

Gaarder, Emily, Nancy Rodriguez, and Marjorie S. Zatz. 2004. "Criers, Liars, and Manipulators: Probation Officers' Views of Girls." *Justice Quarterly* 21(3):547-578.

Galanti, Geri-Ann. 2003. "The Hispanic Family and Male-Female Relationships: An Overview." *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 14(3):180-185.

Gámez, Grace. 2019. "Fierce Mamas Rising: Navigating the Terrain of Motherhood as Formerly Incarcerated or Convicted Women." Pp. 77-93 in *The Chicana Motherwork Anthology*, edited by C. Caballero, Y. Martínez-Vu, J. Pérez-Torres, M. Téllez, and C. Vega. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

Garcia, Janet. 2016. "Understanding the Lives of Mothers After Incarceration: Moving Beyond Socially Constructed Definitions of Motherhood." *Sociology Compass* 10(1):3-11.

García, Lorena. 2009. "'Now why do you want to know about that?" Heteronormativity, Sexism, and Racism in the Sexual (Mis)Education of Latina Youth." *Gender and Society* 23(4):520-541.

———. 2012. *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself: Latina Girls and Sexual Identity*. New York: New York University Press.

García, Lorena, and Lourdes Torres 2009. "New Directions in Latina Sexualities Studies." *NWSA Journal* 21(3):7-16.

Garland, David. 2000. "The Culture of High Crime Societies." *The British Journal of Criminology* 40(3):347-375.

Genty, Philip M. 1998. "Permanency Planning in the Context of Parental Incarceration: Legal Issues and Recommendations." *Child Welfare* 77(5):543-559.

Gil, Rosa Maria, and Carmen Inoa Vazquez. 1996. *The Maria Paradox: How Latinas Can Merge Old World Traditions with New World Self-Esteem*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Gilfus, Mary E. 1992. "From Victims to Survivors to Offenders: Women's Routes of Entry and Immersion into Street Crime." *Women and Criminal Justice* 4(1):63-89.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. 2007. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berekely, CA: University of California Press.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson, and Craig Wilson. 2003. "The Other California." Pp. 381-396 in *Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World*, edited by D. Solnit. San Francisco: City Lights Publishers.

Glaser, Barney, and Levi Strauss. 1965. *Awareness of Dying*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing.

Glaze, Lauren E., and Laura M. Maruschak. 2010. "Parents in Prison and Their Minor
Children." Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. 2000. "The Social Construction and Institutionalization of
Gender and Race: An Integrative Framework." Pp. 3-43 in *Revisioning Gender*,
edited by M. Marx Ferree, J. Lorber, and B. B. Hess. New York: Alti-Mira.

Goetting, Ann. 1987. "Homicidal Waves: A Profile." *Journal of Family Issues* 8(3):332-
341.

Goffman, Alice. 2012. *On the Run: Fugitive Life in an American City*. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press.

Golden, Renny. 2005. *War on the Family: Mothers in Prison and the Families They
Leave Behind*. New York: Routledge.

Goldman, Maurice. 1999. "The Violence Against Women Act: Meeting Its Goals in
Protecting Battered Women." *Family and Conciliation Courts Review* 37(3):375-
392.

Gómez, Cynthia A., and Barbara VanOss Marín. 1996. "Gender, Culture, and Power:
Barriers to HIV-Prevention Strategies for Women." *Journal of Sex Research*
33(4):355-362.

González, Juan Carlos, and Edwardo L. Portillos. 2007. "The Undereducation and
Overcriminalization of US Latinas/os: A post-Los Angeles Riots LatCrit
Analysis." *Educational Studies* 42(3):247-266.

González-López, Gloria. 2015. *Erotic Journeys: Mexican Immigrants and Their Sex
Lives*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Goulette, Natalie, John Wooldridge, James Frank, and Lawrence Travis III. 2015. "From

    Initial Appearance to Sentencing: Do Female Defendants Experience Disparate

    Treatment?" *Journal of Criminal Justice* 43(5):406-417.

Greeson, Megan R., Rebecca Campbell, Giannina Fehler-Cabral. 2016. "'Nobody

    Deserves This': Adolescent Sexual Assault Victims' Perceptions of Disbelief and

    Victim Blame From Police." *Journal of Community Psychology* 44(1):90-110.

Gslene, Corrine. 1999. *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction*. New York:

    Longman.

Gunn, Alana J., and Kelli E. Canada. 2015. "Intra-Group Stigma: Examining Peer

    Relationships among Women in Recovery for Addictions." *Drugs: Education,*

    Prevention and Policy 22(3):281-292.

Gunn, Alana, Tina K. Sacks, and Alexis Jemal. 2018. "'That's not me anymore':

    Resistance Strategies for Managing Intersectional Stigmas for Women with

    Substance Use and Incarceration Histories." *Qualitative Social Work* 17(4):490-

    508.

Gurusami, Susila. 2019. "Motherwork Under the State: The Maternal Labor of Formerly

    Incarcerated Black Women." *Social Problems* 66:128-143.

Gutiérrez, Elena R. 2008. *Fertility Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's*

    Reproduction. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Hackett, Colleen. 2013. "Transformative Visions: Governing Through Alternative

    Practices and Therapeutic Interventions at a Women's Reentry Center." *Feminist*

    Criminology 8(3):221-241.

Hager, Eli, and Anna Flag. 2018. "How Incarcerated Parents Are Losing Their Children

Forever." The Marshall Project.

https://www.themarshallproject.org/2018/12/03/how-incarcerated-parents-are-losing-their-children-forever

Hairston, Creasie Finney. 1991. "Family Ties During Imprisonment: Important to Whom and for What?" *Journal of Sociology and Welfare* 18:87-104.

Halushka, John M. 2020. "The Runaround: Punishment, Welfare, and Poverty Survival after Prison." *Social Problems* 67:233-250.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2016. *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Haney, Lynne. A. 2004. "Gender, Welfare, and States of Punishment." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 11(3):333-62.

Harper, Shannon B. 2017. "No Way Out: Severely Abused Latina Women, Patriarchal Terrorism, and Self-Help Homicide." *Feminist Criminology* 12(3):224-247.

Harris, Angela P. 2011. "Heteropatriarchy Kills: Challenging Gender Violence in a Prison Nation." *Washington Journal of Law & Policy* 37(13):13-65.

Harris, Mary. G. 1994. "Cholas: Mexican-American, Girls, and Gangs." *Sex Roles* 30:289-301.

Harris-Perry, Melissa V. 2011. *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hays, Sharon. 1996. *The Cultural Contradictions of Motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

———.2003. *Flat Broke with Children: Women in the Age of Welfare Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hayward, R. Anna, and Diane DePanfilis 2007. "Foster Children with an Incarcerated Parent: Predictors of Reunification." *Children and Youth Services* 29(10):1320-1334.

Heidemann, Gretchen, Julia A. Cederbaum, and Sidney Martinez. 2016. "Beyond Recidivism: How Formerly Incarcerated Women Define Success." *Affilia* 31(1):24-40.

Heimer, Karen. 1995. "Gender, Race and Pathways to Delinquency." Pp. 140-173 in *Crime and Inequality*, edited by J. Hagan and R. Peterson. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Herbert, Steve. 2001. "'Hard Charger' or 'Station Queen'?: Policing and the Masculinist State." *Gender, Place, & Culture: Journal of Feminist Geography* 8(1):55-71.

Heymann, Philip B. 2000. "The New Policing." *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 28(2):407-456.

Hirschfield, Paul J. 2008. "Preparing for Prison?: The Criminalization of School Discipline in the USA." *Theoretical Criminology* 12(1):79-101.

Holtfreter, Kristy, Michael D. Resig, and Merry Morash. 2004. "Poverty, State Capital, and Recidivism among Women Offenders." *Criminology & Public Policy* 3(2):185-208.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1995. "Women and Children First: New Directions in Anti-Immigrant Politics." *Socialist Review* 25(1):169-190.

hooks, bell. 2000. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. London: Pluto Press.

Horowitz, Ruth. 1995. *Teen Mothers: Citizens or Dependents?* Chicago, IL: The

    University of Chicago Press.

Hussain, Kiran M., Gisela Leija, Florence Lewis, and Bridget Sanchez. 2015. "Unveiling

    Sexual Identity in the Face of Marianismo." *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy*

    27(2):72-92.

Hyams, Melissa. 2006. "La Escuela: Young Latina Women Negotiating Identities in

    School." Pp. 93-108 in *Latina Girls: Voices of Adolescent Strength in the United*

    States, edited by J. Denner and B. L. Guzmán. New York: New York University

    Press.

Irwin, Katherine, Janet Davidson, Amanda Hall-Sanchez. 2013. "The Race to Punish in

    American Schools: Class and Race Predictors of Punitive School-Crime Control."

    Critical Criminology 21:47-71.

Jenness, Valerie. 2004. "Explaining Criminalization: From Demography and Status

    Politics to Globalization and Modernization." *Annual Review of Sociology*

    30:147-172.

Jennings, Joanne E. 2010. "California's Central Valley Finds Itself on the Political Map."

    PBS News Hour. Retrieved from:

    http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/californias-central- valley-finds-itself-on-

    the-political-map/

Johnson, Ida M. 2015. "Women Parolees' Perceptions of Parole Experiences and Parole

    Officers." *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 40:785-810.

Johnson, Michael P. 1995. "Patriarchal Terrorism and Common Couple Violence: Two

Forms of Violence Against Women." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 57(2):283-294.

Jones, Katherine Castiello, Joya Misra, and K. McCurley. 2013. "Intersectionality in Sociology." Sociologists for Women in Society Fact Sheet." http://socwomen.org

Jones, Nikki. 2010. *Between Good and Ghetto: African American Girls and Inner-City Violence*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

———. 2014. "'The Regular Routine': Proactive Policing and Adolescent Development among Young, Poor Black Men." *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 2014:33-54.

