

# The Tentacles of Neoliberalism: How the Master's Tools Became a Vehicle for Activism

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## Abstract

The United States (US) is an economic superpower that attracts immigrants from less developed nations due to their desire to improve their living conditions. Immigrant laborers have been and are subject to a wide range of structural inequalities in the nation. Nevertheless, the United States implemented and hegemonically promotes neoliberal ideals centered on privatization, reduced social spending, and idealizing self-determination in the workforce. The economic theory is modeled on identity-blind assumptions that make the obstacles people face due to discrimination based on their gender, race, sexuality, economic class, immigration status, ethnicity, religion, and other identity traits invisible. In response to the subjugation minorities endure, over the years a significant increase occurred in the number of nonprofit organizations. However, (perhaps unconsciously) nonprofits often model their projects to align with neoliberal ideals despite their oppressive nature. Using discourse analysis, the publication below examines this trend in the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA), which is a coalition of approximately sixty nonprofit organizations that strive to empower workers who are in-home caregivers, childcare workers, and domestic laborers. Likewise, this publication closely examines a decades long project which was spearheaded by one of the coalition's prominent members: Mujeres Unidas y Activas (MUA). The article proves that despite NDWA members' and MUA's goal of empowering subjugated populations, their projects often reinforce neoliberal ideals that oppress their clients.

## Keywords

neoliberalism; empire; imperialism; hegemony; immigration

## Introduction

The United States (US) is a global hegemonic empire that designs its policies based on neoliberal principles that concretize and expand socio-economic power hierarchies in the country and abroad. In order to increase competition

and minimize transaction costs, neoliberalism's key components are free trade, deregulation of markets, reduced social spending by governments, and privatization of economies. Supporters of the theory argue that without government

intervention the market will naturally stabilize due to supply, demand, people's self-determination and their interest in personal economic gain (Harvey, 2005). Due to the American empire hegemonically supporting this model, laborers must migrate from less developed countries to industrialized countries because of the concentration of wealth in those nations (Zabin & Hughes, 1995). Immigrants are drawn to capital gain out of the desire to have greater consumption power and monetary resources for themselves and their families. However, after they move their labor is vulnerable to exploitation (Inderpal, 2005). In response to the hardships minorities endure, a body of nonprofits and coalitions of nonprofits with shared interests has formed. Yet, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) often become carriers of dominant neoliberal agendas promoted by the US nation state (Wallace, 2004).

The National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) is a coalition of over sixty nonprofits throughout the United States that has a shared goal to advance the rights of low income workers in the fields of in-home caregiving, domestic labor, and childcare. This article proves that in addition to mobilizing for increased rights for people in the three professions (which are predominantly occupied by immigrant women of color) approximately one third of the nonprofits in the coalition train and/or place these women into the exploitive working environments. Furthermore, the evidence presented in this paper proves that among the organizations in the coalition, Latina immigrants are overwhelmingly more likely than other identity groups to be targeted to occupy the jobs. After identifying these trends in the coalition, I closely examine a project of one of NDWA's members, *Mujeres Unidas y Activas* (MUA), which has been a

prominent leader in the coalition. For over twenty years MUA spearheaded an initiative titled "Caring Hands" that trained and placed Latina immigrants into in-home caregiving, domestic labor, and childcare employment. I investigate how MUA and members of the National Domestic Workers Alliance are implicated in furthering the US empire's imperialist neoliberal ideals.

