The Social Networks of Haitian Immigrants Employed in the Long-term Care Industry in Metropolitan Philadelphia: Complex Intersections of Race, Nationality, Class, and Gender

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ABSTRACT

This study explains the labor market outcomes of foreign-born Haitian women and men employed in the long-term care industry in Philadelphia, PA. The study is a feminist geographic analysis of their social networks related to migration and employment. This analysis is signicant for two reasons. First it provides a more nuanced understanding of the linkages between the geography of networks, migration, and labor market outcomes than currently exists. Futhermore by exploring how people's multiple social identities shape the geography of social networks, migration, and labor market outcomes, the study integrates geographic and intersectional analyses and brings feminist geography to the center of contemporary feminist debates.

I engaged in an inductive qualitative research study consisting of interviews and participation observation fieldwork. I conducted in-depth interviews with 18 women and 12 men currently working in the long-term care industry, along the nursing occupational hierarchy. These interviews focused on explicating the relationships among the geography of place-based social networks, the dynamic and complex intersections of multiple social identities, and occupational mobility. Interviews examined the nature, spatial extent and significance of the social network connections that shaped their labor market, educational, and migratory histories, as well as their current daily activities. I interviewed six key informants from Haitian community groups and immigrant nonprofit organizations to gain additional information about the Haitian community in Philadelphia and the role of social network composition and use. I also interviewed seven key informants affiliated with nurse training and job placement organizations to gain more

information about the trends in this field. Finally, I conducted participant observation fieldwork at three nursing program recruitment information sessions.

This research is a timely intervention that brings together the academic literature of feminist geographic inquiry about urban labor markets, feminist geographic inquiry about migration, migration studies, and the feminist theory of intersectionality. The scholarship of each of these has developed along parallel but separate trajectories. By bringing them in conversation with one another, this research makes important contributions to a number of important theoretical and empirical debates within each of them.

The project advanced migration studies by documenting the multiscalar geography of social networks and how the complex intersections of race, class, nationality and gender shape network composition. Furthermore the research linked co-ethnic social networks to occupational mobility within the long-term care industry. This study advanced feminist theory by integrating a Black Feminist approach to intersectionality with geographic concepts of mobility, space and place to develop a new methodological tool, the Social Relations Chart. This provides a new way to examine intersectionality in practice. Finally, this study advanced feminist geographic inquiry by documenting the complex intersections and operation of the power hierarchies of race, nationality, class and gender in the workplace in a manner not previously documented in the urban labor market literature. In sum, this research brings these bodies of scholarship together and extends collective knowledge about the mechanisms by which mobility, power, place and space are shaped by multiscalar social relations.

To Marie Mimose Edme and Jean-Baptiste Guerrier,

My first teachers, theorists and warriors.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Significance

This study explains the labor market outcomes of foreign-born Haitian women and men employed in the long-term care industry in Philadelphia, PA. The study is a feminist geographic analysis of their social networks related to migration and employment. This analysis is significant for two reasons. First it provides a more nuanced understanding of the linkages between the geography of networks, migration, and labor market outcomes than currently exists. Furthermore by exploring how people's multiple social identities shape the geography of social networks, migration, and labor market outcomes, the study integrates geographic and intersectional analyses and brings feminist geography to the center of contemporary feminist debates.

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The project advanced migration studies by documenting the multiscalar geography of social networks and how the complex intersections of race, class, nationality and gender shape network composition. Furthermore the research linked co-ethnic social networks to occupational mobility within the long-term care industry. This study advanced feminist theory by integrating a Black Feminist approach to intersectionality with geographic concepts of mobility, space and place to develop a new methodological tool, the Social Relations Chart. This provides a new way to examine intersectionality in practice. Finally, this study advanced feminist geographic inquiry by documenting the complex intersections and operation of the power hierarchies of race, nationality, class and gender in the workplace in a manner not previously documented in the urban labor market literature. In sum, this research brings these bodies of scholarship together and extends collective knowledge about the mechanisms by which mobility, power, place and space are shaped by multiscalar social relations.

Theoretical and Empirical Contributions of this Study

Co-ethnic social network connections played a more significant role in upward occupational mobility than previous research has suggested. Study participants' social networks are dominated by connections between co-ethnic peers for migration and occupational mobility over the entire life course, not just at the point of initial migration or entry to the first job. Furthermore, the social networks were used over time and had a multiscalar geography, stretched between Haiti and the United States, as well as across multiple urban centers within the United States. By comparison, previous research had documented the centrality of place-based social networks rooted in a local community within the United States. Additionally, the results of this research found that churches are important geographic sites in the daily activity patterns of a majority of study participants. Churches also serve as the primary sites for the maintenance of the multiscalar spatiality of the social network connections throughout the life course.

In addition to findings related to the geography of social networks, this research had significant findings related to the complex intersection of multiple social identities and social networks. Social network composition and use was differentiated by gender, in terms of the type and scale at which social capital resources were accessed. This in turn has significant impact on the nature and differential pace of occupational mobility for women and men. Women relied on familial co-ethnic women who lived in the same household to provide assistance with social reproductive labor in their private residences. The men also relied on familial co-ethnic women for the same types of social reproductive labor. However the men in the study also relied on co-ethnic men. These male dominated social network connections provided members access to social capital

resources related to educational advice, emotional support, studying assistance or educational accompaniment which played a significant role in the men's more rapid ascension up the occupational hierarchy of the long-term care industry.

Previous feminist geographic scholarship about migration has encouraged analyses of how conceptions of space and mobility are tied to complex intersections of multiple social identities in ways that enrich critical theorizations of power (Silvey, 2006). This research attends to this call by offering a theoretical framework that integrates a Black feminist approach to intersectionality and feminist geographic inquiry about the relationship between power, mobility and place. While previous feminist geographic intersectionality scholarship has examined embodiment, performativity and subject formation processes as a means to examine the operation of inequality and oppression, the theoretical framework of this research integrated Black feminist scholar Collins' (2000a) conception of the U.S. matrix of domination and feminist geographer Rodó-de-Zárate's (2014) relief map to document the operation of asymmetrical power hierarchies in place.

This framework advances feminist geographic inquiry and Black Feminist scholarship. First by utilizing Black feminist approach to intersectionality, this research utilizes the situated knowledge of study participants to define and specifically highlight the intersection of multiple power hierarchies. This is in contrast to the ill-defined concept of power structures that has been used in feminist geographic scholarship. Furthermore this framework advances Black Feminist Thought through an explicit attention to geographic concepts such as place, space and mobility. These are considerations which have been absent from this scholarly tradition. The resulting

methodological tool, the Social Relations Chart, is a new and important contribution to both scholarly communities. The empirical results of using this tool offered additional research findings.

Study participants' social relations in the workplaces were shaped by the operation of the salient power hierarchies of race, nationality, class, and gender. Similar to previous geographic scholarship I found that both men and women's entry and navigation into this type of work is linked to gendered discourses and ideologies, most expressively through the concept of body work. However the most significant findings utilizing the Social Relations Chart are related to the operation and intersections of race, nationality and class power hierarchies. I found that study participants' experience a great deal of precarity in the workplace tied to the complex intersection of these power hierarchies. Further, I found that the constitutive elements of these power hierarchies were linked to experiences of overt and covert marginalization. These findings suggest that social relations characterized as marginalizing may be both the cause and a consequence for study participants' limited social network connections in the workplace.

This research presents new insights that link the construction and use of multiscalar social networks, migration, and labor market outcomes for transnational migrants through a Black feminist approach to intersectionality. Therefore, it furthers feminist geographic scholarship about the relationship between place, space, scale, power, and mobility in urban labor markets. Further this approach adds a spatial dimension to Black feminist theorization of intersectionality. Additionally, the research addresses significant gaps in our knowledge of how people find jobs through social networks composed of co-ethnic peers in an increasingly important segment of the labor

market. Furthermore this research has documented that immigrants are able to use jobs in the lower tier of the long-term care industry as the first rung on a job ladder in an industry that is increasingly important to both the economy and health service delivery.

Background

A rapidly expanding sector of the healthcare industry is focused on long-term care. This sector provides care to the elderly or other people requiring assistance for extended periods. The aging of the native-born population in the United States and other advanced capitalist economies has increased the demand and costs of healthcare to this population (Lee & Skinner, 1999; Stone & Weiner, 2001; U.S. Department of Labor Employment Training and Administration, n.d.; Walker, 2002).

Long-term care, like other sectors of the healthcare labor market, is actively recruiting and hiring workers, particularly for the occupations in the nursing hierarchy: home health aides (HHAs), certified nursing assistants (CNAs), licensed practical nurses (LPNs), and registered nurses (RNs). The occupations in the lower tier, such as HHAs, CNAs, orderlies, and attendants, are some of the most rapidly growing in the healthcare industry (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). Yet there is little research as to how employers and employees find each other or whether these jobs are the first rung on a job ladder for occupational mobility.

Coinciding with the aging population, another major demographic change is the increase in the number of foreign-born Blacks[1] working and living in the United States, many of whom are finding employment in the lower tiers of the healthcare industry

[1]The terms *Black* and *White* as used throughout this paper are attached to specific sociohistorical positions that have different meanings and connotations in different geographic settings. They do not refer to natural, skin pigmentations but instead to ideological constructions of meanings attached to particular skin colors (hooks, 1992; Lutz, Vivar, & Supik, 2011; Omi & Winant, 1994, 2008, 2014).

(Boris & Klein, 2006; Lowell & Gerova, 2004). Despite the rapid growth of the foreign-born Black population, the migration literature has remained focused on the larger migrant populations from Latin American and Asia (Kent, 2007). Haitians are the second largest Black immigrant group within the United States (Kent, 2007), yet there is limited research that specifically examines their labor market activities and their capacity to achieve their economic and social goals after migration.

The labor force participation rate for Haitian immigrants is comparable with other immigrant groups; however, it is higher than the rate for the U.S.-born population (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014). Despite this high rate of labor market participation, the median earnings of full-time, year-round workers is considerably lower for Haitian immigrants and their households compared with the rest of the U.S. population (Buchanan, Albert, & Beaulieu, 2010). Further, 20% of Haitians in the United States live below the federal poverty line. The homeownership rate (47%) is less than half that of the rest of the U.S. population (66%; Buchanan et al., 2010).

Like many contemporary migration streams, the Haitian labor migration is dominated by women (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2001; Pessar, & Mahler, 2003; Matthei, 1996). Female Haitian immigrants outnumber their male counterparts in the United States (54% women to 46% men; Terrazas, 2010). Consequently, the rate of female labor market participation in the Haitian community is high (67% of Haitian women were engaged in the labor force, compared with a rate of 56% for other immigrant women groups; Nwosu & Batalova, 2014). In 2010, more than half of employed Haitian men worked in construction, extraction, and transportation (Terrazas, 2010). More than 25% of Haitian women worked in healthcare occupations (Terrazas, 2010). However, the

continual evolution of the postindustrial labor market in the United States is shifting these gendered labor market dynamics. Employment in the manufacturing and production-oriented industries has declined, while employment in service industries of various kinds has expanded significantly (Shefner & Kirkpatrick, 2009). Consequently, a 2014 analysis of the 2010 census data showed that more than 40% of Haitian labor market participation in the United States is now concentrated in service-sector occupations, including healthcare (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014).

The shift in the postindustrial labor market toward a more service-focused market has had a significant effect on the type and remuneration of work (Leach & Bean, 2008; Shefner & Kirkpatrick, 2009). Throughout much of the 20th century, it was possible for someone with little formal education to work for a high wage with job security in the industrialized sectors. Individuals working in these jobs could obtain a middle class standard of living. The service industry, by contrast, is quite fragmented: wages show great variation. People employed in the finance, insurance, and real estate sectors can command a sizeable wage. However, a great deal of formal education is required, which limits the population qualified to perform these jobs. Jobs are also available in the low-wage service sector of retail and personal services. These jobs require very little formal education. They tend to be very labor intensive but pay very little. Achieving a middle class standard of living comparable with that which could previously be achieved with employment in the goods-producing sectors is very difficult in the 21st century. The decline of jobs in the industrialized sectors and the increase in the fragmented service sectors has led scholars to describe the contemporary labor market as “hour glass” shaped (Bell, 1999).

This research study is significant because it addresses questions about how immigrant workers come to find work and achieve occupational mobility in the long-term care sector, an increasingly important segment of the healthcare industry. The existing literature on immigrant labor market incorporation draws a clear distinction between "low-income" and "high-income" jobs (Massey et al., 1993). This study draws on feminist geographic scholarship that links social networks and labor market segmentation to examine the processes by which individuals and groups can move from "low-skill" jobs with their associated low income to "middle-income" jobs and their associated social and economic benefits.

The healthcare industry is one of very few industries in which occupational mobility is still possible and low-income workers can aspire to a middle class standard of living (Searcey, Porter, & Geberloff, 2015). Research is lacking that examines why and how foreign-born Blacks in particular are incorporated into the lower tier of the healthcare industry or the impacts this has on their occupational mobility over time. Public policy and academic debates tend to focus on the supposed lack of human, social, or cultural capital brought by Black immigrants as the dominant explanation for their overrepresentation in low-paying employment, such as the lower tier of long-term care industry (Borjas, 1985; Chiswick, 1979; Hagan, 2004; Lowell & Gerova, 2004). Human capital explainations have become somewhat ubiqutious in the public discouse, citing the deficiencies of this group along indicators of language competence, educational attainment, and sociocultural familiarity (Sontag, 1994). Furthermore, these kinds of jobs are assumed to be useful as the first rungs on a job ladder that will lead to more advanced positions over time. Yet there is signficant empirical evidence that this narrative is

inaccurate or too simplistic: many migrants experience significant downward occupational mobility as they move from their country of orgin to the United States and often face considerable difficulty when they attempt to seek employment opportunities outside of low skill, low wage jobs (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2003; Duleep & Regets, 1998; Hall & Farkas, 2008; Redstone Akresh, 2006). A major limitation of the human capital approach is that it fails to account for the ways in which power, mobility, and space shape labor market options.

By contrast, feminist geographers have highlighted how assymetrical power relations, geographic mobility, and space shape the labor market experiences of women, people of color, and other marginalized groups.[2] Feminist geographic researchers proposed the "spatial entrapment thesis" to explain why women are concentrated in gender-segregated occupations with low pay, minimal benefits, and limited opportunities for advancement.[3] Spatial entrapment has been critiqued for failing to account for racial differences between women and assuming that greater mobility signified greater power (Gilbert, 1998; Johnston-Anumonwo, 1995; McLafferty & Preston, 1991). Feminist geographers have also demonstrated the usefulness of place-based social networks for understanding the geography of labor market outcomes (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Peake, 1995, 1997).

Social networks have proven to be a key lens in research studies that explore labor market outcomes (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Hardwick, 2003; Mattingly, 1999). Social networks are rooted in place and can serve as either a potential resource or

[2]For extensive reviews see England and Lawson (2005), England and Farkas (1986), and Kobayashi, Peake, Benenson, & Pickles (1994).

[3]For a review, see England (1993).

constraint to members (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Hardwick 2003; Mattingly, 1999). Networks are implicated in multiple aspects of daily life, beyond economic decision making. Although previous geographic research has made important contributions to understanding the relationships among place-based social networks, daily activity patterns, and labor market outcomes, those studies have focused on only one particular metropolitan region within the United States.

Furthermore, previous studies did not consider the experiences of transnational workers whose social network connections extend across international borders and throughout several locations within the United States. This study incorporates transnationalism literature, which suggests that immigrants inhabit transnational social fields, such that social networks may be local and transnational simultaneously (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc, 1994; Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2011). The existing empirical data are currently insufficient to determine how the spatiality of social networks shapes occupational mobility for Haitian immigrants.

Feminist geographers and migration scholars have also examined the implications for economic mobility of bridging ties and bonding ties of social network connections (Aguilera, 2002; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Hardwick, 2003; Gilbert, 1998; Lin, 1999; Mullan, 1989; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Pohjola, 1989). They has documented the usefulness of social capital found in the bonding ties between family and co-ethnic kin as helpful for finding initial employment or making lateral movement within a particular segment of the labor market. However, the bridging ties with employers and non-co-ethnic friends have been believed to be the most helpful for upward economic mobility (Mattingly, 1999; Menjivar, 1994). Further, studies have shown that women and men

participate in gender-segregated networks for job search (Hanson & Pratt, 1995). These findings suggest that an intersectional analysis of social networks would be helpful to better understand the relationship between social network construction, the intersection of multiple social identities, and occupational mobility, because it is a compelling examination of how social relations, which are imbued with power dynamics, shape labor market outcomes across space and in place.

Feminist geographers' examinations of migration have considered questions of identity with discussions of migration (for review see Silvey, 2004). Specifically, they have examined how individual and group identities are defined and how those differences are constructed in relation to particular places (Nagel, 2002; for reviews see Gilmartin, 2008; Silvey, 2004, 2006). Identities and places are co-constructed; a fixed or stable definition of either concept does not exist (McDowell, 1999). Geographic context shapes and sustains identities and likewise identities change as they cross geographic scales (Hanson, 2003). Feminist geographers have also examined the relationship between gender identities, migration and work in compensated social reproductive labor, that is care work.

Investigations into the relationship between migration, employment and identity in geography have focused on migrants after they are already embedded in a particular segment of the labor market. There has not been research that examines the particular mechanisms whereby migrants begin employment in low-wage, low-skill jobs and the terms and conditions for occupational mobility within a segment of the labor market. Further previous research has been concerned with post-structural concerns about embodiement, subjectivity and identity formation processes, and not how social relations

in a range of places reflect entrenched power hierarchies, as articulated by a Black Feminist approach to intersectionality. Much of this previous feminist geographic migration scholarship did not examine the role of social networks in the labor matching process. Thus this study makes a significant contribution by bringing together insights about the operation of power hierarchies (intersectionality) in relation to work places (feminist geographic analyses of migration) with insights about the labor market matching processes (feminist geographic analyses of urban labor markets) to examine how transnational migrants experience labor market outcomes in a different caring industry than previously studied.

The labor market experiences of Haitans employed in the long-term care industry in the Philadelphia metropolitan region provide a good case study to examine these relationships. Philadelphia is best described as a postindustrial economy, heavily reliant on the healthcare industry. It is therefore a strategic research location for similarly positioned urban regions. Examing how people effectively navigate the institutions that govern this industry to further their economic opportunities will be instructive to broader political economic contexts beyond this region. The experiences of Haitians are especially illuminating, because their occupational and migratory experiences differ significantly from the dominant narrative of the labor market experiences of foreign-born workers within the migration literature.

Much of the empirical and theoritical work about migrants is focused on the first destination and job search activities in that locale. However for many Haitians, Philadelphia is a second or third migration destination. Tracing the occupational and migratory path beyond the first locale helps reconceptualize the geography and role of

social networks. In addition, there has been a call for migration scholars to extend their analysis to cities of various sizes and diverse relationships to the global economy to assess how variable local contexts shape migratory experiences (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2011). Finally, the socioeconomic profile of Haitians who have migrated to Philadelphia suggest that there is a mismatch between their occupational attainment and their human, social, and cultural capital attributes. Such a mismatch provides a lens for examining the relationship between place-based social networks, occupational mobility, and the complex intersections of multiple social identities over the life course.

Finally, this research is significant because of its contribution to the feminist theory of intersectionality. The term *intersectionality* has an almost hegemonic presence in feminist scholarship. It is rare to find a contemporary feminist text in any discipline that does not give an obligatory nod to the term by defining it and reaffirming how important it is to a feminist political and research project. As the term has come into vogue and been largely institutionalized into academic discourse and knowledge production, it has developed as shorthand theoretical and empirical device (Davis, 2011; Knapp, 2005).

Intersectionality is a critical social theory; it asserts that social identity categories are mutually and interdependently constituted and implicated in the materiality of daily life (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Lorde, 1984; hooks, 1984; Moraga & Anzaldua, 1983; The Combahee River Collective, 1977). Thus, intersectionality is not exclusively a theory of identity, but also a theory that seeks to examine the linked and mutually constituted systems of power, associated with these identities and how groups of people are socially located in what noted Black feminist theorist, Patricia Hill Collins (2000a), identified as

the matrix of domination. Rather than simply integrating intersectionality in name alone, in this research, I used an approach to intersectionality with a long tradition in Black feminist scholarship. This approach privileges the situated knowledge produced by study participants' social location in the U.S. matrix of domination.

This approach to intersectionality is a departure from previous feminist geographic scholarship that engages intersectionality. Previous scholarship has used an approach rooted in postmodernist and poststructuralist interpretations. These interpretations of intersectionality focused on individual subjectivity and embodiment and failed to adequately consider the materiality of daily lives for people who are members of groups at the bottom of multiple hierarchies of power. This study integrated a Black feminist approach to intersectionality with a feminist geographic analytical tool—the Relief Map—to develop the Social Relations Chart, which produced a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between the geography of social networks, complex intersections of multiple social identities, and occupational mobility. This research theorizes intersectionality in practice (Valentine, 2008). Despite the obvious spatial connotations of the theory of intersectionality, feminist geographers have largely remained on the periphery of the debates about its empirical utility.

Research Questions

Using qualitative data collection and analytical techniques, this dissertation addressed the following research questions:

> RQ 1: What is the nature, role, significance, and spatial extent of the daily activity patterns of Haitians employed in the long-term care industry in the Philadelphia metropolitan region?

RQ2: What is the nature, role, significance, and spatial extent of social networks in the labor market outcomes for Haitians employed in the long-term care industry? Are the networks related to the nature and spatial extent of daily activity patterns? If so, how and where (e.g., Haiti, migratory destinations outside the United States, Philadelphia or other areas in the United States)?

RQ 3: How does the nature and spatial extent of social networks and the nature of social capital help or hinder occupational mobility for Haitian men and women employed in the long-term care industry?

RQ 4: How do the complex and dynamic intersections of multiple social identities (race, class, gender, religion, and nationality) affect people's daily activity patterns, social networks, the role of social networks in job search, and occupational mobility?

Structure of Dissertation

This dissertation presents a more nuanced discussion of how a group of Haitian immigrants in Philadelphia, PA, constructed and used social networks to find jobs and achieve occupational mobility within the long-term care industry. Chapter 2 provides a literature review for this study focusing on the extant literature about the construction and maintenance of segmented labor markets and concerns about the relationship between mobility, place, power and identity for a group of transnational migrants. The literature review brings together the academic literature of feminist geographic inquiry about urban labor markets, feminist geographic inquiry about migration, migration studies, and the feminist theory of intersectionality in conversation with one another. Chapter 2 also includes a review of the historical and public policy context of Haitian migration to the United States.

Chapter 3 describes intersectionality, the theoretical and methodological foundation of the study. This chapter responds to the call put forward by Gill Valentine (2007) to feminist geographers to use intersectional analysis to examine the "production of space and systematic productions of power" (p. 19). In this chapter, I argue feminist

geographers' approach to intersectionality could be invigorated by turning away from postmodern and poststructural approaches to intersectionality and instead turning toward the intellectual heritage provided by Black Feminist Thought. Such an engagement would enrich both feminist geographic and Black feminist analytical frames to produce a richer theorization of the relationship between power and space. I present in the chapter a theoretical framework that integrates these modes of inquiry. I conclude the chapter in the tradition of other antiracist and intersectional scholars by reflecting on the complex intersections of my multiple identities shaped the research process.

Chapter 4 presents the data collected in this study. I present the methods of the empirical study: the procedures for data collection, management, engagement, and conceptualization. In addition, I detail the adaptation of a feminist geographic methodological tool—the Relief Map—to the Social Relations Chart to explicate the visual representation of intersectional data.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the empirical contributions of this research project. In Chapter 5, I turn my focus to the nature, role, and spatial extent of study participants' social networks. I confirm that social network connections served as the bulwark against the challenges that study participants faced in the home and work spaces.[4] Like much of the previous research, I found that the social networks that study participants who enter the nursing occupational hierarchy at the lower tiers of HHAs and CNAs consisted of co-ethnic family and friends. Much of this previous research also suggests that immigrants need to possess connections with people outside their ethnic community to access better jobs or higher wages (Aguilera, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Lin, 1999; Mahler,

[4]In geography: Gilbert (1998), Hanson and Pratt (1995), Hardwick (2003), Mattingly (1999), and Peake (1995, 1997). In migration studies: Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994), Massey et al. (1993), Mullan (1989), Pohjola (1989); for a discussion of the use of networks by Haitians, see Chierici (1991) and Stepick (1991, 1998).

1995; Mattingly, 1999; Menjivar, 1994; Mullan, 1989). The extant literature suggests that the weak ties that bridge immigrants to people outside their ethnic community represent the important means to economic mobility.

These findings do not reflect the reality of the Haitian immigrants in my research study. I found that the social networks that both the women and men used to navigate up the occupational hierarchy were most closely tied to the strong bonding ties they shared with trusted family and co-ethnic peers. Those ties with family and co-ethnic peers are multiscalar and remained relevant over time rather than being singularly frozen in a particular geographic location or temporal period over a study participant's life course. Rather their social network connections were constantly being reconstituted across multiple scales simultaneously and were dominated by family and co-ethnic peers. Churches played a significant role in the daily activities of study participants as critical sociospatial locations that facilitated the construction of these multiscalar co-ethnic social networks.

Similar to previous geographic scholarship, in addition to churches, I found that work and home were not only significant nodes in study participant's daily activity patterns but also the sites where complex intersections of multiple social identities had their most notable interactions—interactions that had a significant impact on study participant's occupational mobility. In chapter 5, I discuss the relationship between the nature, significance, spatial extent of social networks and the power hierarchy of gender. Men and women rely on different social network connections which in in turn have implications for the pace at which they are able to navigate the occupational hierarchy of the long-term care industry. Gender is also an important power hierarchy in terms of

social relations in the workplace. I illuminate this point in chapter 6 by discussing the importance of body work and how it shapes social relations in the workplace.

However the primary focus of Chapter 6 are the empirical findings related to the operation and complex intersections of the salient power hierarchies of race, class, and nationality in the study participants' workplaces. I found that study participants faced precarity in the workplace tied to the complex intersection of these power hierarchies. Further, I found that the constitutive elements of these power hierarchies were linked to experiences of overt and covert marginalization. This finding suggests that these experiences of marginalization may be both the cause and a consequence for study participants' limited social network connections in the workplace.

In the concluding chapter of this dissertation, I consider how the experiences of the study participants—foreign-born Haitian workers employed in the long-term care industry—can be applied beyond this population. This research is particularly timely, as the long-term care industry is on the verge of significant policy changes with the Affordable Care Act (ACA). I identify limitations of this study as well as propose areas for future research in light of these policy changes. Finally, I discuss the possibility of transnational coalition building offered by integrating multiple modes of inquiry within an intersectionality framework.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This research is a timely intervention that brings together the academic literature of feminist geographic inquiry about urban labor markets, feminist geographic inquiry about migration, the interdisciplinary field of migration studies, and the feminist theory of intersectionality in conversation with one another. The scholarship of each of these has developed along parallel but separate trajectories. By bringing them in conversation with one another, this research makes important contributions to a number of important theoretical and empirical debates within each of them. Furthermore this research offers important insights that can inform social policies at the intersection of an aging population, an immigrant work force, and the management of the costs and delivery of healthcare services.

In this chapter I provide a detailed examination of the gaps in the literature that this research addresses. I begin with a discussion of the broader category of care work and social reproductive labor. I then move to a specific discussion of long-term care while providing a profile of long-term care workers. I highlight the key analytical frameworks that explain workers' insertion into this segment of the labor market. In addition, I present important historical background about Haitian immigration to the United States, the public policies shaping that migration, and an examination of the dominant narratives that exist about this group of immigrants. I conclude this chapter by summarizing the key points of my argument.

Care Work and Social Reproductive Labor

A broad and expansive multidisciplinary literature examines how race and gender shape labor market activities (e.g., Bean, Leach, & Lowell, 2004; England & Farkas, 1986; England & Lawson, 2005; Gordon 1972; Kobayashi et al., 1994; Lipsitz, 1998; Oberhauser, 2000; Omi & Winant, 1994; Shields, 2004; Wilson & Portes, 1980). Feminist and antiracist scholars have long argued that people enter labor markets as racialized and gendered beings, vulnerable to exploitation because of their particular constellation of social identities (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995; Brewer, 1993; Browne & Misra, 2003, 2005; Glenn, 1992). Labor market analysis has tended to focus on the experiences of workers as racialized bodies or as gendered beings, but there has been a call to consider the effect of multiple identities on labor market activities (Brewer, 1993; Collins, 1990; Glenn, 1992; McCall, 2005; Ruchti, 2012). Care work is imbued with dynamic social relations that make it an ideal location for examining how multiple social identities affect labor market position (Brown, 2003). Long-term care, the focus of this research, is a particular category of care work, but it shares many of the characteristics of the broader category of care work.

Care work is sometimes referred to as social reproductive labor. Social reproduction is defined as those activities that sustain people as cultural, social, and physical beings (Glenn, 1992). The provision of healthcare and education are included under this umbrella term. Other social reproductive activities include maintaining a household, having, raising and caring for children, as well as caring for adults who cannot care for themselves. Care work can be provided by paid caregivers or unpaid household members (Dyck, 2005). More people are turning to the market to provide

services that were previously the purview of the household unit or done within the sphere of a small local community (Leach & Bean, 2008).

Despite the increased commodification of care work, it has remained lowly regarded (England, Budig, & Folbre, 2002). The labor-matching process is tied to discourses expressed in relations between potential employers and workers, between workers and clients, and among the workers themselves (Goode, 2010; Lamphere, Stepick, & Grenier, 1994; McDowell, 2009). Discourses about gender are tied to this low regard, which has economic and social implications for its workers. Care work is discursively constructed as "women's work." and those who do the labor are often described as having an innate capacity and desire to help others, which is said to compensate for the low wages (Dyck, 2005; Mattingly, 1999; Tellis-Nayak & Tellis-Nayak, 1989). Many of the same discursive ideologies related to doing labor for love are transferred to an employment context. In addition, the provision of care goes against the dominant image of an autonomous self-made individual (Lawson, 2007). Working from a feminist geographic perspective, Dyer et al. (2008) examined the mechanisms by which care workers are stigmatized by institutions and the broader society. They argued that this work is undervalued, because it consists of bodywork and emotional labor, both of which have historically been the realm of women and the private space of the home.

In addition to reflecting asymmetrical discourses about gender and the home, the care work labor force also reflects the asymmetrical relations of power among the community of nations at a global scale. In the U.S., like many countries in the Global North, foreign-born women from the Global South constitute a significant share of the population performing care work (Browne & Misra, 2003; Tronto, 2005). The increasing

feminization of migration streams from the Global South has been linked to the crisis of social reproductive labor in the Global North (Parreñas, 2001; Sassen, 2002). Reductions in social spending, increased shares of the population who require assistance with their reproductive care needs, and increased labor market attachment of women who previously did this type of work for free contribute to this "care deficit" (Hochschild, 2003).

Feminist geographers' examinations of migration have considered questions of identity with discussions of migration.[5] Specifically, they have examined how individual and group identities are defined and how those differences are constructed in relation to particular places (Nagel, 2002; for reviews see Gilmartin, 2008; Silvey, 2004, 2006). Identities and places are co-constructed; a fixed or stable definition of either concept does not exist (McDowell, 1999). Geographic context shapes and sustains identities and likewise identities change as they cross geographic scales (Hanson, 2003). Feminist geographers have also examined the relationship between gender identities, migration and employment in compensated social reproductive labor (Batnitzky, et. al, 2009; Lupton, 2006; McDowell, 1999; Pullen & Simpson, 2009).[6]

Investigations into the relationship between migration, employment and identity in geography have focused on migrants after they are already embedded in a particular segment of the labor market. There has not been research that examines the particular mechanisms whereby migrants begin employment in low-wage, low-skill jobs and the terms and conditions for occupational mobility within a segment of the labor market. Further previous research has been concerned with post-structural concerns about

[5] For a review see Silvey, 2004.
[6] For a review of relevant geography literature see Longhurst, 2000.

subjectivity and identity formation processes, and not how social relations in a range of places reflect entrenched power hierarchies, as instructed by Black Feminist approaches to intersectionality. Much of this previous feminist geographic migration scholarship did not examine the role of social networks in the labor matching process. Thus this study makes a significant contribution by bringing together insights about the operation of power hierarchies(intersectionality) in relation to work (feminist geographic analyses of migration) with insights about the labor market matching processes (feminist geographic analyses of urban labor markets) to examine how transnational migrants' labor market outcomes in a different caring industry than previously studied.

This research project makes several important contributions to the body of literature concerned with care work and social reproductive labor by focusing on long-term care. Much of the existing academic literature and social activism about reproductive labor focus on domestic labor and childcare activities (e.g., Bakan & Stasiulis, 1994; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; England, 1996; Momsen, 1999). The changing demography of the U.S. population entails a rapidly aging native-born population, which makes consideration of the labor market organization of long-term care particularly timely. Furthermore, the growing population of Black migrants, many employed in this type of labor, makes this research particularly relevant. Finally, much of the most recent care work literature has been situated in countries with much different immigration regimes than the United States, such as the United Kingdom and Canada (e.g., McDowell, 2008; Pratt, 2005; Shutes, 2012).

Long-Term Care: Increasingly Important, but Costly

Long-term care sits at the intersection of two major demographic shifts in the U.S. population: the aging of the population and the increase in shares of Black immigrants. The following paragraphs detail the scope of both demographic shifts. The following paragraphs also describe the nature and type of care under the umbrella of long-term care. Foreign-born Black workers, such as Haitians, are providing this care in Philadelphia, but little is known about their experience as workers within this industry. While race and gender are important considerations in understanding the labor market experiences of these workers, I argue that an intersectional lens offers a more robust analysis of their experiences. Furthermore this type of analysis provides valuable insights about how people find and sustain employment in this increasingly important segment of the urban labor market.

The United States is in the midst of a period of rapid social transformation. The changing demography of the population and shifts in the nature and circumstances of waged work demand a reassessment of our understanding of how people are funneled into particular jobs and how their lives are shaped by that employment (McDowell, 2009). The long-term care industry provides an appropriate lens for this reassessment, because it provides services to the growing population of aging "Baby Boomers," those born between 1946 and 1964. The Baby Boom generation represents approximately 26% of the total U.S. population, with an estimated 77.9 million people (Grieco et al., 2012). In 2011, the first cohort of this generation turned 65 (He, Sengupta, Velkoff, & DeBarros, 2005). In the coming decades, the majority will leave the labor force and a significant share will require some level of healthcare service to maintain their activities of daily

living. There is growing public policy concern about the high healthcare costs associated with this aging population (Lee & Skinner, 1999; Stone & Weiner, 2001; U.S. Department of Labor Employment Training and Administration, n.d.; Walker, 2002). Policy experts are particularly concerned about the most cost-effective way to address gaps in the provision of care.

Healthcare service providers and government agencies consider an individual as needing long-term care once he or she has lost either the mental or physical capacity to function independently (Stone & Weiner, 2001). Frontline long-term care workers, such as HHAs and CNAs, provide assistance with two broad categories of care (Stone, 2001): activities of daily living (bathing, eating, dressing, and personal grooming and care) and the instrumental activities of daily living (preparing meals, managing medications, household chores, and shopping). Other occupational categories have additional responsibilities. LPNs and RNs in this context perform a range of clinical duties, including assessing patients, developing and administering nursing care plans, maintaining patient records, serving on clinical care teams, and dispensing treatments/medications. In addition, to providing hands-on care, workers in this industry often provide emotional support, a key component of interactional service that goes beyond the scope of acute medical care often considered in discussions of healthcare.

The healthcare industry is the most rapidly growing segment of the labor market, expecting to add 3.2 million jobs between 2008 and 2018 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). The Bureau of Labor Statistics predicted than an increasing share of the healthcare industry employment will be concentrated in settings that focus on gerontology or long-term care in services primarily designed for the elderly.

Long-term care is a booming sector of the economy for the corporations involved in its structure and management. It is estimated that long-term care facilities generate almost $154 billion in direct revenue throughout the United States (American Health Care Association, 2010). In the state of Pennsylvania, these facilities generate $10.3 billion in direct revenues and represent approximately 186,000 jobs (American Health Care Association, 2010). Economic development policy officials recognize healthcare as one of the major industries that will grow and sustain the state economy (Center for Workforce Information and Analysis, 2011).