Jones, Richard S. 1993. "Coping with Separation: Adaptive Responses of Women Prisoners." *Women and Criminal Justice* 5(1):71-91.

Jordan-Zachery, Julia. 2009. *Black Women, Cultural Images, and Social Policy*. New York: Routledge.

Kane, Robert J. 2002. "The Social Ecology of Police Misconduct." *Criminology* 40(4):867-896.

Kasler, Dale. 2019. "How the Central Valley Became the 'Appalachia of the West.' Now, New Threats Loom for Economy." *The Sacramento Bee*. September 26.

Katz, Charles M. 2003. "Issues in the Production and Dissemination of Gang Statistics: An Ethnographic Study of a Large Midwestern Police Gang Unit." *Crime & Delinquency* 49(3):485-516.

Katz, Susan Roberta. 1997. "Presumed Guilty: How Schools Criminalize Latino Youth." *Social Justice* 24(4):77–95.

Kelly, Deirdre M. 1993. *Last Chance High: How Girls and Boys Drop In and Out of*

Alternative Schools. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Kelly, Liz. 1988. *Surviving Sexual Violence*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota

Press.

Kielty, Sandra. 2008. "Working Hard to Resist a 'Bad Mother' Label: Narratives of Non-

Resident Motherhood." *Qualitative Social Work* 7(3):363-379.

Klinger, David A. 1997. "Negotiating Order in Patrol Work: An Ecological Theory of

Police Response to Deviance." *Criminology* 35(2):277-306.

Klein, Malcolm W. 2004. *Gang Cop: The Words and Ways of Officer Paco Domingo*.

Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira.

Kohler-Hausmann, Issa. 2013. "Misdemeanor Justice: Control without Conviction."

American Journal of Sociology 119(2):351-393.

Konradi, Amanda. 2007. *Taking the Stand: Rape Survivors and the Prosecution of

Rapists*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Kraska, Peter B., and Victor E. Kappeler. 1995. "To Serve and Pursue: Exploring Police

Sexual Violence Against Women." *Justice Quarterly* 12(1):85-11.

Kubrin, Charis E., Steven F. Messner, Glenn Deane, Kelly McGeever, and Thomas D.

Stucky. 2010. "Proactive Policing and Robbery Rates across U.S. Cities."

Criminology 48(1):57-97.

LaFree, Gary D. 1985. "Official Reactions to Hispanic Defendants in the Southwest."

Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency 22(3)213-237.

Lara-Millan, Armando, and Nicole Gonzalez van Cleve. 2017. "Intergenerational Utility

of Welfare Stigma in the Criminal Justice System." *Criminology* 55(1):59-84.

Lee, Tina. 2016. *Catching a Case: Inequality and Fear in New York City's Child Welfare*

System. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Legewie, Joscha, and Jeffrey Fagan. 2019. "Aggressive Policing and the Educational
Performance of Minority Youth." *American Sociological Review* 84(2):220-247.

Leiber, Michael J., Mahesh K. Nalla, and Margaret Farnworth. 1998. "Explaining
Juveniles' Attitudes Toward the Police." *Justice Quarterly* 15(1):151-174.

Lewis, Oscar. 1959. *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*.
Basic Books.

Leung, Lawrence. 2015. "Validity, Reliability, and Generalizability in Qualitative
Research." *Journal of Family Medicine and Primary Care* 4(3):324-327.

Liang, Belle, Lisa Goodman, Pratyusha Tummala-Narra, and Sarah Weintraub. 2005. "A
Theoretical Framework for Understanding Help-Seeking Processes among
Survivors of Intimate Partner Violence." *American Journal of Community
Psychology* 36(1-2):71-84.

Lipman, Pauline. 2003. "Chicago School Policy: Regulating Black and Latino Youth in
the Global City." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 6(4)331-355.

Lipsky, Sherry, Raul Caetano, Craig Field, and Gregory Luke Larkin. 2006. "The Role of
Intimate Partner Violence, Race, and Ethnicity in Help-Seeking Behaviors."
Ethnicity & Health 11:81-100.

Litt, Jacquelyn, and Maureen McNeil. 1997. "Biological Markers and Social
Differentiation: Crack Babies and the Construction of the Dangerous Mother."
Health Care for Women International 18(1):31-41.

Lopez, Iris. 1998. "An Ethnography of the Medicalization of Puerto Rican Women's

Reproduction. Pp. 240-259 in *Pragmatic Women and Body Politics*, edited by M. Lock and P. A. Kaufert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lopez, Johana P. 2013. "Perspectives in HRD—Speaking with Them or Speaking for Them: A Conversation about the Effect of Stereotypes in the Latina/Hispanic Women's Experiences in the United States." *New Horizons in Adult Education & Human Resource Development* 25:99-106.

Lopez, Nancy. 2003. *Hopeful Girls, Troubled Boys: Race and Gender Disparity in Urban Education*. New York: Routledge.

Lopez, Vera. 2017. *Complicated Lives: Girls, Parents, Drugs, and Juvenile Justice*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Lopez, Vera, and Meda Chesney-Lind. 2014. "Latina Girls Speak Out: Stereotypes, Gender, and Relationship Dynamics." *Latino Studies* 12:527-549.

Lopez, Vera, and Lidia E. Nuño. 2016. "Latina and African-American Girls in the Juvenile Justice System: Needs, Problems, and Solutions." *Sociology Compass* 10(1):24-37.

Lopez, Vera, and Lisa Pasko. 2017. "Making It on the Outside: Reintegration Challenges of Girls and Women of Color." Pp. 249-266 in *Female Offenders and Reentry: Pathways and Barriers to Returning to Society*, edited L. M. Carter and C. D. Marcum. New York Routledge.

Lopez-Aguado, Patrick. 2016. 'I Would Be a Bulldog': Tracing the Spillover of Carceral Identity." *Social Problems* 63(2):203-21.

———. 2018. *Stick Together and Come Back Home: Racial Sorting and the Spillover of Carceral Identity*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Losen, Daniel J., and Jonathon Gillespie. 2012. "Opportunities Suspended: The Disparate

    Impact of Disciplinary Exclusion from School." Los Angeles, CA: The Center for

    Civil Rights Remedies.

Lu, Yuhwa Eva, John Landsverk, Elissa Ellis-Macleod, Rae Newton, William Ganger,

    and Ivory Johnson. 2004. "Race, Ethnicity, and Case Outcomes in Child

    Protective Services." *Children and Youth Services Review* 26(5):447-461.

    Luttrell, Wendy. 2003. *Pregnant Bodies, Fertile Minds: Gender, Race, and the*

    Schooling of Pregnant Teens. New York: Routledge.

Lyon, Eleanor, and Robin Spath. 2002. "Court Involved Girls in Connecticut."

    Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Majors, Richard, and Janet Mancini Billson. 1992. *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black*

    Manhood in America. New York: Lexington Books.

Marín, Barbara VanOss, Cynthia A. Gómez, and Norman Hearst. 1993. "Multiple

    Heterosexual Partners and Condom Use among Hispanics and non-Hispanic

    Whites." *Family Planning Perspectives* 25(4):170-174.

Marrs Fuchsel, Catherine, Sharon B. Murphy, and Rebecca Dufresne. 2012. "Domestic

    Violence, Culture, and Relationship Dynamics among Immigrant Women." *Affilia*

    27:263-274.

Marshall, Catherine, and Gretchen B. Rossman. 2015. *Designing Qualitative Research*.

    6th edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Martin, Patricia Yancey. 2005. *Rape Work: Victims, Gender, and Emotions in*

    Organization and Community Context. New York: Routledge.

Mauer, Marc, and Virginia McCalmont 2013. "A Lifetime of Punishment: The Impact of

the Felony Drug Ban on Welfare Benefits." Washington, D.C.: The Sentencing
Project.

Maxwell, Joseph A. 2005. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. 2nd
edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

May, Vanessa. 2008. "On Being a 'Good' Mother: The Moral Presentation of Self in
Written Life Stories." *Sociology* 42(3):470-486.

Mazón, Mauricio. 1984. *The Zoot-suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation*.
Austin, TX: University of Texas.

McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs: Journal of Women in
Culture and Society* 30(3):1771-1800.

McDaniels-Wilson, Cathy, and Joanne Belknap. 2008. "The Extensive Sexual Violation
and Sexual Abuse Histories of Incarcerated Women." *Violence Against Women*
14(10):1090-1127.

McMahon, Martha. 1995. *Engendering Motherhood: Identity and Self-Transformation in
Women's Lives*. New York: Guilford Press.

Meehan, Albert J, and Michael C. Ponder. 2002. "Race and Place: The Ecology of Racial
Profiling African American Motorists." *Justice Quarterly* 19(3):399-430.

Mendoza Aviña, Sylvia. 2016. "'That's ratchet': A Chicana Feminist Rasquache
Pedagogy as Entryway to Understanding the Material Realities of Contemporary
Latinx Elementary-aged Youth." *Equity & Excellence in Education* 49(4):468-
479.

Mendoza-Denton, Norma. 2008. *Homegirls: Language and Cultural Practice among
Latina Youth Gangs*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Menjívar, Cecilia, and Olivia Salcido 2002. "Immigrant Women and Domestic Violence: Common Experiences in Different Countries." *Gender & Society* 16(6):898-920.

Merriam, Sharan. B. 1998. *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Mijs, Jonathon J.B. 2016. "The Missing Organizational Dimension of Prisoner Reentry: An Ethnography of the Road to Reentry at a Nonprofit Service Provider." *Sociological Forum* 31(2):291-309.

Miller, Brenda Aa, William R. Downs, and Maria Testa. 1993. "Interrelationships between Victimization Experiences and Women's Alcohol Use." *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 11:109-117.

Miller, Jody. 2008. Getting Played: *African American Girls, Urban Inequality, and Gendered Violence.* New York: New York University Press.

Miller, Reuben J. 2014. "Devolving the Carceral State: Race, Prisoner Reentry, and the Micro-Politics of Urban Poverty Management." *Punishment and Society* 16(3):305-335.