## The United States' Role in Transforming Labor and Capital Flows

Globalization and the unequal distribution of capital and labor it entails did not occur spontaneously; instead it was a product of a history of imperialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2007). Although birth of this imperialism dates back centuries, this section highlights its most recent occurrences. In 1942, the United States and Mexico constructed a series of diplomatic agreements and laws referred to as the *Bracero* program. The program allowed Mexican migrants to legally work in the United States, for the agricultural industry in order to boost the US's political economy and produce capital in Mexico in the form of remittances. The program created a transnational network of labor recruiters to locate people who could fill the positions, however, by 1964 the program ceased to exist when the United States shifted from active migrant labor recruitment to passive labor acceptance; nevertheless, the majority of previous *Bracero* workers remained in the United States (Brick, Challinor, & Rosenblum, 2011; Durand, Massey, & Parrado, 1999). Shortly after World War II, American "officials undertook large-scale spending and investment to generate income and eliminate bottlenecks in production; at the same time, they erected barriers to the entry of foreign goods and services, thus creating

internal demand that national producers—both public and private—could satisfy to initiate and sustain industrialization” (Durand et al., 1999, p. 518). The policies, combined with the *Bracero* program, instigated decades of expansion in migration from developing countries to the United States (Durand et al., 1999).

During the 1970s the US population shifted from a white majority to a “numerical threat to white supremacy represented by unorganized, but densely concentrated” populations of people of color; meanwhile the development model implemented after World War II was abandoned (Durand et al., 1999, p. 518; Gilmore, 2007, p. 42). The post-World War II policies were replaced with a neoliberal political and economic model that worked to secure the power of the economic elite. Neoliberal policies are based on privatization of economies and international trade, national deunionization, reduced trade tariffs, reduced public spending, and aspirations of increased global competition (Brick et al., 2011; Durand et al., 1999). The changes and the expansion of global economies led to stagnated wages in the United States for low income workers, rises in unemployment in the country, and increased economic inequality (Durand et al., 1999). While wages in blue collar jobs decreased, “growth in service sector employment fueled demand for low skilled immigrants” (Brick et al., 2011, p. 4). Among these jobs were in-home domestic labor, caregiving, and childcare positions.

Demand for workers in the three professions also rose due to women in middle income households increasing their participation in the paid workforce. By the 1980s the number of undocumented Latin American immigrants in the United States expanded substantially because of newly imposed numerical limits on legal

immigration into the country, availability of jobs in the service sector, and global trends of reduced transportation costs (Brick et al., 2011). California’s labor force particularly swelled and a large percentage of newly arriving immigrants settled in the San Francisco Bay Area, where *Mujeres Unidas y Activas* was founded (Gilmore, 2007).

Between the 1970s and 1980s immigration from Mexico and Central America to the United States doubled, and by the 1990s the immigration tripled (Brick et al., 2011). To date, immigration from Mexico to the United States is the “largest sustained flow of immigrants anywhere in the world” (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001, p. 187). Since the 1970s “at least 6.8 million Mexican immigrants have entered into the United States, with or without documents and an increasingly large share have been women” (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001, p. 187). Although there are a number of reasons why Latinas immigrate, common reasons are family responsibilities and the search for employment (Cerrutti & Massey, 2001). By 2008 there were approximately 11,600,000 legal immigrants and twelve million undocumented residents in the United States (Varsanyi, 2008). Yet, due to the neoliberal policies of United States, wages in the country continue to decline while workers’ productivity levels rise (Seguino, 2011). A substantial number of immigrants send remittances to family members in their home countries; correspondingly, decreased wages in the United States can be economically stifling to people receiving the monetary resources (Hernandez & Coutin, 2006). Despite policies that prompted labor and capital movement and reduced wages, the state assumes little costs or responsibilities for immigrants or their families’ livelihoods.

## When the Drive for Monetary Gain Trumps NGOs' Activist Agendas

In the late 1990s, budget cuts for social spending and public welfare were initiated in response to the continuous economic downturn in the country (Duggan, 2003). This created a substantial rise in the number of NGOs in existence due to diverse people's desires to address the government's failure to protect residents vulnerable to exploitation (Wallace, 2004). A spectrum of NGOs strove to reach the poorest sectors of society, something which the government often failed to do (Black, 2007). The increase of low wage domestic work positions, which were often exploitive, assured immigrant women who were considered low skilled workers had access to employment once they immigrated to the United States. However, the lack of legislative protection for domestic workers as well as the likelihood of them living in poverty prompted a breadth of activist nonprofits to form, many of which are currently members of the National Domestic Workers Alliance, including *Mujeres Unidas y Activas*.