Cost containment is a major priority for the healthcare industry. One cost containment strategy is to substitute high-skill, high-pay labor with lower-pay and less-skilled labor (Seblega, Zhang, Unruh, Breen, Seung Chun Paek, & Wan, 2010). Occupations in the lower tier of the industry, such as CNAs, orderlies, attendants, and HHAs, are among the most rapidly growing occupations, expecting to add 592, 200 new jobs between 2008 and 2018 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). Stone and Wiener (2001) characterized these jobs as "paraprofessional." Paraprofessional workers make it possible for individuals to maintain a functional life once they can no longer care for themselves. However, the focus on paraprofessional workers is too simplistic, failing to consider how those jobs are part of a more expansive occupational hierarchy.

In addition to the paraprofessional jobs of HHAs and CNAs, other nursing jobs in the long-term care industry such as LPNs and RNs have all been designated *high-priority occupations* (Center for Workforce Information and Analysis, 2011). High-priority occupations are defined as jobs in high demand by employers that require some skills

training and that provide family-sustaining wages and benefits. The Pennsylvania Workforce Development agency through the federal Workforce Investment Act of 1998 invested money in education, recruitment, and retention initiatives to expand this labor force. Public policy researchers suggest that the career ladders of this industry should be strengthened so that workers who enter this industry in the lower tier can easily identify and access paths for advancement (Howard, et al., 2005; Pennsylvania Workforce Development, 2011).

Although the job tasks that workers at each occupational level perform may overlap, there is a great deal of variance in terms of the educational requirements and resulting average salaries associated with each of the job types. The setting of the job plays a significant role in terms of the tasks an employee can expect to perform. For instance, an LPN may be responsible for bathing and changing a patient in a private home setting, while those tasks are the exclusive responsibility of a CNA within the context of a nursing home. Notwithstanding distinctions in job tasks based on job location, there are differential pay levels associated with each job title (see Appendix A). The average annual salary for an HHA is $21, 590, while a CNA employed in the five-country Philadelphia metropolitan region[7] can expect to earn $29, 480 annually (Center for Workforce Information and Analysis, 2011). The average for an LPN is $49,750 and for an RN is $74,170. Each of these occupations also has different educational and licensing requirements in Pennsylvania (See Appendix B).

The majority of the jobs in this industry are concentrated in the lower tier. Little research exists as to how employers and employees find each other. Furthermore,

[7]Throughout this project, unless otherwise noted, the five-county Philadelphia metropolitan region refers to Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, Philadelphia, and Delaware counties.

whether these lower tier jobs can or do serve as a first rung in a career ladder with advancement opportunity is unclear. My research addresses this gap. Instituto del Progreso Latino, a nonprofit organization in Chicago, developed an award-winning program in which it provided targeted training and educational opportunities for immigrants to enter and successfully navigate the occupational hierarchy of this industry (Instituto del Progreso Latino, 2008). In the Philadelphia metropolitan region, District 1199C Training & Upgrading Fund developed Career Pathways, a series of training programs focused on the nursing occupations with similar goal of helping workers navigate this occupational hierarchy (Distict 1199C Training and Upgrading Fund, n.d.). Understanding how people find, sustain, and improve their employment in the long-term care industry in the Philadelphia metropolitan region would provide invaluable information for individuals as well as economic development organization such as these.

Very little research has focused on the perspective of the individuals who do the majority of the direct patient care. The majority of empirical work about this sector focuses on the patient experience (Gubrium, 1997) or evaluations of organizational practices (Aaronson, Zinn & Rosko, 1994; Castle, 2009; Seblega et al., 2010). Long-term care workers enter the discourse in public policy publications that focus on the recruitment and retention of the workers to offset the expected shortages due to the rapidly aging native-born population (Brannon, Zinn, Mor, & Davis, 2002; Department of Health and Human Services' Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, and Health Resource and Services Administration and from the Department of Labor's Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy, Bureau of Labor Statistics and Employment and Training

Administration , 2003; Health Resources and Services Administration, 2013; Howard, Biles, Burke et al., 2005). The policy-orientated research of this industry has focused on the insufficient number of U.S.-born workers who could fill these vacancies. Some researchers have suggested that migration policy be crafted to increase the number of "low-skill" migrants available to expand the pool of available labor (Martin, Lowell, Elzbieta, et al., 2009).

Despite extensive debate on the best methods to recruit or retain these workers, very little attention has been paid to their specific characteristics and social identities. A notable example is a recent report that identified two major characteristics of this workforce at the national level: 80–90% of the workers are women and approximately half are non-White (Harris-Kojetin, Lipson, Fielding, Kiefer, & Stone, 2004). Harris-Kojetin and colleagues treated the categories of women and non-White as variables without any attention to the specific meanings and constructions attached to the categories or what role these categories play in shaping the experience of the workers. This gap in the literature demonstrates a lack of intersectional analysis of how these social identity categories are connected to how and why particular people are employed in particular jobs. My research offers a corrective to this approach by providing an intersectional analysis of a group of workers' labor market activities within this industry. This intersectional analysis examines how social identities shape workers' entry into this segment of the labor market, as well as their ability to achieve occupational mobility. However it is first necessary to detail the existing knowledge about these workers as well as the dominant explanatory frameworks for understanding their labor market incorporation.

Profile of Long-Term Care Workers: Nationwide and in Philadelphia

Nationwide, immigrant workers from Latin America and the Caribbean are overrepresented as CNAs and HHAs (Lowell & Gerova, 2004). Foreign-born Blacks, specifically Haitians and Jamaicans, make up 22% of the immigrant CNA workforce (Lowell & Gerova, 2004). These data suggest that the long-term care industry may be a site of significant employment for foreign-born Haitians in the Philadelphia metropolitan region. Economic development organizational data suggest that as many as 60% of the Haitians in Philadelphia are employed in the healthcare industry (Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians, 2004). However, no empirical data support or explain this finding at the metropolitan scale.

In this research, I examine the experiences of one group of immigrant workers in an increasingly important industry to assess whether these workers are able to achieve occupational mobility. The healthcare industry in general and the long-term care segment of the industry in particular, has a variety of jobs. Work occurs in a variety of settings, with differing pay levels, benefits, and occupational status. Therefore, it provides a good case study of the circumstances by which occupational mobility can occur within one industry. The postindustrial urban labor market of the metropolitan Philadelphia region has a heavy reliance on the healthcare industry, making the area an excellent locale to understand the shift to an increasingly service-based economy (Adams, 2003). Recent studies of the long-term care industry indicated that the conditions of the local labor market play a significant role in whether an individual chooses to enter or remain in this industry (Stone & Weiner, 2001). Two competing models for understanding immigrant

workers' insertion into the urban labor market inform this research: human capital approach and place-based social networks.

Immigrant Workers' Insertion Into Urban Labor Markets: The Human Capital Approach

The human capital approach is the standard model of evaluating the jobs and earnings of immigrants in the U.S. labor market (Hagan, 2004). This approach has been broadly applied in the migration literature and suggests that immigrants are concentrated in low-wage, low-skill employment, because they lack sufficient forms of human capital such as English language competence, formal education, and relevant skills/training or access to equally beneficial social capital (Borjas, 1985; Chiswick, 1979). This framework has been critiqued for failing to account for structural challenges, modes of incorporation, and context of reception of different immigrant groups (Waters & Esbach, 1995). The human capital approach has also been criticized for failing to consider the heterogeneity of premigration skills and resources available to migrants. Takenaka and Pren (2010) found that migrants arriving from South America and the Caribbean tended to be well educated, because education is necessary to navigate the bureaucratic requirements of the legal immigration system. These migrants tended to arrive in the United States with proper documentation, although they might subsequently become undocumented (Takenaka & Pren, 2010).

The New Immigrant Survey Pilot follows immigrants for 1 year after they receive green cards. Redstone Akresh (2006) analyzed the New Immigrant Survey Pilot and found that 50% of legal immigrants experienced occupational downgrading. The likelihood of occupational downgrading is linked to country of origin and class of admission (Chiswick, Lee & Miller, 2003; Duleep & Regets, 1998). Migrants from

countries that are economically, culturally, and linguistically similar to the United States tend to face the least amount of occupational decline. Migrants admitted as refugees or under the family preference category of immigration policy tend to experience the greatest occupational decline. Haiti is very different from the United States in terms of culture, economy, and language, but there is limited information about how these differences shape the labor market experiences of members who claim this country of origin. Additional analysis of New Immigrant Survey Pilot showed that more than 89% of permanent legal residents who enter the United States from the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean do so under the auspices of family preference admission categories (Redstone Akresh, 2006). There is also evidence to suggest that some national origin groups face significant wage discrimination and difficult economic mobility, despite human capital investments (Hall & Farkas, 2008). Data at a finer scale of analysis about the labor market and migration histories of the foreign-born Haitian population is needed to examine how class of admission and nationality shapes entry into and occupational mobility within the long-term care industry.

In comparison to Haitians in other U.S. locations, on average Haitians in Philadelphia tend to be more educated and have higher incomes because Philadelphia is a second or third migratory destination (Lundy, 2010). Haitian immigrants have accumulated social and human capital from their previous migratory transitions. The human capital deficiency explanation therefore seems insufficient for explaining why Haitians in Philadelphia remain disproportionately concentrated in low-skill, low-income occupations such as the lower tier of the long-term care industry. Furthermore, we have insufficient information about the mechanisms by which some Haitian immigrants are

able to achieve occupational mobility within this industry. These critiques of the human capital approach suggest that an alternative explanation for labor market incorporation would be more appropriate for understanding the experiences of Haitian immigrants employed in the long-term care industry. An analytical lens that is more attentive to the complex intersections of multiple social identities, dynamic power relations, mobility, scale, and space is necessary. Feminist geographic analyses of place-based social networks provide such a lens.

Immigrant Workers' Insertion Into Urban Labor Markets: Place-Based Social Networks

Feminist geographic analyses of urban labor markets have long focused on unequal labor market outcomes. Feminist geographers argue that women, people of color, and other groups occupy marginalized positions in the workforce because of socially constructed norms and relations of power and how these play out in place and across space.[8] The spatial entrapment thesis is used to explain the causes of occupational sex segregation and the resulting economic inequalities. According to the spatial entrapment thesis, women's economic opportunities are restricted due to the spatially limited nature of their daily activity patterns. This spatial limitation is linked to patriarchal relations of power in direct ways such as the separation of productive and reproductive activities (Mackenzie & Rose, 1983; Tivers, 1985). Further, women typically balance employment concerns with household responsibilities during the job search process.[9] Quantitative analyses of journey-to-work trips produced empirical evidence of this thesis. Scholars found that women with shorter journey-to-work commutes were also concentrated in

[8]For extensive reviews, see England and Lawson (2005), England and Farkas (1986), and Kobayashi et al. (1994).

[9]For review, see England (1993).

gender-segregated jobs with low wages, minimal benefits, and a paucity of advancement opportunities (Hanson & Johnston, 1985; Hanson & Pratt, 1991, 1992, 1995).

In their seminal study on the economic activities of women and men in Worcester, MA, Hanson and Pratt (1995) suggested additional reasons for occupational sex segregation. They drew on Granovetter's (1974) scholarship to extend analysis of the spatial entrapment thesis, as well as to explain occupational sex segregation by highlighting the role of place-based social networks in the labor market incorporation process. Social networks are the webs of social relations based on mutual trust and exchange that offer emotional, informational, material, and instrumental support to members. Hanson and Pratt (1991, 1992) found that place-based social networks were an important driver of the labor matching process. They also found that place-based social networks were differentiated by gender, further reinforcing occupational sex segregation. Women and men participated in gender-segregated networks that were composed and used differently. Women were more likely to learn about jobs in female-dominated occupations from other women, kin, and community-based contacts. By contrast, men found jobs through male and work-based contacts. They also found that women's shorter journey-to-work times, daily activity patterns, and job attribute preferences resulted in lower-paying jobs (Hanson & Pratt, 1991). Like other quantitative analyses of spatial entrapment, Hanson and Pratt relied on large random samples, thus obfuscating the differences between groups of women.

The spatial entrapment thesis as an explanation for occupational sex segregation also proposes a relationship that equates greater mobility with greater power in the labor market (Gilbert, 1998). Later studies challenged that notion by considering analysis of

race, gender, and commuting patterns (Johnston-Anumonwo, 1995; McLafferty & Preston, 1991). This quantitative scholarship found that African American and Latina women traveled further than their White counterparts but were still concentrated in low-wage, low-skills jobs with limited opportunities for advancement. This finding confounded the perceived relationship between greater mobility and better labor market outcomes. By contrast, Gilbert (1998) used qualitative research methods to show that African-American women traveled shorter distances to work than White women due to the geography of residential segregation and labor market opportunities in Worcester, MA. She further challenged the spatial entrapment thesis by showing how working poor women were able to use their spatial rootedness as a resource for economic survival through the development of place-based social networks. Gilbert demonstrated that no spatiality is inherently more or less powerful but that an analysis of individuals' economic activities must be grounded in the materiality of people's daily activities.

An examination of the literature related to geographic mobility in a global context provides an important component of this research as well. In a review of feminist geographer's contribution to interdisciplinary migration research Silvey (2006) suggested that geographic analysis of transnational migration should attend to how relations of gender, intersecting with race, class and other categories of social differences are tied to spatial mobility. Her review suggests that more work is necessary to understand how different spatialities of power are implicated in the migration process. This research examines co-construction of spatialities of power with the migration and labor market incorporation process through an examination of social networks.

Feminist geographers have also examined the impact of local context on spatially grounded social networks and the role of place and space in decision making. Studies have highlighted how the place-based nature of the social networks women use shape decisions made about jobs, child care, and housing (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Peake, 1995, 1997). In comparisons of the neighborhood-based networks of White and Black women, Peake (1995, 1997) found that the instability of the neighborhoods and a lack of material resources of the people in the neighborhoods resulted in weak and sparse networks. White women were able to draw on more extensive and developed networks for job search, whereas Black women relied primarily on networks focused on local churches and community centers. Her study participants constructed and used racially segregated social networks. Feminist geographic scholarship highlights how the types, composition, and uses of social networks vary by complex intersections of race, class, and gender.

Transnational Migration Literature

In this study, I examined participants' daily activity patterns to illuminate the geographic extent of their social networks and the resulting labor market outcomes in order to explore the relationship between power and mobility in the lives of transnational workers, an understudied group in feminist geographic inquiry on urban labor markets. What are the nature, role, and spatial extent of their daily activity patterns? What is the geography of their social networks? How is it related to daily activity patterns? How do we conceptualize place-based networks or daily activity patterns in the context of a migration experience? How do daily activity patterns and social networks impact labor market outcomes? How is this different for people of different genders, migration status,

ages, occupational and educational history, and length of time since initial departure from the country of origin, and age, to name just a few. Silvey (2006) suggests that geographic inquiry about migration should privilege analysis of how conceptions of space and mobility are tied to complex intersections of social identities in ways that enrich critical theorizations of power. Posing and answering these questions allows us to re-conceptualize existing feminist geographic models.

The transnational migration literature provides a lens to complicate our understanding of place-based social networks for immigrant workers. Studies suggest that immigrants inhabit transnational social fields that are multiscalar and contribute to processes of rescaling both in place and across space (Basch et al., 1994; Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2011). Local networks may be distinct or linked to transnational networks in complex ways. Social networks may be dispersed transnationally or may be rooted in near the migrant (Oakley, 1992; Portes, 1997). The specific geography of a migrant's social networks may be important. In contrast to feminist geographer's examination of place-based social networks, migration scholars outside of geography have not explored the geography of social networks but instead have focused on identifying the existence, and use of social networks in the migration and settlement process.[10]

Examination of the impact of the spatiality of immigrant networks on occupational mobility has been limited. All social networks are rooted in place and shape the opportunities available to members. However, the existing feminist geographic literature has focused on place-based social networks organized around kinship, neighborhoods, and work-based relationships. The scale and spatial extent of these

[10]In geography see Ellis, Wright, & Parks. (2004, 2007) and Parks (2005).

studies was within a locally defined metropolitan area in the United States and focused on the labor market activities of native-born U.S. men and women (Gilbert 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Hardwick 2003; Peake, 1995, 1997). We need a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between place, space, scale, power and mobility, the construction and use of social networks, and labor market outcomes for transnational migrant populations. By focusing on transnational migrants, a group that makes extensive use of social networks (Massey et al., 1993; Mullan, 1989),[11] this project seeks to add to our current understanding of the geography of place-based social networks, not only beyond their use in a particular place but also as they are traced across multiple scales and spaces.

The use of social networks is well documented among many groups (e.g., Stack, 1974), but it has particular importance in migration scholarship because it is considered the primary means to explain upward social and economic mobility. Both migration and feminist geographic scholars have found that social networks can serve either as a resource or constraint to network members' labor market outcomes (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Hardwick, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Mattingly, 1999; Mullan, 1989; Pohjola, 1989). The effectiveness of a social network is connected to the nature of the relationship between network members. Feminist geographer Mattingly (1999) drew on Granovetter's (1973) insights to analyze the social networks of immigrant domestic workers. She found that migrants' access to different network relationships shaped their labor market outcomes. The strong ties (also known as bonding ties) between family members and co-ethnic friends were the primary way migrants found

[11]For a discussion of the use of networks by Haitians, see Chierici (1991) and Stepick (1991, 1998).

their first job and subsequent jobs at comparable levels. However, the weak ties (also known as bridging ties) they shared with employers provided access to more profitable employment. This is because similarly positioned migrants have limited access to information that can facilitate economic mobility.[12] More recent studies demonstrated the temporality of social network membership (Ryan et al., 2008). The composition and use of a social network changed over time as needs changed (Boyd, 1989; Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991; Hagan, 1998). Menjivar (1994) showed that although networks may ease the settlement process, a lack of material resources within an ethnic community weakens the effectiveness of the network over time. Alternatively, established immigrants may exploit their newly arrived co-ethnic peers (Mahler, 1995).

Social networks are valuable because of social capital. Although there are a variety of definitions of *social capital*, in general, it is defined across a range of disciplines as the resources and information that network membership brings to members (e.g., Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Gilbert, 2010; Goode & O'Brien, 2006; Portes & Sesenbrenner, 1993). Gilbert (2010), in particular, offered a critical geographic model that describes how people can effectively use the technological and social capital embedded within their social networks. Her model suggests that digital inequalities in poor urban neighborhoods are constituted by the uneven development of social, economic, and political processes operating at multiple scales from the individual to the global. Although Gilbert's model was concerned with the digital divide, her Bourdieuan-inspired conceptualization of social networks and social capital provide a means to link analysis of place (through daily activity patterns), scale, social capital, social networks,

[12]For similar arguments, see Aguilera (2002), Lin (1999), and Mullan (1989).

and particular outcomes. In this project, this model was adapted to examine the specific relationship between the geography of social networks for particular labor market outcomes (see Appendix C). I proposed that analysis of people's daily activity patterns (i.e., where they go daily or periodically) provides a means to examine the spatial extent of their social networks. Although the existing scholarship suggests that the social capital embedded within a social network can help or hinder occupational mobility, there is insufficient information about the nature of this relationship for this group of transnational migrants. The conceptions of bridging/bonding social capital, strong/weak ties, and local/transnational social networks, while helpful, have not accounted for the scales at which people construct and use their social networks for occupational mobility. A robust examination of an individual's life history provides not only demographic information but also key insights about the scales at which individuals make decisions about their lives, the people that help or hinder that decision-making process, and a means to analyze how that person is positioned in complex constellations of power relations. The deployment of Gilbert's model is one means by which this study responds to gaps in the extant literature; however, it also addresses other gaps.

The extant scholarship on Haitian social networks and social capital is based on the initial stages of settlement after migration or as a key mechanism for fostering long-distance nationalism (Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998; 2001). Prior to this study, no empirical data existed about how the social networks and social capital of Haitian immigrants are constructed, accessed, and used beyond those initial settlement stages with the particular goal of occupational mobility. An examination of Haitian immigrant social network must also be placed in the context of racialized international migration.

Racialized International Migration

Currently, almost 40 million people live in the United States who were born in a country other than the United States (Grieco et al., 2012). Early migrants to the territory now known as the United States of America were composed primarily of laborers from Europe and slaves forcibly removed from Africa. The flow of migrants continues to the present day. Millions of people from across the globe have come to the United States in search of new opportunities. Countless others have come in search of refuge from various forms of persecution in their country of origin. Everyone currently living in the United States, with the exception of indigenous peoples, is either themselves an immigrant or descendent of (voluntary or involuntary) immigrants. Despite this historical continuity, the public discourse and scholarly literature identifies migration in the post-1965 era as being one of an unprecedented nature.

International migration has become a permanent structural feature of the postindustrial political economy of United States (Massey, 1995). People migrate internationally for permanent or temporary settlement for a variety of reasons. This project engages most closely with the body of literature focused on labor migration. Labor migration scholars argue that people migrate to sell their labor in a new location for better wages and working conditions than can be found in their country of origin (Wilson & Portes, 1980). Neoclassical and historical-structural theories represent the two main approaches to explain why workers choose to make the costly financial and psychological journey from their country of origin to a new destination (Borjas, 1989; de Haas, 2010; Jenkins, 1977; Lee, 1966; Portes & Böröcz, 1989; Ravenstein, 1885; Wilson, 1994).

Neoclassical theoretical frameworks take the utility maximizing individual as the unit of analysis. Proponents typically provide lists of push factors—economic, political, and social hardships in the poorest parts of the world—and pull factors—advantages that can be gained in more economically established nations—while also cataloging intervening issues such as migration policy or distance that might hinder or encourage the calculation to move (Borjas, 1989; Jenkins, 1977; Lee, 1966; Ravenstein, 1885). This model has been critiqued for focusing on the individual and ignoring the role of the family, household, or access to networks as key determinants in deciding where and when migration will occur (Boyd, 1989; Massey et al., 1993). This theory has also been critiqued for failing to consider the relationship between nation-states.

By contrast, historical-structural theorists suggest that the structural relationship between nation-states influence the conditions of exiting the home country and the context of reception in the new country. Further, world systems, an example of the historical-structural framework, posit that migration occurs within one global economic system in a process of constant change (Portes, 1978; Wallerstein, 1974). Uneven development occurs within and between nation-states, and integration occurs primarily through an international division of labor (Sassen-Kobb, 1978; Wilson, 1994). Historical-structural theorists argue that advanced capitalist states are increasingly dependent on migrants as a source of cheap, flexible labor (Burawoy, 1976; Castells, 1975; Sassen-Kobb, 1978). Historical-structural approaches have been critiqued for attributing too much explanatory power to structures and not enough to human agency (Abreu, 2012). Additionally, these approaches, like other political-economic frameworks have been

critiqued for failing to account for the manner in which world systems and attendant migration flows are part of a global racial system (Bashi, 2004).

Race is an important organizing principle for understanding political-economic relations between and within nation-states (Bashi, 2004, 2007; Benson, 2006; Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Fan, 1997; Greer, 2013; Liu, 2000). Race has no biological or cultural foundation (Sipress, 1997). It is a social construction but it is also deeply rooted with systems of power, control, and varying forms of order (Winant, 1994). Race and racism continue to play a key role in defining national boundaries and national identities (Anthias, Yuval-Davis & Crane, 1992). Bashi (2007) argued, "the same processes that separate nations into north/south blocs and make that dichotomy synonymous with developed/less developed or rich/impoverished also racialize these nations' peoples . . . (p. 72)." As a result, Black migrants are not only citizens of some of the least developed and most impoverished nation-states in an asymmetrical world system; they are also racialized on entry to a migratory destination. Black migrants are at the bottom of two intersecting hierarchical systems: a racial hierarchy and a hierarchy of nations (Bashi, 2007).

Historically, advanced capitalist nations such as the United States, have served as uneasy hosts of Black migrant populations (Bashi, 2004, 2007). In the post-World War II period, migration policies have been neither outwardly welcoming nor exclusionary to Black migrants. Thus, Black migrants continue to arrive in the United States, providing labor that has proven valuable to the development of the power of this country (Bashi, 2007). As workers, Black migrants provide the cheap, flexible labor that is so important for postindustrial economies. However, to the extent that these migrants and their

incorporation efforts are racialized, an analysis that considers the racial implications of the history, structures, and policies that shape their experiences is a necessary component of this study.

Haitian Immigration to the United States: History, Policy, and Public Discourses

The foreign-born Black population, representing the nations of the Caribbean and Africa, has grown significantly between 1980 and 2015 (Anderson, 2015; Buchanan et al., 2010; Kent, 2007). Information about the experiences of Black immigrants is limited despite this rapid growth (Capps, Mccabe, & Fix, 2011; Guy, 2002; Kent, 2007). Haitians occupy an interesting position in these classification systems. As a group, they are sometimes included under the banner of Latin American immigrants, but in other scholarly work, they are classified by other geographic or sociohistorical markers, such as immigrants from the Caribbean or Black immigrants (Anderson, 2015; Chishti & Bergeron, 2010; Donato et. al, 2010; Kent, 2007). Regardless of categorization, approximately 530,000 to 580,000 Haitian immigrants live in the United States today (Anderson, 2015; Chishti & Bergeron, 2010; Kent, 2007). This is the largest concentration of Haitians outside of Haiti (Chishti & Bergeron, 2010). Haitians are the second largest Black immigrant nationality group (Anderson, 2015; Kent, 2007). Immigrants from Haiti, and many of the countries of the Global South only began to represent a noteworthy share of the immigration in 1965.

The year 1965 represents a watershed year in the history of U.S. immigration policy. Significant policy changes, reflective of the public sentiment of the era, were enacted. This period of U.S. history was characterized by demands for eradication of explicit discrimination based on race (Gunderson, 2002). In keeping with the spirit of the

times, the 1965 Hart-Cellar immigration legislation abolished the national-origins quota and instead instituted a system for determining legal entry into the United States based on three criteria: reunifying families, acquiring needed skills, and alleviating human suffering (Joppke, 2005; Massey, 1995). This shift in the admission system gave the appearance of removing race-based or nationality-based barriers to access legal migration to the United States. Bashi (2007) argued that the Johnson presidential administration believed that this new policy would continue to favor European migration streams, while appearing more inclusive. Surprisingly, the migratory streams shifted to include larger shares of immigrants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa and fewer from Europe (Hirschman & Massey, 2008; Waldinger & Lee, 2001). Christian Joppke (2005) described this as the "Third World-ization" of the immigrant population in the United States.

Despite the growing share of the population represented by immigrants from the Global South, what little knowledge exists is often misinformation in the public discourse about them. Much of the academic scholarship about contemporary immigrants has focused on the reception of Latino(a) immigrants (primarily from Mexico) into the United States. Much of this scholarship has found that these immigrants are entering an unwelcoming environment maintained through a range of discursive strategies (Dick, 2011; Ramakrishnan & Lewis, 2005; Ramakrishnan & Wong, 2007; Santa Ana, 1999; van Dijk, 1996, 2000; Wright, 2005). van Dijk (2000) explained that a critical component of this discursive strategy is "idealogically based social representations of (about) groups (p. 93)." Other immigrants are similarly affected by discursive strategies that are linked with dominant representations of their group.

It is unclear how many people in the United States have had signigicant personal experiences with people of Haitian ancestry; as such, clarification of the dominant social representation of Haitian immigrants is warrented. In *Paradise Lost,* Girard (2005) succinctly articulated that most foreigners know very little about Haiti and Haitians. The little they know can be summarized in four words: AIDS, hunger, voodoo, and tyranny (Girard, 2005). Patterns of endemic poverty, political corruption, government incompetence, and sporadic violence are also part of the dominant representation. Because the media plays a significant role in what people know about groups which they have limited personal contact, media coverage has helped construct and support these representations (van Dijk, 1988).

Colonial History

Saint-Dominque, as Haiti was named when it was the jewel in France's colonial holdings, was commonly referred to as the "Pearl of the Antilles." The riches produced by Saint Dominique's suger cane and coffee plantations were unparrelled (Farmer, 2006; Girard, 2005).[13] Farmer (2006) asserted that through much of the 16th and 17th century, Saint-Dominque generated more revenue than the 13 American colonies. In 1789, it was the richest colony in the world. However, those riches were produced on a brutal form of slavery that killed vast numbers of the laboring African population. In 1791, a group of slaves led by Toussaint l'Overture, Henri Christophe, and Jean-Jacques Dessalines initiated a revolt to free themselves from the bounds of chattal slavery. They embarked

[13]Paul Farmer's book, The *Uses of Haiti*, unless otherwise noted informs much of the descriptions of Haiti's early histography. I specifically chose this text because Farmer uses considerable ethnographic data collection procedures to talk with Haitian officials and Haitian people about Haiti to contest many of the dominant tropes that exist about the country. Throughout his text, he uses excerpts from newspapers and other primarily U.S. media sources to tell the twisted tale of Haiti's relations with the rest of the world.

on a fierce battle for freedom that lasted until 1804. On January 1, 1804, Jean-Jacques Dessalines declared independence from French colonial rule and renamed the territory Haiti. This act established Haiti as the first successful slave-initiated revolution (Ott, 1973). Haiti was the first soverign nation of Blacks and the second oldest republic in the Western Hemisphere (Farmer, 2006). The euphoria of this victory was short lived.

The rest of the world was quite hostile to the idea of self-governance for an African people. Although France was the first nation to recognize Haiti's sovereignty, it also demanded reparations in the amount of 150 million francs for the losses sustained by the plantation owners. The Haitian govenment agreed to pay this compensation, because they hoped to enlist their former colonial master as a trading partner. The United States refused to recognize Haiti as an independent nation until 1862. The success of the slave revolt in Haiti was concerning for the European colonial powers (primarily England, Spain and France), which maintained control of the surrounding Caribbean islands. Like their distant neighbor, the United States, they all continued to be dependant on a slave-based economy. For these nations, it was matter of economic and national security that Haiti be kept on the periphery of the international community. The dominant discursive narrative that emerged about Haiti during this time was that it was a godless nation inhabited by people who prayed to the devil. It was during these early periods of Haiti's history that the country became linked with voodoo (Diakite, 2010). Voodoo,[14] suggested the colonial leaders, played an integral part in the succes of the slave revolt and the sustained victory.

[14]Slave revolts were quite common in all territories were chattel slavery existed. The Haitian Revolution that began in 1791 was also heavily influenced by the French Revolution (Taber, 2015). The Haitian slaves wished to define their own liberty, equality, and citizenship (Joseph-Gabriel, 2014).

The decision to isolate Haiti economically and politically had significant and long-lasting implications. Haiti's social and economic systems have never fully recovered from those early depictions.

U.S. Invasion and Occupation: 1915–1934

The next major interaction between Haiti and the international community occurred in 1915 when Woodrow Wilson ordered the U.S. Marines to invade Haiti. The rhetoric about this military mission emphasized that the intent was the stabilization of Haiti's political system. In the decades before the invasion, the Haitian government had undergone numerous political coups in which members of the preceeding administration were killed or exiled. Wilson argued that only the U.S. military could restore political stability to a country as "backward" as Haiti. The U.S. officials disolved the Haitian Parliament and rewrote the Haitian Constitution. For all intents and purposes, Haiti became a territory of the United States. Scholars of Haitian history argue that the United States imposed such tactics to make way for U.S. companies looking to benefit from Haitian agricultural resources and to facilitate acess to Haiti's cheap labor. It was during this period that Haitians were most closely depicted as backward and inept in developing their own country. U.S. troops remained in Haiti until 1934.

The Early Waves of Mass Emigration

In 1957, the Duvalier family gained control of the island nation in a complete dictatorship. The represive and totalitatian regime lasted for 30 years, first under the rule of father Francois (Papa Doc) and then that of son Jean-Claude (Baby Doc). The Duvaliers were the supreme autocrats, declaring themselves "president for life" and describing their family as "gods" (Stepick, 1981). During this period, political repression

and poverty were mainstays for the majority of the Haitian population. Despite this reality, the international community supported the Duvalier regime. Millions of dollars in aid was sent to Haiti to prop up the Duvalier regime, because the family primarily repressed communist and other left-leaning opponents. At the height of the Cold War, it benefited U.S. interests to mainitain Haiti as a strategic asset. Although the U.S. government was complicit in supporting this government, the negative depiction of a violent and corrupt government was primarily reserved for the Haitian political leaders.

During this period, events in Haiti started to affect migration streams. In the 1950s, members of Haiti's educated upper and middle classes began leaving Haiti en masse. The majority arrived in the destination country via airplanes and in possession of proper documentation. Primarily composed of skilled professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and engineers this group opposed the Duvalier family political regime (Sohmer, Jackson, Katz, & Warren, 2005; Stepick, 1982). This migration received little attention from U.S. policy makers. The educated elite continued to leave in large numbers for destinations in North America (Canda, United States), Europe, and throughout the Caribbean (Catanese, 1999).

In subsequent migration waves, the socioeconomic profile of the Haitian immigrants became more diverse. During the 1960s, Haitians from urban areas, primarily the middle and lower classes began leaving in large numbers. The 1970s marked the beginning of the largest migration wave. These immigrants could not afford visas or airline tickets. They were from the poorest segments of Haitian society and hailed primarily from the rural countryside as opposed to Haiti's urban capitol, Port-au-Prince. These desperate people often sold their meager possessions to buy passage on shaky and

dilapidated flotilla sailboats in the hopes of reaching south Florida (Stepick, 1982). They began washing up on the shores of Florida and were quickly termed, the pejorative "boat people." These "boat people" would come to dominate the U.S. media as the reflection of the Haitian masses (Chierici, 1991). Public policy regarding Haitians also began to shift.

As Haitians fled the turmoil in their native land, many sought entrance into the United States on the basis of political repression and claimed the they should benefit from political asylum. However, government officials and policies classified the vast majority as economic migrants and sought to deport them as expediously as possible (Mitchell, 1994). By contrast, Cuban refugees arriving at about the same time were granted refugee status until 1995 (Conway & Stafford, 1996). During the 1960s, fears of communism resulted in Cubans refugees recieving favorable treatment by U.S. immigration officials. According to Stepick, Stepick, Eugene, Teed, and Labissiere (2001), "during the 1970s and 1980s, no other immigrant group suffered more U.S. government prejudice and discrimination than Haitians" (p. 236). During this period, the dominant image of Haiti's poverty became most salient to the average U.S. citizen. It was imperative that Haiti's economic condition be highlighted and its political problems muted so that the designation of economic migrants would have legitimacy.

The Promise of Haitian Democracy

The depiction of Haitians and Haiti has not improved significantly since the 1990s. In 1990, Haitians selected Jean Bertrande Aristide as their first democratically elected president. Nine months, later he was removed from office after a coup d'état. Some in the U.S. media suggested that although Aristide was elected by 67% of the electorate, he was at odds with Haitian civil society. They claimed he ruled through fear

and violence and was responsible for a host of human rights violations. The dominant U.S. narrative was that Aristide was unfit to lead the country because of his repressive tactics. However, Farmer (2006) critiqued this version of the events, contending instead that Aristide was deposed because he would not agree blindly to the neo-liberal demands made by the international community.

After Aristide was removed, an oppressive military junta took over governing duties. More than 2000 Aristide supporters are thought to have been brutally murdered during this time. This new government committed undeniable human rights abuses. In response, a stifling economic embargo was instituted by the Organization of American States (OAS), of which the United States is a powerful member state. Thousands of Haitian people took to the seas to escape the brutal economic and humanitarian crisis in their country. A new phase of refugees began to cross into American shores. Again, Haitian refugees were designated as economic migrants and not political asylees. The term "boat people" would be used again in the media and among the general public to describe these migrants.

In 1994, President Bill Clinton ordered American forces into Haiti to protect U.S. interests and stop the brutal atrocities that threatened tens of thousands of Haitians. Aristide was restored to power to finish his term of office. Throughout this period, Haitians continued to leave Haiti in large numbers. In 2004, Aristide was removed from power again. This time, he contended U.S. military forces kidnapped him. In the wake of these chaotic events, more Haitians sought refuge among the nations of the international community. The United Nations deployed a peacekeeping mission into Haiti that year; this military mission still remains in Haiti (United Nations, 2009).