Miller, Reuben J., and Forrest Stuart. 2017. "Carceral Citizenship: Race, Rights, and Responsibility in the Age of Mass Supervision." *Theoretical Criminology* 21(4):532-548.

Mirandé, Alfredo. 1987. *Gringo Justice*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Mirandé, Alfredo, and Evangelina Enríquez. 1979. *La Chicana: The Mexican-American Woman*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mirandé, Alfredo, and José López. 1992. "Chicano Urban Youth Gangs: A Critical

Analysis of a Social Problem." *Latino Studies Journal* (September):15-29.

Misra, Joya. 2018. "Categories, Structures, and Intersectional Theory." Pp. 111-130 in

    Gender Reckonings: New Social Theory and Research, edited by J. W.

Messerschmidt, M. A. Messner, R. Connell, and P. Y. Martin. New York: New York

    University Press.

Mitchell, Michael B., and Jaya B. Davis 2019. "Formerly Incarcerated Black Mothers

    Matter Too: Resisting Social Constructions of Motherhood." *The Prison Journal*

    99(4):420-436.

Montoya, Margaret E. 1994. "Mascaras, Trenzas, y Greñas: Un/Masking the Self While

    Un/Braiding Latina Stories of Legal Discourse." *Chicano-Latino Law Review*

    15(1):1-37.

———. 1997. "Lines of Demarcation in a Town Called Frontera: A Review of John

    Sayle's Movie Lone State." *New Mexico Law Review* 27:223-240.

Moore, Joan W. 1991. *Homeboys and Homegirls in Change*. Philadelphia: Temple

    University Press.

Moraga, Cherríe, and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds. 1983. *This Bridge Called my Back: Writings*

    by Radical Women of Color. New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press.

Morales, Armando. 1972. *Ando Sangrando: A Study of Mexican American Police*

    Conflict. La Puenta, CA: Perspectiva Publications.

Morash, Merry, Hoan Bui, Yan Zhang, and Kristy Holtfreter. 2007. "Risk Factors for

    Abusive Relationships: A Study of Vietnamese American Immigrant Women."

    Violence Against Women 13(7):653-675.

Morín, José Luis. 2008. "Latinas/os and U.S. Prison: Trends and Challenges." *Latino*

Studies 6:11-34.

Morris, Edward W. 2007. "'Ladies' or 'Loudies'?: Perceptions and Experiences of Black

Girls in Classrooms." *Youth & Society* 38(4):490-515.

Morris, Edward W., and Brea L. Perry. 2017. "Girls Behaving Badly? Race, Gender, and

Subjective Evaluation in the Discipline of African American Girls." *Sociology of

Education* 90(2):127-148.

Morris, Monique W. 2016. *Pushout: The Criminalization of Black Girls in Schools*. New

York: The New Press.

Mukherjee, Elora. 2007. *Criminalizing the Classroom: The Over-Policing of New York

City Schools*. New York: New York Civil Liberties Union.

Muñoz, Ed A., David A. Lopez, and Eric Stewart. 1998. "Misdemeanor Sentencing

Decisions: The Cumulative Disadvantage Effect of 'Gringo Justice.'" *Hispanic

Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 20(3):298-319.

Murphey, Sheigla, and Marsha Rosenbaum 1999. *Pregnant Women on Drugs:

Combating Stereotypes and Stigma*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University

Press.

Na, Chongmin, and Denise C. Gottfredson. 2011. "Police Officers in Schools: Effects on

School Crime and the Processing of Offending Behaviors." *Justice Quarterly*

30(4):1-32.

National Association of School Resource Officers. 2012. "To Protect and Educate: The

School Resource Officer and the Prevention of Violence in Schools." Retrieved

from: https://www.nasro.org/clientuploads/resources/NASRO-Protect-and-

Educate.pdf

Nash, Jennifer C. 2008. "Re-thinking Intersectionality." *Feminist Review* 89(1):1-15.

Neve, Lisa, and Kim Pate 2005. "Challenging the Criminalization of Women Who
Resist." Pp. 19-33 in *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison Industrial
Complex*, edited by J. Sudbury. New York: Routledge.

Norris, Adele N., and Joseph Billings. 2017. "Colorblind Ideology, Mass Incarceration,
and Controlling Racial Images: An Intersectional Analysis of Presidential
Rhetoric from 1969—1996." *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 15(1):78-
98.

Novak, Kenneth, and Mitchell Chamlin. 2012. "Racial Threat, Suspicion, and Police
Behavior: The Impact of Race and Place in Traffic Enforcement." *Crime &
Delinquency* 58(2):275-300.

O'Brien, Patricia. 2001. "'Just Like Baking a Cake': Women Describe the Necessary
Ingredients for Successful Reentry After Incarceration." *Families in Society: The
Journal of Contemporary Social Services* 82(3):287-295.

Ochoa, Gilda L. 2011. "Transformational Caring: Mexican American Women Redefining
Mothering and Education." Pp. 105-124 in *Latina/Chicana Mothering*, edited by
D. S. Silva. Ontario: Demeter.

Ogle, Robbin S., Daniel Maier-Katkin, and Thomas J. Bernard. 1995. "A Theory of
Homicidal Behavior among Women." *Criminology* 33(2):173-194.

Olguín, B.V. 2010. *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics*.
Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Ontiveros, Maria L. 1993. "Three Perspectives on Workplace Harassment of Women of
Color." *Golden Gate University Law Review* 23:817-828.

———. 1995. "Rosa Lopez, David Letterman, Christopher Darden and Me: Issues of Gender, Ethnicity and Class in Evaluating Witness Credibility." *Hastings Women's Law Journal* 6(2):135-155.

Opsal, Tara D. 2011. "Women Disrupting a Marginalized Identity: Subverting the Parolee Identity through Narrative." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 40(2):135-167.

Pager, Devah. 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(5):937-975.

———. 2007. *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Pascoe, C.J. 2007. *Dude You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Pasko, Lisa, and Vera López. 2018. "The Latina Penalty: Juvenile Correctional Attitudes Toward the Latina Juvenile Offender." *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 16(4):272-291.

Pelton, Leroy H. 1989. *For Reasons of Poverty: A Critical Analysis of the Public Child Welfare System in the United States*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Perilla, Julia L., Roger Bakeman, and Fran H. Norris. 1994. "Culture and Domestic Violence: The Ecology of Abused Latinas." *Violence and Victims* 9(4):325-338.

Perry, Brea L., and Edward W. Morris. 2014. "Suspending Progress: Collateral Consequences of Exclusionary Punishment in Public Schools." *American Sociological Review* 79(6):1067–1087.

Peterson, Elicka. 1999. "Murder as Self-Help: Women and Intimate Partner Homicide."

Homicide Studies 3(1):30-46.

Potter, Hillary, ed. 2015. *Intersectionality and Criminology: Disrupting and Revolutionizing Studies of Crime*. New York: Routledge.

Portillos, Edwardo L., Juan Carlos González, and Anthony A. Peguero. 2011. "Crime Control Strategies in School: Chicanas'/os' Perceptions and Criminalization." *The Urban Review* 44(2):171-188.

Powell, Amber Joy, Heather R. Hlavka, and Sameena Mulla. 2017. "Intersectionality and Credibility in Child Sexual Assault Trials." *Gender & Society* 31(4):457-480.

Ptacek, James. 1999. *Battered Women in the Courtroom: The Power of Judicial Response*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Prison Policy Initiative. 2021. "Prisons and Jails Will Separate Millions of Mothers from their Children in 2021." Prison Policy Initiative.
https://www.prisonpolicy.org/blog/2021/05/05/mothers-day-2021

Public Policy Institute of California. 2016. "Income Inequality and the Safety Net in California." Public Policy Institute of California. https://www.ppic.org/wp-content/uploads/content/pubs/report/R_516SBR.pdf

Putnam-Hornstein, Emily, Barbara Needell, Bryn King, and Michelle Johnson-Motoyama. 2013. "Racial and Ethnic Disparities: A Population-Based Examination of Risk Factors for Involvement with Child Protective Services." *Child Abuse & Neglect* 37(1):33-46.

Pyke, Karen D., and Denise L. Johnson. 2003. "Asian American Women and Racialized Femininities: 'Doing' Gender across Cultural Worlds." *Gender & Society* 17(1):33-53.

Raddon, Arwen. 2002. "Mothers in the Academy: Positioned and Positioning within
   Discourses of the 'Successful Academic' and the 'Good Mother.'" *Studies in
   Higher Education* 27(4):387-403.

Reich, Charles. 1963. "Midnight Welfare Searches and the Social Security Act." *The Yale
   Law Journal* 72(7):1347-1360.

Richie, Beth. 1996. *Compelled to Crime: The Gender Entrapment of Battered Black
   Women*. New York: Routledge.

———. 2001. "Challenges Incarcerated Women Face as they Return to their
   Communities: Findings from Life History Interviews." *Crime & Delinquency*
   47(3):368-389.

———. *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation*. New
   York: NYU Press.

Rincón, Bernice. 1971. "La Chicana: Her Role in the Past and Her Search for a New Role
   in the Future." *Regeneración* 1(10):15-17.

Rios, Victor M. 2006. "The Hyper-Criminalization of Black and Latino Male Youth in
   the Era of Mass Incarceration." *Souls* 8(2):40-54.

———. 2011. *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*. New York: NYU
   Press.

Rios, Victor M., Greg Prieto, and Jonathan M. Ibarra. 2020. "*Mano Suave-Mano Dura*:
   Legitimacy Policing and Latino Stop-and-Frisk." *American Sociological Review*
   85(1):58-75.

Ritchie, Andrea J. 2017. *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and
   Women of Color*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rivera, Jenny. 1994. "Domestic Violence Against Latinas by Latino Males: An Analysis of Race, National Origin and Gender Differentials." *Best College Third World Law Journal* 14(2):231-257.

Roberts, Dorothy. 1993. "Crime, Race, and Reproduction." *Tulane Law Review* 67(6):1945–1977.