In most states, domestic workers are excluded from the right to overtime pay, a minimum wage, regular breaks, unemployment insurance, and workers' compensation (Burnham & Theodore, 2012). Live-in workers are separated from their families and friends and can have their lives interrupted at any time by their employers (Boris & Nadasen, 2008). Wage theft in the industry is estimated to equate to approximately one hundred billion dollars per year (Burnham & Theodore, 2012). In addition, the majority of domestic workers are excluded from timely notice of termination of employment, retirement benefits, paid vacation, and employer provided health insurance (Burnham & Theodore, 2012). The

government fails to grant these labor rights to domestic workers in order to provide affordable domestic labor to middle and upper-class households out of the perception the classes are "productive, contributing, and consuming 'citizens'" (Gupta, 2003, p. 78). Exclusion of domestic workers from these rights allows the United States "to avoid the cost and responsibility for care by securing a pool of privately hired and affordable care workers for working families, an act that also allows states to avoid the need to expand welfare provisions" (Parreñas, 2008, p. 58).

Undocumented domestic workers are likely to endure exceptionally exploitive working conditions because they fear losing their source of income and/or being deported if they file formal complaints against their employer. Employers often intimidate undocumented workers in relation to their immigration status in order to exploit their labor. Although the government categorizes immigration status, it in part "transfers surveillance functions to the employers, who, since 1986, have been legally responsible for checking their employees' work authorization" (Gupta, 2003, p. 80). Due to this law "private employers begin acting as the arm of the state" while the "state privatizes and outsources its gatekeeping functions" (Gupta, 2003, p. 80-81).

Governmentally designed structural inequalities reinforce the exploitation of domestic workers. In response the National Domestic Workers Alliance was founded in 2007 to lobby state governments to implement labor laws that protect domestic laborers, caregivers, and childcare workers. Due to their commitment and collective action, seven states, including Oregon, Illinois, Hawaii, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and California passed a Domestic Workers Bill of Rights to more adequately protect the laborers

(National Domestic Workers Alliance, 2006). In California, *Mujeres Unidas y Activas* was at the forefront of this lobbying. One year prior to NDWA's founding, MUA significantly contributed to the passage of the Household Workers Protection Bill AB2536, which was promptly vetoed by Governor Schwarzenegger. By 2013, MUA and NDWA's efforts led to the passage of California's Domestic Workers Bill of Rights which is still active. Nevertheless, the only increased protection provided by the bill is overtime pay if the employee works more than nine hours in one day or more than forty-five hours in one week.

MUA's and NDWA's mobilization for increased rights for domestic workers combats neoliberal ideals that promote unregulated markets, yet the organizations' legislative achievements are minimal compared to the expansive power of neoliberalism. For example, California's Domestic Workers Bill of Rights that grants overtime pay does not address the wide range of other labor related systematic prejudices domestic workers endure or their inability to access adequate public services. The law enables effected workers to possess greater consumer and economic power by increasing their financial earnings, however, granting overtime pay does not significantly dismantle the neoliberal system.

Like MUA, most members of the National Domestic Workers Alliance lobby for structural changes in labor laws to further protect their clients. However, creating political change is a slow lengthy process that does not produce immediate results. Moreover, lobbying for legislative change requires a significant amount of economic and social resources. Therefore, a common trend among nonprofits in the NDWA collective is to actively train and/or place vulnerable populations that visit their

nonprofits into domestic work, regardless of exploitation in the labor field. Table 1 (see below) lists which organizations participate in this training and/or placement, which identities are targeted for the positions, in which states the nonprofits are located, and for what types of jobs each nonprofit trains and/or places people. Out of approximately sixty nonprofits that are members of the National Domestic Workers Alliance, approximately one third of the organizations conduct training and/or job placement. Approximately seventeen conduct training and placement, four conduct training only, one conducts placement only, and one organization conducts referrals for training and placement.