Environmental and Humanitarian Disruptions

Environmental and humanitarian disruptions have also added to the negative depiction of Haitians. In 2008, a series of tropical storms battered Haiti's fragile ecosystem, damaging significant portions of the agricultural crop. These natural disasters, combined with rising food costs, triggered massive food shortages (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2008). Then on January 12, 2010, a magnitude 7.0 earthquake struck right outside Port-au-Prince. An Inter-American Development Bank report estimated the human causalities of the earthquake were in the range of 200,000 to 250,000 dead and missing (Cavello, Powell, & Becerra, 2010). The same study estimated the economic damage to be $8.1 billion to $13.9 billion.[15]

Because millions were displaced within Haiti, researchers and government official in the United States feared that the earthquake would spur another round of mass emigration to the United States (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014; Wasssem, 2010). However, analysis of the 2011 and 2012 American Community Survey data does not support concerns of mass emigration (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014). Notwithstanding, the U.S. government added Haiti to the list of nations with temporary protected status[16] designation because of the earthquake. In the days after the earthquake, news coverage of

[15]All monetary values are provided in U.S. dollars.

[16]There are currently 13 temporary protected status (TPS) designated nations. According to the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (2015), "the Secretary of Homeland Security may designate a foreign country for TPS due to conditions in the country that temporarily prevent the country's nationals from returning safely, or in certain circumstances, where the country is unable to handle the return of its nationals adequately. USCIS may grant TPS to eligible nationals of certain countries (or parts of countries), who are already in the United States. Eligible individuals without nationality who last resided in the designated country may also be granted TPS." TPS provides individuals protection from deportation, as well as the legal right to reside and work in the United States, on a limited basis (Mountz, Wright, Miyares, & Bailey, 2002). By 2014, 58,000 Haitian nationals had been offered TPS benefits (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014).

this environmental and humanitarian disaster dominated all media formats—print, television, and Internet—at an international level.

The empathetic response was overwhelming. Immediately after the earthquake, millions of dollars in relief aid, resources of food, water, and medicine, as well as countless volunteers, flooded the streets of Port-au-Prince to offer help and solace to those affected. Billions more were committed for reconstruction, and there was a global consensus that rebuilding Haiti was a collective enterprise to be undertaken by countless international partners (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2010). However, much of the funds allocated for the rebuilding were funnelled through nongovernmental organizations and military assets, and were controlled by people operating outside of Haiti. These assets and resources were intentionally diverted from the control of the democratically elected Haitian government. This series of events exemplifies the discursive construction of people of color, as individuals and governement officials (Bradshaw, 2005; Caladas-Coulthard, 2003; Fernando, 2010; Golash-Boza, 2010; Tierney, Bevc, & Kuliogowski, 2006). The assumed dearth of prosocial behaviors among people of color in the face of disaster, results in the believe that these groups would be more likely to loot and riot than help one another at an individual level. Further, the discursive narrative that emphasized the corrupt, dysfunctional, and ineffective nature of the Haitian government assumed that these elected officials would be incapable of allocating funds for the rebuilding of the infrastructure without external control.

Incorporation of Haitians in the United States

The common depictions of Haitians in the popular media include the following characteristics: homogeneously impoverished, uneducated, and politically backward. It is

assumed that the country is devoid of significant (domestic) civil society[17] and run by a recurring cast of corrupt, dysfunctional, and pathologically violent politicians (Dupuy, 2010; Glover, 2011; Potter, 2009). The country is characterized as always in the midst of chaos and crisis. These images have contributed to a great deal of discrimination toward Haitian immigrants in U.S. society. Roger Biamby, director of human services at the Pierre-Toussaint Haitian-Catholic Center in Miami stated, "It's insulting to be so unwanted; all this talk about Haitians descending on this country as if they were a plague" (Sontag, 1994).

Haitians have tried to incorporate in U.S. society despite the hostile environment. The National Coalition for Haitian Rights (2002) identifies institutional actions such as the denial of Haitian asylum due process rights by federal authorities as well as the resulting isolation and stigma associated with being characterized as carriers of the HIV/AIDS virus in the early 1980s by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) as being important events shaping the Haitian immigrant experience in the United States. Their experience is further compounded by the continuing significance of racial discrimination in the United States. It has been argued that Haitians face a "triple minority status" of being Black, foreigners, and non-English speakers (Sontag, 1994). Girard (2005) asserted that successive U.S. presidents' motivations vis-à-vis Haiti are to "stabilize Haiti so that Haitians may stay at home" (p. 10).

Despite varied attempts at stabilization by agents external to Haiti, Haitian citizens have continued to leave Haiti and emmigrate to the nations of the Global North.

[17]Haiti has a long history of development projects organized and implemented by external NGOs. More than 80% of services provided in Haiti are provided through private NGOs (Edmonds, 2012). None are accountable to the Haitian government or the Haitian people in any meaningful way. There is a vibrant and robust academic literature about the effectiveness of the intervention of NGOs in international development sector in Haiti (e.g., Jobe, 2011; Pierre-Louis, 2011; Schuller, 2007, 2009; Zanotti, 2010).

This history of migration streams, associated shifts in U.S. migration and diplomatic policy with regard to Haiti, and the associated discursive narratives provide critical background for interpreting the experiences of Haitian immigrants as they navigate daily life in the United States, including labor market activities in the long-term care segment of the healthcare industry.

Summary

This study presents new insights that link the construction and use of multiscalar social networks, migration, and labor market outcomes for Haitian migrants employed in the long-term care industry. In the literature review that informs this study, I present critiques of human capital explanations that continue to serve as the dominant explanations for the concentration of foreign-born Blacks in the long-term care segment of the labor market. I also present insights gleaned from feminist geographic analyses of social networks as part of important survival strategies used in an urban context. Finally I situate these discussions within the context of transnational migrants, whose patterns of social network composition may differ significantly from the extant research on social networks. I suggest that Gilbert's model offers a means to explicate more clearly the relationship between the construction, use, and geography of social networks and their impact on labor market outcomes for transnational migrants. Finally in this chapter I present important context related to the racial dynamics of international migration, focusing specifically on this history of Haitian migration to the United States.

A feminist and transnational sensibility demands attention as to how social identities and relations of power are expressed and how those expressions might influence occupational mobility. How social identities shape study participants social

relations in this transnational context is an important consideration (Collins, 2009; Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan IV, & Pessar, 2006; Easthope, 2009; Glick-Schiller & Levitt, 2006; Ley, 2004; Pessar & Mahler, 2003; Silvey, 2004, 2006). In the following chapter, I discuss intersectionality. I present a theoretical framework for undertaking intersectionality research that is attentive to geographic concepts such as place, space and mobility as well as the complex intersections of multiple power hierarchies.

CHAPTER 3

INTERSECTIONALITY AS RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The theory of intersectionality as articulated within Black Feminist Thought has thus far been absent in feminist geographic scholarship. Conversely, intersectionality as articulated by Black feminist theorists has lacked a specific attention to geographic concepts such as place, space, and mobility. As a result, both Black Feminist Thought and the sub-discipline of feminist geography have been impoverished. Both scholarly communities have the common goal of a more just and equitable future, suggesting that there might be other meaningful points of engagement between these two modes of inquiry.

Debates about the theoretical and empirical utility of intersectionality provide an ideal terrain for that engagement. As critical social theory intersectionality proposes that race class, gender, and other categories of social differentiation are socially constructed and represent linked and mutually constituted social identity categories and related systems of oppression (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Intersectionality rejects the view that processes of marginalization organized around identity categories represent separate, distinct, identifiable, additive, or multiplicative analytical categories; instead this theory proposes that they are mutually, complexly, and interdependently constituted and shape every aspect of daily life (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Intersectionality is highly

debated and contested in feminist studies.[18] However, feminist geographers have largely remained on the periphery of these debates (Valentine, 2007).

In this chapter I present evidence of feminist geographers' reliance on postmodernist or poststructuralist theoretical frameworks as they have engaged the theory intersectionality. While direct engagement with the theory has been limited in empirical projects, I argue that these frameworks have had a deleterious effect on the development of intersectionality as a theory within the subdiscipline. In the alternative, I advocate engagement with intersectionality, as articulated by Black Feminist Thought. I present a theoretical framework for bringing together feminist geographic modes of inquiry and a Black Feminist approach to intersectionality. This framework was utilized within this research project. In this chapter I also present a discussion of how intersectionality shaped my positionality within this research. In the conclusions I summarize my key arguments as well as highlight the points of connection between feminist geographic modes of inquiry and Black feminist approaches to intersectionality.

Contemporary Feminist Thought

Critical legal scholar Kimberlee Crenshaw (1989, 1991) coined the term *intersectionality* to explain the ways race and gender interact to shape Black women's unique experiences of labor market discrimination that were not considered by anti-racist or antisexist workplace policies. Although the term *intersectionality* has widespread name recognition, the vibrant intellectual genealogy that precedes it is frequently ignored or not properly cited. The themes found in intersectionality are part of a rich and long

[18] See Aguilar, 2012; Bilge, 2010; Collins, 2000b; Crenshaw, 2011; Davis, 2011; Gines, 2011; Lutz, et al., 2011; Matsuda, 1990; McCall, 2005; Nash, 2008, 2011; Wing, 1990; Zack, 2005.

history of scholarship penned by U.S. and international third world women of color,[19] lesbian feminists, and working class women (e.g., Caldwell, 1991; Christian, 1988; Collins, 1986, 1990, 1999; Davis, 1972; Dill, 1983; Higginbotham, 1982; hooks, 1984; King, 1988; Lorde, 1984; Mohanty, Russo, & Torress, 1991; Moraga & Anzaldua, 1983; Rich, 1985; The Combahee River Collective, 1977; Zinn & Dill, 1996). Sarah Ahmed (2013) asserted that in the politics of citation, the scholarly contributions of scholars who are not male, White, or otherwise members of dominant groups, even in feminist and gender studies are often erased. The manner in which intersectionality is often taken up in academic circles reflects such an erasure. Since its formal locuation by Crenshaw (1989,1991), *intersectionality* has risen to the status of transdisciplinary social theory—widely used and applied (Bilge, 2010).

Intersectionality has an almost hegemonic presence in feminist scholarship. It is rare to find a contemporary feminist text—in any discipline—that does not give an obligatory nod to intersectionality by defining it and reaffirming how important it is to the feminist political and research project. It has also been described as a "buzzword," a "catchphrase" (Aguilar, 2012; Davis, 2011), and the "most important theoretical contribution of women's studies, in conjunction to related fields, have made so far" (McCall, 2005, p. 1771). As the term has come into vogue and been largely institutionalized into academic discourse and knowledge production, it has developed as a shorthand theoretical and empirical device (Davis, 2011; Knapp, 2005). Scholars have

[19]Not all of the scholars listed here identify as women of color. Likewise, not all women of color who are feminists adopt this stance.

integrated the term intersectionality, in name only, by adding it parenthetically[20] or as an introduction to a list[21] of social identities (Gines, 2011).

These nominal uses of the term reflect a lack of substantive engagement, which leaves intersectionality undertheorized. Additionally, by adopting intersectionality in this manner, feminist scholars implicitly suggest that everyone and everything could conceivably merit an intersectional analysis. However a close examination of issues of systemic power and the complex dynamics of privilege and oppression are, in fact, defining tenets of intersectionality (Gines, 2011). Using intersectionality in name alone renders that analytical priority impotent, resulting in a depoliticized and toothless feminist theory of intersectionality divorced from its radical, liberatory, and revolutionary feminist praxis (Collins, 1999; 2000b). As bell hooks (1984) indicated, there can be no meaningful, long-range, and sustainable feminist movement without praxis.

Although adopting intersectionality in name alone is problematic, scholars must also avoid another common dilemma in using intersectionality in research projects. That is, failing to clearly articulate the parameters they place around the theory of intersectionality. Anthias (2013) argued that these parameters shape the level and nature of analysis. Poststructural/postmodern approaches and Black Feminist Thought are the two most common approaches to intersectionality research. Each approach has significantly different interpretations of the role of identity categories, as well as different epistemological, theoretical, and methodological implications.

[20]Scholars simply use the word *intersectionality* as a stand in without actually, ever dealing with the complexity of intersectionality in their data collection or data analysis.

[21]Scholars include a long list of potentially intersecting social identities, followed by the ubiquitous "etc.," as in race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability, etc.

Two Versions for Intersectional Research

A good entry point for organizing the differences between approaches to intersectionality is to examine social identity categories. Both approaches reject any assumption that social identity categories are natural, predetermined, or composed of any essential content. Both approaches insist on the social construction of social identity categories. What distinguishes intersectional scholars/activists is the relationship between the social identity categories and the theoretical, epistemological, methodological choices. The approach to social identity categories also shapes the priorities of social activism. Leslie McCall (2005) offered a typology consisting of three approaches to social identity categories: intracategorical complexity, anticategorical complexity, and intercategorical[22] complexity. In this review, I focus exclusively on the intracategorical and anticategorical approaches, which are often conflated with one another in feminist texts. These two approaches emerged almost simultaneously, as part of broader critiques of mainstream, second wave feminist theory and political activism for failing to adequately consider issues of power and difference within the category of "woman" (Aguilar, 2012; Bordo, 1990; Dill, 1983; Whelehan, 1995).

Canonical texts by U.S. and international third world women of color, lesbian feminists and working class women exemplify the intra-categorical approach to intersectionality.[23] Patricia Hill Collins (1990, 2000a) organized many of these themes

[22]The intercategorical approach uses large quantitative datasets to examine how different configurations of inequality play out in the national and several subnational urban labor markets (McCall, 2001, 2005). This analysis is an important contribution to the intersectionality scholarship, because it uses geographic literature and demonstrates how the particular configuration of inequality in a national and several subnational labor markets should drive labor market policies.

[23]See Caldwell (1991), Christian (1988), Collins (1986, 1990, 1999), Davis (1972), Dill (1983), Higginbotham (1982), hooks (1984), King (1988), Lorde (1984), Mohanty, et al. (1991), Moraga and Anzaldua (1983), Rich (1985), The Combahee River Collective (1977), Zinn and Dill (1996).

and their underlying assumptions as part of a scholarly agenda that she branded as Black Feminist Thought. I use the terms Black Feminist Thought or Black feminism to refer to this scholarly heritage throughout this text.[24] A driving priority for Crenshaw, Collins, and these other scholars was to disrupt the implicit boundaries constructed around social identity categories. They sought to trouble the idea that there is a singular or essential experience because of membership in a particular social identity group. They first did this by exposing the variety of experiences in the category of "woman," because of differences due to race, class, and sexual orientation. According to McCall's typology, proponents of this approach resist broad and essentialisizing acts of categorization but do not reject categories, per se. Instead feminists working from this approach asserted that a criticism of categories does not erase the material reality and impact of categorization on the daily lived experience of people.

Intersectionality, as articulated by Black feminist scholars and activists, does not simply name categories of difference but also posits that their simultaneous and multiple interactions produce and reproduce social inequalities and as such suggests goals and objectives of feminist political activism (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1998, 2000b, 2003). The modern liberal[25] agenda of mainstream second wave feminist political and legal activism focused on increasing the capacity for individual

[24]Within Black feminism, the development of intersectionality has evolved over time. Jennifer Nash (2011) offered a historical approach to intersectionality that gestures at the dynamic nature of intersectional analysis as it is remade in and through Black feminist theorizing. Nash (2011) argued that there have been three distinct periods in the history of Black feminism's development of intersectionality. Kathryn Gines (2011) suggested that the history of intersectionality in Black feminism goes back to the 19th century. Kimberly Springer (2002) queried whether the late 1990s represented a "third wave" in Black feminism. A lengthier discussion of the history of Black feminism and intersectionality is outside the context of this paper but greatly influenced the theoretical arguments expressed herein.

[25]Liberal feminists work within the current economic and social systems to achieve equality for women. Briefly, some of the political commitments of this approach include a focus on equality of opportunity, a belief in the power of education as the primary means of social reform, and the use of the state apparatus to end de jure discrimination (Gerson, 2002; Wendell, 1987).

women to achieve their economic and social goals within and through the use of the existing legal and political systems. By constrast, Black feminist scholars documented how the oppression of Black women, specifically, but women of color more broadly, has been linked to daily struggles in a capitalist system that was specifically and intentionally designed to be patriarchal and racist. They sought to expose and disrupt the countless ways that the system reproduced gender, racial, and economic inequalities. From that vantage point and intellectual history, the Combahee River Collective (1977), a group of Black lesbian feminists focused on homophobia and heterosexism, asserted that the political movement that pursued the interests of Black women, who constitute the lowest position in multiple hierarchies of social power, would be the most radical and would present the most significant challenge to the interlocking systems of racial, gender, heterosexual, and class oppression.

In addition to suggesting changes to the agendas and organization of activism, Black feminist scholars offered epistemological and methodological distinctions. Collins' (1986, 1999) *outsider-within* and bell hooks (1984) identification of the margins, identified a unique standpoint epistemology available to people marginalized by multiple systems of oppression. This epistemology is struggled for daily and not automatically attained. Methodologically, Black feminist scholars privilege the knowledge produced by individuals who are members of groups at the intersection of multiple hierarchies of power. They propose that these epistemic agents[26] are best positioned to imagine the possibility for the eradication of the cultural basis for all forms of oppression (Collins,

[26]The term *epistemic agents* as used in this research is from Wylie (2003). The term refers to individuals whose knowledge is often considered subordinated, oppressed, or marginal. This term is similar to Collins' (1986, 1989) concept of the *outsider-within* and hooks (1984) identification of the margins as an important epistemic position.

1990, 1999; hooks, 1984). Qualitative methods (e.g., oral history, ethnography, participatory research) in the Black feminist research tradition do more than just "give voice" to historically marginalized groups (Mullings, 2000). Research practices should help reveal the "hidden structures of oppression-the power and resource differentials arising from class, race, and gender hierarchies" (Mullings, 2000, p. 27). The emphasis on the material consequences of oppression for groups categorized and identified as "marginal in multiple power hierarchies" form the foundation for a radical social movement and basis for knowledge production. Thus, intersectional analysis is specifically designated for research that engages these particular epistemic agents and not a general theory of oppression that could be applied to anyone without distinction.

By constrast with this approach, McCall used the the term *anticategorical* to describe poststructural and postmodern approaches to intersectionality. These approaches suggest that identity categories have no foundation in reality. Many of the poststructural and postmodern scholars whose work McCall (2005) classified as anticategorical do not use the term intersectionality but do claim affiliation with many of the ideas inherent in intersectionality, primarily the critique of essentialized categories and the situated nature of knowledge. Poststructural approaches to intersectionality argue that language primarily creates categorical difference. Poststructural feminists' treatment of subjectivity and identity rests on the linguistic turn, which emphasizes how language constructs reality (Nicholson, 1990). Thus, the very process of categorization and any research based on such categories is rendered suspect.

Postmodern and poststructuralist approaches to intersectionality are part of a wide-ranging critique of modern Western philosophy, science, history, and language

(Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Flax, 1987; Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1990; Keller, 1982; Lloyd, 1979).[27] The anticategorical approach proposes that social life is too complex to make fixed categories or anything but crude fictions that serve to reproduce inequalities in the process of producing differences (McCall, 2005). Scholars adopting this stance seek to disrupt and expose the artificial boundaries around social categories in such a way that renders the dualistic categories fractured beyond repair (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). These scholars argue that continued use of social categories and their attributed meaning at the level of groups reifies the relevance of these categories (Lather, 2001).

Psychoanalytic versions of the anticategorical approach reject the very notion of group level social identity because they argue that complexity is contained within the individual subject (Fuss, 1989). This approach to intersectionality does not assert criteria for particular and specific epistemic agents, because it assumes that each and every individual has a different subject formation process. The purpose of the research is to deconstruct the normativity associated with social identity categories by exposing the fluidity and dynamism involved with how each subject (i.e., an individual) experiences them (McCall, 2005).

The terms *postmodernism* and *poststructuralism* are often used interchangeably, because they both focus on the disappearance of a unified subject (Benhabib, 1999) and rely on a common set of methods. Benhabib described the subject as a "disappearing signifier, a fractured, center less creature" (p. 335). However, there are differences between postmodernism and poststructuralism. Geographers, like other social scientists, adopted postmodernism in an attempt to recover and recuperate what and who was left

[27]These scholars do not adopt an intersectional view per se, but their Enlightenment and modernist critiques provide a foundation for scholars engaged in intersectionality scholarship.

out of the meta-narratives of Western modernist traditions (Bondi, 1990). By contrast, poststructuralism refers to a particular period in European, largely French high theory. Methodologically, scholars adopting a postmodern or poststructural approach use genealogy in history, deconstruction in literature, and the emergence of new ethnography in anthropology (McCall, 2005).

Elements of these two versions of intersectionality are incompatible (see Table 1). In the poststructural/postmodern approaches, group-level identity categories and the socially constructed meanings attached to them are not central to the analytical frame. Analytical focus shifts to the individual level, as scholars seek to understand how each subject makes sense of his or her experiences, identities, and social locations. According to McCall (2005), proponents of poststructuralist/postmodernist approaches argue that the deconstruction of normative "master" identity categories deconstruct inequality. In addition, the direct link between research and social change is not a central imperative of this approach to intersectionality. Identity politics, meaning political organizing around perceived shared group level identities, is viewed as unproductive—perhaps even impossible. The role of and even the ability to claim a uniquely Afrocentric standpoint epistemology (Collins, 2003), an idea at the core of Black Feminist Thought, would be considered essentialist in the poststructural/postmodern interpretation.

Table 1

Difference Between Black Feminist and Poststructural/Postmodern Approaches to Intersectionality

	Black Feminist Approach	Poststructural/Postmodern Approach
Approach to Identity Categories	• Intracategorical: resists broad and essentialisizing acts of categorization but does not reject categories per se	• Anticategorical: rejects the validity of categories
Social Movement/Activism	• Focuses on daily struggles and material circumstances • Focuses on individuals who are members of groups marginalized in power hierarchies • Directly links research to challenging interlocking systems of racial, gender, heterosexual and class oppression	• Challenges inequality by deconstructing normative assumptions associated with social identity categories • Relationship between research and social change not necessary
Epistemology/ Methodology	• Outsider-within • Privilege the knowledge of people/groups on the "margins" of power hierarchies • Qualitative methods (oral history, ethnography, participatory research)	• Complexity contained within the individuals • Genealogy (history), deconstruction (literature), new ethnography (anthropology)

Intersectionality as articulated by Black Feminist scholars is rooted in feminist standpoint theorists' interpretations of Marxist analysis (Collins, 1990; Harding, 1990, 1991, 2004; Hartsock, 1983; Smith, 1974). The central insight of standpoint theory is that "those who are subject to structures of domination that systematically marginalize and oppress them may, in fact, be epistemically privileged in some crucial respects" (Wylie,

2003, p. 26). The historical materialist analysis offered by feminist standpoint theorists has been erroneously labeled as essentialist, because critics insist on reimagining the concept of standpoint from the level of the individual (Collins, 1990; Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1983, 1998; Hirschmann, 1998; Smith, 1990; Wylie, 2003). To the contrary, these explicitly Marxist arguments insist that specific knowledge is produced, because of the social locations that groups occupy due to systematically structured roles and relations (Wylie, 2003). These roles and relations are managed by an array of social structures and institutions that organize people based on group-level social identity categories. The persistent (mis)interpretation of standpoint theory exemplifies the pernicious influence of a dominant individualist ideology (Wylie, 2003). Collins (2000b) cautioned that because intersectionality does not explicitly challenge individualism, when it is applied to the individual level, it may be misused and made to coexist with liberalism and apolitical postmodernism.

Postmodernism and the associated poststructural approaches to intersectionality undermine the advances proposed by Black Feminist Thought, because they co-opt many of the terms and ideas but rid them of their political, oppositional intent by arguing that all can be deconstructed, difference is universal, and any person could conceivably claim to be on the margins of power (Collins, 2000b). Collins (2000b) suggested that postmodernists' insistence that the subject is dead, right at the moment when marginalized groups could legitimately and publicly claim their subjectivity,[28] represents a form of *paradigm maintenance* (Abreu, 2012) by academics who wield intellectual power. She suggested that the postmodern turn in much of the social scientific disciplines

[28]For a similar argument, see Hartsock (1987).

does very little to upend current power relations and hierarchies but instead serves as the latest exclusionary tactic. She argued that the increasingly specialized language and knowledge of postmodernism ultimately serves the interests of those who are already in positions of power in academia. Collins suggested that postmodernists' emphasis on power as hegemonic and local politics being the best avenue for resistance provide a mix of "appearing to challenge oppression while secretly believing that such efforts are doomed" (p. 135).

In the following section, I assert that feminist geographic scholars[29] have not engaged with intersectionality as proposed by Black feminist scholars, because of the postmodern and poststructural turn in geography, a rejection of standpoint theories, and the enduring influence of political economic approaches which do not include a robust race analysis.

Feminist Geography and Intersectionality: Postmodernism, Poststructuralism, and Standpoint Theories

Feminist geography is heterogeneous and consists of a variety of epistemological, theoretical, and methodological traditions. Despite this heterogeneity, the majority of feminist geographic scholarship shares the following concerns: the development of critical discourses that expose the marginalized position of women in the broader society and within the discipline; a commitment to exposing how knowledge and the process of producing knowledge is always situated, partial, interpretative, and context specific; and feminist geographic inquiry that traces the connections between the various aspects of

[29]For a selection see Bondi et al. (2002), Dyck (2005), Jones et al. (1997), Katz (2001), Moss (2002), and Nelson and Seager (2005). Not all of these scholars adopt a poststructural or postmodern approach. I cite them here to highlight the diversity of work undertaken by feminist geographers that examine issues of inequality and oppression.

daily life, placing the geographic patterns of people's lives at the center (Dias & Blecha, 2007). Feminist geography crosses all of geography's subdisciplines (Pratt, 2000)—economic, social, political, urban, and cultural—in the quest to understand the complexity of people's lives in a way grounded in materiality, not artificially constructed, disciplinary boundaries. These defining concerns suggest that feminist geographic analysis and a version of intersectionality informed by Black Feminist Thought would be well aligned.

Feminist geographers have also grappled with the appropriate role of postmodernism. In an early attempt to delineate the boundaries of feminist geography, McDowell (1993a, 1993b) argued that feminist geographers should be suspicious of the postmodern turn in geography. She suggested that feminist geographers and postmodernists equally embraced the notion that all knowledge is situated and partial. The notion of situated and partial knowledge continues to be an important element of contemporary feminist geographic analysis (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1986). Despite this commonality, McDowell argued that feminist geographers should not easily abandon the founding tenet of feminism that gender was a difference that mattered more than others, and that gender should continue to serve as a central organizing and analytical category.

In an early critique of postmodernism and its application to feminist geography, Bondi (1990) asserted even after adopting gender-neutral language and seemingly focused on celebrating diversity, postmodernism failed to challenge patriarchal practices. Bondi challenged male geographers who advocated postmodernism as an epistemological stance but then failed to challenge the asymmetrical power relationships between men and women. Massey (1991) offered a similar analysis of Harvey's (1989) and Soja's

(1989) adoption of postmodernism. Bondi pointed to an inherent conflict between postmodernism and feminism. Although postmodern analyses recognize the masculine bias in Western tradition, they remain preoccupied with gender symbolism, stopping short of offering normative examinations of how to upend those power imbalances. She forcefully argued that asymmetrical power relations along gender lines could not be wished away. Despite McDowell's assessment that feminist geographers be leery of the deconstructionist project of postmodernism and Bondi's vehement disavowal of postmodernism as appropriate critical social theory, it is in fact those appropriations of intersectional analyses that came to dominate through the present moment in feminist geography.

A review of feminist geographic scholarship in the twenty-first century highlight the prevalence of poststructural and postmodern thought[30] within feminist geography. In the 2005 introductory chapter to *A Companion to Feminist Geography,* Nelson and Seager suggested that the "emphasis on the politics of knowledge production and the intersectionality of multiple oppressions and identities" (p. 4) destabilized gender and sexuality categories and allowed new understanding of space and place to emerge. Nelson and Seager attributed these shifts in the subdisciple to advances in fields such as critical race theory, psychoanalysis, poststructuralism, postcolonialism, and queer theory. In a 2008 article reflecting on the evolution of the preeminent journal of feminist geographic scholarship, *Gender, Place & Culture*, Louise Johnson asserted that the emergence of innovations in feminist geography such as studies around masculinities,

[30]As indicated previously, the terms of *postmodernism* and *poststructuralism* are used interchangeably throughout feminist geographic scholarship. I have identified the distinction between them here, but it is quite common to see scholars use both within the span of the same text. As a result, wherever possible I highlight both, realizing that they have different theories and epistemological commitments.

sexualities, and embodiment have been strongly influenced by postcolonial and poststructural theories. She provided the historical context in which *Gender, Place & Culture* was launched during the postmodern debates in the social sciences. Because of this historical context, the journal has reflected an emphasis on postmodern and poststructural issues of identity and representation as well as postcolonial relations of power. Methodologically, poststructural insights suggested to feminist geographers that identity politics are dangerous and that experiential knowledge is problematic, resulting in some scholars frozen in place and experiencing an "impasse" (Nager, 2002). As a result, feminist scholars have become reluctant to do fieldwork, because "they can neither be nor represent authentic women's voices" (Dias & Blecha, 2007, p. 4).

Adopting intersectionality as proposed by Black Feminist Thought might be perceived by some feminist scholars as a theoretical step back to outdated debates about the relevance of standpoint theory. Standpoint theory has been the subject of vehement debate among second-wave feminists (e.g., Collins, 1997; Harding, 1997; Hartsock, 1997; Hekman, 1997a, 1997b; Smith, 1997). For many contemporary academic feminists, standpoint theoretical frameworks were analyzed for essentialist definitions of social categories, such as "women" and assumptions of privileged knowledge (Jaggar, 2008; Wylie, 2003). Wylie (2003) succinctly noted that although standpoint theorists may differ on many points, they all agree that to be viable, contemporary feminist standpoint theory cannot imply or assume two distinctive theses which it is often associated:

> First, standpoint theory must not presuppose an essentialist definition of social categories or collectivities in terms of which epistemically relevant standpoints are characterized. Second, it must not aligned with a thesis of automatic epistemic privilege; standpoint theorists cannot claim that those who occupy particular standpoints (usually subdominant, oppressed,

> marginal standpoints) automatically know more, or know better, by virtue of their social, political location. (p. 28)

Standpoint theorists contend that they never advocated an essentialist standpoint or automatic privilege theses. They argue that their work has been misunderstood and unfairly maligned (Collins, 1990; Hartsock, 1983; Smith, 1997).

In response to the essentialist critique standpoint, theorists asserted that there were common sets of knowledge produced by groups of people who occupy particular social locations (Collins, 1990; Hartsock, 1983; Jaggar, 2008; Smith, 1997).These theorists insisted that the emphasis was always on partial, situated knowledge validated as true by members of subjugated groups. Harding (1987) argued that knowledge produced by oppressed groups is not interested in the pursuit of a "pure truth" but rather in generating knowledge specific to change the conditions of their lives. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) argued the purpose of a unique Black feminist epistemology was never to suggest that the standpoint offered by Black women was more "pure." Attempts to suggest that oppression can be quantified and then compared and ranked reflect the binary, dualistic thinking of Western theoretical frameworks. Instead, Collins (1990) argued that the situated knowledges produced by subjugated groups, provide a specific social location for examining points of connection among multiple epistemologies. "Each group becomes better able to consider other groups' standpoints without relinquishing the uniqueness of its own standpoint or suppressing other groups' partial perspectives" (Collins, 2000a, p. 290).

As it relates to the automatic privilege critique, standpoint theorists argued the epistemic advantage is continually struggled for and is not automatically attained. In fact, Wylie (2003) asserted that researchers must clearly identify which features of a social

location are relevant to each specific epistemic project. Uma Narayan (1988) noted that the situated knowledge produced by oppressed groups is not all encompassing. These epistemic agents will have specific knowledge about the up-close conditions of their oppression and will likely recognize the simultaneity of oppression occurring along multiple lines of difference. However, they may lack a detailed structural analysis of how the specific form of their oppression originated, how it is maintained, and all of the systemic purposes it serves (Narayan, 1988). Linking the up-close day-to-day knowledge about oppression produced by subjugated groups to a structural analysis is often the key contribution of standpoint theorists (see especially Collins, 1986; 1998).

Absence of Intersectionality in Feminist Geography

The term *intersectionality* is not widely used within feminist geographic inquiry. When the term is explicitly used, it is followed by a poststructural interpretation. For the purpose of this chapter, I examined two texts written by eminent feminist geographers, Gill Valentine and Linda McDowell, who explicitly used intersectionality as a theoretical or empirical tool in recent scholarship to demonstrate the approach to intersectionality deployed.

Valentine (2007) was the first researcher to note the absence of intersectionality in feminist geography. She pointed to work by scholars like Kobayashi and Peake (1994), Pratt (2002), and Peake (1993) as examples that sought to uncover the links between race, class, gender, sexuality, and other categories of difference. She asserted, however, "the specific debate about intersectionality as a concept has not yet been played out within geography despite its obvious spatial connotations" (p. 13). Valentine suggested that

while geographers accept the tenets[31] of intersectionality and do research around those tenets, they have yet to examine how intersectionality works in practice. Valentine sought to put forth such an examination. In "Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography," Valentine (2007) drew on the ethnomethodological approach advanced by West and Festermaker (1995), Butler's psychoanalytical theory of performativity (1990), and Actor Network Theory's (Law, 1994) assertion that stable properties do not exist but instead emerge in practice, to examine how people do and undo identities in diverse spaces.

Valentine's choice of theoretical frameworks is problematic. The theories that inform her version of intersectionality focus on the individual without thoroughly analyzing how he or she is always already a member of a hierarchically arranged group. Collins (1995) in a symposium discussing the work of West and Festermaker (1995) argued that they adopt postmodernist preoccupations with difference that do not account for the power relations inherent in difference. Collins also highlighted how the authors use gender as a master category and then add race and class onto it. She argued that this obsession with representations is dangerous and that scholars should return to evaluating oppression, inequality, and the power structures that constitute them. Maldonado (1995) analyzed West and Festermaker's work on the basis that they failed to clearly articulate the social (historical and macro level) context in which people do and undo identities. It is worth noting that in the same text in which she adopts poststructural and postmodern

[31]Critical social theory intersectionality is the proposition that race class, gender, and other categories of social differentiation are socially constructed and represent linked and mutually constituted social identities and related systems of oppression (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Intersectionality rejects the view that processes of marginalization organized around identity categories such as race and gender represent separate, distinct, identifiable, additive, or multiplicative analytical categories but that instead they are mutually, complexly and interdependently constituted and shape every aspect of daily life (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991).

theories, Valentine (2007) criticized the poststructural turn in feminist theory, which she argued led to a loss of focus on the material and the everyday, key concerns of feminist geography.

McDowell (2008), an economic geographer who has long made the connection between patriarchy (feminist analysis) and capitalism (Marxist analysis)[32] also attempted to integrate intersectionality with similar results. McDowell proposed the following definition of intersectionality: "how identities come together in the making of subjects." She drew on the work of Ong (1996) and Butler (1990) to further her conception of intersectionality. McDowell presented a theoretical rather than empirical argument; however, she defined the scope of her paper as an examination of subject formation, therefore implying a focus on the individual. McDowell maintained her Marxist economic geographic lens by arguing that her proposed approach would serve as a means of examining how processes of subjectification leads to labor market segmentation for transnational workers. These components placed her view of workers in a particular historical, material, and geographic context that the theorists on which she bases her work (particularly Butler, 1990) lack.

I echo other's critique of Butler's (1990) scholarship. Nelson (1999) suggested that feminist geographers adopted Butler's notion of performativity uncritically. She argued that performativity assumes an abstracted subject and thus allows no space for "conscious reflexivity, negotiation or agency in doing identity" (Nelson, 1999, p. 331). Nelson also argued that this subject is antithetical to spatially embedded, intentional human practices that lie at the center of examinations of identity and space, the raison

[32]See, for example, Bowlby et al. (1989) and McDowell (1983, 1992a, 1993a, 1993b).

d'être of feminist geographers. Nelson analyzed Butler's focus on the moment when a subject is subjugated by discourse and the insistence on deconstructing a unified autonomous subject. Nelson suggested that this focus is counterproductive to the process of imagining social change, exercised through historically and geographically embedded agency. Her critique of the manner in which poststructural analyses has been incorporated in feminist geography aligns with my own critique of the manner in which intersectionality has been incorporated. In addition to the influence of poststructural/postmodern theory and analysis, the enduring legacy of Marxist political economic analysis plays a significant role in shaping disciplinary priorities.