———. 1997. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. New York: Vintage Books.

———. 2002. *Shattered Bonds: The Color of Child Welfare Reform*. New York: Civitas Books.

———. 2008. "The Racial Geography of Child Welfare: Toward a New Research Paradigm." *Child Welfare* 87:125-150.

———. 2012. "Prison, Foster Care, and the Systemic Punishment of Black Mothers." *UCLA Law Review* 59:1474-1500.

———. 2014. "Complicating the Triangle of Race, Class and State: The Insights of Black Feminists." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(10):1776-1782.

Rolón-Dow, Rosalie. 2004. "Seduced by Images: Identity and Schooling in the Lives of Puerto Rican Girls." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 35(1):8-29.

Romero, Mary. 2006. "Racial Profiling and Immigration Law Enforcement: Rounding Up of Usual Suspects in the Latino Community." *Critical Sociology* 32(2-3):447-473.

———. 2018. *Introducing Intersectionality*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.

Rudman, Cary J., and John Berthelsen. 1991. "An Analysis of the California Department of Corrections' Planning Process: Strategies to Reduce the Cost of

Incarcerating State Prisoners." *California Assembly Office of Research.* Paper
336. https://digitalcommons.law.ggu.edu/caldocs_assembly/336

Ryan, Joseph B., Antonis Katsiyannis, Jennifer M. Counts, and Jill C. Shelnut. 2018.
"The Growing Concerns Regarding School Resource Officers." *Intervention in School and Clinic* 53(3):188-192.

Saar, Malia Saada, Rebecca Epstein, Lindsay Rosenthal, and Yasmin Vafa. 2015. "The
Sexual Abuse to Prison Pipeline: The Girls' Story." Georgetown Law: Center on Poverty and Inequality.

Sabina, Chiara, Carlos A. Cuevas, and Jennifer L. Schally 2012. "Help-Seeking in a
National Sample of Victimized Latino Women: The Influence of Victimization Types." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 27(1):40-61.

Salisbury, Emily, and Patricia Van Voorhis. 2009. "Gendered Pathways: A Quantitative
Investigation of Women Probationers; Paths to Incarceration." *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 36(6):541-566.

Schaffner, Laurie. 2006. *Girls in Trouble with the Law*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers.

———. 2008. "Latinas in U.S. Juvenile Detention: Turning Adversity to Advantage."
Latino Studies 6(1):116-136.

Schneider, Janes, and Peter Schneider. 2008. "The Anthropology of Crime and
Criminalization." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37:351-373.

Schwalbe, Michael, Daphne Holden, Douglas Schrock, Sandra Godwin, Shealy
Thompson, and Michele Wolkomir. 2000. "Generic Processes in the Reproduction of Inequality: An Interactionist Analysis." *Social Forces* 79(2):419-452.

Seccombe, Karen T. 2007. *So You Think I Drive a Cadillac? Welfare Recipients'*
Perspectives on the System and its Reform. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Segura, Denise A. 1992. "Chicanas in White Collar Jobs: 'You Have to Prove Yourself
More.'" *Sociological Perspectives* 35:163-182.

———. 2003. "Navigating Between Two Worlds: The Labyrinth of Chicana Intellectual
Production in the Academy." *Journal of Black Studies* 34:28-51.

Sentencing Project, The. 2020a. "Fact Sheet: Trends in U.S. Corrections."
https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Trends-in-US-
Corrections.pdf

———. 2020b. "Fact Sheet: Incarcerated Women and Girls."
https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Incarcerated-
Women-and-Girls.pdf

Severance, Theresa A. 2004. "Concerns and Coping Strategies of Women Inmates
Concerning Release." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 38(4):73-97.

Sewell, Abigail A., and Kevin A. Jefferson. 2016. "Collateral Damage: The Health
Effects of Invasive Police Encounters in New York City." *Journal of Urban*
Health 93(1):42–67.

Sharpe, Gilly. 2015. "Precarious Identities: 'Young' Motherhood, Desistance, and
Stigma." *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 15(4):407-422.

Shields, Stephanie. 2008. "Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective." *Sex Roles* 59:301-
311. Silliman, Jael, and Anannya Bhattacharjee (eds.). 2002. *Policing the*
National Body: Sex, Race, and Criminalization. Cambridge, Mass: South End
Press.

Simmons, Charlene Wear, and Emily Danker-Feldman. 2010. "Parental Incarceration, Termination of Parental Rights and Adoption: A Case Study of the Intersection Between the Child Welfare and Criminal Justice Systems." *Justice Policy Journal* 7(2):1-37.

Singh, Nikhil Pal. 2014. "The Whiteness of Police." *American Quarterly* 66(4):1091-1099.

Sherman, Francine. 2009. "Reframing the Response: Girls in the Juvenile Justice System and Domestic Violence." *Juvenile and Family Justice Today* 18:16-20.

Small, Mario L. 2008. "Lost in Translation: How Not to Make Qualitative Research More Scientific." Pp. 165-171 in *Workshop on Interdisciplinary Standards for Systematic Qualitative Research*, edited by Michèle Lamont and Patricia White. Washington, DC: National Science Foundation.

Small, Jaime. 2015. "Classing Sex Offenders: How Prosecutors and Defense Attorneys Differentiate Men Accused of Sexual Assault." *Law & Society Review* 49(1):109-141.

Smart, Carol. 1996. "Deconstructing Motherhood." Pp. 37-57 in *Good Enough Mothering? Feminist Perspectives on Lone Motherhood,* edited by E. Sherman and W. J. Reid. New York: Columbia University Press.

Solórzano, Daniel G., and Dolores Delgado Bernal. 2001. "Critical Race Theory and Transformational Resistance: Chicana/o Students in an Urban Context." *Urban Education* 36(3):308-342.

Soss, Joe, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford S. Schram. 2011. *Disciplining the Poor:*

Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Spjeldnes, Solveig, and Sara Goodkind 2009. "Gender Differences and Offender Reentry: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* 48(4):314-335.

Spohn, Cassia, and Katherine Tellis. 2014. *Policing and Prosecuting Sexual Assault: Inside the Criminal Justice System*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Steffensmeier, Darrell, Jeffery Ulmer, and John Kramer. 1998. "The Interaction of Race, Gender, and Age in Criminal Sentencing: The Punishment Cost of Being Young, Black and Male." *Criminology* 36(4):763-797.

Stephens, D., and Layli D. Phillips. 2003. "Freaks, Gold Diggers, Divas and Dykes: The Socio-historical Development of African American Adolescent Females' Sexual Scripts." *Sexuality and Culture* 7(1):3-47.

Stevens, Evelyn P. 1973. "Machismo and Marianismo." *Society* 10(6):57-63.

Strauss, Murray A., Glenda Kaufman Kantor. 1994. "Corporal Punishment of Adolescents by Parents: A Risk Factor in the Epidemiology of Depression, Suicide, Alcohol Abuse, Child Abuse, and Wife Beating." *Adolescence* 29:543-561.

Stuart, Forrest. 2016. "Becoming 'Copwise': Policing, Culture, and the Collateral Consequences of Street-Level Criminalization." *Law and Society Review* 50:279-313.

Stuart, Forrest, and Ava Benezra. 2018. "Criminalized Masculinities: How Policing Shapes the Construction of Gender and Sexuality in Poor Black Communities." *Social Problems* 65:174-190.

Sudbury, Julia. 2005. *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison-Industrial Complex*. New York and London: Routledge.

Sugie, Naomi F., and Kristin Turney. 2017. "Beyond Incarceration: Criminal Justice Contact and Mental Health." *American Sociological Review* 82(4):719–743.

Thurau, Lisa H., and Johanna Wald. 2010. "Controlling Partners: When Law Enforcement Meets Discipline in Public Schools." *New York School Law Review* 54:977-1020.

Tinker, John N., John Quiring, and Yvonne Pimental. 1985. "Ethnic Bias in California Courts: A Case Study of Chicano and Anglo Felony Defendants." *Sociological Inquiry* 55(1):83-96.

Torres, Sara. 1991. "A Comparison of Wife Abuse Between Two Cultures; Perception, Attitudes, Nature, and Extent." *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 12(1):113-131.

Travis, Jeremy. 2002. "Invisible Punishment: An Instrument of Exclusion. Pp. 15-36 in *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment*, edited by M. Mauer and M. Chesney-Lind. New York: New Press.

Trujillo, Larry D. 1974. "La Evolución de 'Bandido' al 'Pachuco': A Critical Examination and Evaluation of Criminological Literature of Chicanos." *Issues in Criminology* 9(2):43-67.

Tyler, Tom R., Jeffrey Fagan, and Amanda Geller. 2014. "Street Stops and Police Legitimacy: Teachable Moments in Young Urban Men's Legal Socialization." *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies* 11(4):751–785.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2020. "Unemployment Rates for Metropolitan Areas." Washington, D.C. https://www.bls.gov/web/metro/laummtrk.htm

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). 2020. "Child Maltreatment
2018." Washington, DC. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

U.S. Department of Justice Statistics. 2018 "Contact between Police and the Public." NCJ
251145. https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cpp15.pdf#page=4

Valdez, Avelardo. 2007. *Mexican American Girls and Gang Violence: Beyond Risk*. New
York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vélez-Ibáñez, Carlos. 1980. "The Non-Consenting Sterilization of Mexican Women in
Los Angeles: Issues of Psychocultural Rupture and Legal Redress in Paternalistic
Behavioral Environments." Pp. 235-248 in *Twice a Minority: Mexican American
Women*, edited by M. B. Melville. St. Louis, MO: C.V. Mosby Press.

———. 1999. "Se me Acabó la Canción: An Ethnography of Non-Consenting
Sterilizations among Mexican Women in Los Angeles, California." Pp. 71-91 in
Latina Issues: Fragments of Historia (Ella) (Herstory), edited by A. A. Lopez.
New York: Garland Press.