Out of the one third of approximately sixty organizations in NDWA that trains and/or places women into domestic labor, Table 1 proves that the overwhelming majority of people targeted for the jobs are Latina immigrants. Fifteen of twenty-three organizations in Table 1 targeted this identity group, while other groups targeted are Nepalese immigrants, Brazilian immigrants, African Americans, African immigrants, Chinese immigrants, and Filipino immigrants. Given the substantially higher rate of organizations that train and/or place Latina immigrants in feminized exploitive labor, and the history of immigration of Latinos to the United States, a profound exploration of one of the nonprofits focused on Latina immigrants in Table 1 is warranted. The case study of *Mujeres Unidas y Activas* is explored below.

MUA was founded in 1990 by two immigrant women, Clara Luz Navarro and Maria Olea, to cater to the specific needs of Latina immigrants in the Bay Area in California. Within the first two years of opening, the organization expanded from eight members to sixty. The nonprofit



(which obtains the majority of its funding from private foundations) strives to increase Latina immigrants' power. One of MUA's economic empowerment projects referred to as "Caring Hands" was launched in the mid 1990s and was active for over twenty years. The project trained and placed Latina immigrants into in-home caregiving, domestic labor, and childcare. "Caring Hands" allowed MUA to obtain funding due to the prompt "success" stories it enabled MUA to statistically report to its donors. The project also allowed MUA to promptly supply Latina immigrants with outcomes from the nonprofit's work. The pages below problematize how "Caring Hands" framed economic empowerment of Latina immigrants (similar to a range of organizations in the Domestic Workers Alliance) in a manner that was implicated in US promoted neoliberal principles. Despite MUA recognizing domestic work as exploitive, the nonprofit designed the program as an economic empowerment strategy for Latina immigrants.

In the 1990s, activism became professionalized due to the rapid increase in NGOs. The organizations needed to solicit funding which prompted many organizations concerned with creating long term equality based structural changes having to design initiatives that could produce prompt results that would satisfy donors (Gilmore, 2007). Development strategies such as "Caring Hands" allowed organizations to meet donor requests to report prompt quantitative "improvements" in target populations. Training and placing immigrant women in jobs is more impressively quantifiable for donors than the lengthy process of passing legislation. The economic development strategy allowed MUA and similar projects associated with the National Domestic Workers Alliance to provide regular statistics about the number of women

"positively" impacted in order to provide evidence of their "success" as NGOs. Even if the economic development strategy is not ideal for the nonprofits' clients, they must frame the projects' strategies and outcomes as successful in order to be competitive for funding (Smith, 2007, p. 10). Similarly, foundations rarely meet with organizations they fund to discuss the incompatibility of the donors' demands with the goals of the nonprofits (Flower, 1996). This is particularly dangerous because it assures that economic empowerment strategies which funders approve are not assured to be sustainable, effective, and long term.

## **The Heavy Hand of Neoliberalism Infiltrates MUA**

The United States government shapes its economic policies around neoliberal principles in order to produce its vision of an ideal national futurity that is predicated on self-determination and self-reliance rather than people's reliance on government public programs. Simultaneously, the United States is an international hegemonic empire that uses its economic strength to coerce other nations into adopting neoliberal principles (through initiatives such as structural adjustments) which champion self-determination over government social protection schemes. MUA also champions self-determination as a path to empowerment. MUA's mission statement promotes self-determination and the organization describes how self-determination enables "each woman to make the right decision for herself, live free from violence and discrimination, and have access to ample opportunities during the different stages of her life to achieve economic security, health and safety for her and her family" (MUA, 2017). The

nonprofit frames self-determination as a core necessity for economic empowerment.