The Significance of Race–Class

Second-wave feminist theory in the United States and United Kingdom was developed alongside an emphasis on Marxist political economic analysis. Hartmann (1979) argued that feminism and Marxism have had an "unhappy marriage," because despite its various forms, Marxism tends to privilege class as the most important axis of analysis, whereas feminism focuses on the centrality of gender relations as the analytical priority. Despite this tension, feminist geographers incorporated Marxist political economic approaches to analyze gender relations, resulting in advances such as demonstrating the connection between work and home and production and reproduction, as well as highlighting the importance of the sexual division of labor.[33] Questions have arisen, however, about whether Marxist analysis can effectively incorporate other categories of differentiation.

[33]For a review, see Bowlby et al. (1989) and McDowell (1983, 1993a, 1993b).

Marxist analysis has been criticized for failing to include an examination of race.[34] Harvey (1989) and Soja (1989) suggested that historical materialism could conceivably recuperate issues of race and gender, but in the same texts they make these assertions, the class conflict remains central. Collins (1998) argues that the most significant difference between intersectionality as proposed by Black feminist scholars, postmodern/poststructural appropriations of intersectionality and Marxism is the centrality of race. Collins (1998) suggested that in the United States, race and class articulate between each other much closer than do class and gender. Furthermore despite the equal billing of race–class–gender assumed under the heuristic of the majority of intersectionality research, the three operate in very different ways.[35] Race and class, as social relations and constructs, operate through distancing strategies associated with racial and economic segregation. The social relations that organize the constructs of race and class are so bound up together in determining economic outcomes within the United States, that one construct begins to lose meaning without referencing the other. By contrast, gender as a social relation is organized around inclusionary strategies: women are encouraged through family, neighborhood, and religious groups to share social units with men, although there is a gender hierarchy that occurs in these spaces. Collins (1998) suggested that these different organizational strategies result in very different meanings and implications for standpoint theorists. Scholars who see race–class bound up together in this way cannot ignore the race analysis in favor of one that focuses exclusively or alternatively on class or gender. Black feminist scholars insist that the interactions and

[34]For a discussion, see Mensah (2002).

[35]For a similar argument, see Hurtado (1989); in Geography see Kobayashi and Peake (1994).

intersections between race–class[36] and gender and the associated systems of oppression cannot be ignored for one focused exclusively on subject formation (Collins, 1998). Brah and Phoenix (2004), drawing inspiration from Sojourner Truth, argued that identities are not objects but are instead constituted through power relations. Race-class represent an important set of power relations that must be considered. Race is one of the key reasons why intersectionality as proposed by Black feminist scholars has not been taken up in feminist geography. The discipline of geography, including feminist geography, has a race problem.

As a discipline, geography[37] has not actively included analysis of race, racism, and racialization as a central analytical imperative. Kobayashi and Peake, eminent feminist geographers, have been the most critical of the disciplinary silence on issues of race. They asserted that geography's agenda has been "directly or complicity racist" for much of its history (2000, p. 399). From its founding, geography has played a key role in exploration and scientific classifications that facilitated imperial and colonial expansion. In doing so, geography helped establish White and Whiteness as the normative, authoritative, and privileged. Kobayashi and Peake (1994) argued that in many of geography's methods, theories, and approaches, the effects of racialization are left out or normalized.

Other scholars have highlighted that issues of race have fallen out of geographic analysis. In the introductory chapter of *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, McKittrick and Woods (2007) suggested that geographers have not imagined Black

[36]Race–class is intentionally written this way to demonstrate the close articulation between the two constructs.

[37]This is not an issue unique to the discipline of geography.

peoples as geographic subjects; therefore, Black geographies have remained undertheorized and unexamined. In a different monograph, McKittrick examined the interplay of geographies of domination (e.g., transatlantic slavery and racial–sexual displacement) and the geographies of Black women to make visible "social lives which are often displaced, rendered ungeographic" (2006, p. x). Writing in the Canadian context, Mensah (2002) highlighted that there has been growing interest among geographers about the spatial components of immigration, ethnic, and racial issues. However, much of this interest has focused on the larger cohorts of Chinese and Indo-Canadians. Black Canadians and peoples of the broader African diaspora have been relegated mostly to the background.

Race and race relations, particularly those that examine the distance between "White" and "Black" peoples, have not been central to academic geography's knowledge production project.[38] Because race is central to Black feminist theorization of intersectionality, feminist geographers need to integrate more fully issues of race and racialization. Of course, people of African descent are not the only groups for which race and processes of racialization occur. All people, racial minorities and Whites alike, are racialized (Omi & Winant, 1994). However, in discussing other racialized minority groups, scholars have highlighted ethnic, cultural, and national diasporic differences while deemphasizing issues of race and racialization as social relations shaped by varying degrees of power, privilege, oppression, and subjugation.

Omi and Winant (2014) asserted that in the 30 years since the first publication of their canonical text, *Racial Formation in the United States,* issues of race and racism

[38]Notable exceptions in urban geography include Gilbert (1998), Johnston-Anumonwo (1995), McLafferty and Preston (1991), and Ruddick (1996).

have persisted, despite attempts to suppress even discussions that focus on the significance of race. They began the third edition of this text by calling for renewed attention to the new and pervasive ways that race continues to be central, even in "postracial" United States. They contended that structural inequality, dispossession, and disadvantage along racial lines, have in many ways, deepened. Studies of disparities in healthcare access, educational opportunity, and mass incarceration, to name a few, are all indicators that the promise of postracial equality has not come to fruition. Fundamentally, the distribution of economic resources in all its forms remain intimately linked to the organizing logics of racial identification. Thus, researchers, geographers included, who wish to contribute to social change cannot ignore the centrality of race in the contemporary United States. In the following section of this chapter I discuss the deployment of the intersectional framework of this study. This framework effectively integrates feminist geographic modes of inquiry and a Black Feminist approach to intersectionality.

A Theoretical Framework for Integrating Feminist Geography & Intersectionality

Rather than simply integrating intersectionality in name alone, or adopting a poststructural interpretation of intersectionality, this research is conceived within an approach to intersectionality with a long tradition in Black feminist scholarship. This approach conceptualizes intersectionality as a research paradigm, that is, a way of approaching the research process (Hancock, 2007). This approach is not exclusively a theory of identity but an approach that shapes the methodological and analytical choices within the research in three ways: (a) selecting research project, (b) identifying credible epistemic agents and privileging their situated knowledge, (c) exercising reflexivity on

how my own social location shapes my role as a researcher (Jaggar, 2008). Feminist geographic inquiry also attends to these priorities and shapes the research project.

The selection of this research project began with the following question: how does a worker navigate the occupational hierarchy of an increasingly important industry in which a significant number of marginalized workers are concentrated? Feminist geographers have long argued that women, people of color, and other disempowered groups occupy marginalized positions in the workforce because of socially constructed norms and relations of power and how they play out in place and across space.[39]

Black feminist scholars argue that the labor market experiences of Black women have always provided a lens to examine patterns of economic and social change, because poor women of color are embedded in the lowest position in multiple hierarchies of power (race, class, gender). As a result, they have historically occupied very important, but lowly regarded, labor market positions (Glenn, 1992). Brewer (1993) argued that the increasingly casual, temporary, and unstable nature of employment relations in postindustrial service-based economies is not a new phenomenon. She pointed to a long historical record that showed regardless of the variations in the composition of the entire labor market hierarchy, U.S.-born racial and ethnic minorities and foreign-born transnational migrants have historically and currently hold some of the least desirable jobs.[40] A focus on the long-term care industry as in this research project, reflects a focus on these types of jobs.

[39]For extensive reviews, see England and Lawson (2005), England and Farkas (1986), and Kobayashi et al. (1994).

[40]See McCall (2001) and Ruchti (2012) for more recent examininations of intersectional analyses of labor market positions.

As it relates to appropriate epistemic agents, historically, scholars' use of intersectionality has focused on "giving voice" to marginalized communities, such that Black women have been designated the prototypical intersectional subject. Intersectionality has been used to examine how racial and gender categories intersect with each other, but there has been a call for feminist and antiracist scholars to examine how other identity categories beyond race and gender come together to shape diverse experiences of social life (Nash, 2008). Haitian immigrants employed in the in the long-term care industry in Philadelphia PA are socially located at the intersection of multiple power hierarchies of race, class, gender and nationality. As a result they are appropriate epistemic agents for examining the material circumstances of individuals employed in the long-term care industry.

Other scholars have critiqued intersectionality research because of difficulty of navigating the inherent tension between macro- and micro-level analyses. In her critique of intersectionality, Nash (2008) argued that it was unclear whether intersectionality was a theory of individual identity or a theory of group oppression. Collins (2000a) offered a lexical distinction: the term *intersectionality* is used to describe the particular ways that interlocked oppressions play out in people's daily lived experiences, whereas the term *matrix of domination* designates the systems of oppression associated with those identifications. Collins suggested that intersectional method and analysis should be attentive to four domains of power: structural (laws and institutions), disciplinary (administrative and bureaucratic management), hegemonic (the cultural, ideological naturalization of relationships of domination), and interpersonal (everyday interactions influenced by various hierarchies; Collins, 2000a). Each domain serves a particular

purpose. “The structural domain organizes oppression, whereas the disciplinary domain manages it. The hegemonic domain justifies oppression, and the interpersonal domain influences everyday lived experience and the individual consciousness that ensues” (Collins, 2000a, p. 294).

Of the four domains of power identified by Collins (2000a), three are not addressed explicitly in this theoretical framework, although they are implicitly invoked in the history about Haitian migration to the United States, migration policies, and the dominant narratives about the group described in Chapter 2. Similar to Collins (2000a), I recognized that all four domains of power work together to produce particular patterns of domination for individuals and groups. However, the research design focuses primarily on the interpersonal domain of power and its sociospatial dimensions.

In this research, I sought to understand how complex intersections of multiple social identities and their linked systems of oppression are produced and manifest in the daily lives of individuals and groups in place and across space. This imperative highlighted a necessity for a geographic tool. The Relief Map analytical tool, as proposed by feminist geographer Rodó-de-Zárate (2014), provides a means to visually represent and analyze intersectional data. This tool displays the interplay between power structures (social identity categories), lived experiences (psychological responses), and geographic data (particular places). The Relief Map tool is a path-breaking contribution that brings a spatial component to intersectionality research (see Figure 1). However, Rodó-de-Zárate’s analysis of lived experience is based on the psychological responses of her study participants. Tying psychological responses or feelings of privilege or oppression, or some combination thereof, to social identity categories is a micro-level internal process

that focuses on the individual's meaning-making process. Rodó-de-Zárate's, like the majority of feminist geographer's, before her, adopted an approach to intersectionality informed by poststructural theory.[41] Further Rodó-de-Zárate's focus on power is on structures. Such an approach on "structures" is not defined in any meaningful way. A Black feminist approach to intersectionality accounts for both concerns.

This approach shifts the analytical lens from the psychological to the material. This shift reflects the major difference between Black feminist approach to intersectionality and its postmodern and poststructural counterparts. By focusing on power hierarchies, instead of power structures, this study explicitly centers the material effect of differently positioned groups within the U.S. matrix of domination. In my research, the intersectional analysis of lived experience is found through an examination of how the complex intersections of multiple power hierarchies affect social relations.

[41]Rodó-de-Zárate (2014) cited and attributed Black feminist scholars with the origins of intersectionality as a theoritical framework. However, she then moved to a poststrucutal analysis to develop the Relief Map concept.

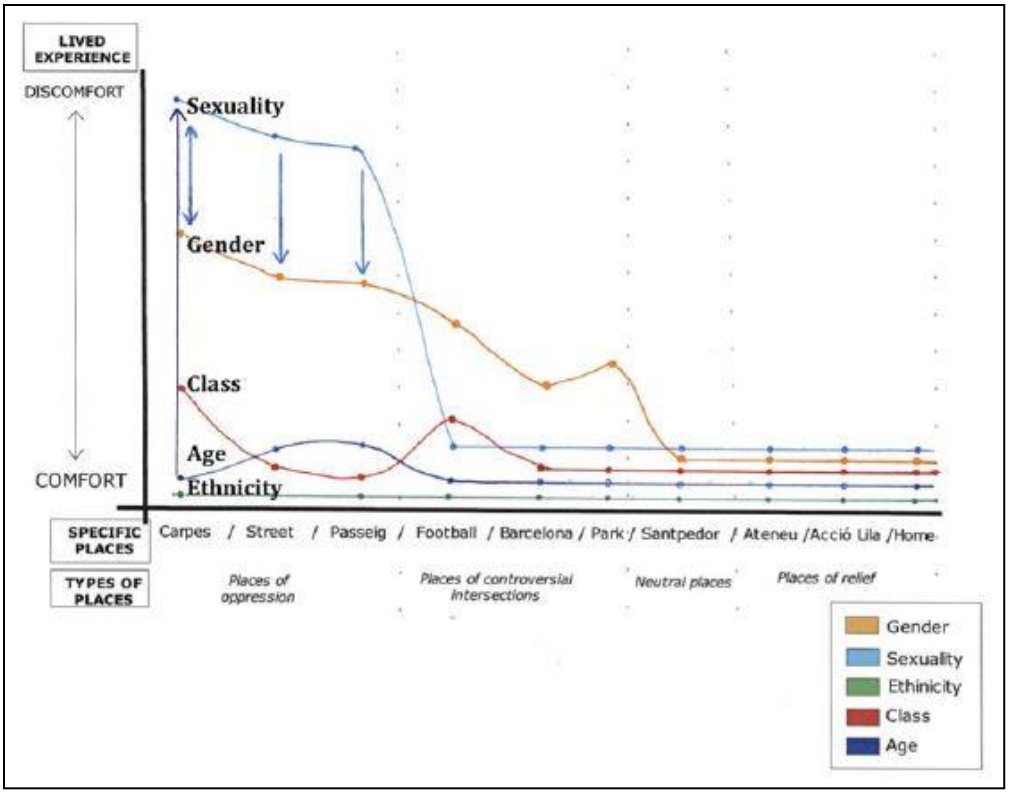


Figure 1. Relief Map. *Source.* Developing geographies of intersectionality with Relief Maps: reflections from youth research in Manresa, Catalonia, by M. Rodó-de-Zárate, 2014, *Gender, Place & Culture, 21*(8), p. 929 Copyright © 2014 by Taylor and Francis. Reprinted with permission.

These social relations are not neutral or devoid of power relations but instead are connected to systems of power that have significance not only for the individual but also for a broader group's material reality. For the purposes of this research study, these social relations also shape study participant's ability to make social network connections that affect their ability to enter and navigate the occupational hierarchy of the long-term care industry.

The focus of the intersectional analysis is how social relations between people—what Collins (2000a) identified as the interpersonal domain of power—shape the material reality of study participant's lives. I proposed that the ability to form or not form social network connections reflects those linked social relations. Thus, the adaptation of the

Relief Map tool I used in this study displays the interplay between power hierarchies (social identity categories), lived experiences [social network connection(s)], and geographic data (particular places). However because this approach to intersectionality is focused on the effect of this interplay, it also shows whether those social network connection help or hinder study participant's occupational mobility. This approach to intersectionality and feminist geographic inquiry makes considerable theoretical contributions to both modes of inquiry.

This theoretical framework adapted tools from feminist geographic and Black feminist theorizing, the Relief Map and matrix of domination, respectively. In centering the research group's social location in the matrix of domination, this research significantly complicates previous geographic scholarship that examined intersectionality at the level of the individual. Thus muting the impact of structural inequality and associated patterns of group level oppression. Further Black feminist theorizing focuses on power hierarchies and linked social relations, not the ill-defined concept of power structures. The identification of the salient power hierarchies and their component characteristics were derived through a close analysis of study participants' situated knowledge about social relations in the places in their daily activity patterns (See Table 5, Chapter 4). A focus on daily activity patterns, mobility, power and place are geographic concepts central to this theoretical framing. The Relief Map tool required an examination of the operation of power in place. This level of analysis is often missing within Black Feminist intersectional research. By bridging the gulf between feminist geographic modes of inquiry and Black Feminist Thought the empirics of this research significantly enhance both bodies of scholarship.

Intersectionality is a research paradigm. As a result it informs the theoretical framework, as well as the methodology and analysis of this research. In the following chapter I discuss the specific methodological procedures of this framework. In chapter 6 I discus the empirical findings of this framework. However intersectionality as a research paradigm also requires exercising reflexivity on how my own social location shapes my role as a researcher. The final section of this chapter focuses on my positionality.

Role of Researcher: Intersectional Identities and Ethical Dilemmas

Like all social interactions, conducting research is imbued with a host of power relations and ethical challenges. This study was conceived within the tenets of several overlapping scholarly traditions: critical race, feminist, post positivist, interpretive, intensive, and ethnographic. They all demand that ethical responsibilities concerning research practices, protection of informants, disposition of data, and framing of results go beyond Institutional Review Board (IRB) regulations. Feminist researchers have a long grappled with issues of positionality and the politics of the research process.[42] Reflexivity requires a process in-depth self-reflection to fully examine the political dimensions of fieldwork and knowledge construction (Hertz, 1996). Positionality refers to how a researcher's social identities (in terms of race, class, gender, and other axes of social differentiation) are perceived by study participants and in turn shape the research process (Nager, Geiger, & Hall, 2007).

Feminist geographers and Black feminist scholars have contributed to these discussions. In geography, feminist scholars have been active participants in the debates

[42]For extended discussion about positionality and the politics of fieldwork, see Acker, Barry, and Esseveld (1981), Alexander, Bunkers, and Muhanji (1989), Bar (1992), Fonow and Cook (1991), Hesse-Biber (2007), Mbilinyi (1989), Ribbens and Edwards (1998), Reinharz (1992), Sandoval (2004), Wolf (1996), Villenas (1996), Visweswaran (1994), and Zinn (1979).

related to appropriate ways to ethically manage the asymmetrical power relations inherent in the research process [43] (Bondi et al., 2002; England, 1994; Falconer Al-Hindi & Kawabata, 2002; Gilbert, 1994; Jones, Nast, & Roberts, 1997; McDowell, 1992a, 1992b; Moss, 2002, 2005; Moss & Falconer Al-Hindi, 2007; Nelson & Seager, 2005; Peake, 1993; Pratt, 2004; Rose, 1997; Schoenberger, 1991, 1992; Staeheli & Lawson, 1994; Valentine, 2002, 2003; Women and Geography Study Group, 1997). The Black feminist scholarly tradition requires that scholars engaged in research with historically marginalized communities, consider carefully their relationship and responsibilities to that community. Mullings (2000) queries the implications of socioeconomic differences between the researcher and the researched despite shared race and gender identifications. Ethical responsibilities in this context then requires an intersectional lens—an acknowledgement that power relations are connected to the complex intersections of multiple social identities.

This study was also complicated ethically because it is an example of "insider" research. Insider research is a research activity, typically an interview, between researchers and study participants who share a common cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national, or religious heritage (DeLyser, 2001; Ganga & Scott, 2006; Merton, 1972; Mullings, 1999; O'Connor, 2004; van Heugten, 2004). Ganga and Scott (2006) suggested that this insider status is even more significant within the context of research interactions

[43]One component of this debate that is tangentially related to this research relates to the crisis of representation. Critics of conventional research practices emerged in the late 1980s that questioned all components of fieldwork research. Researchers from the Global North, particularly those engaged in research in the Global South, were challenged about the authentic and truthful portrayers of others. This has been termed as a "crisis of representation" (Ortner, 1996). The crisis of representation in the social sciences has caused feminist scholars to either abandon fieldwork or to engage in the practices of a reflexive identification (Marcus, 1995; Nager et al., 2007). As this debate is typically associated with research that occurs in the Global South, it is slightly outside the context of this research project.

between migrant researchers and migrant participants within the same imagined transnational community. Insider research presents a paradox because, although there is a degree of social proximity, the research interaction makes both researcher and participant more aware of the social differences between them (Ganga & Scott, 2006). Scholars have criticized the insider/outsider research dichotomy, arguing instead that insider/outsider status is not static or frozen but will be dynamically produced through the research process.[44] Thus, as a researcher, there are multiple moments of both identification and dis-identification throughout the research process (Mullings, 1999; O'Connor, 2004). In this section, my goal is two-fold. First, I seek to reflect on how the complex intersection of my multiple social identities shaped the research process. Second, my goal is to discuss the ethical dilemmas I faced during the research process, highlighting, in particular, issues related to language and revealing "hidden" informant information. The discussion of the impact of social identities on research and the ethical dilemmas are intimately linked and do not operate separately from one another.

Like my Haitian participants, I am also a foreign-born Haitian person, who identifies as Black within the White/Black racial hierarchy. Like the majority of them, I am also a naturalized U.S. citizen. I spent the majority of my formative years in Philadelphia. I grew up attending Haitian churches, although at present I attend a large church dominated by U.S. born Black worshippers. However, I still frequently participate in Haitian community events, including special events at Haitian churches. There are the markers of active participation in the imagined U.S. Haitian community. I share race, nationality, and immigrant backgrounds with all of the Haitian study participants. This

[44]See Valentine (2003) for an extended discussion of intersubjectivity in research process.

common heritage was helpful overall for data collection. I was able to draw on existing religious affiliations to connect with potential study participants. Additionally, I am conversant in Haitian Creole, which facilitated study participants' ability to choose the language for research activities. Furthermore, study participants were fairly comfortable sharing experiences of marginalization with me, several of them casually talking about how racial slurs (including the N-word) were used against them.

Despite these commonalities, I also observed potential limitations from shared identities, especially during the recruitment of study participants. In theory, I had access to a large potential pool of participants because of my deep ties to the community; however, the reality of the access and recruitment process was much more complicated. It was relatively easy to recruit study participants who worked as LPNs and RNs. I believe many of these higher-level nurses viewed the research process as therapeutic and an opportunity to provide key insights about how other people could follow their paths to economic and social success, as defined within the Haitian community. It was much harder to recruit participants who work as CNAs and HHAs.

This may have been a simple scheduling or logistical challenge, as people in these positions often worked significantly more hours than those in the higher occupational levels. However, I believe that some participants chose not to participate because they did not trust me and this research "thing" I was doing. Some of these potential participants asked a lot of questions related to confidentiality and protection of their information when approached to participate in the project. It was clear from these interactions that these potential participants failed to trust me or the research process, especially those who were younger (less than 40 years old). It is possible that these people—who perceived

they shared age, community, religion, race, and ethnicity with me, did not feel comfortable sharing the intimate details of their lives with someone so similar to them. It is unclear to me at this point in the writing, if I were a researcher who was not a member of the study participants' community, whether I would have faced similar challenges.

Thus, it was an invaluable asset when some study participants recruited additional participants on my behalf. Those study participants were invested in me and this project. As an example, at the end of my interview with Charles, he used his cellphone to call several of his friends and asked them directly to meet with me and phrased their participation in the study as a personal favor to him. This was a common occurrence; study participants often advocated assertively on my behalf to facilitate access to subsequent interview participants.

My positionality also affected the data analysis. As a member of this nationality group, I was sensitive to the divisions within the imagined Haitian community in Philadelphia. For instance in the Haitian community, there are sharp distinctions between people based on those who were educated in Haiti versus those who did not receive formal education in Haiti, regardless of accomplishments here in the United States. Socioeconomic class divisions are much more prevalent in the Haitian community than divisions based on race or ethnic identity. This appraisal of another's background is a common tactic for division. Thus, someone's accomplishments in the United States were most commonly explained using important social markers still rooted in Haiti, and not in those the United States.

A second division that study participants pointed to revolved around the social status of being a nurse in the United States within the Haitian community. All nursing

occupations, including the lower-tier jobs (HHAs and CNAs) are highly regarded professions within the Haitian community. This high regard can be attributed to the economic opportunities these occupations provide to workers as well as the fact that these jobs require a credentialing process (training and certification). As a result, in comparing nursing jobs to other low wage jobs available to them, Haitian immigrants perceived nursing occupations as bringing more social prestige to workers. However, study participants spoke candidly during the interviews of their indictments about "other" Haitians who do nursing only for money, and relatedly those "other" Haitians perceptions of themselves as "big shots" now because they work as a nurse. These insights about the divisions within the Haitian community and between different workers can be attributed to knowledge I possess as an insider of this community.

Despite this common nationality and immigrant background, my age, gender, perceived social class, English language proficiency, familiarity with U.S. social norms, and educational background reflected real material differences between myself and research participants. For example, I did all of my educational training in the United States and have only visited Haiti for short stints of time of a week or less since migrating to the United States at 3 years old. My spoken Haitian-Creole is understandable but not anywhere near native level in its accent or vocabulary. These features of the social distance between me and my study participants were often remarked upon during the interviews. Study participants often jokingly made fun of me as I searched for the right Haitian-Creole word or laughed at how I pronounced certain words. Study participants, Chloe and Ella jokingly referred to me as "blanc," the literal translation of which is "White," as in White person. However, the word is often used to denote anyone of U.S.

or European ancestry, regardless of skin pigmentation or race. In addition, many times when I asked study participants to tell me about their lives in Haiti or where they were from in Haiti, they shared their descriptions and then quickly add, ". . . but you don't know anything about that" or "you don't know where that is." Finally, in discussing their labor market histories, study participants intimated that I was "so lucky" that I was so young and was able to complete my education in the U.S., because it allowed me opportunities to pursue a wider range of career options than they could ever contemplate because of their advanced age at migration.

As a feminist researcher, I take seriously the intersubjectivity experienced between the researcher and researched (Acker et al., 1981). Similar to Gilbert (1994), I did research at home that complicated the research interaction as well as subsequent interactions with study participants. This positionality presented certain challenges. During all research activities, I consciously placed myself in the role of supplicant (Crang & Cook, 1995; England, 1994; Ganga & Scott, 2006; McDowell, 1992a; Moser, 2008). I sought to understand my study participants' life histories and humbly sought to learn from those experiences. In addition, because I relied on my own social network to access many of my study participants, I was conscious of not being too burdensome to study participants, for fear that it would impact their relationships with the friends who connected us. Similarly, I did not feel comfortable asking questions related to current or past income, because I did not want participants to feel like I was judging their incomes. Within the Haitian community, there tends to be a great deal of emphasis on maintaining perceptions of perfection, and many do not like to discuss the intimate details of their lives. Thus, I did not want to put participants in a position where they felt like they

needed to impress me. Conversly, I did not want them to believe I was collecting their private income information to share with other people. I did not wish to disrupt the social relations within the social network within which I was getting referrals for subsequent interviews. As a result of all these reasons, I removed any income questions from the interview questionnaire so as to avoid the complications those questions would present. Instead, I asked questions related to numbers of hours worked and gathered specific income information from industry and U.S. Department of Labor sources. By combining these sources, I could make an educated assessment on study participants' current incomes.

Despite my desire to position myself as supplicant, I still hold a significant power as the researcher. One critical area of these asymmetrical power relations was in the area of language. The politics of language was critically important, because choice of language is a common divisive tactic within the Haitian community. In Haiti, one of the key markers of being educated is one's ability to speak French as opposed to Haitian Creole. Haitian Creole is considered the vernacular language of the masses. For much of Haiti's history, French has served as the official language used in instruction, legal, government, and business transactions, despite the fact that the majority of Haitians could not speak or write French (Dejean, 1993; UCLA Language Materials Project, n.d.). Haitian Creole was not recognized as an official language until 1969, although the majority of official written documents remained exclusively in French for much longer. There have been considerable efforts to raise awareness among the Haitian population about the importance and value of Haitian Creole (UCLA Language Materials Project, n.d.). Thus, the politics of language choice is an issue of considerable concern within the

Haitian context. In the U.S. context, the distinction between French and Haitian Creole is less significant outside of exclusively Haitian contexts such as churches. Thus, for many Haitians the daily language choices revolves around one's facility with English.

Nationwide, about half of all Haitian immigrants are identified as having low English language proficiency (Terrazas, 2010). Within my study, I had a higher share of study participants within the higher occupational levels working as LPNs and RNs, thus their English language proficiency was much higher than the Haitian population as a whole. Regardless there were still significant language issues. One of the most recurring issues revolved around which language was used during the interview. As the researcher, I am most comfortable communicating in English. However, language and choice of language shapes the version of reality that is communicated (Miles & Crush, 1993). Different languages express reality in different ways (Spradley, 1979). Thus, I indicated to all study participants that I would conduct the interview in the language that was most comfortable for them. Theoretically, this would empower the narrator to describe their experience using idioms and linguistic tools that met their goals. The majority of interviews were conducted in a combination of English and Haitian Creole. I have no way of knowing though if study participants choose to communicate in English to accommodate me, but to the extent possible, I attempted to follow their lead in the language choice.

The choice of language had significant implications for latter stages of the research process. As a result of the mix of languages of the oral interviews, the interview transcripts underwent multiple rounds of transformation to arrive at a final version. Eighteen of the interviews were conducted primarily in English. These were sent out for

professional transcription and then reviewed several times by me to ensure accuracy. Twelve interviews were done primarily in Haitian Creole, and I transcribed these completely by myself. The translation and transcription process necessarily results in a loss of context and content as some words and phrases are not easily converted to English. This is a power reserved to me as the researcher. This process begs the following questions: Is there content lost in this process? Is that material re-discoverable? Does it need to be? Are the study participants meanings and intent readily represented in the final written text? To the extent possible I attempted to mitigate these concerns by spending considerable time listening to the audio of the interview alongside the written text, after reviewing my field note memos of each interview to ensure that meanings and intents were captured accurately. In addition, I worked with two trusted native speakers of Haitian-Creole to translate segments of audio or text which I was unclear on appropriate translations. Finally, I stayed as close as possible to study participant's intent in word choices and meanings. For example, almost all study participants used the word "foreigner" to describe themselves. The word foreigner is not one I use on a regular basis and, in fact, I have considerable political objections to the use of the word in describing immigrants. It denotes a level of outsider status that I find problematic. Furthermore, the word is an inaccurate description of the legal migration status of the majority of my study participants who are in fact U.S. citizens. However, as this is the word used most often by study participants, I often used it in communicating in interviews, and it was very prevalent within the final transcripts.

Concerns of what information is represented in the final transcripts and manuscripts of this research was also a critical ethical dilemma. Study participants often

shared anti-Black, misogynistic, homophobic and prejudicial comments that I continue to find troubling. For instance, many study participants discussed at length the supposed cultural deficiencies of U.S.-born Black Americans, typecasts of White supervisors, or stereotypical characteristics of female workers in caring fields that I found disturbing. I was troubled as to the appropriate response to them during the interview. However, I struggled even more on whether to include those excerpts in presentations or other public disseminations of this research. I still grapple with these questions.

In addition, because the Haitian community is relatively small in Philadelphia and the majority of study participants are somewhat connected to my existing social networks, I have information about study participants that they did not reveal to me during the interviews because of my insider status. For example, I know that several of my study participants entered the U.S. illegally and thus were undocumented at some point during their life histories. During the interviews, when I asked questions related to entry in the United States and the process by which they did so, many readily admitted their illegal entries. However, some study participants failed to mention their illegal entry and instead spoke in general terms about how a family member helped them enter the United States

Another example relates to whether study participants had other income-generating activities. I always asked study participants if they had any other income-generating activities, in addition to their work in the long-term care industry. I know two study participants have rental income, but they responded “no” to that question. I have no way of knowing whether they did not consider these activities as income generating or

perhaps they again did not want to divulge more about their lives to me beyond the central focus of the research, their employment in the long-term care industry.

With regard to the ethical dilemma of what to represent in the reporting of these data, I take instruction from the legacy of antiracist feminist scholarship, which prioritizes the protection of study participants, their lives, their stories, and the versions of reality they wish to represent. A key criterion of antiracist feminist research is to minimize the exploitative nature of social research. To the extent possible, the research process should not take anything away from study participants or expose them to undue harm. Mullings (2000) suggested this tactic is especially important for historically marginalized communities, which have often been misrepresented in scholarly research. Thus, in the reporting of the results of this research, I used only information learned during the research interaction. To use my fuller insider knowledge for my own benefit would be a betrayal of study participants' trust.

Despite the ethical challenges and dilemmas presented by my positionality, there were also benefits. Study participants and I often had a friend in common. This helped with establishing rapport. Interviews often began by discussing a favorite memory about that person who connected us. In addition, like many study participants, I lived in New York and then moved to Philadelphia, thus we often also discussed our similar migratory paths. Further, while reflecting on study participants' facility with the English language was significant, the issue of language also automatically diminished the social distance between me and the study participant. Study participants could and did poke fun at my Haitian Creole accent or vocabulary, but they also could code switch easily between Haitian Creole and English without concerns about my ability to understand them.

Finally, because I have been and continue to be a member of the Haitian community in Philadelphia, I routinely encounter study participants at church services, social events, restaurants, and retail locations that sell Haitian products, and even the ShopRite grocery store located in the Lower Northeast section of Philadelphia. In these encounters, study participants ask me about the research project, its development, and any interesting findings. These encounters suggest the continuing relevance of this research topic for the material reality of study participants' daily lives. In the following chapters, I describe the research findings. I hope the dissemination of this knowledge will be of value to those who so generously shared their stories with me and others interested in navigating the occupational hierarchy of the long-term care industry.

Conclusion

In the preceding section, I reflect critically on my positionality. This positionality is informed by a Black Feminist approach to intersectionality. As a result it is concerned with how complex intersections of multiple social identities and the linked power hierarchies shape the knowledge production process. Despite the challenges and opportunities presented by a myriad of ethical dilemmas, the priority of this research is to illuminate the material reality of study participants' daily lives in a way that is not exploitative. This commitment is very similar to the priorities expressed by feminist geographers.

Throughout this chapter I have documented the state of feminist geographic literature and the theory of intersectionality. I have documented that feminist geographers' use of intersectionality has been dominated by postmodern and poststructual approaches. I have argued that intersectionality is a research paradigm

articulated by Black feminist scholars: it offers a distinct approach to research and would be extremely beneficial to feminist geographers. I explicate one means for the engagement of feminist geography and Black Feminist Thought through the theoretical framework described in this chapter. Underlying this engagement is an understanding of the points of connections between Black Feminist approach to intersectionality and feminist geography. First, they both emphasize a focus on materiality and daily lived experiences—concerns at the root of early feminist geographic texts. Like feminist geography, intersectionality troubles disciplinary and subdisciplinary boundaries and allows scholars to engage in conversations between broader communities of scholars. Finally, this form of intersectionality cannot be divorced from its emancipatory and liberatory objectives, eradicating all forms of oppression, which is its primary and driving purpose, a goal shared by the majority of feminist geographers.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND DATA

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to gain an in-depth understanding of the relationship among the geography of social networks constructed and used by foreign-born Haitian women and men, the complex intersections of their multiple social identities, and occupational mobility within the long-term care industry. This research presents a more nuanced understanding of how foreign-born Haitians migrants construct and use social networks to find jobs and achieve occupational mobility within long-term care, an increasingly important segment of the Philadelphia metropolitan labor market. This chapter describes the methodology and methods of this study.

The first section of this chapter, describes the setting (the metropolitan Philadelphia area) and general information about Haitian immigrants and the long-term care occupations at the center of this study. The second section, the methods, includes a detailed description of the data of this project, as well as the procedures for data collection, data management, data analysis, and data conceptualization. The final section demonstrates the use of an intersectional methods tool, the Social Relations Chart.

The research from this study is intended to answer the following four research questions:

> RQ 1: What is the nature, role, significance, and spatial extent of the daily activity patterns of Haitians employed in the long-term care industry in the Philadelphia metropolitan region?
>
> RQ2: What is the nature, role, significance, and spatial extent of social networks in the labor market outcomes for Haitians employed in the long-term care industry? Are the networks related to the nature and spatial extent of daily activity patterns? If so, how and where (e.g., Haiti,

migratory destinations outside the United States, Philadelphia, or other areas in the United States)?

RQ 3: How does the nature and spatial extent of social networks and the nature of social capital help or hinder occupational mobility for Haitian men and women employed in the long-term care industry?

RQ 4: How do the complex and dynamic intersections of multiple social identities (race, class, gender, religion and nationality, etc.) affect people's daily activity patterns, social networks, the role of social networks in job search, and occupational mobility?