Vidales, Guadalupe T. 2010. "Arrested Justice: The Multifaceted Plight of Immigrant
Latinas Who Face Domestic Violence." *Journal of Family Violence* 25:533-544.

Vigil, James Diego. 1988. *Barrio Gangs: Street Life and Identity in Southern California*.
Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

———. 2008. "Female Gang Members from East Los Angeles." *International Journal of
Social Inquiry* 1(1):47-74.

Villarruel, Francisco A., Nancy E. Walker, Pamela Minifree, Omara Rivera-Vazquez,
Susan Peterson, and Kristen Perry. 2002. "¿Dónde Está la Justicia? A Call to
Action on Behalf of Latino and Latina Youth in the U.S. Justice System."

Michigan State University: Institute for Children, Youth, and Families.

https://static.prisonpolicy.org/scans/bby/Full_Report_English.pdf

Visher, Christy A. 1983. "Gender, Police Arrest Decisions, and Notions of Chivalry."

Criminology 21(1):5-28.

Vitale, Alex. 2017. *The End of Policing*. New York: Verso Books.

Wacquant, Loïc. 2001. "Deadly Symbiosis: When Ghetto and Prison Meet and Mesh."

Punishment & Society 3:95–133.

Wald, Johanna, and Daniel F. Losen 2003. "Defining and Redirecting a School-to-Prison

Pipeline." *New Directions for Youth Development* 99:9-15.

Walker, Samuel, Miriam Delone, and Cassia Spohn. 2007. *The Color of Justice: Race,*

Ethnicity, and Crime in America. 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth.

Weisburd, David, and Malay Majmundar. 2018. "Proactive Policing: Effects on Crime

and Communities." Washington, DC: The National Academy Press.

Weiss, Robert S. 1994. *Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative*

Interview Studies. New York: The Free Press.

Weitzer, Ronald, and Steven A. Tuch. 2002. "Perceptions of Racial Profiling: Race,

Class, and Personal Experience." *Criminology* 40:435-456.

Welch, Kelly. 2007. "Black Criminal Stereotypes and Racial Profiling." *Journal of*

Contemporary Criminal Justice 23:276-288.

Western, Bruce. 2006. *Punishment and Inequality in America*. New York: Russell Sage

Foundation.

Williams, Jason M., Zoe Spencer, and Sean K. Wilson. 2021. "I am Not Your Felon:

Decoding the Trauma, Resilience, and Recovering Mothering of Formerly

Incarcerated Black Women." *Crime & Delinquency* 67(8):1103-1136.

Williams, Joyce E., and Karen A. Holmes. 1981. *The Second Assault: Rape and Public

Attitudes*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Wilson, Tamar. 2000. "Anti-Immigrant Sentiment and the Problem of

Reproduction/Maintenance in Mexican Immigration to the United States."

Critique of Anthropology 20(2):191-213.

Windle, Michael, Rebecca C. Windle, Douglas M. Scheidt, and Gregory B. Miller. 1995.

"Physical and Sexual Abuse and Associated Mental Disorders among Alcoholic

Inpatients." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 152(9):1322-1328.

Windsor, Liliane Cambraia, Eloise Dunlap, and Andrew Golub. 2011. "Challenging

Controlling Images, Oppression, Poverty, and Other Structural Constraints:

Survival Strategies among African-American Women in Distressed Households."

Journal of African American Studies 15(3):290-306.

Winfree, L. Thomas, Frances P. Bernat, and Finn-Aage Esbensen. 2001. "Hispanic and

Anglo Gang Membership in Two Southwestern Cities." *The Social Science

Journal* 38(1):105-117.

Wozniacka, Gosia. 2012. "California Central Valley Cities among the Poorest in US."

Washington Examiner https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/calif-central-valley-

cities-among-poorest-in-us

Wun, Connie. 2016. "Unaccounted Foundations: Black Girls, Anti-Black Racism, and

Punishment in Schools." *Critical Sociology* 42(4-5):737-750.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of*

Women's Studies 13(3):193-209.

Zatz, Marjorie S. 1987. "Chicano Youth Gangs and Crime: The Creation of a Moral
Panic." *Contemporary Crisis* 11:129-158.

Zatz, Marjorie S., and Edwardo L. Portillos. 2000. "Voices from the Barrio: Chicano/a
Gangs, Families, and Communities." *Criminology* 38(2):369-402.

Zatz, Marjorie S., and Richard P. Krecker. 2003. "Anti-Gang Initiatives as Racialized
Policy." Pp. 173-196 in *Crime Control and Social Justice: The Delicate Balance*,
edited by D. H. Hawkins, S. Myers, and R. Stone. Westport, CN: Greenwood
Press.

Zavella, Patricia. 1993. "Feminist Insider Dilemmas: Constructing Ethnic Identity with
'Chicana' Informants." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 13(3):53-76.

———. 1997. "Playing with Fire: The Gendered Construction of Chicana/Mexicana
Sexuality." Pp. 392-408 in *The Gender Sexuality Reader: Culture, History,
Political Economy*, edited by R. N. Lancaster and M. D. Leonardo. New York:
Routledge.

———. 2003. "Talkin' Sex: Chicanas and Mexicanas Theorize about Silences and
Sexual Pleasures." Pp. 228-53 in *Chicana Feminisms: A Critical Reader*, edited
by G.F Arredondo, A. Hurtado, N. Klahn, O. N. Ramírez, and P. Zavella.
Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Research Study
University of California, Merced
Department of Sociology

Attention Formerly Incarcerated Chicanas Living in the Central Valley!

Volunteers Wanted For A Research Study

The purpose of this research is to examine what life is like for young Mexican American women living in the Central Valley, before and after incarceration. The goal of this research is to understand these experiences in order to improve sources of support that can better serve members of this community.

Who is eligible?
> U.S.-born Mexican American women who have been incarcerated
> Ages 18 – 35 years old
> Living in the Central Valley

What will you be asked to do?
As a participant in this study, you will be asked to take part in one interview that can range from 1 to 3 hours in a setting you are most comfortable with. Prior to the interview, you will also be asked to complete a short, personal background survey.

Compensation:
You will receive a $25 Visa gift card for your participation in this study.

If you have any questions or are interested in participating, please contact:
Veronica Lerma at (209) 712-5467 or vlerma@ucmerced.edu

This study has been reviewed and approved by the UC Merced Institutional Review Board

Appendix B: Recruitment Flyer for System-impacted Sample

Research Study
University of California, Merced
Department of Sociology

The purpose of this research is to examine what life is like for Mexican American women living in the Central Valley, who have been directly impacted by the incarceration of a close family member (i.e., parent, sibling, spouse, etc.) or friend. The goal of this research is to understand these experiences in order to improve sources of support that can better serve members of system-impacted communities.

Who is eligible?
- U.S.-born, system-impacted Mexican American women
- Ages 18 – 35 years old
- Living in the Central Valley

What will you be asked to do?
As a participant in this study, you will be asked to take part in one interview that can range from 1 to 3 hours in a setting you are most comfortable with. Prior to the interview, you will also be asked to complete a short, personal background survey.

Compensation:
You will receive a $25 Visa gift card for your participation in this study.

If you have any questions or are interested in participating, please contact:
Veronica Lerma at (209) 712-5467 or vlerma@ucmerced.edu

This study has been reviewed and approved by the UC Merced Institutional Review Board (#UCM2017-60)

Appendix C: Informed Consent for Formerly Incarcerated Sample

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

Title of the Study: The Experiences of Formerly Incarcerated Mexican American Women in California's Central Valley
Investigator's Name(s), Department(s), Telephone Number(s): Veronica Lerma, Department of Sociology, University of California, Merced, (209) 712-5467

PURPOSE
You are being asked to participate in a research study. I hope to learn about what it is like to be a young Mexican American woman living in the Central Valley of California, before and after being incarcerated. My goals with this research are to better understand these experiences and challenges in order to improve policies, practices, and resources that can better support members of this community.

PROCEDURES
If you decide to volunteer, you will be asked to participate in one interview that can range between 1 and 3 hours. Interviews may take place in public spaces, coffee shops, private homes, over the phone, or on video call. The interview will involve questions about your life and your family as well as your experiences with school, your community, and the criminal justice system before and after your incarceration(s). You will not be asked about criminal activity and you do not have to answer any question(s) you are uncomfortable with. This interview will be recorded. Although recording is required for participation, if you would like me to pause or stop the recorder at any time, I will do so at your request. You will also be asked to complete a short, personal background survey before the interview begins, which will help me get to know you a little better.

RISKS
Some of the questions could cause discomfort or stress. You are free to decline to answer any questions you do not wish to, take a break, or to stop the interview at any time. If you would like, I can also provide you with information to services that can accommodate your needs. As with all research, there is a small chance that confidentiality could be breached. If this happens, you could possibly experience embarrassment, emotional distress, or suffer negative social and/or legal consequences. I am taking measures to prevent this from happening.

BENEFITS
It is possible that you will not benefit directly by participating in this study. However, it is hoped that this research will contribute to improving the lives of other incarcerated and formerly incarcerated Mexican American women and girls.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your participation in this study and the information you provide will be handled with strict confidentiality. I am the only person that will have access to the research data connected to you, which will be stored on a secure storage network and accessed only from my password-protected computer. The interview recordings and transcripts will be used for research purposes only. Once the interview has been transcribed, and all identifying information removed from the transcript,

the audio recording will be destroyed. If results from this study are published or presented, individual names and identifying details will not be used. Absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, since research documents are not protected from subpoena.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION
There is no cost to you beyond the time and effort required to complete the study. For your participation in this study, you will receive a $25 Visa gift card after you complete the interview.