This ideology that is reflective of neoliberal hegemonic values was reinforced when MUA promoted “Caring Hands” as a suitable economic development strategy for Latina immigrants. “Caring Hands,” as a self-determination strategy, encourages Latina immigrants to feel empowered when they become laborers; even if their employment is exploitive, low paid, and discriminatorily protected by labor laws. While MUA aimed to increase Latina immigrants’ economic power by training and placing them in jobs, the organization endorsed a socio-economic ceiling for the women’s empowerment due to them working in professions rife with discrimination that is implicit in US ideologies about race, class, and gender. Through the promotion of “Caring Hands,” MUA refused to acknowledge that domestic work will continue to be an exploitive form of employment. Even if workers are granted equal protection under labor laws, domestic work is low paid, feminizing, and racial labor where, in many cases, employers can manipulate employees due to their immigration status.

Despite MUA’s efforts, it is improbable that Latina immigrant domestic workers will ever thrive in a neoliberal economic system. Neoliberalism was designed blind to prejudices that are embedded in the workforce and in the market. Neoliberal theory assumes that all people possess human dignity and that individual freedom is a fundamental principle of the system; this freedom is described as guaranteed by free enterprise and private ownership (Harvey, 2005). This proposed “freedom” has increased identity-based inequality and increased divides in class power. The neoliberal subject that its founders envisioned while designing the system was a specifically

middle to upper class Western male whose autonomous individuality was predicated on the subservience and dependence of women and the exploitation of the labor of people of color (Harvey, 2005; Kingfisher, 2002). Neoliberal ideals naturalized unpaid reproductive labor into women’s personhoods, which signifies that they may never fully be the masculinized, capital driven, and independent subject who exists in the public sphere. The theory resists recognizing personhood in the private sphere, for full personhood is framed in terms of market competitiveness and self-determination in the market (Kingfisher, 2002). In neoliberalism, domestic workers are rarely treated as legitimate workers that are worthy of labor law protections due to their market productivity being feminized labor, that is considered a natural element of women’s identities.

Neoliberalism is predicated on capital accumulation and the preservation of masculinized power of male elites (Harvey, 2005). Karl Polanyi has mockingly phrased the theory’s claim to individual liberty as giving humans “the freedom to exploit one’s fellows, or the freedom to make inordinate gain without commensurable service to the community” (Harvey, 2005, p. 36). America’s hegemonic support of neoliberalism organizes the global political economy in terms of gender, race, sexuality, economic class, immigration status, ethnicity, and religion, with groups outside the idealized neoliberal subject being vulnerable to exploitation and subjugation by the dominant group. How the theory classifies “human activity and relationships *actively obscures* the connections among those organizing terms” (Duggan, 2003, p. 3). Therefore, in neoliberalism, the “free” individual whose actions are rational products of their self-determination is a very specific individual that is highly

exclusionary of classes of people who do not fit within the Western middle to upper class white male mold. While subjects outside of the mold are deemed by neoliberalists as uncontrollable, immoral, dependent, irrational, and perpetrators of disorder, the neoliberal global system promoted by US policies coerce immigrants from Latin America and other regions in the Global South to immigrate to the United States for economic gain; their stigmatized personhoods and labor are then exploited and subjugated by economic power holders for their own benefit (Kingfisher, 2002).

Organizations in the National Domestic Workers Alliance that mirror “Caring Hands” as an economic development strategy do not effectively combat neoliberal ideals of exploitation. Rather, the organizations funnel vulnerable populations into forms of employment that have proven to be exploitive, ideologically deemed of low worth, and not recognized in the United States as deserving equal protection under labor laws. If MUA’s goals and the goals of the breadth of organizations listed in Table 1 were realized, meaning if their clients were placed in domestic work that is equally protected under labor laws, the women would still operate in an exploitive political and economic system. The women would still be in an undervalued and low paid profession that is naturalized into women’s identities due to them being appropriated as unpaid reproductive laborers. Their work would still be deemed unskilled despite the profound impact their work has on the lives of the people who employ them. Also, the likelihood the women would economically advance in their profession would still be scarce because domestic workers generally are employed by individuals or families. Activist organizations must reframe how they envision economic empowerment in order

to take into account neoliberal hegemonic ideals and the diverse forms of structural inequalities they create.