Research Methodology

A methodology offers a theory of how research should proceed (Harding, 1987). Methodologically, this project builds on qualitative, feminist geographic, and antiracist modes of inquiry that investigate how the dynamic intersections of race, class, gender, religion, nationality, and other social identities shape the day-to-day materiality of people's lives (Barriteau, 2006; Collins, 2000a; McCall, 2005; McDowell, 2008). This research continues in the tradition of postpositivist and critical research.

Critical research presents multiple challenges to conventional social scientific research and its emphasis on "value-free" and "objective" knowledge production (Harding & Norberg, 2005). Conventional approaches to research assume that knowledge is empirically accessible. Objectivity is assumed to be possible through the mechanisms of value-free science. Critics argue that value-free or objective research is unachievable and even undesirable. They assert that claims of neutrality and objectivity actually obscure unacknowledged biases and the operation of asymmetrical power relations. These scholars instead advocate for socially engaged research that seeks greater justice, equality, and more democratic social relations (Creswell & Maietta, 2002; Harding & Norberg, 2005).

Critical research seeks to identify the conceptual practices of power and how they shape daily social relations (Harding & Norberg, 2005; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). This is often accomplished by legitimating the knowledge of epistemic agents who are often ignored, marginalized, or misrepresented in dominant accounts of social life, for example, women, people of color, and the poor (Harding, 1987). Black feminist scholars have focused their efforts to reveal the dialectics of struggle and resistance of a particular marginalized group, Black women (Mullings, 2000).

Epistemology is a theory of knowledge or justificatory strategy (Harding, 1987). This research project is conceived within a Black feminist epistemology. Earlier, I highlighted the contours of this epistemology, which include (a) an emphasis on asymmetrical power relations as a defining feature of deep-rooted structural inequality, (b) the designation of specific epistemic agents who are members of groups located at the bottom of multiple power hierarchies, (c) the legitimation of the situated knowledge that this social location produces, and (d) the centrality of a race analysis. This feminist standpoint epistemology has been most frequently applied to knowledge production of U.S.-born Black women. Barriteau (2006) argued that Black feminist scholarship can also be relevant within the context of African or Caribbean communities, because of the shared historical legacy of racial and colonial exploitation. This research study reveals the experiences of Haitian immigrants within the U.S. context in response to Barriteu's (2007) call to extend Black feminist analysis to other Black communities.

Qualitative research is defined as any type of research that produces findings not arrived at by some process of quantification (Kwan & Ding, 2008). The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words; reports detailed views of information, and

conducts the study in a natural setting (Agar, 1996; Creswell, 1998; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Qualitative methods (e.g., oral history, ethnography, participatory research) in the Black feminist intersectional research tradition do more than just "give voice" to historically marginalized groups (Mullings, 2000). These research practices help reveal the "hidden structures of oppression-the power and resource differentials arising from class, race, and gender hierarchies" (Mullings, 2000, p. 27). These methods of research are intense and demand significant fieldwork time to collect an accurate account of evidence regarding the issues being studied (Winchester, 2000).

Qualitative research is concerned with the importance of meanings, values, and how people arrive at these determinations (Maxwell, 2009). This type of research places the peculiarities of people's everyday lived experiences, behaviors, emotions, and feelings at the center of the inquiry. Scholarship from a feminist, antiracist, and intracategorical approach to intersectionality have long used qualitative methods to bring to the fore the experiences of historically marginalized groups (McCall, 2005). Haitian immigrants in Philadelphia represent such a group.

Philadelphia as a Research Site and Haitian Immigrants as a Research Group

In the last six years, researchers have suggested that migration scholars have neglected the sociospatial transformation of cities (Brenner, 2011; Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2009, 2011; Samers, 2011). These researchers asserted that cities and urban regions are important scales of analysis in the migration process (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2009, 2011). They urged migration scholars to extend their analysis of migrant experiences to cities of various sizes and differing relationships to the global economy to

assess how variable local contexts shape and are shaped by diverse migratory experiences (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2011).

This study responded to this call by examining migration and settlement processes within the political economy of Philadelphia (Goode, 2010; Singer et al. 2008; Singer, 2014; Takenaka & Osirim, 2010). Population growth fueled by the entry of immigrant populations has played a significant role in reversing decades of population loss within Philadelphia (Goode, 2010). In addition, the postindustrial labor market of the Philadelphia region has a strong reliance on the healthcare industry (Adams, 2003; Adams et al., 1991, 2008; Goode, 2010). This city provides an excellent context in which to understand the particularities of the processes that facilitate labor market incorporation and occupational mobility within the long-term care industry for a group of immigrant workers.

Philadelphia has experienced demographic shifts that mirror the national trend: the aging of the baby boom generation and the rapid growth of immigrants from new source countries (Frey & DeVol, 2000; Singer et al., 2008; Spector & Diamond, 2006). The Philadelphia region has been ranked second among U.S. cities with a proportion of residents older than 65 (Brookings Institution, 2003). In the 20-year period between 2005 and 2025, the population of this group is expected to increase by 13% in the Philadelphia metropolitan region (Spector & Diamond, 2006). During the same 20-year period, those 85 and older will have the most significant population growth, at 19%. This is the group most likely to experience chronic disabilities and to need long-term care. Thus, it is clear that long-term care is a growing industry in Philadelphia, with growing labor market demands for workers along the entire occupational hierarchy. In addition to the aging

population, the foreign-born Black population, representing the nations of the Caribbean and Africa, has grown significantly in Philadelphia in the period between 1980 and 2015 (Anderson, 2015; Buchanan et al., 2010; Kent, 2007).

It is difficult to assess the size of the Haitian population in Philadelphia because official accounts (i.e., Census data and community estimates) differ considerably. Community estimates place the Haitian population in Philadelphia at approximately 45,000 in 2004, whereas the 2000 Census estimated the population at 2000 (Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians, 2004). This large discrepancy reflects the persistent issue of undercounting of this population, like many other immigrant groups, in official accounts using established bureaucratic practices (Stepick & Stepick, 1990; St. Jean & Crandall, 2006).

Haitian immigrants are spread out throughout the Philadelphia metropolitan region (Lundy, 2010). Most reports suggest that Haitians are dispersed within neighborhoods in the city (Near Northeast Philadelphia, Olney-Oak Lane, and West Philadelphia), suburban neighborhoods of Montgomery County (Cheltenham and Jenkintown) and Delaware County (Upper Darby; Lundy, 2010; Patusky & Ceffalio, 2004; Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians, 2004, 2011, 2014). Despite socio-economic gains, the majority of Haitian immigrants are concentrated within Philadelphia, with much smaller numbers in the suburbs (Lundy, 2010). While all of the identified areas have a noteworthy number of Haitian immigrants, there is no identified Haitian enclave in Philadelphia.[45] Regardless of the accuracy of quantitative reports of the size of the Haitian population or the existence a geographic concentration, in the Philadelphia

[45]Larger Haitian populations with recognized geographic concentrations with associated economic and social enclaves can be found in Miami, Florida, and Brooklyn, New York (Kretsedemas, 2003; Terrazas, 2010)

metropolitan region, a significant share of foreign-born Haitians have found employment in the healthcare industry. Economic development organizational data suggest that as many as 60% of Haitians in Philadelphia are employed in the healthcare industry (Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians, 2004). It is not clear how many of these healthcare jobs are in long-term care specifically.

Research Methods

Research methods are the techniques used to gather evidence (Harding, 1987). Qualitative researchers typically devote considerable time detailing their data collection practices, but the analytical procedures are often less detailed. Qualitative research procedures are more flexible and open ended than quantitative methods. Although meanings and concepts emerge from the data, specific data analysis strategies are used in qualitative research (Creswell, 1994; Creswell & Maietta, 2002). Scholars usually describe their qualitative analytical process using one word: "coding." Despite being the best-known and most widely cited method of qualitative data analysis, the actual step-by-step procedure involved in coding is often left quite vague (Schreier, 2012). Put simply, *coding* is a means to identify patterns and themes within the data through a continual processes of organization and evaluation (Cope, 2003). It is an iterative procedure in which the researcher seeks to "open up" the data to examine it in new interesting ways (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Coding is the ideal method if the goal is to formulate new theories and examine the relationship between concepts in the data (Schreier, 2012).

Moving from a basic description of the data to the development of new theories and concepts requires a dialogical relationship between the data, the researcher's observations about the data, and the data collection process (Maietta, 2006). This is an

inductive process in which each phase influences the subsequent phases. Cope (2003) described the process as "inevitably circular, sporadic and frankly messy" (p. 451). Maietta (2006) suggested that effective qualitative analysis requires "constant movement between what we have in front of us, what we notice and how we process both" (p. 10).

The qualitative research methods flow chart, Figure 2, presents visually the procedures used in this research, which includes successive rounds of data collection, data management, data engagement, and data conceptualization.

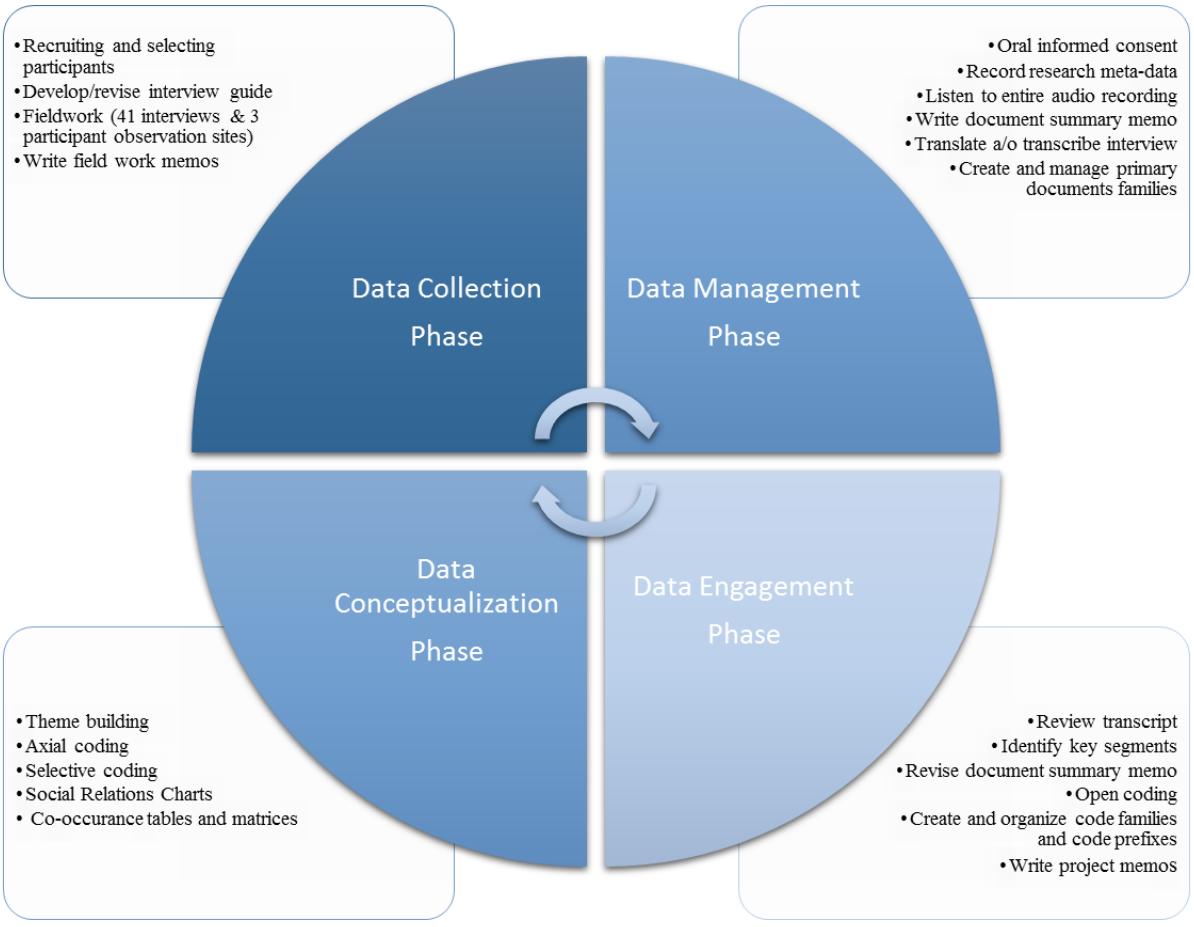


Figure 2. Qualitative research methods flow chart.

This flow chart is presented to resist the illusion of a linear approach to qualitative analysis, recognizing that the relationship between reviewing material (e.g., transcripts, data documents), reactions to the material, and the emergence of new questions and themes is in fact quite fluid. This approach is well suited for use in combination with computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, such as ATLAS.ti (Maietta, 2006).

Data Collection Phase

Pilot Study

During the period between January and May 2010, I launched a small pilot study to help formulate the overarching research questions. During the pilot study phase, I interviewed five key informants who represented three nonprofit job placement and economic development agencies that provide services directly to immigrant communities in Philadelphia. Through this pilot study, I gained an understanding of the dynamic relationship between market forces, government entities, and nonprofit organizations in shaping the economic activities of immigrant workers in the long-term care industry.

Haitian Community Forums

In the 18-month period between January 2010 and June 2011, I conducted participant observation fieldwork at two Haitian community forums. These forums focused primarily on advancing the social and economic position and opportunities for Haitians residing in Philadelphia. One workshop in particular, conducted in December 2010, focused on integrating Haitian immigrants into employment the healthcare industry. During all of the forums, I made contact with relevant leaders and stakeholders. I maintained contact with many of them, which served as a critical avenue for selecting

and recruiting participants in this study. My engagement with these institutional and community stakeholders' facilitated access to key informants.

Recruitment of Study Participants

Research activities were conducted with participants from two distinct groups: (a) key informants who were generally knowledgeable about the healthcare industry, the Haitian community, or both and (b) foreign-born Haitian migrants employed in the long-term care industry. These two groups necessarily required two different selection and recruitment strategies.

Key informants were selected using purposeful and snowball sampling to ensure the presentation of a variety of perspectives about the industry (Patton, 1990). [46] Individuals in this category represent a workforce development agency, nursing program educational institutions, immigrant social service providers, hiring and placement agencies, and leaders within the Haitian community (community groups and one religious institution). In addition to those stakeholders, I attempted to contact and interview key informants mentioned by Haitian worker study participants so that I could get the perspectives of key informants and Haitian workers who were somewhat connected. This strategy was not always successful, as many of those key informants were unresponsive to my requests for interviews. I was much more successful recruiting key informants that I met during the Haitian community forums in 2010, because they were already familiar with me and my research objectives.

[46]The description of the roles of several key informants overlapped, such that several key informants served as social service providers, community leaders, or both or alternatively as a nursing educator, hiring professional, or both. As such, I do not provide a breakdown of how many participants fall into each category.

I also faced recruitment challenges related to foreign-born Haitian long-term care workers. I initially attempted to recruit foreign-born Haitian study participants through community institutions located at the "center" of the Haitian community: a concentration of businesses, churches, and community organizations located in the Olney section of the city of Philadelphia (Lundy, 2010; Goode & Schneider, 1994). I attempted to make contact through those organizations by emailing organizational leaders and posting flyers in the retail locations. I was able to recruit only two study participants through this strategy. It is often very difficult to negotiate access to immigrant communities, because members of these communities tend to be distrustful of data collection processes (Stepick & Stepick, 1990; St. Jean & Crandall, 2006). Research activities are more likely to be successful with the aid of personal referrals.

After 3 months of using flyers exclusively, I changed my recruitment strategy to make use of personal references. I initiated contact with potential study participants through contacts at religious organizations with which I had a prior relationship. I contacted individuals in these organizations employed in the long-term care industry; then through the snowball sampling technique, I was able to recruit additional participants. Snowball sampling relies on the preexisting networks of friendship and kinship communities to dictate the choice of respondents (Bernard, 1988; Miles & Crush, 1993). Participants were also selected through purposive sampling (Kerlinger, 1986) to achieve a diverse participant base in terms of age, gender, years since initial migration to the United States, long-term care, and industry job title. I interviewed workers from across the occupational spectrum to cut across the hierarchy of the industry and capture the diverse ways intersections of gender, class, and religion shape the occupational

mobility of study participants. Participants also worked in a range of settings, including temporary placement agencies, patients' private homes, community housing arrangements, nursing homes, hospitals, and rehabilitation centers.

Description of Data and Fieldwork Research Activities

The fieldwork for this project included participant observation fieldwork and semistructured interviews. Participant observation fieldwork occurred at recruiting information sessions for three different nursing programs. A total of 43 study participants were interviewed. All participants were interviewed one time using a semistructured interview guide. Because two distinct groups of study participants interviewed, two different interview guides were used: one for key informants' familiar with the industry or the Haitian community (see Appendix D) and another for foreign-born Haitian men and women employed in the long-term care industry (see Appendix E).

Research activities with key informants. Research activities with key informants provided a better understanding of how they assess the potential for occupational mobility within the industry. Data collected from this group provided background information about the geographic and social organization of the industry from the perspectives of nonworkers. I conducted interviews with 13 key informants (representing 8 organizations) and did participant observation at 3 recruitment information session events to make observations related to the research questions. Participant observations fieldwork occurred at public events at the advertised locations. Table 2 contains information about the participation observation fieldwork sites.

Table 3 contains information about the key informants who were interviewed. Interviews with key informants lasted an average of 60 minutes. Key informants were

interviewed with a semistructured interview guide designed to elicit the following data: (a) social and geographic organization of the industry, (b) the institutional and regulatory practices that shape the industry, (c) the prospects for occupational mobility within the industry, and (d) the labor market incorporation of Haitians within the industry (See Appendix D).

Table 2

Participant Observation Fieldwork Sites

Name of Organization	Type of Event	Location of Event
Red Cross, Philadelphia County	Red Cross CNA Information Session	Red Cross, Center City Office
1199C Training and Upgrading Fund	LPN Program Information Session	1199C Training and Upgrading Fund, Center City Office
Montgomery County Community College (MCCC)	AAS degree in Nursing, RN program Information Session	MCCC Central Campus

Note. CNA = certified nursing assistant; LPN = licensed practical nurse; AAS = associate in applied science; RN = registered nurse.

Table 3

Key Informant Interviews

Organization Name	Title of Key Informant	Description of Organization	Location of Interview
The African Family Health Organization (AFAHO)	Executive director	Immigrant social service provider	Office
Haitian Professionals of Philadelphia	Executive board member (responsible for community partnerships)	Community group	Home
Haitian Church[a]	Pastor of church and his wife	Religious organization	Office
Haitian Coalition of Philadelphia (HCP)	President, vice president, and an executive board member	Community group	Coffee shop
CNA Program A[a]	Director and Assistant Director	Organization includes CNA training program and a HHA placement agency	Office
HHA/CNA Placement Agency B[a]	Director	HHA and CNA placement agency	Coffee shop
District 1199C Training and Upgrading Fund	Executive director LPN training program coordinator	Training and education branch for District 1199C of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees and area healthcare employers.	Office
Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians	Former employee of organization, administrator of the Haiti Community Project, 2010–2011	Economic development agency	Phone

[a]Interviewee requested that the name of their organization not be revealed.
Note. CNA = certified nursing assistant; LPN = licensed practical nurse; HHA = home health aide.

Research activities with foreign-born Haitian men and women. I interviewed 12 men and 18 women working in the occupational hierarchy of the nursing industry in long-term care settings. The occupational breakdown of these study participants was as follows: 12 people whose primary jobs were either as HHAs or CNAs, 9 LPNs, and 9 RNs. I intentionally interviewed more LPNs and RNs, because a major goal of this study was to understand how people navigate up the occupational hierarchy. Table 4 identifies the 30 participants by gender, occupation, years in the industry, and location of the interview.

As a group, these workers had an average of almost 11 years working in the nursing industry. That average was largely driven by the women (13.7 years) in the group, because they had twice the average number of years of experience as the men (6.6 years). The majority of study participants were in the prime working age bracket (25–54 years of age). The average age of all participants was 44 years. The youngest study participant was 23 years and the oldest 65 years.

Previous research on Haitian immigrants in Philadelphia suggested that Philadelphia is a secondary or tertiary migratory destination (Lundy, 2010). Twenty of the study participants in this research followed that migratory pattern. Fifteen lived for at least 6 months in one other U.S. migratory destination before moving to Philadelphia. The most common first destination was one of the five boroughs of New York, NY.

Table 4

Participant's Name, Gender, Job Title, Years in the Industry, and Location of Interview

Name/Interview Code	Gender	Current Job Title	Years in Nursing Industry	Location of Interview
Addison1	Female	CNA/HHA	30	Home
Adam2	Male	LPN	14	Home
Abigail3	Female	CNA/HHA	13	Home
Sage4	Female	RN-AA	11	Office
Michael5	Male	LPN→RN-AA	3	Office
Arnold6	Male	CNA/HHA	10	Home
Samantha7	Female	CNA/HHA/MedTech	15	Home
Molly8	Female	RN-BSN	3	Office
Alex9	Male	LPN	7	Office
Stephanie10	Female	CNA→RN-BSN	3	Office
Alyssa11	Female	RN-AA	13	Home
Charles12	Male	LPN	8	Office
Majopie13	Female	RN-BSN	27	Home
Avery14	Female	RN-AA	13	Home
Chloe15	Female	LPN	10	Home
John Doe16	Male	LPN	6.5	Home
Joe17	Male	CNA→LPN	1.5	His office
Ella18	Female	LPN	11	Home
Necole19	Female	RN-BSN	14	Church
Emily20	Female	RN-BSN	4	Home
Mario21	Male	LPN	6	Target
Sabine22	Female	CNA	20	Home
Dee23	Female	RN-AA	15	Home
Grace24	Female	RN-AA	13	Home
George25	Male	CNA	5	Home
Solange26	Female	LPN	20	Home
Junio27	Male	CNA	2	Home
Choute28	Male	CNA	7	Home
Eva29	Female	CNA	12	Home
Alfred30	Male	CNA	10	Home

Note. All names are pseudonyms. → symbol indicates that participant is currently actively enrolled in a training program to the next higher level in the nursing hierarchy. CNA = certified nursing assistant; LPN = licensed practical nurse; HHA = home health aide; RN = registered nurse; AA= Associate of Arts degree; BSN= Bachelor of Science in nursing.

Four study participants had two migratory moves within the United States before moving to Philadelphia. One study participant had three migratory moves before settling in Philadelphia, including 1 year living in Canada. Ten of the study participants migrated to Philadelphia directly from Haiti.

On average, these study participants had more than 21 years since their initial migration from Haiti. These extended migratory histories are also reflected in study participant's legal migration status. All 18 of the women and 7 of the 12 men were naturalized U.S. citizens at the time of the interview. The remaining 5 men had other documented status, which allow them to work legally in the United States. Four of them are Legal Permanent Residents and one has temporary protected status.

The core of the research design was a "studying up" approach in which Haitian women and men were asked about experiences of migration, settlement, and labor market activities. To "study up" recognizes that people are caught up in complex interplays of place and time-specific relationships with institutions and structures at the scale of everyday life (Basch et al. 1994; Collins, 1990; Miles & Crush, 1993). Despite people's partial and interpretatively complex perceptions, I take seriously their interpretations of place and self (Silvey, 2006; Tyner, 2004).

In-depth interviews are a suitable research method to access this type of data, because they allow categories and relationships to emerge based on respondent's experiences rather than imposed from predetermined categories (Mattingly, 2001). For this research, 30 Haitian men and women, as briefly described in the previous section, were interviewed. Although the key informants were study participants, the core of this research and its findings are based on the interviews conducted with Haitian men and

women. Thus, when the term "study participants" is used throughout this study, unless otherwise noted, it refers to Haitian women and men.

The interviews were conducted in a location of study participant's choosing to avoid controlled conditions and to ensure their comfort. This technique is considered interviewing in a naturalistic research setting (Padgett, 1998). During an initial call to set up the interview, I explained the purpose of the research, indicated the types of questions I would be asking, and assured potential participants of the confidentiality and privacy of participation in the study. Once potential study participants had this information and agreed to participate, I asked them to propose an interview time and location that would be most convenient for them.

The majority (21) of the interviews with foreign-born Haitians took place in their homes. I was truly honored to be invited into study participant's private homes. Although not the subject of this research, access to their private spaces allowed me to make observations about their homes (such as pictures of their graduation from nursing programs and where they keep track of their work schedule). In addition, in many cases, upon arriving for the interview I was able to also meet family members and close friends, who play key roles in their social networks.

The collection of extensive histories and information about the important people in their support networks provided insights about the relationships between complex intersections of multiple social identities, social network type, composition, and spatial extent (e.g., kinship, community organization affiliations, Haiti, in Philadelphia region, outside of Philadelphia region), uses of social networks, and different labor market outcomes. The in-depth interviews consisted of open-ended questions designed to elicit

information about (a) other experiences of migration and settlement, (b) other community affiliations, and (c) an accounting of daily activity patterns (e.g., where they go for childcare, shopping, and leisure activities; how they get there; how they manage household chores/domestic responsibilities; and who they work with, relationships with supervisors, co-workers, and clients).

To document the spatiality of place-based and transnational social networks relative to different employment outcomes, I also gathered residential, employment, educational, and community/religious affiliation location data (current as well as previous locations for each of these) of study participants during the interviews. To understand the spatial extent of social networks and social capital transfers, study participants were asked about the ways and places they make contact and exchange information with the individuals they consider part of their social networks. For each of these spatially defined locations, information about the mode of transport used was requested. During the interview, I requested the exact address for all of these locations. The majority of study participants did not have this information so I devised an alternate strategy. I requested information about the cross streets, neighborhood names, city, state, or country information (to the level of specificity that the study participant could remember). On average, the interviews lasted 80 minutes (the shortest interview was 30 minutes, the longest 160 minutes).

In the tradition of feminist and antiracist modes of inquiry, study participants are considered co-creators of knowledge throughout the research process (e.g., Collins, 1990, 2000a; Haraway, 1990; Harding, 1991). This consideration is reflected in this study in a number of ways. The interview guide was revised several times over the course of the

data collection phase based on feedback from study participants. In addition, research activities with foreign-born Haitian participants were conducted in English, Haitian Creole, or both, depending on the combination of languages that was most comfortable for the research participants.[47] Allowing the research participant to dictate the language of the interview empowered the narrator to describe their experience using idioms and linguistic tools that meets their goals (Miles & Crush, 1993; Spradley, 1979).

In May 2013, I was invited to present preliminary findings at two different Haitian churches in Philadelphia. A significant share of the people who attended these presentations were also employed in the long-term care industry. Throughout the presentations, audience members provided critical feedback on interpretations that shaped future rounds of data collection and analysis. Interactions with foreign-born workers, who were formal members of the study, as well as feedback from the presentation audiences, were captured in the research fieldwork notes.

Memoing: Fieldwork Notes

During the data collection phase, fieldwork notes were created to capture emerging thoughts, additional questions, and nonverbal cues during research activities. Fieldwork notes are a form of data collection—they often capture key aspects of the research process as it is occurring. These notes provided additional context to the textual data. Fieldwork notes are a form of memoing. *Memoing* refers to specialized types of written records that contain the products of analysis or direction for the analyst; "memos can take several forms: codes notes, theoretical notes, operational notes" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 198).

[47]I am conversant in Haitian Creole.

These notes were used during the data analysis process to assist in identifying emergent categories and to inform subsequent data collection. Fieldwork notes were written in a notebook during the research activity, but shortly after the research activity, the notes were typed and stored in ATLAS.ti and linked to the audio file for the research activity. In addition to fieldwork notes, I used several other types of memos during this research, including metadata memos and document summary memos during the data management phase and project memos used during the data engagement phase.

Data Management Phase

Informed Consent

Dr. Melissa Gilbert and I managed institutional review board compliance for the fieldwork. In accordance with institutional review board requirements, all study participants were asked to give oral informed consent to the project. All participants were read and received an English and Haitian Creole (as necessary) copy of the consent form (See Appendix F. G, H). During research activities with foreign-born Haitians, participants were asked to select their own pseudonym. The pseudonym and a numeric identifier together served as the interview ID, which was the only identifier used on all research documents. Key informants were asked if they preferred that their real names and organizational affiliations remain anonymous in the reporting of the research results. All key informant participants were comfortable with at least their titles being revealed, although some preferred that their names or the name of the organization not be identified (see Table 3).

Metadata

Metadata from all fieldwork activities was recorded immediately after each research activity. Metadata included the date, time, location, duration, and demographic information of participants (number of interviewees present, age, gender, immigration status, education level, family composition, current job title, and current job location). This information was stored in three memos (an interview log of all interview activities, a log of key informants' characteristics, and a log for the characteristics of Haitian immigrant participants) in ATLAS.ti. The ATLAS.ti hermeneutic unit (HU)[48] and the computer containing the research materials were both individually password protected at all times to protect the identities and data of the research participants.

Translation/Transcription of Data and Document Summary Memos

All but one of the research activities was digitally recorded to facilitate analysis. After each interview or participant observation fieldwork visit, I listened to the digital audio file. After listening to the audio, I wrote a document summary memo for that research activity. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), memos are reflective commentaries on aspects of the data that serve as the basis for further analysis. The document summary memos typically included a description of how I felt during the research interaction [including notes about intersubjectivity between myself and study participant(s)], early interpretations of key audio segments, interesting things regarding participant's trajectory into and through the nursing occupational hierarchy, and any notable mentions of the social network connections. In these memos, I described how I

[48]The hermeneutic unit (HU) provides the data structure for each project in ATLAS.ti. Everything that is relevant to a particular a research project is part of the HU and resides in one bundled electronic environment. This means that the primary documents representing the data sources, the quotations, the codes, the conceptual linkages (families), and the memos, are all part of one HU.

made contact with the particular study participant and any referrals made for additional interview participants. I also listened to the audio file in its entirety to check the quality of the audio as well to decide whether or not to send out the digital recording for transcription.

All audio files were transcribed. The determination of who completed the transcription of research audio files was dictated by the language of each research interaction. Foreign-born Haitian study participants had the choice to conduct the interviews in English or Haitian Creole. All but one of the key informant interviews were conducted primarily in English. The presentations at the recruitments sessions where I did participant observation fieldwork were conducted exclusively in English. Files containing research activities that where more than 90% in English were transcribed by a professional transcription company. Twelve of the interviews were conducted primarily in Haitian Creole. These were translated and transcribed by me.

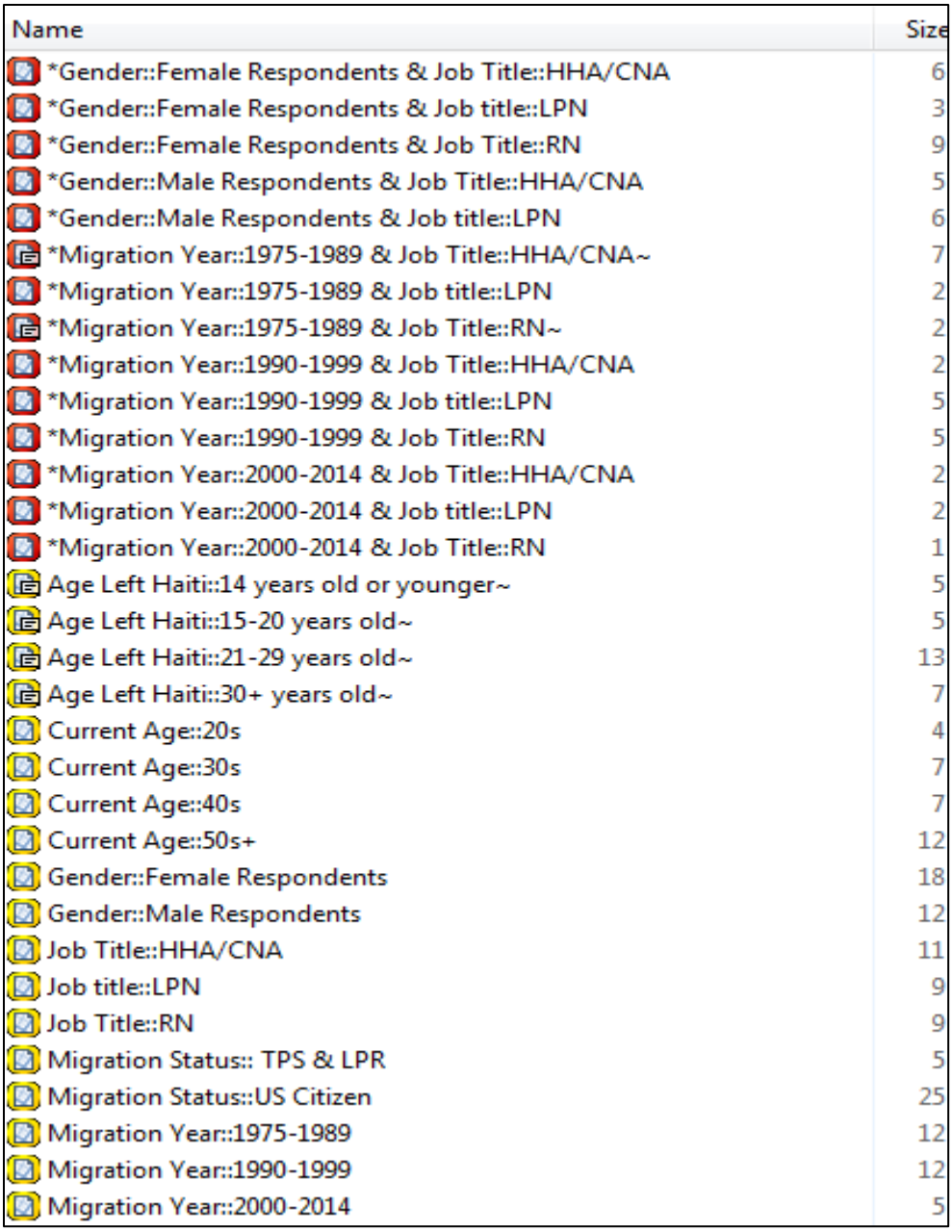
Data Corpus

This project generated primary data from fieldwork with Haitian immigrants employed in the long-term care industry and key informants familiar with the industry and the Haitian community. This data collection strategy produced an effective and voluminous data set (Creswell, 2007; Padgett, 1998). The study included approximately 50 fieldwork hours, which included the interviews and participant observation fieldwork. There were 40 hours of audio-recorded material. The text transcripts of research activities (interview or participants observation fieldwork) and the fieldwork notes are the corpus or textual database of this research (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Cope (2003) suggested that more than 30 respondents or text documents constitute a large *n.* Creswell (1998)

suggested that researchers remain in the field as long as it takes for the evolving theories and concepts involved in the research to reach saturation. Despite the challenges of interpretation and representation of such a large data set, I did find recurring patterns and themes across the data that suggested the data I collected had reached a level of saturation.

Primary Documents Families

A key benefit of using a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software is that it makes it easier to read across the data (Cope, 2003; Maietta, 2006; van Hoven & Poelman, 2003). As part of the data management phase, the text files associated with each interview were organized into primary document (PD) families based on specific characteristics of study participants. PD families is a term particular to ATLAS.ti software package, but the practice of organizing data according to particular criteria has a long history in qualitative data analysis (Contreras, 2014). PD families were initially created to separate the data files of key informants and foreign-born Haitian workers. Subsequent phases of data collection and data management resulted in the creation of PD families based on gender identification, job title, and migration status, to name a few. In Figure 3, I provide a screen shot of the PD family system I used for this research. The items with the yellow icons are PD families with just one criteria such as age, job title, age left Haiti, year of migration, and current immigration status. The items accompanying the red icons are known as super PD families. Super PD families allow the user to combine two PD families. The size number next to each family indicates the number of text files that fall into that category. The PD family system facilitated subsequent stages of data exploration and analysis.