RIGHT TO REFUSE OR WITHDRAW
You may refuse to participate in this study. You may change your mind about being in the study and quit after the study has started.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND RIGHT TO WITHDRAW
Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to take part in this research project. You do not have to answer any question you do not want to answer and have the right to end the interview or withdraw from the study entirely at any time, for any reason, without penalty to you or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS
If you have any questions or concerns about this research project please contact Veronica Lerma at (209) 712-5467 or vlerma@ucmerced.edu. You may also contact the person supervising this research, Professor Zulema Valdez, who can be reached at zvaldez@ucmerced.edu or (209) 500-8808. For questions about your rights while taking part in this study call the Office of Research at (209) 228-4613 or write to the Office of Research, 5200 North Lake Road, UC Merced, Merced, CA 95343. The Office of Research will inform the Institutional Review Board which is a group of people who review the research to protect your rights. If you have any complaints or concerns about this study, you may address them to the Ramesh Balasubramaniam, Chair of the IRB at (209) 228-2314 or irbchair@ucmerced.edu.

CONSENT
Do you have any questions? Do you agree to participate in this study? You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Appendix D: Informed Consent for System-impacted Sample

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

Title of the Study: The Experiences of Formerly Incarcerated and System-Impacted Mexican American Women in California's Central Valley
Investigator's Name(s), Department(s), Telephone Number(s): Veronica Lerma, Department of Sociology, University of California, Merced, (209) 712-5467

PURPOSE
You are being asked to participate in a research study. I hope to learn about what it is like to be a Mexican American woman living in the Central Valley of California who has been directly impacted by the incarceration of a close relative or friend. My goals with this research are to better understand these experiences and challenges in order to improve policies, practices, and resources that can better support members of both the formerly incarcerated and system-impacted communities.

PROCEDURES
If you decide to volunteer, you will be asked to participate in one interview that can range between 1 and 3 hours. Interviews may take place in public spaces, coffee shops, private homes, over the phone, or on video call. The interview will involve questions about your life and your family, as well as your experiences with school, your community, your own experience with the criminal justice system, and relationships with incarcerated/formerly incarcerated friends and family. You do not have to answer any question(s) you are uncomfortable with. This interview will be recorded. Although recording is required for participation, if you would like me to pause or stop the recorder at any time, I will do so at your request. You will also be asked to complete a short, personal background survey before the interview begins, which will help me get to know you a little better.

RISKS
Some of the questions could cause discomfort or stress. You are free to decline to answer any questions you do not wish to, take a break, or to stop the interview at any time. If you would like, I can also provide you with information to services that can accommodate your needs. As with all research, there is a small chance that confidentiality could be breached. If this happens, you could possibly experience embarrassment, emotional distress, or suffer negative social and/or legal consequences. I am taking measures to prevent this from happening.

BENEFITS
It is possible that you will not benefit directly by participating in this study. However, it is hoped that this research will contribute to improving the lives of incarcerated, formerly incarcerated, and system-impacted Mexican American women and girls.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your participation in this study and the information you provide will be handled with strict confidentiality. I am the only person that will have access to the research data connected to you, which will be stored on a secure storage network and accessed only from my password-protected computer. The interview recordings and transcripts will be used for research purposes only. Once the interview has been transcribed, and all identifying information removed from the transcript,

the audio recording will be destroyed. If results from this study are published or presented, individual names and identifying details will not be used. Absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, since research documents are not protected from subpoena.

COSTS AND COMPENSATION
There is no cost to you beyond the time and effort required to complete the study. For your participation in this study, you will receive a $25 Visa gift card after you complete the interview.

RIGHT TO REFUSE OR WITHDRAW
You may refuse to participate in this study. You may change your mind about being in the study and quit after the study has started.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND RIGHT TO WITHDRAW
Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to take part in this research project. You do not have to answer any question you do not want to answer and have the right to end the interview or withdraw from the study entirely at any time, for any reason, without penalty to you or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

QUESTIONS AND CONCERNS
If you have any questions or concerns about this research project please contact Veronica Lerma at (209) 712-5467 or vlerma@ucmerced.edu. You may also contact the person supervising this research, Professor Zulema Valdez, who can be reached at zvaldez@ucmerced.edu or (209) 500-8808. For questions about your rights while taking part in this study call the Office of Research at (209) 228-4613 or write to the Office of Research, 5200 North Lake Road, UC Merced, Merced, CA 95343. The Office of Research will inform the Institutional Review Board which is a group of people who review the research to protect your rights. If you have any complaints or concerns about this study, you may address them to the Ramesh Balasubramaniam, Chair of the IRB at (209) 228-2314 or irbchair@ucmerced.edu.

CONSENT
Your signature, below, will indicate that you have decided to volunteer as a research subject and that you have read and understood the information provided above.

Your Signature: _____ Date: _____

Your Name (printed): _____

Appendix E: Figure 1: Map of the Central Valley
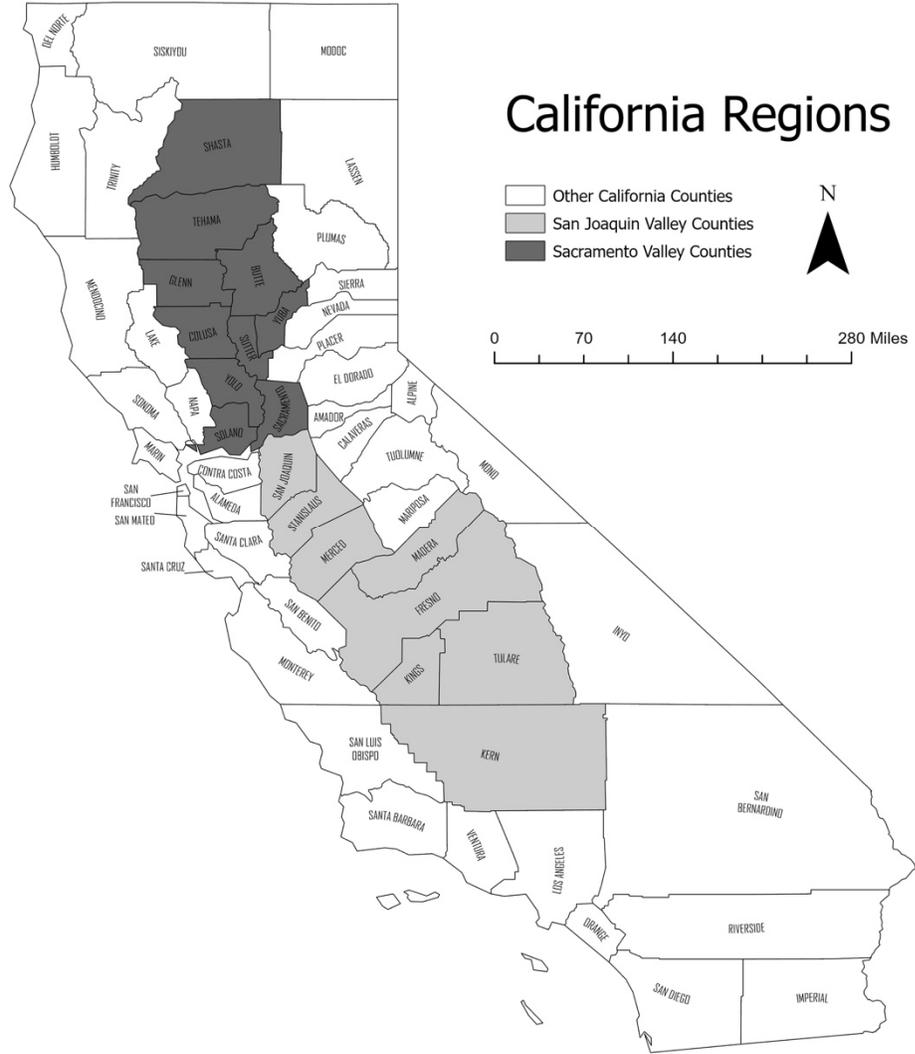
Appendix F: Figure 2: Map of the San Joaquin Valley

San Joaquin Valley
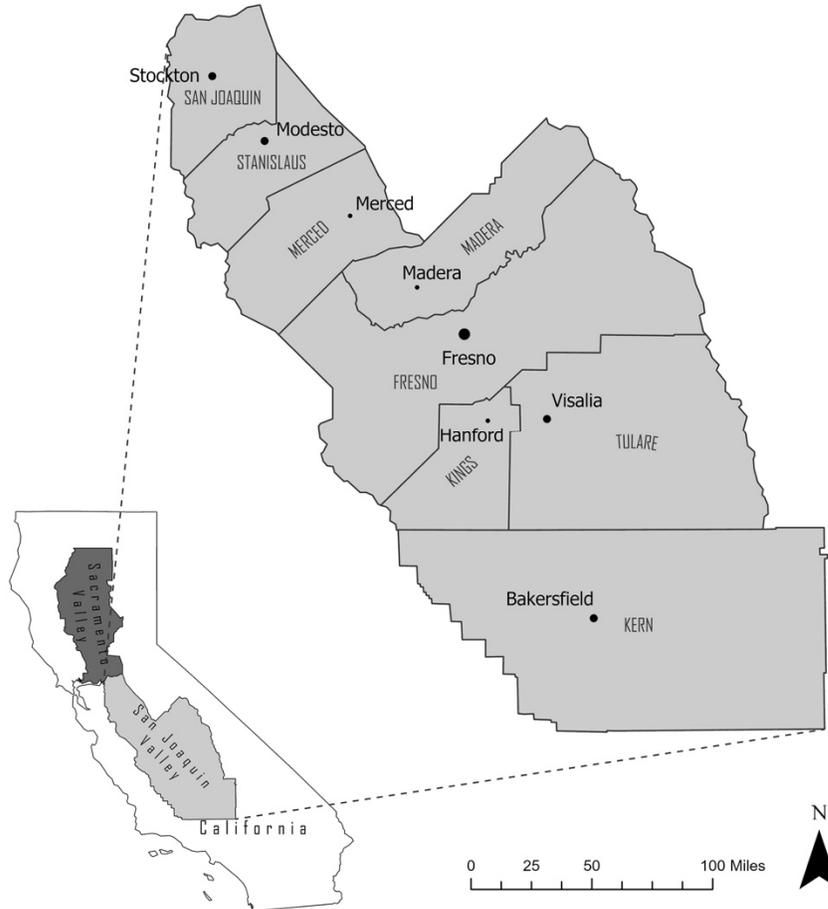
Appendix G: Table 1: Demographic Information for Formerly Incarcerated Sample