## Lighting the Way to a Brighter Future Through Heightened Feminist Awareness

In order to advance Latina immigrants’ rights, as well as the rights of other marginalized groups, there must be an epistemic shift in how the groups are envisioned in relation to more powerful identity groups. Furthermore, there must be a shift in what types of careers nonprofits encourage their clients to occupy. The NDWA and MUA must strive to combat neoliberalism and its impacts on the global political economy. This effort must be primary rather than strictly trying to obtain equal rights and problematic job placement for subjugated groups within neoliberalism, which is premised on a gender-blind-color-blind model yet is an economic structure that promotes identity-based power hierarchies. Activist organizations must play a central role in deconstructing and dismantling neoliberalism. Social movements dedicated to increasing the political and economic power of vulnerable populations must interrogate and combat the discriminatory structures embedded in neoliberalism, which are supported by the US empire and privatized industries. Activists must lobby the American government to eliminate its neoliberal practices. An effective strategy is to model transnational feminist approaches that combat hegemony, racism, sexism, classism, imperialism, male supremacy, and other structural inequalities. Adopting transnational feminist initiatives would force activist organizations to “focus on new assemblages of power” and to examine how social movements have the potential to



redesign subjectivities (Inderpal, 2005, p. 14). The assemblages of power between NGOs, their funders, and the US empire are a multiplicity of force relations through which never ending struggles, transformations, confrontations, and shifts in power materialize (Foucault, 1978). While NGOs such as MUA and NDWA are victims of hegemonic control, they can also be leaders in combating such control and can be leaders in combatting identity-based power structures. To generate improved conditions for its clients, MUA and NDWA (along with other activist organizations) must advocate for anti-discriminatory macroeconomic policies and public services that are capable of positively effecting cultural transformation.

These policies must focus on promoting socio-political equality, equal income distribution, and full employment (Seguino, 2011). Although such changes can occur only if NGOs, civil society, and governments act in solidarity to promote equality, the strategies are the only method to ensure that sustainable development can be a reality for all groups. A strategy that activist organizations could adopt is to strive to assure US residents, *including* immigrants of all citizenship statuses, have access to occupational training programs that place people in fields of employment that are currently high paying, with an emphasis on degendering industries by training women for jobs that are predominantly occupied by men and vice versa (Seguino, 2011). The same strategy could be used in relation to employment segregation by race and immigration status. This would promote market productivity by making certain larger groups of minority populations enter skilled professions that generate increased income for them. It would also blur gender and race hierarchies in income. Nevertheless, even if women obtain increased access to high paying jobs,

as women they would still be socially appropriated as individuals who should meet their family needs privately and in privatized industries. They would still be appropriated into familial roles as the dominant unpaid domestic laborers within their own families. They would still likely face wage gaps in employment. Therefore, to combat the neoliberal system as well as gendered sexist socialization, activist organizations should also advocate for anti-racist, anti-sexist socializing initiatives and legislative changes, and for the federal government to provide public services to ease women's majority share of unpaid domestic responsibilities as well as their income-based needs. Furthermore, activists should launch educational campaigns for NGO funders to teach them about the slow process of making long term equality based structural changes. This effort could reduce the funders' desires to be provided prompt statistical proof of impacts nonprofits make, which are often "Band-Aid" solutions.