Name	Size
*Gender::Female Respondents & Job Title::HHA/CNA	6
*Gender::Female Respondents & Job title::LPN	3
*Gender::Female Respondents & Job Title::RN	9
*Gender::Male Respondents & Job Title::HHA/CNA	5
*Gender::Male Respondents & Job title::LPN	6
*Migration Year::1975-1989 & Job Title::HHA/CNA~	7
*Migration Year::1975-1989 & Job title::LPN	2
*Migration Year::1975-1989 & Job Title::RN~	2
*Migration Year::1990-1999 & Job Title::HHA/CNA	2
*Migration Year::1990-1999 & Job title::LPN	5
*Migration Year::1990-1999 & Job Title::RN	5
*Migration Year::2000-2014 & Job Title::HHA/CNA	2
*Migration Year::2000-2014 & Job title::LPN	2
*Migration Year::2000-2014 & Job Title::RN	1
Age Left Haiti::14 years old or younger~	5
Age Left Haiti::15-20 years old~	5
Age Left Haiti::21-29 years old~	13
Age Left Haiti::30+ years old~	7
Current Age::20s	4
Current Age::30s	7
Current Age::40s	7
Current Age::50s+	12
Gender::Female Respondents	18
Gender::Male Respondents	12
Job Title::HHA/CNA	11
Job title::LPN	9
Job Title::RN	9
Migration Status:: TPS & LPR	5
Migration Status::US Citizen	25
Migration Year::1975-1989	12
Migration Year::1990-1999	12
Migration Year::2000-2014	5

Figure 3. ATLAS.ti primary documents families and super families.

Data Engagement Phase

The data engagement phase of the analysis was the most labor intensive, because it was during this phase that I became intimately familiar with the textures and nuances of my data. The following series of procedures provided a means for me to ensure that I was reading and rereading the transcripts in such a way to allow the "identification of recurring themes, patterns and important insights" (Cope, 2003).

Reviewing Transcripts

The translation and transcription stage required multiple readings. When I received transcripts from the professional transcription company, I read the interview transcript while listening to the audio file of the interview to ensure the accuracy of the transcript. All of the files required some level of "cleanup." It is impossible to tell whether cleanup was necessary because of the quality of the audio or because of misunderstanding on the part of the transcriptionists of the accents of foreign-born Haitian participants. In addition to fixing errors, many of the interviews did contain Haitian Creole words or phrases that I had to translate and add back into the transcript, as the transcriptionist could not have known how to include these data. I transcribed 12 interview files myself, which also required multiple readings. Although conversant in spoken Haitian Creole, the task of translation requires a heightened attention to the meanings and intention behind the use of words. To ensure accurate translation, I listened to each segment of audiotape several times to ensure accuracy within the context of the conversation.

Marking key segments and revise document summary memo. Before beginning to code, a researcher should closely examine the breadth and depth of the data (Cope, 2003).

This is best done by identifying the location of key segments of text within the transcript. Cope (2003) suggested marking important sections, phrases, or words. This is also a type of data indexing, defined by Coffey and Atkinson (1996) as a means to reduce data and file bits of pieces of data under labels. For each transcript, I identified and marked key segments of text using the quotation function of ATLAS.ti. Key segments of text identified in the transcripts of foreign-born Haitian workers included the following: post-high school education in Haiti and the United States, history of jobs in Haiti and the United States, migratory destinations and year that the migratory move occurred, number of years in nursing industry, and information about family and household responsibilities at the point of migration and in the current moment. Based on this closer reading of the transcript, I added more content to the document summary memo that was created immediately after the interview. The revised document summary memo provided a narrative snapshot of study participants' life course focused on migratory and labor market histories and the relationship to family and household responsibilities. Insights gleaned from the identification of key segments and the document summary memos informed the first set of codes.

Coding

Using ATLAS.ti software, I undertook an iterative coding and recoding of textual data through continued reflexive comparison (Cope, 2003) to reveal thematic categories. The use of data analysis software coupled with descriptive coding allowed me to draw out major words, phrases, and concepts from each interview, to attribute each to a particular set of constructs, and to identify the relationships between them (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2000). The analytical lens used to examine the data was informed by feminist geographic inquiry, transnational migration, and intersectionality research.

Coding "involves creating links between data and concepts, between concepts and between data" (Schreier, 2012, p. 39). To engage in the act of coding means to "mark" segments of text with key words or phrased to permit retrieval later (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I began coding through a process of open coding, going through transcripts line by line. This is a form of data-driven coding (Schreier, 2012). According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), open coding is descriptive, "unrestricted," and intended to simply describe the content of the data. The initial codes generated during open coding were temporary and tentative and underwent significant changes during subsequent phases of data analysis, but they served as an important step to further open up the data to reveal the conceptual implications in further rounds of coding (Strauss, 1987). Code definitions were entered and linked directly to the code using the comment feature in ATLAS.ti software package as the codes were being created. In addition to open coding, subsequent rounds of coding reflected themes found in the associated existing academic literature related to daily activity patterns, social networks, social capital and social identity categories.

Code Families and Code Prefixes

Although coding is satisfying because it allows new discoveries and insights to emerge, it also can get overwhelming. As a result, it is important to use specific techniques to organize the codebook (Woolf, 2007). During this research, I used two organizational techniques: code families and code prefixes. After several rounds of coding, themes began to emerge based on the created codes. As a result, I began to place

the codes into code families based on these thematic commonalities. Once in code families, I went through each family and merged codes that contained similar ideas or deleted codes that seemed to have limited utility. The code families also helped me to ensure that each code was mutually exclusive. Code families are similar to main categories in a conventional coding frame.

Main categories are defined "as the aspects on which you want to focus your analysis" (Schreier, 2012, p. 58). The individual codes within each family then can be categorized as subcategories. This analytical procedure borrows heavily from *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice* (2012), but unlike qualitative content analysis, the subcategories (the codes) were created before formally defining the main categories (the code families). This is because the data analysis was shaped by data-driven open coding.

Code families are not the only ATLAS.ti function that adds structure to the coding process. Code prefixes are another common organizing technique I used in this research. Assigning code prefixes allows for some groups of codes to share a common prefix or root, using either letters, numbers, or symbols (Woolf, 2007). I used words as prefixes, which helped keep the variances between directly related codes within the code families in order. The prefixes were also helpful, because it was easier to keep related codes together in the codebook, as ATLAS.ti can organize codes alphabetically.

Figure 4 provides a screenshot of the code families and an example of a code prefix. On the left side is a listing of all of the code families I identified in this project. They range in content from "church, imp info about" to "work environment." Within the listing of code families, the code family titled "social network" is bolded. Within this family are all the codes associated with the concept of "social network." For the purpose

of this code family, I placed all codes related to type of network connections into one code family. There are 15 such codes, as indicated by the number in parenthesis next to the social network code family title. In the right side menu or column, those 15 codes are listed. Each of those codes are tagged with the prefix "connection." This again highlights their commonality as a type of social network connection and when in the larger codebook screen, all of these codes would be grouped together.

Project Memos

Throughout the coding and recoding process, I memoed frequently. As defined earlier, memos are reflective commentaries on aspects of the data that serve as the basis for further analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). As new ideas, concepts, and relationships emerged throughout the coding process, I wrote project-level memos.

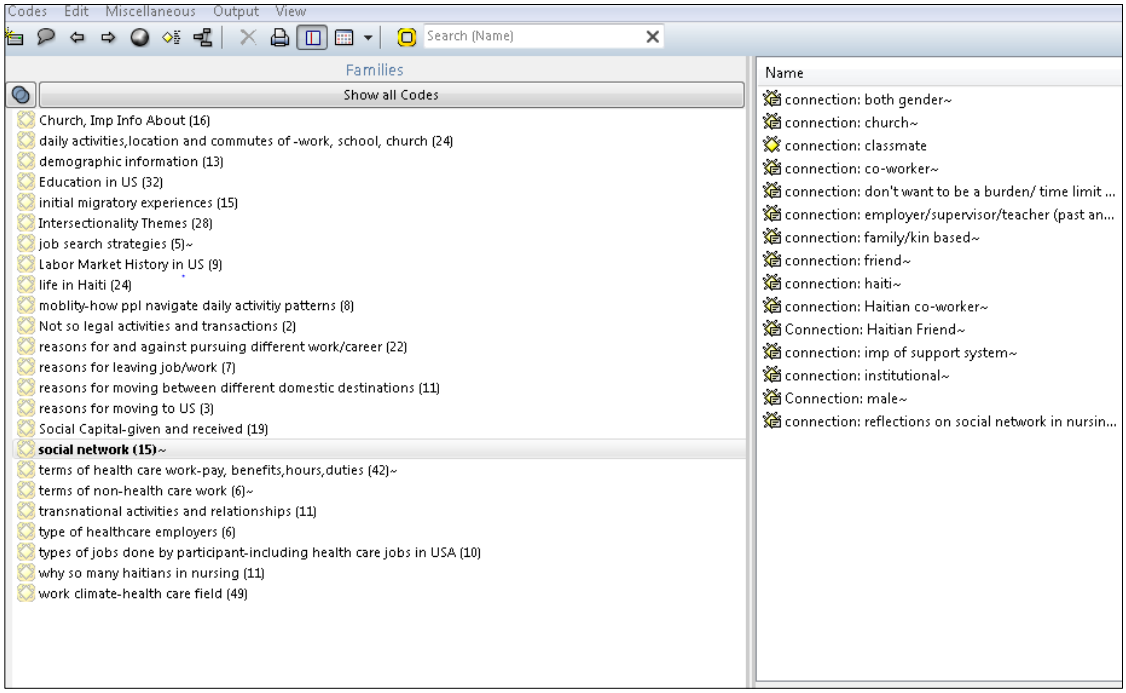


Figure 4. ATLAS.ti code families and code prefix example.

I kept four project memos and added to each (with appropriate date-time stamp) over the course of the project. The four project-level memos were as follows: theory notes, analytical notes, reflexivity notes, and social network notes.

Data Conceptualization

Coding is not the end-product of analysis (Cope, 2003). Instead, the goal is to identify the prevalent themes that make a significant contribution to our understanding of the phenomena under investigation. Theme building occurs by drawing connections between codes, the data, and the framing literature. Cope (2003) suggested that themes may emerge based on similarities or interesting differences that emerge before, during, or after the data collection or analysis phase. Thus, theme building is a fluid, dynamic, and interpretative process. For the purpose of this research and the two empirical chapters that follow, I used multiple approaches to theme building, described as follows.

Co-occurrence Tables and Matrices: Social Networks, Social Capital and Spatial Extent

The analysis of the nature, role, significance, and spatial extent of social networks used by study participants was a multiple-step process. It first required several rounds of axial coding. Axial coding occurs along a key category or axis (Strauss, 1987). In this case, the axis I coded around was social network connections. This step required the creation of code prefixes for all the different types of network connections (as presented later in Figure 7). I affixed the prefix "connection" to all of these types of social network connections. For each segment of text where a study participant identified giving or receiving assistance, I coded with the appropriate type(s) of connection. In addition, I coded that segment of text with an indication of the type of social capital that was either received or given. I identified types of social capital by naming the type of assistance

(e.g., housing, money, job search, emotional support). In addition, I added the prefix "give" or "receive" to indicate the difference between instances when the study participant was the recipient versus the provider of some form of assistance. Finally, each segment of text was marked with a code with the prefix "spatial extent, which reflected the geographic proximity of the person receiving or giving the assistance in relation to the residential location of the study participant in that particular moment in time. I did this axial coding of all of the transcripts of foreign-born Haitian study participants.

Once the axial coding was complete for the categories of social networks, I used two different functions of ATLAS.ti to assist in the conceptualization of the data. I initially constructed a co-occurrence table to assess the connections between types of social network and types of social capital. This function assisted in the development of insights related to the types of social capital transferred between different types of social network connections. I also used the Codes-Primary Documents table function of ATLAS.ti to develop a data matrix that displayed the relationship between types of social network connections and participant's characteristics, such as gender and occupational level. Finally, I used the co-occurrence table function to display the relationship between types of social capital and the spatial extent at which they are transferred. The use of multiple conceptualization tools provided valuable insights about the nature, role, significance and spatial extent of social networks. Those findings will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Coding and Defining Power Hierarchies

The data conceptualization procedures for examining intersectional data was different. As highlighted in Chapter 3, this dissertation brings together Black feminist and

feminist geographic theorizing of intersectionality. To do so, I bring together Rodó-de-Zárate's (2014), Relief Map and Collins' (2000) matrix of domination. However in bringing these two modes of inquiry together, this research focuses on power hierarchies, instead of power structures.

In this research, the intersectional analysis of lived experience is found through an examination of how the complex intersections of multiple power hierarchies affect social relations. These social relations are not neutral or devoid of power relations but instead are connected to systems of power that have significance not only for the individual but also for a broader group's material reality. For the purposes of this research study, these social relations also shape study participants' ability to make social network connections that affect their ability to enter and navigate the occupational hierarchy of the long-term care industry.

The focus of the intersectional analysis is how social relations between people—what Collins (2000a) identified as the interpersonal domain of power—shape the material reality of study participant's lives. I proposed that the ability to form or not form social network connections reflects those linked social relations. Thus, the adaptation of the Relief Map tool I used in this study displays the interplay between power hierarchies (social identity categories), lived experiences [social network connection(s)], and geographic data (particular places). However because this approach to intersectionality is focused on the effect of this interplay, it also shows whether those social network connection help or hinder study participant's occupational mobility. The first methodological implication of this approach is that the situated knowledge of study participants' determine the salient power hierarchies and their associated characteristics.

First, I identified how I would recognize a particular instance of a power hierarchy within the context of the data. This was done by using the existing codes to drive a round of selective coding. Selective coding is a more systemic approach to coding used to identify and follow a "core" category (Strauss, 1987). As part of the analytical process, I identified core categories for the power hierarchies of race, nationality, gender, class, educational level, immigration status, religion, and age. I used the already existing codes derived from the data from study participants' descriptions of their lived experiences to drive the definitions and constitutive elements of these power hierarchies. Once I settled on definitions, I then engaged in a round of selective coding for a subset of my total sample to use the Relief Map tool. The Relief Map tool provides a means to analyze and visually represent the interaction and intersections of these power hierarchies in particular places. Table 5 provides the power hierarchy definitions and related expressions in the data of participants' social relations.

Table 5

Power Hierarchies Definitions

	Power Hierarchy Definitions	Expressions in the Data of Participants' Social Relations
RACE	Participants' consideration of how they (as an individual or member of a group) fit into the racial hierarchy in the United States constructed along the sorting mechanisms related to the White/Black binary.	• Expression of an experience of marginalization or valorization on the basis of self-identified or perceived racial identification. • Any discussion/references that highlight common norms or stereotypes associated with being an individual or member of a racialized group. • Any reference to skin color, facial features or hair textures.
NATIONALITY	Participants' consideration of how they (as an individual or as a member of a group) fit into the hierarchy of nation states.	• Comparisons between life in the United States and Haiti. • Any reference to navigating language barriers (accent or questions related to native language). • Any discussion/references which highlight what are norms/stereotypes associated with themselves due to national origin categorization. • Any reference or discussion about being a foreigner or outsider.
CLASS	Any discussion/references that highlight norms/stereotypes associated with themselves (as an individual or a member of a group) due to socioeconomic/class identification	• Explicit discussions of salary amount or range. • Reference made to "good" pay and benefits or the inverse low pay and benefits. • Discussion of job prestige. • Any reference made to economic benefits or detriments of a job. • Having access to accoutrement of "wealthy" living or "poor" living (as defined by study participant). • Reference made to having access to something or lacking access to something because of financial/economic resources. • Any reference made to "position" in community. • Explicit reference made to "class" status.
GENDER	Any discussion/references that highlights the norms/stereotypes associated with themselves (as an individual or a member of a group) due to gender identification	• Discussions of who is responsible for productive or social reproductive responsibilities. • Often co-occurring with discussions of marital status or marital responsibilities. • Discussions of appropriate types and expectations of jobs for women vs. men. • Discussions of birthing and raising of children.
RELIGION	Any discussion/references that highlights norms/stereotypes associated with themselves (as an individual or as a member of a group) due to religious affiliation or religious practice	• Any discussion that attributes religion/faith or religious practice as the cause/reason why a particular outcome occurs.

Table 5

Power Hierarchies Definitions (continued)

	Power Hierarchy Definitions	Expressions in the Data of Participants' Social Relations
AGE	Any discussion or references to norms or expectations for people of their age range (too young or too old) being able to or be expected to do something	• Any discussion of age as a reason for participating or choosing not to participate in an activity.
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	Any discussion/references which highlight what are norms/stereotypes associated with themselves (as an individual or a member of a group) due to level of educational attainment	• Any reference to education or training programs. • Any discussion of how training or education has allowed access to or barriers to other resources. • Any discussion of differentiated job duties related to differentiated educational attainment.
IMMIGRATION STATUS	Any discussion/reference of their legal status as an immigrant, not simply being a positioned as a foreigner/immigrant but about a particular legal designation of migratory status based on U.S. immigration law	• Any reference to being 'illegal' or 'undocumented.' • Any discussions about adjustment of immigration status. • Any reference to delaying participating in an activity or being permitted to participate in an activity because of legal immigration status.

Visualizing Intersectional Data: the Social Relations Chart

In this section, I detail two additional data conceptualization procedures related to the Relief Map. First, I discuss the changes in the visual presentation of the Relief Maps in my project. I then provide two examples of how I used this tool in this research project using narrative data.

A defining feature of Rodó-de-Zárate's Relief Maps is that they are intended to identify "spaces of relief" in her study participants' daily activity patterns. She represented these spaces of relief using what is best described as a line graph (see Figure 1, chapter 3). Each power structure is represented by a different colored line. Each line is connected through a series of plot points.

These plot points identify experiences or psychological perceptions of oppression (or privilege) in relation to particular places. The places are arranged from left to right on the *x*-axis to move from places of no relief to places that provide the most relief based on the intersection of the power structure lines. This strategy of visual presentation effectively communicates the distinction between spaces of high anxiety and those spaces where relief can be found and how different power structures intersect to shape those psychological experiences.

However, the line graph visualization proved to be highly ineffective for meeting the stated objective of this study: identifying the places where helpful or unhelpful social network formation occurred in relation to power hierarchies. When I attempted the line graph approach, it was difficult to discern how the power hierarchies interacted with each other to shape social network formation in particular places. This is because I could not identify a ranking in terms of places where the power hierarchies intersected in such a way that visually represented the helpfulness of the social network connections formed there. In reality, what I found was that while a particular place may be a site of (less) hindrance along one power hierarchy, it was alternatively a place of help along another category, and it was not readily visible the nature of the place.

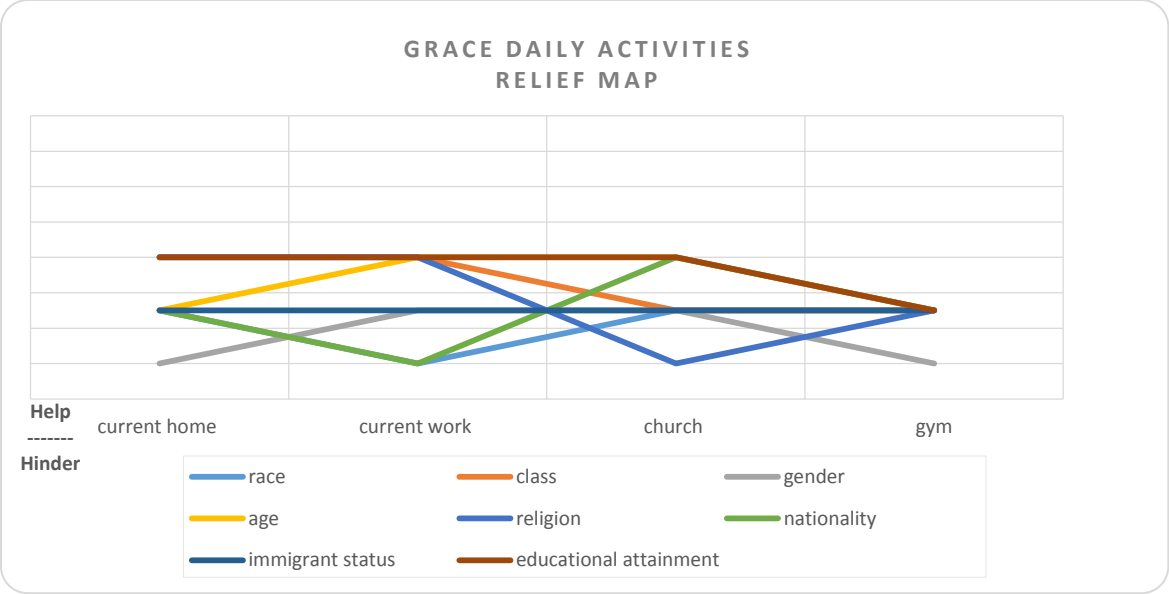


Figure 5. Line graph strategy using Grace's narrative data.

No place was consistently a source of help or a source of hindrance across a majority of the power hierarchies for any individual study participant. One participant, I will refer to as Grace, provides a good example (Figure 5). Through the coding of the narrative data, it was evident that in the home the intersection of the following power hierarchies were helpful for her social network formation: class, religion, and educational attainment. However, the power hierarchy of gender served as a hindrance to her social network formation in the home. The other power hierarchies had no notable affect in the home. Furthermore, the home could not be categorized as a place of helpful social network formation along a continuum of the other places in her daily activity patterns. The resulting graph of how power hierarchies intersect in Grace's daily activities did not provide a meaningful visual representation. This example illustrates why a different visualization strategy was necessary.

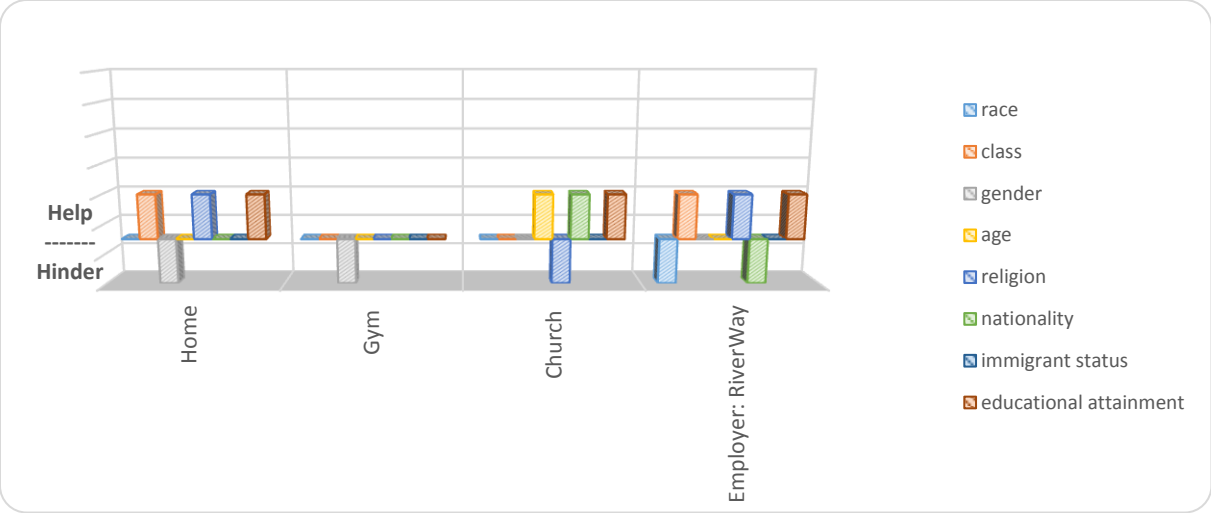


Figure 6. Grace daily activity patterns, Social Relations Chart.

As a solution, I used a bar graph strategy (Figure 6). This type of graph allowed for the interaction of multiple power hierarchies and the impact of their related social relations to be more apparent visually. This approach more clearly focused on the complex intersections and interactions of multiple power hierarchies as reflected in the narrative data. This approach more clearly represented how the complex intersections and interactions occur in particular places. Anthias argued "intersectionality cannot proceed only with the axiom of the mutual constitution of categories par excellence but also has to deal with *the functioning of the categories separately as salient aspects of discourse and practice*" (emphasis in the original, Anthias, 2013, p. 8). As such, in this analytical process, I visually represented each relevant power hierarchy separately so that I could understand how they interact with each other. Such an approach is not intended to suggest that study participants' daily experiences can be singularly attributed to reductive, essentialist, or universal notions of the content of each of these power hierarchies. The identification of each of these hierarchies and their complex intersections must be understood as part of socially, historically, and spatially contingent processes of

boundary and hierarchy making processes.[49] In addition, this approach to intersectionality intentionally situates the individual's experience in broader discourses about the study group that is Haitian immigrants.

Thus, this research makes an advance in geographic research on intersectionality. It moves the examination beyond a single person's experience or psychological perception to examine more fully the ways in which specific places serve as sites of power and oppression for groups of people based on their identity categories. As a result, the name "Relief Map" is inappropriate. Thus, for the remainder of this dissertation I identify my adaptation of the Relief Map tool as the Social Relations Chart. This nomenclature reflects that the focus of the tool is the visual representation of how social relations linked to power hierarchies shape social network formation. In turn, I argue that different social networks have differential effects on labor market activities, specifically navigating occupational hierarchy in the long-term care industry.

The analytic utility offered by the Social Relations Chart is that it provides a readily accessible way to visually represent social relations linked to power hierarchies. In the social relation chart, those hierarchies that have no appreciable impact on social network formation remain at the "0" level on the *y*-axis. Those that are helpful rise above the "0" level. Those that serve as a hindrance fall below the "0" level.

I provide two examples of Social Relations Charts developed after a round of selective coding. For each Social Relations Chart presented, I will describe the study participant, sharing relevant quotes from the transcript to illuminate how the Social Relations Chart reflects the study participant's experiences. In discussing the study

[49]See Anthias (2013) for extended discussion.

participant's particular experience, I link to themes reflected in the broader data set among other study participants, as appropriate. Grace's Social Relations Chart (Figure 6) provides a good overview of the analytical potential offered by this tool.

Grace: Constructing and Interpreting a Complete Social Relations Chart

The Social Relations Chart in Figure 6 provides a visual representation of how the complex intersection of multiple power hierarchies affects the nature and significance of the social networks Grace composes and uses as she progresses through her daily activities in the current moment. An evaluation of the chart should make it clear that multiple power hierarchies intersect in a variety of dynamic combinations to shape her ability to pursue her desired labor market activities. I will address each of the following places: home, gym, church, and workplace.

In the home, the power hierarchies of class, religion, educational attainment, and gender intersect in dynamic and complex ways for Grace. In this place, the greatest challenges revolve around balancing productive and reproductive responsibilities. She has four children ranging in age from 6 to 17 years. Due to their ages, she and her husband have opted to work opposing shifts so that there is always a parent home with the children. She and her husband both work as nurses: she as a RN and he as a LPN. Thus, both educational attainment and class position serve as a help to her economic position within the household. Despite her higher position, she does the bulk of the social reproductive tasks in her home. During the interview, she discussed getting her husband

and children more involved in managing these responsibilities. However, the responsibilities remain predominately hers, due to patriarchal gender norms.[50]

The pattern of gender relations in the home is not unique to Grace. Of the 18 women interviewed for this study, 14 shared similar challenges related to balancing their responsibilities in the home with their labor market activities. This challenge was particularly evident for those women who had minor age children residing in their household. Similar to Grace, these study participants discussed how responsibilities for cooking, cleaning, birthing, and raising children were part of their responsibilities "as a woman" and in turn how those responsibilities shaped their labor market activities. The four women who did not remark about significant challenges related to reproductive responsibilities either did not have any children of their own or their children no longer lived in their households. Their associated Social Relations Charts did not display the power hierarchy of gender as a hindrance within the context of the home. Thus, within the context of the home, the constitutive elements of responsibility for social reproductive tasks shapes the power hierarchy of gender in such a way that limits social relations which might enhance the labor market options available to women.

The power hierarchy of gender also plays a significant role in Grace's ability to form social network connections at the gym. Until recently, she was going to the gym regularly as a way to keep her life more balanced. The gym offered the potential for her to make additional social network connections that may have shaped her labor market experiences. However, she stopped going to the gym because her husband expressed jealousy of potential interactions with other men in the gym. By moving her athletic

[50]This finding is discussed at length in Chapter 5. In that chapter, I discuss how men and women have differently composed social networks to balance their productive and reproductive labor.

activities to the private home and away from the gym, Grace's potential to form new social network connections is limited due to a form of surveillance perpetuated by her husband based on modes of gendered control.

The church is also included in Grace's Social Relations Chart. In the home, as in the workplace Grace asserted that a reliance on religion helps her manage the challenges in these places. Ironically, religion is visualized as serving as a hindrance in relation to the physical site of the church. Grace's actual church attendance has been disrupted due to her work schedule, and she cites this as a major concern for her personal well-being. As a result of her lack of attendance, she has been unable to connect with her fellow church members in a consistent way. Despite her physical absence from church, she does provide support to the younger Haitian members of her multicultural church, such as offering educational advice, encouragement, and motivation around entering and navigating the nursing occupational hierarchy, primarily over the phone. In addition, she has met with church members outside of church and driven them to potential employment sites. She is able to offer this support due to her educational attainment. Further, because she is both old enough to have considerable experience in the field, but not as old as the young people's parents, many of the youth see her more like an older sister than "an old person." Despite her many contributions to the church community, she is unable to access similar social capital for herself, because she has been unable to attend church consistently. This is a matter she finds frustrating—despite all the help she offers to other people, she has not been able to access similar assistance for herself.

The Social Relations Chart suggests that it is in the workplace that she faces the most significant number of intersecting power hierarchies. In the following extended

quote, Grace discusses her current employment situation. She places her employment within the context of the shifting credentialing expectations and the associated implications for various racial groups within the nursing industry in Philadelphia.

> ***Grace, 43, RN-AA, 13 years in industry***
> Grace: I quit ValleyView[51] all the way. Number one, because it was getting bad, the D.O.N.[52] was like horrible. I was often working until 2:00 in the morning, and then I started school. I couldn't keep two jobs. So then I only had one job. Actually, I just got back to RiverWay. I didn't go for RiverWay for a year because of school and then I go to RiverWay and RiverWay turn bad. So I don't know what to do, I just stay with it . . .. Dealing whatever and just leave it on the hands of the Lord. They fired 13 nurses. I'm like one of the two Black nurses still left there, at RiverWay. After that, everybody is White. They don't hire Black nurses . . ..
>
> They kick all of them out. There was a few Haitian, all the ones that were CNA who can go to school. Some of them were smart people in Haiti. They already had graduated from high school and stuff like that. If they went to school and then they could get their LPN. I would say right now, we don't have Haitian at all. I don't know. I'm the only Haitian left but there was about three and now they're all gone.
>
> Sg: So do you think that was done on purpose?
>
> Grace: Yes, definitely. Somebody call the state for them. There was racism going on [inaudible 0:32:29.4] they know it, the state know it. When there are all these Haitian nurses coming [out of school], and everybody else is leaving, but working in there is a White person. So the state cannot tell us that there's only White nurses out there, it is more Black nurses than White nurses out there. So that's what it was, they said number one they were firing the LPNs, they want RNs only. So most RN are going to be a White person because the LPN it's one less because it's hard for the Haitians to get that degree. So that's when this started with the hospitals, they said everybody has to have a BSN degree and then so they ship these nurses [that were] in the hospital out. Since they need to have a BSN, they need to show them that they have a degree in order for them to stay. So that's why they come to the nursing home so they taking all the LPN jobs, so just a few nursing home that have LPNs right now; for

[51]All facility names are pseudonyms chosen by me.

[52]The Director of Nursing (D.O.N.) in a long-term care facility typically has authority, responsibility, and accountability for the delivery of nursing services. Depending on the organizational structure, the D.O.N. is the most senior nursing staff member and typically has direct and indirect supervision of all nursing staff.

> Takony[53] that have over 11 nursing homes, for all their nursing home it is only RNs they're hiring.

In this extended excerpt, Grace highlighted a recent disruption in the labor force at her primary job at a local nursing home, as well as the broader nursing labor market. She recounted that the majority of the Black (including Haitians) nursing staff were recently fired and replaced with White nurses. She indicated that the recent firings are tied to a shift in a preference for bachelor-level credentials in the hospitals, which has in turn led hospital nurses without those credentials to move to nursing homes. She also observed that the people most likely to lack those bachelor-level credentials and working as a CNAs and LPNs are Blacks (including Haitians), thus they were much more likely to be fired. Grace also suggested during her interview that the environment was tense at her job, particularly for Black nurses who are scared that they would be the next to be fired. This excerpt and the accompanying discussion highlight how social relations organized around the power hierarchies of race and nationality represent a hindrance to the formation of economically beneficial social network connections in the workplace for Grace, thus their representation below the "0" level on the Social Relations Chart.

By contrast, power hierarchies related to social identity categories of religion, educational attainment, and class offered help in Grace's workplace. Grace asserted in this excerpt that she relies on her personal faith and religious practice to help her make it through this difficult period, as evidenced by the segment of the excerpt where she indicates that she cannot do anything but will leave the situation in the hands of the Lord (coded to the power hierarchy of religion). In addition, she felt that because she has

[53] Takony is a psedynom for another major long-term care provider. This provider operates several facilities throughout the metropolitan Philadelphia region. Grace identifies this provider as an additional example to support her assertion that all of the nursing facilities are beginning to hire RNs instead of LPNs.

attained a higher educational level, having earned the credentials to work as a RN, and not the lower technical training diploma required to work as a LPN (coded to the power hierarchy of educational attainment) and currently works as a supervisor (coded to the power hierarchy of class), she is better situated to navigate these precarious workplace dynamics and is able to form the types of social network connections that protect her from these types of firings.

The chart visually represents the story of how Grace's daily activities are shaped by a variety of power hierarchies in complex and dynamic intersections at a variety of places. Although the experiences that dictated this representation are unique to Grace, there are some overlaps with other study participants worth noting. The power hierarchy of immigrant status had no discernible impact on Grace's ability to form social relations in any of the locations, likely because Grace (as the majority of the study participants) is a naturalized U.S. citizen. Nationwide, 50% of all Haitian immigrants are naturalized U.S. citizens (Nwosu & Batalova, 2014). This is a higher rate of naturalization than among all immigrants, which is approximately 46%.

Social relations shaped by class and educational attainment were helpful for facilitating her ability to pursue her desired labor market outcomes in all locations. This was consistent for the majority of study participants who worked at the LPN and RN level. Because of their additional training and credentialing process, they were not at the bottom of the nursing occupational hierarchy and thus had access to more prestigious job titles, higher wages, better employment benefits, and more desirable work schedules.

Conversely, social relations organized around gender norms and expectations served as a hindrance to Grace in the home and the gym. This was a consistent finding

among the female participants of this study. For Grace, religion served as a help in the home and the workplace, but ironically as a hindrance in the geographic site of the church. Chapter 5 describes the significance of church attendance among the participants of this study. For the majority of study participants, the church serves as the center of not only religious life but also social life. Age was salient only in the church but not in other locations in Grace's daily activities.

The power hierarchy associated with nationality has conflicting significance, depending on the location. Whereas nationality served as a help in Grace's church, it served as a significant hindrance in her workplace. This finding was a consistent theme for the vast majority of study participants. The majority attended predominately Haitian churches in which they formed co-ethnic social networks. A consistent finding among the study participants revolved around the hindrance of forming economically beneficial social networks around nationality in the workplace. For the majority of study participants, nationality was typically coupled with race. Michael's Social Relations Chart (Figure 7) further illuminates this finding as well as provides another example of the effective utility of this analytical tool.

Michael: Visualizing Race–Nationality

At the time of the interview, Michael worked at two different long-term care facilities in the Philadelphia metropolitan region. Michael spent the rest of his time at home, school, church, and the gym. The Social Relations Chart (Figure 7) displays how social relations reflecting multiple power hierarchies shape his social network formation in these six locations. For the purpose of this discussion, I will focus exclusively on the intersecting social relations in his two workplaces.