Pseudonym	Location	Age	Education	Employment Status
Mousie	Stockton	31	GED	Unemployed
Esther	Lodi	28	GED	Full time
Alicia	Lodi	32	10th grade	Unemployed
Marissa	Lodi	30	11th grade	Unemployed
Nina	Lodi	29	9th grade	Unemployed
Lydia	Stockton	26	Some college	Full time
Mercy	Stockton	21	10th grade	Unemployed
Ramona	Galt	35	Vocational training	Full time
Selena	Fresno	21	Some college	Unemployed
Luisa	Fresno	31	AA degree	Unemployed
Lupe	Madera/Clovis	35	AA degree	Full time
Carmen	Fresno	35	High school diploma	Part time
Maria	Fresno	29	AA degree	Unemployed
Gabriella	Madera	32	Some college	Full time
Yolanda	Fresno	26	AS degree	Unemployed
Alejandra	Clovis/Fresno	35	GED	Part time
Elena	Stockton	33	AA degree	Part time
Isabella	Hanford	35	Some college	Unemployed
Mayra	Hanford	25	11th grade	Part time
Sonia	Modesto	32	Master's degree	Full time
Luz	Galt	35	Vocational training	Full time
Gloria	Winton	32	Bachelor's degree	Part time
Anita	Merced	30	AA degree	Part time
Letty	Los Banos	35	Some college	Disabled
Luna	Merced	34	Some college	Disabled

Appendix H: Table 2: Demographic Information for System-impacted Sample

Pseudonym	Location	Age	Education	Employment Status
Lizette	Fresno	26	AS degree	Unemployed
Marlo	Lodi	32	Master's degree	Full time
Angel	Modesto	33	Master's degree	Full time
Giggles	Hanford	20	Some college	Full time
Lola	Acampo	35	Some college	Part time
Reina	Galt	28	High school diploma	Full time
Rosie	Bakersfield	26	Master's degree	Part time
Valerie	Dos Palos	24	Bachelor's degree	Full time
Olivia	Lodi	27	11th grade	Stay-at-home mom
Blanca	Lodi	33	AA degree	Full time
Luisa	Stockton	31	High school diploma	Full time
Frankie	Stockton	25	Some college	Part time
Smiley	Acampo	28	GED	Full time

Appendix I: Personal Background Survey for Formerly Incarcerated Sample

Background Information Survey

Directions: Please answer each question as accurately as possible by checking the correct answer or filling in your response in the space provided.

Age: _____

In terms of race/ethnicity, how do you identify? _____

What is your sexual orientation? _____
What is your marital status?

☐ Married   ☐ Single   ☐ Divorced   ☐ Widowed   ☐ Living w/ partner

Do you have children?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No
        If yes, how many children do you have? _____
        How old are they? _____

Do you identify with a particular religion? ☐ Yes ☐ No
        If so, what is your religious affiliation? _____

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?
        ☐ Less than 8ᵗʰ grade   ☐ Associate degree
        ☐ Some high school   ☐ Bachelor degree
        ☐ High school graduate or equivalent   ☐ Master's degree
        ☐ Some college   ☐ Doctoral or Professional
        degree

Are you currently in school?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No
        If yes, what degree/certification/credential are you working towards? _____
        _____

        If applicable, what are you studying? _____

Describe your employment status:
        ☐ Full-time ☐ Part-time   ☐ Homemaker   ☐ Unemployed   ☐ Unable to
        work
        If applicable, what type of work do you do? _____

What was your annual income last year? _____

Please describe your living/household arrangement:

☐ House   ☐ Apartment   ☐ Mobile home   ☐ Homeless   ☐ Other

If applicable, whom do you live with? How many members are in this household?

_____

_____

What was your total household income last year?
    ☐ Under $10,000   ☐ $50,000 - $74,999
    ☐ Under $20,000   ☐ $75,0000 - $99,000
    ☐ $20,000 - $34,999   ☐ Over $100,000
    ☐ $35,000 - $49,999

Which side of town do you live on? _____

Which of these applies to you?
    ☐ Gang member   ☐ Former gang member   ☐ Gang affiliate   ☐ None

How many times have you been arrested? _____

How old were you the first time you were arrested? _____

When was the last time you were arrested? _____

Have you ever been on parole or probation?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No
    Are you currently on: ☐ Parole   ☐ Probation   ☐ Neither

How many times have you been incarcerated or confined to state and/or federal prison, jail, and/or juvenile detention? _____

Where were you incarcerated/confined? Please check all that apply.
    ☐ Federal prison   ☐ State prison   ☐ Private prison   ☐ Jail   ☐ Juvenile detention

For each incarceration/confinement, please indicate: 1) how old you were at the time; 2) where you were incarcerated (i.e., jail, state/federal prison, juvenile detention); 3) length of your sentence(s); 4) type(s) of crime(s) for which you were convicted (i.e., violent, property, drug-related, etc.); and type of offense (i.e., felony or misdemeanor).

Appendix J: Personal Background Survey for System-Impacted Sample

Background Information Survey

Directions: Please answer each question as accurately as possible by checking the correct answer or filling in your response in the space provided.

Age: _____

In terms of race/ethnicity, how do you identify? _____

What is your sexual orientation? _____

What is your marital status?

□ Married   □ Single   □ Divorced   □ Widowed   □ In a relationship

Do you have children?   □ Yes   □ No
     If yes, how many children do you have? _____
     How old are they? _____

Do you identify with a particular religion? □ Yes □ No
     If so, what is your religious affiliation? _____

What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?
     □ Less than 8th grade   □ Associate degree
     □ Some high school   □ Bachelor degree
     □ High school graduate or equivalent   □ Master's degree
     □ Some college   □ Doctoral or Professional
     degree

Are you currently in school?   □ Yes   □ No
     If yes, what degree/certification/credential are you working towards? _____
     _____

     If applicable, what are you studying? _____

Describe your employment status:
     □ Full-time   □ Part-time   □ Homemaker   □ Unemployed   □ Unable to work

If applicable, what type of work do you do? _____

What was <u>your</u> annual income last year? _____

Please describe your living/household arrangement:

☐ House   ☐ Apartment   ☐ Mobile home   ☐ Homeless   ☐ Other

If applicable, whom do you live with? How many members are in this household?

_____

_____

What was your <u>total household</u> income last year?

☐ Under $10,000   ☐ $50,000 - $74,999
☐ Under $20,000   ☐ $75,0000 - $99,000
☐ $20,000 - $34,999   ☐ Over $100,000
☐ $35,000 - $49,999

Which side of town do you live on? _____

Which of these applies to you?

☐ Gang member   ☐ Former gang member   ☐ Gang affiliate   ☐ None

About how many of your friends and relatives have been incarcerated? _____

Have you ever been stopped and/or questioned by police? _____

If yes, how many times? _____

How old were you at the time of each of these encounters? _____

_____

Have you ever been arrested? _____

If so, how many times have you been arrested? _____

At the time of each arrest, how old were you? _____

_____

Have you ever been on probation?   ☐ Yes   ☐ N

Appendix K: Table 3: Carceral Histories for Formerly Incarcerated Sample

Pseudonym	# of Arrests	Age at Arrest	# of Incarcerations	Confinement	Total Incarceration Length	State Surveillance
Mousie	12	15-29	10	Jail	2 years	Probation
Esther	10+	15-27	10	Jail	4 years	Probation
Alicia	10+	19-28	1	Jail	9 months	Not currently
Lizette	20+	11-25	10+	Juvinile Hall/Jail/Prison	6 years	Not currently
Nina	5	21-27	5	Jail	1.5 years	Probation
Lydia	1	23	1	Jail	8 months	Probation
Mercy	6	16-21	2	Juvenile Hall/Jail/Prison	2.5 years	Parole
Ramona	30	21-35	30	Prison/Jail	9 years	Not currently
Selena	7	14	2	Juvenile Hall/YA/Jail	6 years and 7 months	Probation
Luisa	2	27	2	Jail	1 year	Probation
Lupe	5	13-16	5	Juvinile Hall/YA	6 years	Not currently
Carmen	7	23-31	2	Jail	1 year and two months	Not currently
Maria	1	28	1	Jail	5 months	Probation
Gabriella	4	13-15	1	Juvinile Hall	6 months	Not currently
Yolanda	2	19-20	2	Jail	6 months	Not currently
Alejandra	20+	13-31	20+	Juvinile Hall/Jail/Prison	14 years	Not currently
Elena	1	27	1	Jail	6 months	Probation
Isabella	20+	17-35	15+	Jail	2 years	Probation
Mayra	6	20-25	4	Jail	2 years	Probation
Sonia	1	30	1	Jail	4 months	Probation
Luz	20+	21-35	5	Jail/Federal prison	2 years	Parole
Gloria	8	13-28	5	Juvinile Hall/YA/Jail	7.5 years	Not currently
Anita	8	16-26	3	Jail	6 months	Probation
Letty	15+	16-35	5	Jail	2 years	Not currently
Luna	20	15-33	12-15	Juvinile Hall/Group home	2 years	Probation

Appendix L: Table 4: Carceral Histories for System-impacted Sample

Pseudonym	# of Incarcerated Loved Ones	# of Police Encounters	Age	Carceral History
Sofia	5	2	19-20	Two nights in jail
Marlo	8	6	14-32	Handcuffed once
Angel	9	8	17-33	One night in jail
Giggles	4	0	N/A	N/A
Lola	15+	3	15-32	One night in jail
Reina	20	15+	12-18	One night in jail
Rosie	3	0	N/A	N/A
Valerie	8	7	15-22	Handcuffed twice
Olivia	20	10+	14-22	N/A
Blanca	7	3	15-29	N/A
Luisa	10+	5+	15-25	Yes
Frankie	15+	10+	13-19	N/A
Smiley	20+	15+	12-27	One night in jail

Appendix M: Interview Guide for Formerly Incarcerated Sample

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Hi, my name is Veronica and I want to thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I would like to ask you some questions about your life and experiences with others, such as your family, community, the criminal justice system, and school, leading up to, and as a result of, your previous incarceration(s). The interview is anticipated to take at least one hour but we can end whenever you need to. As a reminder, you may choose not to answer any of the following questions, and we can stop the interview at any time, just let me know.