Next, nonprofits and individual activists must also combat sexist and racist socialization that homogenizes groups into monolithic identity categories. For example, although Latina immigrants are subject to intersecting forms of discrimination and subjugation, all people experience their lives differently, all people have unique factors that make up their identity and thus how they experience society. What unites immigrant women of color is not necessarily their ethnicity; instead, it is their common context of struggle and the interconnectedness among all beings (Mohanty, 2003; Marcos, 2005). In order to form a transnational feminist community and still acknowledge the diversities women embody, it is essential to construct an "imagined community" of "oppositional struggles— 'imagined' not because it is not 'real' but because it

suggests potential alliances and collaborations across divisive boundaries...” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 46). A global movement of transnational feminist solidarity has the ability to begin redesigning the power systems in which people are interwoven by uniting people in resistance to adversities they personally endure while educating themselves about and actively contesting hardships their allies endure. People can work together in solidarity to assure an improved global future will come into fruition.

Like globalization, transnational feminism is in a constant state of metamorphosis. Unlike neoliberalism, transnational feminism is constantly questioning itself and redesigning itself based on new discoveries made by its practitioners. If activist organizations replicate this transformative design, they will be less wary of abandoning practices that perpetuate neoliberal norms and exploit vulnerable populations. The challenge still remains that nonprofits are subject to never-ending competition for funding. To obtain monetary resources NGOs must legitimize their work by reporting prompt statistical results about their programs and by validating their work as always successful. Forward thinkers are left to ponder:

*How can people mainstream transnational feminist ideals into activist work in order to deconstruct and dismantle dominant political and economic structures that subjugate vulnerable groups? Also, how can activist groups safeguard against promoting political and economic agendas they intend to combat?*

It is the responsibility of the advocacy groups and individual activists to continue asking these types of questions and to aggressively search for their answers. Activists must be acutely aware of the

failures and successes they continuously make through their activism and design their future endeavors in reaction to the discoveries. This must be done so activists and the nonprofits they are associated with do not become the bearers of oppressive ideologies. It must be done to assure that, instead of money, care and compassion remain the driving forces for activist projects. ■

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**Table 1: National Domestic Workers Alliance Affiliates**

Organization	State	Job Type	Training	Placement	Targeted Identities	Targeted Gender
Adhikaar	New York	Childcare; Domestic work	Y	Y	Nepalese Immigrants	Female
Brazilian Women's Group	Massachusetts	Domestic work	Y	Y	Brazilian Immigrants	Female
Carroll Gardens Association	New York	Childcare	Y	Y	African Americans; Latino Immigrants	Female
Casa de Maryland	Maryland	Not specified	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Not specified
Casa Freehold	New Jersey	Day labor	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female; Male
Casa Latina	Washington	Domestic work; Manual labor	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female; Male
Centro Humanitario	Colorado	Day labor; Domestic work	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female; Male
Centro Laboral de Graton	California	Day labor; Domestic work	N	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female; Male
Chinese Progressive Association	California	Hospitality	Y	N	Chinese Immigrants	Female; Male
Cooperative Care	Wisconsin	Caregiver	Y	Y	Not specified	Female; Male
Domestic Workers United	New York	Childcare; Domestic work	Y	N	African and Latino Immigrants	Female
El Centro del Inmigrante	New York	Day labor; Domestic work; Construction; Manual labor	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female; Male
Encuentro	New Mexico	Caregiver	Y	N	Latino Immigrants	Female
Filipino Advocates for Justice	California	Caregiver	Referral only	Referral only	Filipino Immigrants	Female; Male
Golden Steps	New York	Caregiver; Domestic work	Y	Y	Not specified	Not specified
Instituto de Educacion Popular del Sur de California	California	Day labor; Domestic work; Manual labor	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female; Male
La Colectiva	California	Domestic work	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female
La Colmena	New York	Childcare; Day labor; Domestic work	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female; Male
New Mexico Direct Caregivers Coalition	New Mexico	Caregiver	Y	Y	Not specified	Not specified
NICE	New York	Day labor; Construction; Manual labor	Not specified	Y	Latino Immigrants	Male
Mujeres Unidas y Activas	California	Caregiver; Childcare; Domestic work	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female
National Domestic Workers Alliance NY	New York	Domestic work	Y	N	Not specified	Not specified
Union Latina de Chicago	Chicago	Domestic work	Y	Y	Latino Immigrants	Female

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