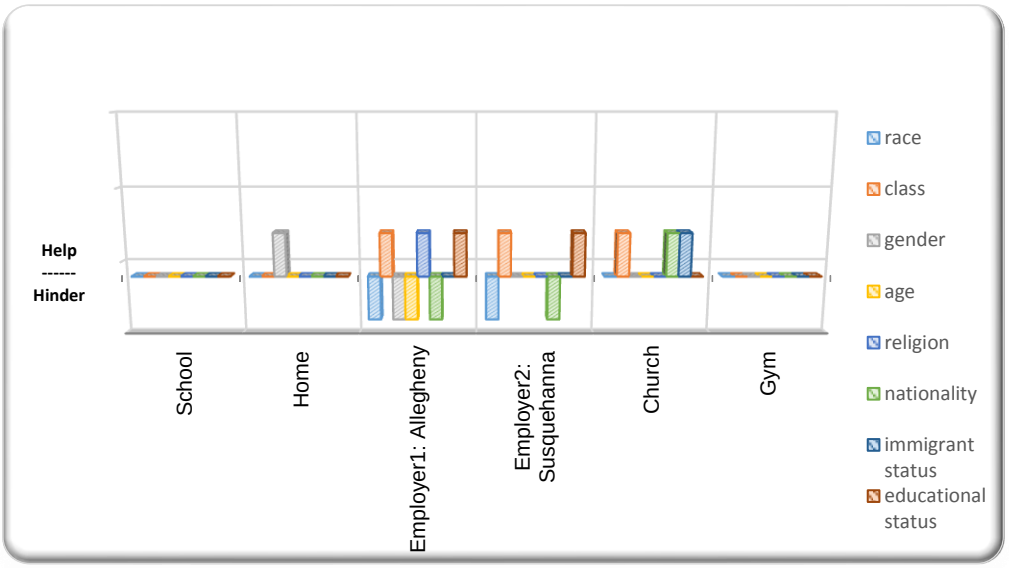


Figure 7. Michael daily activity patterns, Social Relations Chart.

Michael's social relations in his two workplaces are shaped by complex intersections of multiple power hierarchies in ways that are both helpful and problematic for his desired labor market outcomes. Michael's accounts of his workplaces indicate that the power hierarchies of class and educational attainment facilitate social network connections that help his labor market mobility, because he serves in a supervisory role during his shifts. In the following extended excerpt Michael described how a variety of power hierarchies shapes his experiences at his two jobs.

> ***Michael, 26, LPN→RN-AA, 3 years in industry***
> Michael: At Allegheny, they are racists. They are, believe it or not. They may not act like it, they may act like they're not, but they are. And from them being, the way they were, it came to a point where I got written up 20 times in 30 days, because they said—oh I think I'm the golden boy because management brought me in and they said I thought I was all of that. I walked with my head up high. I don't know. Maybe because I'm Black or Haitian I was supposed to walk with my head down, and maybe because I don't smooch on everybody. I don't care. You do your thing. I

do my thing. I guess because I was supposed to be all over them and praise them. I don't do that.

Sg: So you got written up for what?

Michael: Yeah, I got written up. It got to the point where she—it came to the point where I was so frustrated. I hated nursing. I hated it. And then, every time I would go there, I would come home, I was always waiting for a call to say I did something wrong. The supervisors just didn't like me. And this one supervisor said she was trying to make an example out of me because I thought I was all of that. And I thank God because now I'm still at Allegheny. But I was the nurse that everything that goes wrong, they blame it on me. I said okay. It came to a point where she went on vacation for 4 or 5 days. And there was a dressing that wasn't changed. They said that I didn't change it. They left it on the resident for 5 days. Now mind you, me being stupid and naïve not knowing that I could have fought that. So, if a dressing is done on a resident for 5 days, that means everybody else that come after me, didn't change it. But I was the only one that got written up about that, but I didn't challenge that. So, I signed the paper anyways. It got to a point where I was not going to sign—I was going to file a lawsuit, a bereavement lawsuit I believe, no a grievance lawsuit, to give them, stating that you know, that's like she's picking on me and I could've done it. And I would have won because I would—and then it came to a point where I told the administration that even if I have to stay for 2 hours, extra, which is 3:00 in the morning, to make sure my job is done, I will because I don't want nobody calling me. So, you know what? I used to purposely stay until 3 o'clock. I would stay on the clock. And they were like, "Oh you're getting written up." Then, I'm not signing no papers because I'm doing my job. So nobody doesn't say [inaudible][00:59:41]. I didn't do it. So because I guess they know that, then I said it, because I already prewarned them, so they didn't give me no problem for that. And then it came to a point where she didn't have anything to say about me at all. So, she couldn't find anything else. One day she called me in the office and said, "Next time you wear cologne, I'm going to write you up for . . .

Sg: Why do you think she kept coming for you?

Michael: I think it was based on—Yeah, she's racist. I believe she's—because she never really targeted anybody like that. Plus I was young. The only Black young male nurse. Youngest nurse at that time, working at the place.

Sg: There aren't any other Black nurses there?

Michael: There's a lot of like, a lot of Black nurses but they all get fired.

Sg: Oh.

Michael: And I've been there yeah. They've been getting fired left to right. And I've been one of those that's been there. Since I've been there. So I know I will overcome a lot and . . .. I know by the grace of God that it's not by my grace, but by the grace of God. He made, He put me there for a reason. And I'm not going to go without a fight. This is what made me a better nurse for Susquehanna. To be honest, Allegheny prepared me to—for Susquehanna because Allegheny is predominantly White.

Sg: And is Susquehanna not predominantly White?

Michael: Black. I am not going to use Caucasian or African-American. Yeah, because when you say Black—Black means Africans, Haitians, everybody knows. White means Irish, Germans—yes. So Allegheny, mostly all the nurses are White. Yes. And everybody in the nursing—in the office are White. You'll find a couple of Black ones. At Susquehanna, everybody in the office is White. And all the RNs, the LPNs are Black. We just had one White aide that started working there and she looks so out of place between us because I—it's just like when you see her, it was like . . . what are you doing here? [laughter]

And that's a tough place, Susquehanna. They always say if you can work at Susquehanna, you can work . . .

Sg: You can work anywhere?

Michael: Yes.

Michael's extended discussion and the resulting Social Relations Chart pictured in Figure 7 demonstrate how multiple power hierarchies can shape an individual's experience of a place. Michael provided a description of both of his workplaces. Similar to Grace, Michael articulated a reliance on his faith and religious practice to help navigate the challenges presented in this workplace. Furthermore, he asserted the centrality of race as an organizing power hierarchy in both locations. His account of the racial undercurrents is slightly different in each workplace, with differing impact on the nature of the social networks he composes. The Social Relations Chart shows that while

race serves as a hindrance in both locations, it can vary in terms of how it intersects with other power hierarchies.

Michael had significant experiences in both locations but a greater number of power hierarchies were implicated in his explanation for the negative experiences he faced at the Allegheny Long-term Care (LTC) facility. At Allegheny, there were fewer people of color, either foreign-born or U.S.-born, due to a recent wave of layoffs. In addition, Michael has an extended acrimonious relationship with a particular supervisor. When I asked him why the supervisor seemed to be targeting him, he posited that it may be because he's Haitian or Black or young or male (as a result, race, nationality, age, and gender power hierarchies are all visualized as hindrances in the Social Relations Chart). He suggested that he was unfairly targeted and written up when other staff members were not. Although the core conflict was with one supervisor, Michael did not feel supported when he presented concerns to other supervisors and the human resources representatives. This experience frustrated his workplace experience and made him closed off to the other people in the workplace. In this excerpt, he indicated that he considered going as far as to file a lawsuit against his employer. These experiences with this individual supervisor thus hampered his ability to cultivate a range of social network connections at Allegheny. In addition, the perception that the management of Allegheny LTC recently fired a significant number of their Black nursing staff, ostensibly because they wanted more White nurses, also served to undermine his ability to form meaningful social network connections. As a result of these multiple experiences, Michael indicated that he simply goes to work, does his job, and limits his socializing with his co-workers.

In comparison to the racial demographics at Allegheny, Michael indicated that there are a significant number of Black nurses at Susquehanna LTC facility. In fact, he indicated that all of the bedside nurses are Black, while the office (administrative/management) staff is predominately White. Michael described Susquehanna LTC as a particularly competitive and hostile workplace. This workplace lacked resources, and division developed between the employees as they competed for the limited resources to effectively do their jobs. The management engaged in other actions inimical to the interests of their existing workforce. Most recently, a whole cohort of staff was unceremoniously demoted and replaced with supervisors with limited experience. Furthermore, the (White) administrative staff limits their interaction with the (Black) bedside nurses. Michael discussed at length that co-workers were more likely to report each other to management than engage each other or try to help each other. As a result, the organizational culture is best described as structured by highly divided cliques, organized primarily along racial and nationality lines. This separation is manifested by co-workers selectively reporting on each other, gossiping about each other, making fun of immigrants (including Haitians) because of language barriers, and failing to provide help to people outside an established clique. When Michael was asked about his relationship with his Haitian co-workers at Susquehanna LTC, he replied in the following manner:

> ***Michael, 26, LPN→RN-AA, 3 years in industry***
> Michael: My relationship is very open. The reason why . . .
>
> Sg: What does that mean?
>
> Michael: Open, meaning, it's more comfortable as opposed to an American or another foreigner because I feel as though they are like my people. We speak the same language and you can relate to them more than you can relate to somebody else. What can be a joke and we help each other . . . it's better to get help from your fellow Haitian, compared to somebody else, it may not be a joke or it may not be something very

> helpful. So where you can go and help the other person a Haitian, they can say thank you and they don't worry about you using it against them, but if you go help somebody else they can say are you trying to do their job, get offended and they don't like it. They will say you're always trying to be in somebody's business. So things like that, it makes it better just to stick with your people [overlapping conversation]

In this excerpt, Michael indicated that the Haitian employees developed a close relationship as a safeguard against perceived employment related antagonism from outside their nationality group. While having the support of co-ethnic co-workers could be perceived as a positive feature of employment at Susquehanna, to the extent that these co-ethnic connections exist as a result of processes of division, it is in fact a problematic feature of the workplace climate. These divisions, whether intentionally orchestrated or an organic feature of a resource depleted work environment served to keep the individuals within different racial and nationality groups separated from each other and hindered their ability to form meaningful social network connections. The Social Relations Chart provides a means to quickly, visually represent those social relations.

Social Relations Chart: The Benefits of The Methodological Tool

The Social Relations Chart is not an end onto itself. Despite its rudimentary aesthetics by geographic visualization standards, it is an important methodological tool that offers two clear benefits. First, it requires the researcher to make analytical choices related to the meaning and content of the power hierarchies (e.g., race, class, gender) often used in social scientific research in a way that is grounded in the data that is the material reality of study participants' daily lives. Second, this tool provides a means to visually represent how power hierarchies intersect in particular places in people's daily lives, emphasizing the sociospatial production of power.

The Social Relations Chart, like its antecedent Relief Map, provides one means for the intersectional researcher to "tell the story" of intersectionality. It is an extremely helpful tool during the data conceptualization phase, because it allows patterns of oppression and privilege to be visually represented across multiple study participants. However, to the extent that the same patterns of privilege and oppression are represented across multiple participants, added value in presenting and discussing the visualization of multiple Social Relations Charts is limited. Rather, it is much more productive to highlight where the recurring patterns exist and then move to a discussion of the themes behind a particular visualization pattern. A recurring pattern in study participants' experience in the workplace suggests that the intersection of race, class, and nationality is an important point worthy of further explication. I will pick up this theme more fully in Chapter 6.

Concluding Thoughts on Methods and Data

Qualitative researchers are often critiqued for lacking transparency in their methods (Cope, 2003). Cope (2003) suggested that researchers should always provide a detailed account of their procedures for data collection, coding, and interpretation. This chapter provided such an account. The constraints of the written document suggest that this process is linear, step by step, or clear. In truth, it is the exact opposite of all of those adjectives. It was often circular and messy and required a great deal of experimentation. The preceding pages provide the scaffolding on which I built my analyses and the resulting empirical findings, which are the subject of the remainder of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 5

MULTISCALAR SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THE UTILITY OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Introduction

In this chapter, I contribute to the expansive body of literature that examines the nature, significance, and spatial extent of the social networks composed of and used by transnational migrants. I make several arguments related to the social network and social capital resources used by foreign-born Haitian women and men to facilitate geographic mobility transnationally and within the United States, as well as occupational mobility within the long-term care industry in Philadelphia, PA. First, the networks have three defining features: co-ethnic dominated, stretched across space and time, and the centrality of the church). The social networks are overwhelmingly dominated by co-ethnic peers, meaning other people of Haitian ancestry. Unlike previous research, I document the overwhelming significance of co-ethnic social network connections. Co-ethnic social network connections constitute a bonding tie and have not thus far been accorded a significant explanatory role for upward occupational mobility in previous studies.

Previous research on immigrant social networks focused on network composition and use at the time and geographic site of initial migration; it also logically highlighted the significance of co-ethnic social networks (e.g., Aguilera, 2002; Boyd, 1989; Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991; Hagan, 1998; Lin, 1999; Mahler, 1995; Mattingly, 1999; Menjivar, 1994; Mullan, 1989; Ryan et al., 2008). In this study, the immigrant participants had, on average, initially migrated more than 20 years ago and were living in Philadelphia, a secondary or tertiary migration destination. Even after the passage of more than 20 years and in a different migratory destination from the initial gateway

location, social networks composed of co-ethnic peers still provided the primary means of access to and information about jobs, housing, money, emotional support, and a myriad of other types of support. This is a significant finding, particularly in relation to occupational mobility in the long-term care industry.

The second defining feature of the social networks examined in this study is that they stretch across space and time, existing across multiple scales simultaneously. Furthermore, I highlight the key role that churches play in maintaining multiscalar social relations that facilitate migration and labor market activities for immigrant workers. These findings echo the significance of the community, neighborhood, and scale of lived experience in theorizing the key sites and locations for accessing critical social capital (Gilbert, 2010). This is a departure from previous research which has emphasized the place-based nature of social networks and their geographic rootedness (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995).

As a result of the findings of this research and placed within critical debates about social networks and social capital, I propose a re-evaluation of the existing paradigms used in the migration literature and geographic literatures to examine social networks. These paradigms failed to be attentive to the complexity of social network composition and use in the daily lives of immigrant communities. Instead, I propose that social network composition and use be evaluated based on a utilitarian approach to social capital. A utilitarian approach to social capital focuses on the objectives as articulated by the study participants. Such a lens prioritizes an examination of the impact of social network connections and social capital resources on the material circumstances on study participants' daily lives. This focus on material circumstances as the primary means of

evaluating a phenomenon is also well aligned with a Black feminist approach to intersectional analysis.

This chapter consists of six sections. In the first section I discuss the types of social network connections composed and used by study participants. I highlight the nature, temporal and scalar consideration in social networks. In addition I highlight the significance of churches in maintaining multiscalar social networks. In section two, I provide a discussion of the social capital assets accessed by study participants to facilitate geographic and labor market mobility, respectively. In section three, I consider how the relationship between gender and social network use shape navigation within the occupational hierarchy. In the fourth section I offer a critical examination of the terms under which social capital resources are exchanged. In section five I consider the dominant paradigms for examining the relationship between social network connections, social capital assets and occupational mobility, and then provide an alternative model for examining the relationship between social capital and social networks. I conclude this chapter by summarizing the key contributions of this research to the extant academic literature.

The Complexities of Identifying Social Networks: Relationships, Time, and Scale

Defining Social Network Relationships

Social networks[54] are the webs of social relations based on mutual trust and exchange that offer emotional, informational, material, and instrumental support to network

[54]Social network analysis refers to a set of complex methods focused on examining and visually representing patterns in the connections that people form. Migration scholars also discuss social networks extensively but instead are focused on the effect of network relationships on migration and settlement experiences for migrants (Bashi, 2007). This study followed the tradition set forth by migration scholars. Social network analytics is not part of the literature or methodology of this research.

members (Oakley, 1992; Ryan et al., 2008). Social networks are a critical lens used across multiple disciplines to examine the geographic and labor market mobility of immigrant populations. The knowledge gleaned about social network composition and use has provided important insights about economies and cultures operating at multiple scales (Bashi, 2007). Scholars have described migration as a "process of progressive network building" (Portes & Borocz, 1989, p. 614). Similarly, Boyd (1989) suggested that social networks depend on and reinforce relationships between migrants and nonimmigrants across space.

Networks reduce the cost of migration and facilitate the incorporation process. At every stage of migration, networks provide social capital—access to and information about jobs, housing, money, emotional support, and a myriad of other types of support (Boyd, 1989). A vast literature details the role, nature, and significance of social networks and the associated social capital in facilitating transnational patterns of migration, settlement, employment, and maintaining connections with the country of origin (e.g., Castles & Miller, 2003; Grasmuck & Pessar, 1991; Hagan, 1998; Massey et al., 1993; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993).

In this research study, social network connections were identified whenever a study participant asserted the provision or receipt of access to a resource due to a connection with another person or group of people. The goal was to understand the complexity of the social networks and how particular network connections shaped experiences of migration and labor market incorporation, particularly activities that contributed to occupational mobility. Ten types of social network connections were identified in this research. The ten social network connections and their associated definitions are as follows:

1. **Family/kin connection:** used if the study participant identified any type of familial relationship. No distinction was made between nuclear, immediate, or extended family members; this type of connection also included people who may be fictive kin, if the study participant identified them as a member of his or her family and offered no further clarification.
2. **Both-gender connection:** used if the study participant identified network connections composed of both cisgender men and cisgender women. This type of connection was also used if study participant identified a connection with someone of the opposite gender.
3. **Single-gender connection[55]:** used if the study participant identified network connections composed exclusively of cisgender men. This code was used to catalog instances of social network connections between two or more men.
4. **Church-based connection:** used if the study participant identified that he or she met the network connection in a church.[56]
5. **Institutional connection:** used if the study participant identified that he or she met the network connection in an institutional setting other than a church, such as a workplace (excludes co-workers), school, or nonprofit organization. This designation included people such as social service providers, employers, supervisors, classmates, and teachers.

[55]There is no designation for social network connections composed exclusively of cisgender women, because the vast majority of social networks connections were between women. Thus, such a designation of this type of relationship would have obscured all other types of network connections. Unless identified as "both gender", it should be assumed that the other types of network connections are between women.

[56]All study participants who cited this type of network connection self-identified as Christian; thus, no other types of religious institutions are discussed

6. **Haiti connection:** used if the study participant identified that he or she met the network connection in Haiti, but the person was not a family member.
7. **Haitian friend connection:** used if the study participant identified a friend in the United States who was of Haitian ancestry. This designation did not indicate where friendship originated.
8. **Haitian co-worker connection:** used if the study participant identified a co-worker in the United States who was of Haitian ancestry. This designation indicated that the connection was initiated at a shared workplace location.
9. **Friend connection:** used if the study participant identified a friend in the United States but did not specify that friend's ancestry. This designation did not indicate where the friends met.
10. **Co-worker connection:** used if the study participant identified a friend in the United States but did not specify that co-worker's ancestry. This designation does indicate that the connection was initiated at a shared workplace location.

Although different network connections were differently activated for migration and labor market activities, a ranking in terms of frequency of use among all of the study participants emerged from the data. The most frequently used social network connections were those between family relations. Family-based social network connections were the most prevalent for both genders, every occupational level, and throughout the life course for the full range of social capital resources. All of the family-based connections were between people of Haitian ancestry. Church-based social networks were the second most prevalent type of social network connection. The next most prevalent form of social network connections was the Haitian friend connection, a significant share of which was

also from church-based connections. The fourth most used network connection was the single gender connections between men. Haitian co-worker connection was the fifth most used. Study participants rarely accessed social networks of the opposite gender.

The social network connections most likely to include people without Haitian ancestry were the least used among study participants. The categories identified as friend, co-worker, and institutional connections were the least significant.[57] Furthermore, a significant share of the instances identified as "friend connection" or "co-worker connection" early during the interview were later clarified to be a friend or co-worker of Haitian ancestry. Thus, for both the friend connection and the co-worker connection, clarifying nationality was important. Interestingly, if the study participant was not referring to a Haitian friend or co-worker, the person in question tended to be a Black immigrant from a nation in the Caribbean or Africa. This ranking based on frequency of use suggests that co-ethnic linkages are significant for the social networks constructed and are used by Haitian study participants.

Some social network code definitions prioritized shared demographic characteristics such as gender or nationality, whereas other codes emphasized the place where the social network connection was initiated. A third category of codes highlighted both a shared demographic characteristic and the site where the social network relationship was established. This finding highlights the complexity of defining social network composition and use in practice such that, as a guiding rule in the research analysis, each quotation segment was coded with all relevant social network connection

[57]Connections between study participants and people outside the ethnic community were most likely to be accessed by the men or the women employed as LPNs and RNs. However, these groups still relied much more heavily on co-ethnic connections.

types. The following exchange between me and a study participant highlights this practice.

John Doe, male, 43, LPN, 6.5 years in industry
Sg: And how did you find this job?

John Doe: My friend. My friend refer me.

Sg: And that friend who referred you, are they Haitian?

John Doe: Yeah. Haitian.

Sg: And how long have known this friend?

John Doe: I know her from church.

Sg: From church?

John Doe: Uh-hmm. And the job.

Sg: And how long . . . for how much time?

John Doe: About 3 years.

Sg: And does she work there as well or she . . .

John Doe: She work there where I work.

John Doe had been employed in the long-term care industry for more than 6 years at the time of the interview. In this excerpt, he explained to me how he found his current job as an LPN at a long-term care facility located in Philadelphia. As this excerpt demonstrates, he found the job through a connection with a female Haitian friend he met in church, who remains employed at the same job. This connection is an example of the following types of social network connections: both gender, church based, and Haitian friend. Two elements of the complexity of classifying social network relationships are exemplified in this excerpt. First, it was not uncommon to take multiple rounds of follow-up questions and careful review of the resulting transcript to identify the type(s) of social network connections. In the excerpt, I asked if the friend was Haitian. I found in previous

interviews that study participants responded to questions related to the identification of a referral source with "my friend," but later in the interview some element of the conversation indicated that a previously mentioned friend was Haitian. As a result, I began to ask directly during the interviews whether an individual identified as "friend" was of Haitian ancestry. The second element of the complexity revolves around tracing the location where social network connections were formed. This except is not an example of Haitian co-worker social network connection, because although John Doe and his friend both continue to work at the same job, they did not originally meet at the job. In addition to the complexity of clearly identifying the nature of social network relationships, it was equally difficult to clearly define the scale and temporal dynamics of social network formation and use.

Defining Temporal and Scale Dynamics of Social Networks

Defining the temporal and scalar dimensions of social network composition and use in this study was fraught with challenges. The first challenge related to the timeframe under consideration. As part of the data collection strategy, study participants were asked to recall and recount experiences of migration and settlement, including their entire labor market and residential history. The average number of years since initial migration was more than 20 years. As a result, study participants were able to accurately account for some, but not all, of the details related to the geographic locations of previous homes and workplaces. Furthermore, many participants could not recall where they first encountered social network connections. In addition, as is common in narrative data collection, study participants did not always recount their life experiences in chronological order, despite

my efforts to pose questions in a manner that accounted for the chronology of their lives, using migratory transitions as key historical moments. These challenges required creative analysis of the temporal and scalar components of the social networks.

Determining whether the composition of social networks changed over time as study participants pursued occupational mobility within the long-term care industry was critical for this research. Analytically, I outlined the chronology of social network connections through the document summary memos of each study participant. In these memos, I identified the years when post-high school education in Haiti and the United States occurred, a chronology of jobs in Haiti and in the United States with associated dates, a chronology of migratory destinations, and the years that the migratory moves occurred. For each of these data points, I identified the associated social network connections, if applicable. These document summary memos provided a narrative snapshot of study participants' life course focused on migratory and labor market histories. In general, there were no significant changes in the composition of the networks over time or over the life course in terms of the nationality of social network connections. The strategy for analyzing temporal aspect of the social network connections was also complicated by scalar considerations.

In this research, the scale of the social networks was operationalized by an analysis of the spatial extent between two points, which is the distance between the provider and receiver of a social capital resource. Because exact geographic locations were not available for many of these points, I developed and applied a set of spatial extent identifiers that acknowledged the distance between the residential location of the study participant at the time of exchange with the person (identified as the social network

connection) that provided any type of social capital. The development of these identifiers represent significant findings related documenting the spatiality of social networks composed and used by foreign-born Haitian workers through time and space. The following six levels of spatial extent were identified through analysis of the data:

1. **Same household:** This identifier was used to signify when study participant shared a household with a social network connection (e.g., social network connection and study participant both reside in the same house).
2. **Same city:** This identifier was used when the study participant and social network connection were formed within the same city boundaries (e.g., social network connection and study participant are both located in New York, NY).
3. **Same metropolitan region:** This identifier was used when the distance between the residential location of study participant and social network connection stretches outside the urban center, but within the same metropolitan region and within the same state (e.g., study participant lives in Philadelphia, PA, and social network connection is located in Montgomery Country, PA).
4. **Neighboring state:** This identifier was used when the social network connection was located in a state that shared a border with the state in which the study participant resided (e.g., study participant lived in New York, social network connection lived in New Jersey).
5. **Outside neighboring state:** This identifier was used when the social network connection was located in a state that did not share a border with the state in which the study participant resided (e.g., study participant lived in Pennsylvania, social network connection lived in Georgia).

6. **Outside the country:** This identifier was used when the social network connection was located outside the nation-state boundaries of the study participant (e.g., study participant lived in Haiti, social network connection lived in the United States).

These spatial extent identifiers were applied to quotation segments that contained discussion of an exchange of social capital between the study participant and a social network connection. In general, the spatial extent of a study participant's social networks depended on the social capital resource being exchanged. The social networks typically can be characterized as very flexible—stretched and existing across multiple scales simultaneously. All social network connections, however, required that the study participant and social network connection occupied the same geographic location, whether that was the same home, church, school, or job at some point, but not necessarily that they both occupied the same location at the time that the social capital was exchanged.

Study participants relied primarily on co-ethnic peers throughout the life course and for the majority of their migratory and labor market activities. Connections between co-ethnic peers were overwhelmingly formed in churches throughout the life course. For many study participants, one of the first objectives after migrating to a new destination was to find a church. Churches were often selected before finding a job in a new migratory location. Churches as a physical space served as a critical node in the daily lives of the study participants. It is within churches that the immigrant can have a variety of his or her needs met before, during and after migration. Churches ease the upheaval associated with any migratory action. In addition to their importance in the daily activity patterns of study participants throughout the life course, churches offer an explanation for

the multiscalar nature of the social networks composed and used by Haitian immigrants employed in the long-term care industry in Philadelphia, PA.

Churches: An Explanation for the Multiscalar Nature of Haitian Social Networks

Study participants expressed religiosity throughout this study as a normalized and recurring feature of their narrated life experiences. Religiosity, in its broadest sense, refers to the numerous aspects of religious activity, dedication, and belief (religious doctrine) held by an individual. Participants in this study demonstrated their religiosity by using terms such as *faith, prayer, worship, blessings, Jesus,* and *God* as important and fundamental in all aspects of their lives. Study participants explained the development of positive occurrences in their lives or alternatively described their coping strategies during difficult times by referencing these forms of religious practice. This brief excerpt from Ella highlights the matter-of-fact, taken-for-granted manner in which study participants present their religiosity.

> ***Ella, 39, LPN, 11 years in industry***
> School is not—it is not easy, but at first—everything that I do, I always put God first. I know if God is in your business, you invited Him, even though it's not easy but you would get through. You would get through because when you're married, with kids, house, and everything, all those bills, then you're going to school, and nursing school is not easy. It is not easy, but you need to focus and still dreaming that I want to get there and I will get there.

In this except, Ella responded to a question I posed to all study participants as I wrapped up the interview: Did they have any tips or recommendations for Haitian immigrants interested in pursuing a career in the nursing industry. Ella immediately identified the challenges inherent in attempting to manage all of her responsibilities during a rigorous 12-month fulltime LPN training program, while also maintaining employment as a CNA. Ella asserted that it was only through her faith and putting "God

first" that she was able to manage. This type of religious practice represents an individualized form of religiosity in which the speaker described his or her personal faith, belief system, or relationship with God. However, for the majority of study participants, religiousness also included practicing within an organizational structure in concert with other people—meaning regularly attending church gatherings.

When asked to describe their weekly schedule, study participants largely spoke of three locales: home, work, and church. Twenty-eight of the 30 foreign-born Haitian workers interviewed for this study regularly attended church services. The two participants who did not regularly attend a church service did make a point to make it known that they frequently visited churches, but did not claim active membership in any one, thereby reinforcing the importance of representing a semblance of a religious life to other people. For the majority of study participants, regular church attendance entailed going to worship service one to two times a week for more than 2 hours each time. Study participants went to the church building not only for worship services but also for informational and recreational programs hosted by the church. All study participants self-identified as followers of a variety of Christian Protestant denominations, both in the current time and throughout their life course. Of the 28 regular churchgoers, all but 3 currently attend predominately Haitian churches throughout the Philadelphia metropolitan region. For the majority of study participants, churches were the most significant site of nonfamilial co-ethnic social network connections.

The role of religion in the lives of immigrant populations has been documented in the academic literature (Alanezi & Sherkat, 2008; Stepick, Rey and Mahler, 2009; Warner, 1997). Other researchers have sought to understand how immigrant groups

creatively reconstitute religious practice in the destination country (Gossai & Murrell, 2000; Stepick et al., 2009). In addition, churches have long served as redemptive places for urban residents (Spain, 2001). Spain (2001) documented how redemptive places, such as churches, functioned as sites of assimilation that helped meet the material needs of historically marginalized groups, such as immigrants, as they transitioned to the urban environment.

Additional research has shown that among Caribbean Blacks, characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, and nationality significantly affected religious activity (Taylor, et al., 2010). This scholarship reported that older, female, and married immigrants were more likely to attend church regularly. The participants of my study shared these demographic characteristics. Taylor, et al., also found that foreign-born Haitians had the highest level of religious involvement among Caribbean Blacks residing in the United States (Ibid).

The Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture (n.d.) documented religious activity among Haitian immigrants in the United States. On its expansive website the organization cites surveys showing that nearly 75% of Haitian immigrants to South Florida attend church at least once a week. This research also highlights the shift in the denominational make-up of Haitian immigrants in the United States, in comparison to Haiti. In Haiti, more than 80% of Christians identify as Catholic; however, nearly 40% of Haitians in America identify as a member of a Protestant denomination. Baptists and other Protestant denominations tend to participate in church activities more regularly than Catholics, Episcopalians, and other religious identifications (Taylor et al., 2010). All 28 of the study participants who identified as Christian, identified as members of Protestant

denominations. Regardless of denominational affiliation, churches play a significant role in helping Haitian immigrants meet the challenges of incorporating into the United States. The analysis of the data showed that whenever study participants referenced a Haitian friend, they were typically discussing someone they had met in church, as articulated by Alfred. In 2004, Alfred began his career in the long-term care industry through an employment referral made by a Haitian friend from his church. In describing how he found his current job as a CNA at a long-term care facility in suburban Philadelphia in 2014, he pointed to a different Haitian friend. When I asked him to specify where he met the friend, he replied with a big smile, "at church. All of my friends are from church." While Alfred gave this response in a lighthearted manner, the central role played by social network connections formed in churches is an important and serious analytical finding.

Social network connections formed in churches played a key role in facilitating geographic mobility as well as occupational mobility. Church members often provided the advice and material support to make migratory transitions between subnational units after an immigrant has already settled in the United States. Co-ethnic peers from across the occupational hierarchy, including those working as HHAs and CNAs, were well equipped to provide this type of social capital. However, the social capital for occupational mobility was most frequently provided by those who had more education and themselves had made the transition to work as LPNs and RNs. They provided educational advice, emotional support, studying assistance, and educational training accompaniment to other members of the church. Many of those individuals also held leadership positions in the church. This finding suggests that the LPNs and RNs are well

respected among their peers and thus the advice that they offered would be readily accepted. However, anyone working in nursing field at any level of the occupational hierarchy was well regarded. This excerpt from an interview with the pastor of a local church indicated how nurses were viewed within the church community:

> ***Pastor of a Haitian church***
> Pastor: So you ask me, why so many Haitians go into the nursing field? First of all, as Haitians, we settle for the best. When they say settle for the best, best for the money, best in other careers. Many people ask, where is the money? The money is in the nursing field. Up to this point, it remains the primary way to security.
>
> Sg: When you say security, what does that mean?
>
> Pastor: this is the only job, where the person knows they will have the job for some days. Because all of the other jobs, they might lay you off from day to day but for nurses, even if they lay you off today, you will find another job. So, people say, OK, I'm going to learn nursing assistant because it's a field that is big enough. It's not enough of an exaggeration to say that 85% of the ladies are CNAs or nurses. They learn it because they don't want to go learn something else and then they may not get a job in the field, especially in Philadelphia, there are so many nursing homes. So how do people find jobs when they first get here? Most often, churches are like a big family. As a big family, someone may come to the church and say well. . . . because when someone comes to church. . . . especially if they move from New York, or wherever they are from, the first question we ask is, what is your specialty, what did you learn? Most of the time, the person responds that they are in home health aide, that they do CNA.
>
> Sg: You mean the place where they were, they did it already?
>
> Pastor: Yes. A lot of time, I remember when I lived in New York, they give this advertisement on the TV, on the Haitian radios, "If you are going to move to Philadelphia, don't forget to get the CNA"

Within the church communities, working at any level of the nursing occupational hierarchy is considered a premier employment opportunity. In addition, established church members actively help newly arrived church members to enter and navigate to these jobs through the exchange of important social capital. This excerpt also demonstrates how expectations of the labor market exist across a wide spatial extent, as

evidenced by the pastor's recollection of the advertisement on the Haitian radio station in New York advising people to get CNA training before moving to Philadelphia. Immigrant radio stations encouraged further migration and provided important information to listeners on what they could expect in a new migratory destination. This represents one of the ways the connections between multiple migratory destinations are maintained. However, the most common link between multiple migratory destinations are the churches frequented by the immigrants themselves.

Churches populated by immigrant communities are, by necessity, institutions shaped by multiscalar social relations. New social relations are continuously being formed in these spaces. In this study, the members of the churches in Philadelphia arrived from another locale—typically one of the five boroughs of New York City—and formed relationships with other people who may have come from other locations in the United States or directly from Haiti. Each new member joined the church and created links between Philadelphia and all previous and subsequent migratory destinations. Once church members migrate to another location, such as a city in Georgia, they typically continue to maintain links with their church in Philadelphia. Thus, churches represent important sociospatial spaces for immigrant communities. The exact geographic location of the church is less important.

In reality, geographic location of the churches in Philadelphia changed rather frequently, because many of the churches were small groupings. A *Philadelphia Inquirer* article published more than 20 years ago reported that there were more than a dozen Haitian protestant churches in the Philadelphia metropolitan region in response to the burgeoning Haitian population (Holmes, 1992). A more recently compiled list of

churches identified the name and location of 50 Haitian churches within the boundaries of the city of Philadelphia (see Appendix I). That list demonstrates the fractured and geographically dispersed nature of the Haitian churches in Philadelphia. Several large churches with more than 100 members exist in Philadelphia: two Seventh - day Adventist churches in the Olney/Near Northeast neighborhoods and a large Baptist church in West Philadelphia. They each have a constant number of active congregants and meet in long-established and well-known church buildings. However, this stability in terms of church members and geographic location is not the same for other church groupings. The exact configuration of the church membership is consistently changing as church members join, leave, or change affiliations within the existing churches or create new church groupings. As these membership shifts occur, the geographic location of the churches shift as well. However the social relations formed within the churches are still very important for facilitating migration and labor market activities. The church serves as the one place in a new destination where foreign-born Haitians can congregate with other Haitians and access a host of important social capital resources. Mario suggested the following

> ***Mario, 45, LPN, 6 years in industry***
> The best help somebody can have in America when you get here is the church, the church community. Everybody wants to help. They give you food, they look for job, and they look for job for you. The best help any Haitian can here in America is the church.

Mario highlighted that the connections formed in the church are critical to providing Haitians the help they need in their new migratory destination. Unfortunately, for many study participants, the church is one of a limited set of places where they can connect with people who can help them access this critical assistance. As a result, study participants displayed a recurring reliance on assistance from the social relations they formed in the church. The reliance on these social network connections persisted even

after study participants had migrated to a new city or state within the United States. In the new location, the study participants formed new relations within a new church community but still relied on the previous church relations, depending on the evolution of their needs and objectives. Thus, they were able to access social network connections across multiple scales simultaneously, not limited by geographic propinquity to those connections in their current location alone. Churches are the critical sociospatial unit responsible for the creation and maintenance of multiscalar social relations that shape study participant's experience of migration and labor market activities. Regardless of the complexity associated with social networks, these connections have little meaning without a discussion of the resources they provide to members.

The Utility of Social Capital

Social networks are valuable because of social capital. *Social capital* is typically defined across a range of disciplines as the resources and information that network membership brings to members (e.g., Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Gilbert, 2010; Goode & O'Brien, 2006; Portes & Sesenbrenner, 1993). In this research study, social capital was conceptualized through data analysis along two complementary and critical trajectories that highlighted their significance in study participants' lives: social capital to facilitate geographic mobility (or migration) and social capital that facilitates labor market mobility.