Background
I like to start by asking the people I interview to tell me about themselves. So, whatever you are comfortable with sharing, I'd basically like to hear about your life story.
- Tell me about yourself.
    o How old are you?
    o Do you work?
    o Do you have kids?
- What does a typical day look like in your life?

Family Life
I'd now like to talk about your family and what your life was like growing up. Is this okay?
- Can you tell me a little about your family?
    o Who raised you?
    o What do your parents do for a living?
    o How much education did they receive?
- How would you describe your home/family life growing up?
    o What was your childhood like?
- Did you get in trouble often when you were growing up?
    o What sorts of things would you get in trouble for?
    o What sorts of punishments did you receive?
- Has anyone else in your family ever been incarcerated?
    o Explain. For what? For how long?
    o What impact did this have on you?
- How does your family feel about you being incarcerated in the past?
    o Did they start treating you differently?
    o How did they react when you were arrested/incarcerated?
    o How does this make you feel?
    o How do you deal with this?
- Do you/Have you ever felt judged by your family?
    o What/why do you think they are judging you?

Education

- What was school like for you?
- Did you ever get in trouble in school?
    - What sorts of things would you get in trouble for?
    - What type of punishment did you receive?
    - Do you think this punishment was fair? Why or why not?
- Do you feel like you were negatively labeled by the school (teachers, administrators, other students)? Why?

Community
- How long have you lived in [your town]?
    - Do you like living here?
    - What don't you like about it?
    - What was it like growing up here?
    - Do you feel like people in this town accept you? Do they judge you?
    - What is it like being a Mexican American woman in this town?
        - Is it difficult?
    - Do you think this town is racist?

Criminal Justice System
- Can you tell me a little about your experiences with the juvenile and criminal justice systems? (This includes police, parole/probation officers, correctional officers, attorneys, judges, etc.)
    - Would you say you have been treated fairly and with dignity and respect?
    - Have you had any negative experiences? Please explain.
- Were you ever arrested/incarcerated as a minor? Tell me about this.
- How are you treated by police?
- About how often do you (or have you) come into contact with police?
- Have you ever felt like you were being profiled or harassed?
    - Why do you think this happened to you?
- What do you think of police?
- What about your experiences with the court system?
    - Do you think you were fairly represented by your attorneys/public defenders?
    - What about by the judge?
- How has the criminal justice system impacted your life?
    - Do you feel your incarceration/probation has benefited your rehabilitation?
- Some people think they deserved to be punished or incarcerated by the system. Others don't. Do you think you deserved to be punished (incarcerated) by the system?
- If you could, what would you change about the system?

Feelings Towards Criminalization

My next set of questions has to do with the way you think others view/treat you and how this makes you feel.

- When people see you, what do you think they see? Why?
    - How does that make you feel?
- Do you ever feel labeled, judged, stereotyped, or discriminated against? By whom?
    - How does this make you feel?
- How do you respond/deal with this?
- What sorts of stereotypes have you encountered?
- When do you think this judgment started?
    - How old were you?
    - Why do you think it started?
- Before you were arrested/incarcerated, did you ever feel like you were treated unfairly (like a criminal) even when you did nothing wrong?
- How does this treatment impact your life? (i.e., opportunities, relationships, etc.)
- Do you think this judgment will ever go away?
    - How does this make you feel?
- Do you think this judgment has anything to do with you being a Mexican woman?

Motherhood/Welfare (if applicable)
I would like to ask you about your children if that is okay?

- Do your children live with you?
    - Do you have full custody of them or are there others who care for them?
- Do you feel judged as a mom?
    - By who? Why?
- How much help/support do you receive for raising your children?
- Do you (or have you) receive welfare support?
- Has it been hard to get welfare support?
- When you interact with people in the welfare office, how are you treated?
    - Why do you think they treat you this way?
- Do you feel judged by others for being on welfare?

Work (if applicable)

- Do you like your job?
    - What do you like/dislike about it?
- How hard has it been for you to get a job?
    - Why do you think it's been hard?
- What is your dream job?

Social Media
I've interviewed women who have had their charges/mug shots posted on social media and this has caused a lot of public shaming. To your knowledge, has this ever happened to you?

- Your arrest and alleged offense was posted on social media. How does this make you feel?
- What was the general reaction to the post(s) about you?
- Do you think it's appropriate for the police and others to be sharing this information on social media?
- How has this impacted your life?

Future Aspirations
I'd like to end this interview by asking you about your future, goals, and dreams.
- Who/what is most important in your life right now?
- What are your future aspirations, dreams, and goals?
- Where do you see yourself in 5 years?
- Finally, is there anything we haven't talked about that you think is important to discuss? Or is there anything you would want me or other people to understand about you?

Appendix N: Interview Guide for System-impacted Sample

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Hi, my name is Veronica and I want to thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I would like to ask you some questions about your life and experiences with others, such as your family, community, school, and relationships with people who have been involved with the criminal justice system. The interview is anticipated to take at least one hour but we can end whenever you need to. As a reminder, you may choose not to answer any of the following questions, and we can stop the interview at any time, just let me know.

Background
I like to start by asking the people I interview to tell me about themselves. So, whatever you are comfortable with sharing, I'd like to hear about so that I can get to know you and your life story.
- Tell me about yourself.
  - How old are you? Do you work? Do you have kids?
- What does a typical day look like in your life?

Family Life
I'd now like to talk about your family and what your life was like growing up. Is this okay?
- Can you tell me a little about your family?
  - Who raised you?
  - What do your parents do for a living?
  - How much education did they receive?
- How would you describe your home/family life growing up?
  - What was your childhood like?
- Did you get in trouble often when you were growing up?
  - What sorts of things would you get in trouble for?
  - What sorts of punishments did you receive?
- Has anyone in your family ever been incarcerated?
  - For what? For how long?
- Do you/Have you ever felt judged by your family?
  - What/why do you think they are judging you?

Education
- What was school like for you?
  - Did you do well in school?
- Did you ever get in trouble in school?
  - What sorts of things would you get in trouble for?
  - What type of punishment did you receive?
  - Do you think this punishment was fair? Why or why not?

- Do you feel like you were negatively labeled by the school (teachers, administrators, other students)? Why?

Community
- How long have you lived in [your town]?
  - Do you like living here?
  - What don't you like about it?
  - What is it like being a Mexican American woman in this town?

System-Impaction
I'm really interested in learning about the experiences of system-impacted Mexican American women in the Central Valley.
- What are the challenges you face as someone who has been impacted by the incarceration of a loved one, specifically a Chicana loved one?
- What effect has this had on your life?
- How do you deal with these challenges?

I now want to ask you about [(formerly) incarcerated loved one(s)].
- How do you feel about their incarceration(s)?
  - Do you feel angry, sad, or indifferent?
- In your view, did others judge them or start treating them differently after they were incarcerated?
  - Did this judgment or mistreatment extend to you?
  - How does this make you feel?
  - How do you deal with this?
- Do you think they deserved to be incarcerated?

Criminal Justice System
I now want to ask you about your own direct and indirect experiences with the criminal justice system, as well as your views towards the system (this includes, police, parole/probation officers, correctional officers, attorneys, judges, etc.)
- What do you think about the criminal justice system?
  - Do you think it is a fair system?
  - Do you think your loved ones were treated fairly by the system?
- Have you had any direct contact with the system generally and police specifically?
- Have you ever been arrested, received a ticket, or were questioned by police?
  - How did they treat you?
- About how often do you (or have you) come into contact with police?
- Have you ever felt like you were being profiled or harassed?
  - Why do you think this happened to you?
- What do you think of police?
- If you could, what would you change about the system?

Feelings Towards Criminalization

My next set of questions has to do with the way you think others view/treat you and how this makes you feel.
- When people see you, what do you think they see? Why?
  - How does that make you feel?
- Do you ever feel labeled, judged, stereotyped, or discriminated against? By whom?
  - How does this make you feel?
- What sorts of stereotypes have you encountered?
- When do you think this judgment started?
  - How old were you?
  - Why do you think it started?
- Have you ever feel like you were treated unfairly (or like a criminal) even when you did nothing wrong?
  - Can you tell me about this?
- How does this treatment impact your life? (i.e., opportunities, relationships, etc.)
- How do you respond/deal with this?
- Do you think this judgment will ever go away?
  - How does this make you feel?

Motherhood/Welfare (if applicable)
I would like to ask you about your children if that is okay?
- Do your children live with you?
  - Do you have full custody of them or are there others who care for them?
- Do you ever feel judged as a mom?
  - By who? Why?
- How much help/support do you receive for raising your children?
- Do you (or have you) receive welfare support?
- Has it been hard to get welfare support?
- When you interact with people in the welfare office, how are you treated?
  - Why do you think they treat you this way?
- Do you feel judged by others for being on welfare?

Work (if applicable)
- Do you like your job?
  - What do you like/dislike about it?
- Has it been difficult for you to get a job?
  - Why do you think it's been hard?
- What is your dream job?

Future Aspirations
I'd like to end this interview by asking you about your future goals and dreams.
- Who/what is most important in your life right now?
- What are your future aspirations, dreams, and goals?
- Where do you see yourself in 5 years?

- What do you think can be done to help formerly incarcerated and system-impacted Mexican American women and girls in the Central Valley?
- Finally, is there anything we haven't talked about that you think is important to discuss? Or is there anything you would want me or other people to understand about you?

Appendix O: Example of Facebook Comment on Research Flyer