Social Capital for Geographic Mobility

The first set of social capital resources facilitated geographic mobility. Geographic mobility or migration refers both to transnational moves between Haiti and the United States and domestic migrations within the United States across a variety of

subnational units. The duration of the migration was sometimes temporary, as in a few months or several years. However, as more commonly discussed in the migration literature, migration often occurred for the purpose of long-term or permanent resettlement. The findings of this research included two types of social capital resources that facilitated geographic mobility were as follows:

1. **Settlement information/assistance:** used if the study participant identified the exchange of information or material assistance before or after a migratory transition. These type of social capital resources helped participants get settled in a new geographic location, for example, finding the key resources necessary for daily live (e.g., grocery stores, childcare, churches).Filing or sponsorship of an immigration application/petition was also included in this type of social capital resources.
2. **Housing information/assistance:** used if the study participant identified the exchange of information or material assistance related to housing and shelter. This included providing introductions to realtors, attending home showings, suggesting neighborhoods to live in, or providing money or credentials (e.g., co-signing a loan or lease agreement) to access housing. The provision of housing in one's home for some period was also included in this type of social capital resources. This shelter was offered to lone individuals as well as entire familial units.

These types of social capital resources were almost exclusively provided by family-based social networks, especially as participants transitioned between Haiti and the United States. The spatial extent of this type of social capital transfer required a connection between a person living in Haiti and a social network connection located outside of Haiti. This reflects the structure of the U.S. immigration system in which the

majority of the migration stream, particularly from the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean, is driven by the family reunification provisions of immigration policy (Redstone Akresh, 2006).

In this study, the same person or group of people who filed the immigration petition also provided the housing and settlement assistance to help settle the newly arrived migrant. Previous research found that Haitian migrants, like many other groups, follow patterns of chain migration in which family members assist other family members to enter and settle successfully (Chierici, 1991; Stepick, 1998, 1991). A 2007 report indicated that more than 80% of Haitian migrants entered the United States to reunite with family (Kent, 2007). Previous analysis suggested that, as a group, Haitians have had limited access to material resources, because they occupied marginal positions in the labor market. However, norms of community reciprocity and U.S. immigration policy require more established immigrants to assist the "just-comes" to get established with social, emotional, informational, and material support (Chierici, 1991; Stepick, 1991, 1998).

Philadelphia is a secondary or tertiary migratory destination for Haitian immigrants (Lundy, 2010). Twenty of the study participants in this research followed that migratory pattern. Fifteen lived for at least 6 months in one other U.S. migratory destination before moving to Philadelphia. The most common first destination was one of the five boroughs of New York, NY. Four study participants had two migratory moves within the United States before moving to Philadelphia. One study participant had three migratory moves before settling in Philadelphia, including 1 year in which he lived in Canada. Ten of the study participants migrated to Philadelphia directly from Haiti.

For the 20 immigrants who completed multiple domestic migrations within the United States, geographic mobility assistance beyond the initial migratory destination was still dominated by co-ethnic social network connections but also included people without a familial tie. After arriving to the United States, study participants expanded their social networks beyond their family members, primarily through connections they made in churches. The majority of study participants have attended Haitian churches since migrating to the United States. Co-ethnic network connections formed in churches played a key role in facilitating people's migration from the initial migratory destination to new migratory destinations within the United States, including the move to Philadelphia. The spatial extent of these types of social capital exchanges was typically that of a neighboring state.

Addison's experience reflects this pattern. Addison is 54 years old and currently works as a CNA for a home healthcare employment placement agency in Philadelphia. She entered the United States in the early 1980s on a tourist visa. She was able to access documents to enter the U.S. without family sponsorship,[58] because she was employed in Haiti as a teacher at the time of her migration and she could document that she did not intend to remain in the United States. Although Addison did not enter the United States on a family reunification visa, she still relied heavily on family members to facilitate her settlement process. Addison was married and her husband, also a Haitian immigrant, was already residing in the United States. Upon entry into the U.S., she joined her husband in a home owned by his family in Brooklyn, NY. She quickly began getting settled in the United States. She started work in a factory manufacturing belts and started attending a

[58]Addison's husband was not eligible to petition for her immigration documents, because his immigration status did not confer those privileges.

Haitian Seventh Day Adventist church in Brooklyn. Over the next few years, she left manufacturing and began providing domestic services in homes in the area. During that time, she also formed relationships with members of her church.

One of those church friends later purchased a home and moved to Philadelphia. This friend told Addison and her husband of the job, housing, and educational opportunities available in Philadelphia. She offered them a place to stay if they wanted to explore these new opportunities. Addison and her husband decided that she would be the one to take her friend up on the offer. She used her friend's home as a base while she looked for and ultimately secured a live-in baby-sitting position in the Philadelphia suburbs. Addison worked that job for a full year, spending the week at her live-in position, and returning to New York on the weekends to be with her family, which now included her husband and two young children.[59] In 1986, Addison and her husband purchased a home and moved to Philadelphia.

Abigail, Majopie, John Doe, and Necole also relied on church-based connections to help them move from the initial migratory destination to other places in the United States, including Philadelphia. Alfred moved to Philadelphia in 2003 because a pastor affiliated with his church in New York knew someone who was selling an affordable house in Philadelphia. Alfred did not drive at the time, so the pastor picked Alfred and his wife up in New York City, drove them to view the house in Philadelphia, then drove them back to New York City.

These types of social network connections also facilitated short-term migration. In 2006, Choute relocated to Georgia temporarily to complete a CNA training program,

[59]Addison's children were taken care of by her husband and members his family while she was working in Philadelphia.

while the remaining four members of his family remained in Philadelphia. Choute was laid off from a job at a General Motor's plant. On the advice of a friend, he decided to pursue a new career in the nursing industry. The friend now lived in Georgia, but had previously attended the same church as Choute in Philadelphia. The friend suggested to Choute that the CNA programs were easier in Georgia than they were in Pennsylvania and was willing to house him while he completed the program. Choute relocated to Georgia, lived in his friend's home, successfully completed the 3-month training program, and then returned to Philadelphia.[60] Choute's experience shows that although church-based social network connections provide assistance that facilitate geographic mobility, they also provide social capital resources that facilitate labor market activities.

Social Capital for Labor Market Mobility

In the previous section I highlighted social capital that facilitated geographic mobility but study participants also accessed a second category of social capital resources. These social capital resources facilitated labor market mobility. This list of resources was longer than the geographic mobility list, because although migration is a significant experience, it occurs only a few times during the life course, whereas people engage in labor market activities continually. Resources in this social capital category ranged in duration. The social capital exchanged included a one-time distinct act, such as handing someone an employment application or providing someone's name to a supervisor. Alternatively, this type of social capital resource was exchanged over a longer duration such as attending a training program with someone or providing encouragement

[60]This was not an uncommon occurrence. Eleven of the study participants completed training programs in another state but then through reciprocity agreements between that state and Pennsylvania had their credentials recognized in Pennsylvania so that they could work in the Commonwealth.

to someone to pursue a new educational opportunity over the course of many months or years. These social capital resources were useful as people entered and navigated the nursing occupational hierarchy, as well as for other jobs they held during the life course, including jobs outside of nursing. These social capital resources were as follows:

1. **Job information/access:** This code was used when providing information about possible job openings, providing introductions to hiring managers, serving as a reference, and physically retrieving or turning in an actual employment application. This code was the most common form of labor market activity assistance.
2. **Transportation assistance:** This code was used to indicate the exchange of rides between individuals, carpooling arrangements, and money to take mass transit.
3. **Household responsibilities assistance:** This code was used to indicate the provision or exchange of childcare, meal preparation, cleaning, and other responsibilities of social reproduction.
4. **Educational advice:** This code was used to indicate the transfer of information about education training programs, such as the "best" (often defined as easiest), HHA, CNA, LPN and RN training programs, and advice about appropriate training requirements.
5. **Emotional support:** This code was used to indicate any type of motivation or encouragement. It was more psychological than material; however, it was the type of social capital resource most often cited when describing the transition from previous employment to pursuing employment in the nursing occupational hierarchy.

6. **Educational accompaniment:** This code was used to indicate a situation in which two (or more) people with a pre-existing relationship began and completed HHA, CNA, LPN, or RN training programs together.
7. **Studying assistance:** This code was used to indicate providing prior tests, notes, or books for a training program, even if the person providing the assistance had already completed the program. This code also included the formation of study groups of two (or more) people who were attending a HHA, CNA, LPN, or RN training at the same time.

To varying degrees, all seven of these social capital resources contributed to a range of labor market activities. The exchange of information or access to a particular job was the most common way that social network connections facilitated a study participant's ability to find a new job across the life course, regardless of industry. Conversely, the exchange of transportation assistance occurred most frequently after someone was already in a job. This type of social capital resource primarily served as a means to manage the logistics of maintaining existing employment. These two types of social capital resources were typically exchanged at limited spatial extent of the same household, same city, or same metropolitan region. In terms of current employment, the overwhelming majority of study participants worked in jobs located in the same metropolitan region of their residence, because of responsibilities to their nuclear families. While extremely important for labor market mobility in general, the exchange of these two forms of social capital were not directly tied to upward occupational mobility within the nursing industry.

The exchange of the following social capital resources was the most helpful in facilitating occupational mobility within the nursing industry: household responsibility assistance, educational advice, emotional support, studying assistance, and educational training accompaniment. Social networks dominated by family and co-ethnic peers were the most significant for the exchange of these types of resources. These social capital resources were exchanged over a much broader spatial extent, stretching to the far reaches of the metropolitan region, neighboring states, and beyond in pursuit of opportunities that facilitate upward occupational mobility within the nursing industry.

Choute's move to Georgia is only one of many examples. The following are additional examples of the spatial extent over which people exchanged these types of social capital:

- Chloe and Ella, both residents of Philadelphia, completed their LPN program together in West Chester, PA. They chose that particular training program, because a female friend from their church had recently graduated from that program and was able to walk them through the admission process and provide critical studying assistance.
- Eva was living in Philadelphia with her family, but she moved temporarily to New York to complete a 3-month CNA training program. She completed this program with a group of other Haitians from her church in Philadelphia. Eva is married to Choute. Eva completed her program in 2001, whereas Choute did not transition to the nursing field until 2007.

- Mario completed his LPN training in Delaware. A church friend indicated that the particular school was “easier” for immigrants, because it was owned by an African man.
- Solange resided in Philadelphia but completed her LPN training in New Jersey, because a friend recommended it to her. She also completed the program with a group of friends and co-workers from her church and her employer at that time.
- John Doe and Joe both completed their LPN training in New Jersey. This was actually the second attempt at the training program for Joe, after he failed out of a program in Willow Grove, PA. Although they attended the same program, they did not attend at the same time, nor were they referred by the same person. They were both referred to that particular program by women. Based on my interviews, I have no evidence that the two men knew each other.

These examples demonstrate that the knowledge provided by the social network connection is more important than geographic proximity. For these and many of the other study participants, the ability of the social capital resource to help them meet their long-term economic goals outweighed concerns about geographic distance. In addition, the provider of the social capital resource was a trusted member of their social network. These study participants took advice, encouragement, and educational accompaniment from social network connections that took them away from the geographic rootedness of their residential location to pursue opportunities that contributed to their occupational mobility. They trusted the experiences and knowledge that their network connections provided about educational routes that “worked” regardless of whether a particular social network connection or social capital resources was in close proximity to them.

Critical Examinations of the Complexities of Social Capital Exchanges

Social capital is not inherently positive and does not always result in positive outcomes. In this research I also documented the bad or incorrect information that was exchanged within study participants' social network connections. This finding reflects a negative aspect or the deleterious impact of a social capital resource provided to a study participant. For example, six study participants shared experiences during which the generosity of an offer of housing assistance did not match the reality once they accepted. In short, their hosts were not very hospitable. Arnold's accounts of the economics of living with his aunt when he first arrived in the United States reflect this situation.

Arnold worked as a HHA/CNA in a group home for individuals with developmental disabilities located in suburban Philadelphia. In the late 1990s, Arnold moved directly to Philadelphia from Haiti at the age of 18. His aunt played a key role in filing and sponsoring visa applications for Arnold and his sister. The same aunt also provided an initial home for them. Arnold described living at his aunt's home:

> ***Arnold, 33, HHA/CAN, 10 years in industry***
> Wherever I used to live with . . . like they used to charge me 40% of my paycheck every week. That mean like . . . I was making $250 a week and . . . I knew he was taking $100 out every week and I was sleeping on the . . . I was sleeping on the floor, on the couch. I didn't even have a room. [At] seven o'clock, it was lights out. They require the TV to be off and then we will—me and my sister—me and my sisters . . . we are sleeping in the middle of the living room. So, that mean [if] people was getting up by six o'clock to go to work, that mean you got to be up too by that time. So, and there was nowhere else. It was two rooms in the house. It was my aunt room and like . . . there was like two other people . . . like two other like [inaudible] [00:59:29] like niece and nephew. That was in the house. They we're sharing the other room upstairs. So, therefore, like there was a futon downstairs. The room next to the living room so that's where I lay. So, it was a little rough every night crying myself to sleep.

Throughout the interview, Arnold expressed appreciation for his aunt's efforts to ensure his entry and settlement in the United States, but he made sure to highlight that

there were aspects of the reception that he did not appreciate. He problematized the high share of his income that he was required to contribute to the household. He believed this to be an exploitative exchange because he paid 40% of his paycheck but slept on the floor and had no privacy in a two-bedroom house occupied by 8 people.

Similarly, Grace noted that the housing provided to her family was less than hospitable. In 2003, when she and her husband decided to move their family to Philadelphia, they moved in temporarily with a friend. Within days of moving in, the friend turned off the water supply to the bathroom. The friend was concerned that Grace, her husband, and her two young daughters were going to raise her water bill. Grace immediately moved her family to a motel while they looked for a new home in Philadelphia.

These two examples point to the conditions under which social capital resources are offered, provided, and accepted. Arnold and Grace's experiences show how those conditions may not be amenable to the recipient and thus may be labeled a "bad" social capital resource. Other participants shared experiences of the heat being turned down or off in the house or being offered food they did not find palatable. Although an offer of housing is an important social capital asset, the recipient of the social capital may take issue with the terms of the accommodations. A final recurring theme related to the terms and conditions associated with the exchange of the social capital revolve around "time limits."

A majority of study participants expressed that there is "time limit" for taking advantage of offers of assistance. Whether it was alluded to in terms of working to quickly "get on one's feet" or "not wanting to be a burden," the notion that offers of

assistance had an expiration date was commonly expressed by study participants. Arnold identified a period of 3 months; other study participants identified the existence of the time limit but could not precisely quantify it. Regardless, they knew it existed, and it came from the knowledge that the providers of social capital, particularly assistance that strained people's material resources (primarily housing, food and money), could not be offered and afforded indefinitely. Arnold and Grace's examples relate to the social capital resources necessary for migration, but there were also examples in the data of study participant's receiving bad or incorrect social capital for their labor market activities.

The provision of this social capital has the potential to be constraining in the nature and type of options offered to people. In 2001, Sage, her mother, and her brother moved to Elizabeth, NJ, from Haiti. They moved in with her mom's friend. At the time of migration, Sage was 18 years old. Sage expected that when she arrived in the United States, she would continue her education and go to college. After getting settled, she began to ask the people around her, including her mother's friend, for advice and information about local colleges. Her mom's friend, who had been in the United States for many years, was an established immigrant who worked in the healthcare field as a CNA. In the following excerpt, Sage recounted the type of response she got from her mother's friend and other established immigrants regarding her desire to pursue a nursing degree:

> ***Sage, 31, RN-AA, 11 years in industry***
> And just because if you look at . . . I've been in healthcare industry for 10 years, and I feel like most Haitians are at the bottom, meaning, that they will be in the home health aide or CNA. Not a lot of them are nurses or doctors. We do have a few, but the big majority of them are at the lowest level. So I feel like that's why the misinformation its keeps continuing generation to generation. Just because coming to this country is the same thing always happens. I was looking up to the one that have been here

> before to lead the way. But while they were limiting themselves telling me things, I had to think outside the box and say, "Uh-uh, that can't be true. There must be a way out." So, you know, I stepped out of the box. I was thinking and went to the source of the information. Not many people do it, but up to my perception, I think that's what it is. And many times I was discouraged too, even by my own family members, people around me. They're telling me, "Okay, why do you bother too much? This nursing thing is too hard." [or] "It's taking too long. Eventually you would want to get married. Things like that. You have people back home. If you [were] a CNA, you can work two overtimes and your check would be such and such. Why do you have to waste your time doing that?" I reflected though that, 3 years from now I could work 3 days making what they are making in 20 days [as a CNA].

Sage's account highlighted that discouragement from pursuing a desired career path was often a measure study participants used to describe bad social capital related to labor market activities. In this exchange, Sage's social network connections suggested that she forgo pursuing a college degree, because it takes too long, is too hard, and may inhibit her ability to get married or make money to take care of family members still in Haiti. Study participants interpreted this type of social capital as constraining and being more of a hindrance than helpful. Sage indicated that more established migrants suggest to newly arrived migrants that certain career paths are not possible; as a result, many people remain at the bottom of the healthcare industry. Sage was able to bypass this limiting information by going directly to the local community colleges to seek out information. Unfortunately, many newly arrived immigrants face considerable challenges that make this route difficult or impossible. Other participants shared accounts of social network connections refusing to share whether or not their jobs were hiring, people who refused to serve as an employment reference for new applicants or people who provided the wrong information about the location or requirements of a particular training program.

The transfer of bad, incomplete, limiting, or incorrect labor market information was a common theme among the study participants. One of the key informants, Executive Director of the African Family Health Organization (AFAHO) indicated the transfer of bad information is sadly common among the immigrants she works with, and she offered the following explanation:

> ***Executive Director, AFAHO***
> Executive Director AFAHO: When you come to this country, you're so naïve, and you trust people who've been here, because you trust that they know better, they've been through the system, they understand the system, and you just try to grab on to everything and so whatever people tell you, especially people who've been here you sort of go along with that, because you feel like they know better, they've been here, and you don't really have anywhere else to go.
>
> Sg: And so most of this bad information coming to, sort of people close to you? So it's your family members, your friends, community members. My interest is around social networks and how people help each other.
>
> Executive Director AFAHO: Or not help each other. And I'll tell you some people intentionally do that, because I don't know what it is sometimes that you know something didn't work for you, you sort of tell somebody else to do that, and you see it's not going to work for them, and I don't know what that psyche is, that thinking is. . .crabs in the barrel mentality just pull each other down . . . 'cause if I came in and it didn't work for me I'm not gonna help you. . . make you be better off than me. No you [have] go through what I've went through. You have to learn the hard way. It's unfortunate, but it's the fact.

This explanation demonstrates how newly arrived immigrants are highly dependent on the social capital resources provided by more established immigrants. However, the established immigrants may intentionally provide social capital that slows the new immigrant's economic or social progress. The intentional provision of bad information, the unfavorable terms and conditions under which social capital is provided, and the time limits imposed on the recipients of social capital resources show how social capital is not inherently positive or negative but instead should be examined through a

critical lens that is attentive to the material consequences of its provision and receipt.[61] In the following section I maintain this critical lens and propose a new way to examine the relationship between social network connections, social capital, and occupational mobility that has not previously been identified in the academic literature.

A Framework for Examining Social Networks, Social Capital, and Occupational Mobility

There are currently two frameworks used by feminist geographers and migration scholars to examine the relationship between social network connections, social capital and occupational mobility for immigrant groups. One framework focuses on the nature and type of social network connections, while the other examines geographic propinquity in social network composition and use. In this section I present both frameworks, highlighting their key components. I assert their relevance to the empirical findings of this study. I then consider critical approaches to social capital. Finally I propose an additional framework to examine the utility of social capital as defined by immigrant groups.

A significant body of scholarship has examined how immigrant workers access different types of social network connections and associated social capital resources shape their labor marker activities (Aguilera, 2002; Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Hardwick, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Lin, 1999; Mullan, 1989; Pohjola, 1989). Portes and Sesenbrenner (1993) defined social capital as the collective expectations that affect individual economic behavior. These understandings of social capital assume that reciprocal relationships of trust are an important component of how information,

[61]For a similar argument, see Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) and Mahler (1995).

resources, and support are shared. Equally important is distinguishing between different types of social network connections.

In his seminal texts, Granovetter (1973; 1974) focused on the strength of weak ties as providing the link to understanding how relations between groups function and help shape diffusion of influence and information, mobility, and community organization. Social capital can be based on bonding or bridging ties (Putnam, 2007). Bonding ties refer to the links between "people who are like me in some important way" and bridging ties between "people who are unlike me in some important way" (Putnam, 2007, p. 147). Prior research with immigrant workers has indicated that the social capital found in the bonding ties between family and co-ethnic peers were helpful for finding initial employment or making lateral movement within a particular segment of the labor market. For example, Mattingly analyzed the social network connections of domestic workers in San Diego and found that the strong bonding ties between family members and co-ethnic friends were the primary means through which migrants found their first job and how they found subsequent jobs at comparable levels (1999). However, to access more profitable employment, it was the weak, bridging ties they shared with employers that provided access to better opportunities. This is because similarly positioned migrants will have limited access to new information that can facilitate economic mobility.[62] Putnam succinctly argued, "bonding is good for 'getting by,' but bridging is crucial for 'getting ahead.'" (2000, p. 23).

Participants in this study challenge this existing literature. Thus far in this chapter I have documented study participants' reliance on social network connections with co-

[62]For similar arguments, see Aguilera (2002), Lin (1999), Menjivar (1994), and Mullan (1989).

ethnic peers. The connections between co-ethnic peers are critical for study participants' entry and upward occupational mobility within the long-term care industry. It is the bonding ties, rather than the bridging ties, which have facilitated navigation up the occupational hierarchy.

In addition to the bonding versus bridging framework for examining social networks, geographers and migration scholars alike have examined the role of geographic propinquity and spatial extent in shaping labor market activities. Feminist geographers have examined the impact of local context on spatially grounded social networks and the role of place and space in decision making. Studies show how the place-based nature of the social networks women use shape decisions made about jobs, child care, and housing (Gilbert, 1998; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Parks, 2005; Peake, 1995, 1997). The transnational migration literature complicates our understanding of place-based social networks for immigrant workers. That scholarship suggested that immigrants inhabit transnational social fields that are multiscalar and contribute to processes of rescaling both in place and across space (Basch et al., 1994; Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2011). Local networks may be distinct or linked to transnational networks in complex ways. Social networks may be dispersed transnationally or may be rooted near the migrant (Oakley, 1992; Portes, 1997).

In this study I found that Haitian immigrants in the United States compose and use multiscalar social networks that operate transnationally, as well as within the borders of the nation-state and across multiple subnational units. The findings of this research align with previous feminist geographic scholarship that the specific geography of workers' social networks is important. However this finding also disrupts previous feminist geographic research that focused exclusively on place-based social networks

connected to one local community. The geography of social networks across time and space for Haitian immigrants had not been previously documented. In contrast to feminist geographers' examination of place-based social networks, migration scholars outside of geography have not explored the geography of social networks but have instead focused on identifying the existence and use of social networks in the initial stages of the migration and settlement process.[63] This research project thus makes an important contribution to both bodies of literature by demonstrating how social networks may be constructed in place initially but may then be creatively re-constituted across multiple scales simultaneously so that study participants can access necessary social capital.

The findings of this research suggest the importance of critically examining social capital. An important body of scholarship cautioned against the uncritical insertion of social capital into social theory (Schuller, Baron, & Field, 2000; Fine, 2001; Molyneux, 2002). *Bowling Alone,* Putnam's seminal text, has been attributed with reigniting debates about social capital across a number of social science disciplines (Adkins, 2005; Navarro, 2002). Putnam defined[64] social capital as the norms of reciprocity, trust, and cooperation that facilitate access to collective goods, such as good schooling, health, and other dimensions of what he called "quality of life." He argued that that there has been erosion in social capital that has resulted in deterioration in our quality of life in its many different dimensions. Feminist scholars have analyzed the features of Putnam's work (Adkins, 2005; Edwards, 2004). Opponents assert that it fails to account for uneven

[63]In geography, see Ellis et al. (2004, 2007) and Parks (2005).

[64]Adkins (2005) argued that Putnam (2000), Coleman (1990), and Fukuyama (1999) represent the collective-action integration side of the social capital debates. These scholars asserted that social capital arises from and is realized within social networks. Social capital is the benefit of social network membership.

power relations between people and concerns about political struggle at multiple scales. Opponents also contend that the term *social capital* represents problematic concepts such as rational action, rational choice theory, and community. Furthermore, critics argue that Putnam inserted implicit value judgments about the "collective goods," which reflect normalized, taken-for-granted visions of middle-class Bourgeois ideals that are laden with unexamined biases. Finally, social capital as presented by Putnam is inattentive to the complex intersections of social identity categories such as race, class, and gender.

Critical scholars, including feminists, have been more likely to gravitate toward Bourdieu's conception of social capital, because it is attentive to the ways in which social capital is "hardwired" into the process of creating and re-inscribing social inequality (Gilbert, 2010; Adkins, 2005). Bourdieu argued that social capital is accumulated human labor, which facilitated the accrual of other forms of capital (particularly economic and cultural) but emphasized that social capital cannot be reduced to these other forms of capital. In Bourdieu's formulation, social capital is understood to be a resource. Thus, Bourdieu allowed for an examination of the linkages between social capital, forms of social struggle, and social hierarchy.

As a result of the findings of this research and placed within the debates about social capital, I propose a re-evaluation of the bonding-versus-bridging paradigm used in the migration literature or the proximity-based definitions of social networks used in the geographic literature. The bonding-versus-bridging paradigm emphasizes the nature of the pre-existing relationship between the provider and receiver of a social capital resource. The proximity-based definitions emphasized the scale and relative distance at which study participants access social capital (e.g., local vs. transnational). Both of these

paradigms failed to be attentive to the complexity of social network composition and use in the daily lives of immigrant communities.

By contrast, I propose that social network composition and use be evaluated based on their utility to study participants. Utility refers to the specific and particular goals that the social networks and associated social capital help study participants accomplish. Bourdieu (1986) conceptualized social capital as the actual or potential resources that individuals can access as a result of being part of a social network. A Bourdieuan understanding of social capital privileges the manner in which individuals use the social capital found in the network for a particular purpose (e.g., improving their labor market opportunities).[65]

A utilitarian approach to social capital focuses on the objectives as articulated by the study participants. Such a lens prioritizes an examination of the impact of social network connections and social capital resources on the material circumstances on study participants' daily lives. This focus on material circumstances as the primary means of evaluating a phenomenon is also well aligned with a Black feminist approach to intersectional analysis. A Black feminist approach to intersectionality has long focused on how entrenched power hierarchies shape one's lived experience. Centering the material circumstances of an individuals' lived reality forces a critical examination of the abstract and ill-defined concept of social capital to be linked with specific time, place and spatial context. In so doing, analysis of social capital is less likely to be linked with arbitrarily designated goals, but instead focuses on goals that are relevant to the daily

[65]Gilbert (2010) made a similar argument regarding social capital concerned with the digital divide. Here her Bordieuan-inspired conceptualization of social networks and social capital provide a means to link analysis of place (through daily activity patterns), scale, social capital, social networks, and particular outcomes.

struggles experienced by community under investigation. This proposed approach directly addresses many of the challenges and critiques of Putnam's (2000) articulation of social capital.

In this chapter, I examined social capital resources along two complementary categories: social capital that facilitates geographic mobility and social capital that facilitates labor market mobility. Both categories of social capital resources were important for the successful migration and settlement of study participants. Although I have discussed them as two distinct categories, they were often accessed simultaneously by study participants. The extended examples I provided of Addison's permanent resettlement to Philadelphia and Choute's temporary migration to Georgia exemplify that although their social network connections initially offered social capital that facilitated a geographic move, such as housing and settlement information, those same network connections also provided critical information that also facilitated their labor market activities. As such, it is more appropriate to consider these two types of social capital resources as overlapping, as visualized in Figure 8, rather than two distinct categories.

This approach to conceptualizing social networks reflects their utility, rather than simply naming the type of connections (bridging vs. bonding) or identifying the proximity (place based, local, and/or transnational). This conceptualization establishes the utility of a social network based on goals expressed by study participants. In addition, this approach does not assume that proximity is an appropriate indicator of the usefulness of a social network connection. As documented in this chapter, study participants accessed social network connections at a variety of scales. Although the majority of social capital was exchanged at a fairly local scale, study participants were willing to

access social capital at other scales. They pragmatically decided at which scale to access certain social capital resources dependent on their intended goals and objectives. This approach provides an important entry point for examining the relationship between social capital and the nature, significance, and spatial extent of social network connections.

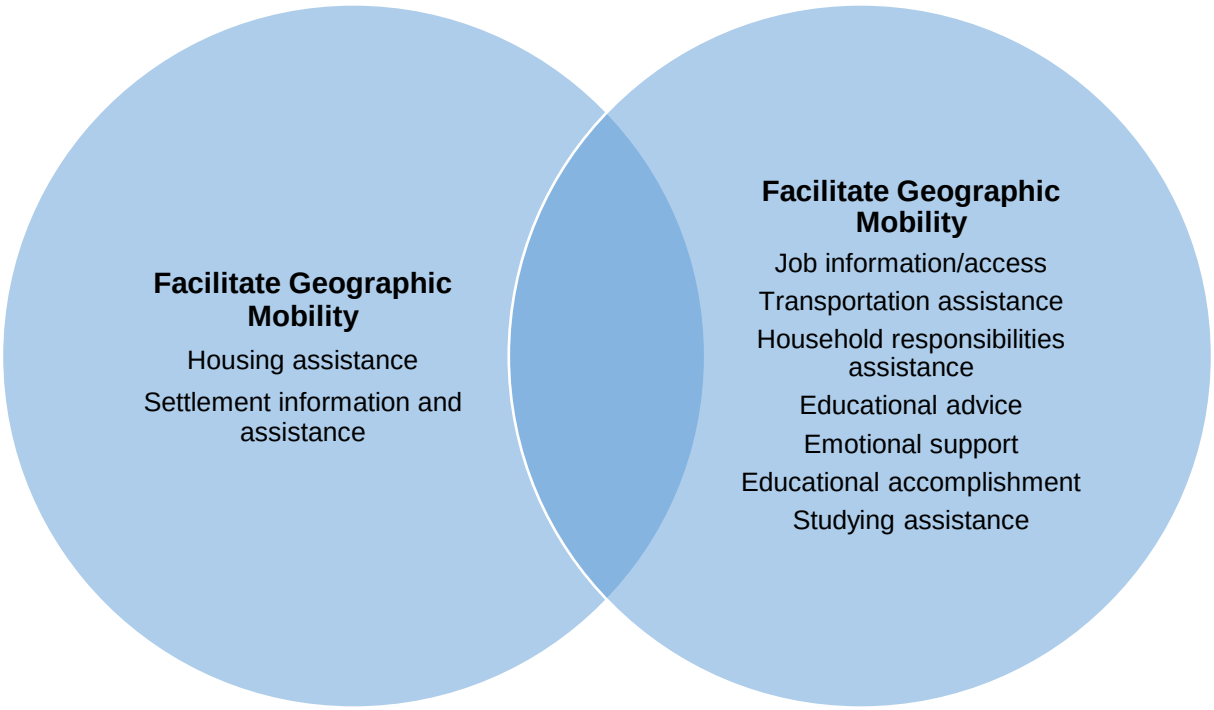


Figure 8. Utilitarian framework to social capital resources.

Summary of Scholarly Contributions

There are currently two paradigms used to examine the relationship between social networks, social capital and occupational mobility. The migration literature utilizes a bonding-versus-bridging paradigm whereas the geographic scholarship focuses on the proximity-based paradigm. Co-ethnic connections constitute a bonding tie and have not thus far been accorded a significant explanatory role for upward occupational mobility. The finding of this research challenges the bonding vs. bridging paradigm. Furthermore,

study participants' accessed social capital across a range of scales, challenging the second paradigm. In this chapter I have highlighted the key role that churches play in maintaining multiscalar social networks that facilitate migration and labor market activities for immigrant workers. These findings are inconsistent with either of the existing paradigms. As a result, I propose a new utilitarian framework (see Figure 8). This framework examines social capital resources based on their utility to study participants rather than make a priori assumptions about types and locations of connections and their resulting impact. Such a framework centers the material reality of study participants' articulated goals.

Despite the advantages offered by this approach, it shares a similar shortcoming with the previously mentioned frameworks. While this approach is conscious of the social identity of the receivers and providers of social capital, it does not offer a direct link to the intersectional analysis that is so necessary to fully appreciate the complexity of these social network connections and their associated uses. An intersectional analysis is attentive to how social identity categories are linked to social networks that people access to achieve their stated goals and objectives.

Social network connections reflect existing social systems at the level of concrete social relations (Anthias, 2013). Bashi (2007) argued that despite the analytical complexity of a social network structure, the utility of the network and its attendant social capital is constrained by the social embeddedness of the group within the particular society under investigation. This observation is akin to the assertion that situated knowledges are produced by the social location of the historically marginalized group.[66]

[66] For a detailed discussion of social location and situated knowledges, see Wylie (2003).

In this study, an intersectional analysis accounted for the separate but co-occurring analytical process done through an examination of how the complex intersections of multiple social identity categories impact social relations. These social relations were not neutral or devoid of power relations but instead were connected to systems of power that have significance not only for the individual but also for the broader group's material reality. For the purposes of this research study, the material reality under investigation is a study participant's ability to make social network connections that shape their ability to enter and navigate the occupational hierarchy of the long-term care industry.

The focus of the intersectional analysis is how social relations between people—what Collins (2000a) identifies as the interpersonal domain of power—shapes the material reality of study participant's lives. I propose that one's ability to form or not form social network connections reflects those social relations. Thus in the following chapter I use a different analytical approach—the Social Relations Chart—to explore another defining feature of the social networks: the homogeneity of network connections operating at the intersections of race, nationality, class and gender power hierarchies.

CHAPTER 6

COMPLICATING NARRATIVES OF MARGINALITY: INTERSECTIONALITY OF RACE–CLASS, NATIONALITY AND GENDER POWER HIERARCHIES

Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined a number of important empirical findings about the relationship between the geography of social networks and occupational mobility. The most significant contribution to the scholarly literature is a disruption of dominant narratives that downplay the significance of co-ethnic peers in facilitating upward occupational mobility. In this chapter, I argue for a more complex accounting of the causes and consequences of the study participants' limited set of social network connections than currently exists in the literature through an intersectional analysis. Although it is necessary to consider comfort and familiarity with co-ethnic peers as an explanation for study participants' homogenous co-ethnic social networks, this is an insufficient explanation. Rather, I assert that the simultaneous and intersecting nature of multiple categories of social differentiation, which are linked to systems of power, provides another equally powerful explanation.

Specifically I found that the social networks are shaped by complex intersections of multiple power hierarchies and how they operate in place. This chapter addresses the operation of race, nationality, class and gender power hierarchies in place through a Black Feminist approach to intersectionality. This is significant analysis that has not thus far been examined in the feminist geographic scholarship about migration or labor markets.

This chapter consists of six sections. First I discuss the integration of a Black feminist approach to intersectionality with feminist geographic modes of inquiry. I argue that this integration results in a more robust theorization of intersectionality that is attentive to how spatial dynamics shape the operation of power hierarchies. In the second and third sections of this chapter I present findings related to the relationship between gender and other power hierarchies. The operation of the gender, race, class and nationality power hierarchies was illuminated through the concept of body work. Further I found that men and women participate in gender-segregated networks. These different networks impact the nature and type of social capital resources accessed by men and women. This had implications for the differential pace at which men and women are able to pursue and achieve occupational mobility. While study participants did not identify the gender power hierarchy as salient, my analysis of the research documented its salience in study participants' social relations.

In the fourth section, I begin the discussion of the power hierarchies identified as salient by study participants: the configuration of race, class, and nationality. Fifth, I discuss the marginalizing and alienating features of study participants' workplace social relations. Sixth, I explicate specifically how the complex intersection of race, nationality, and class power hierarchies hamper study participants' ability to access social network connections, which might ameliorate problematic workplace conditions. I highlight contributions to the extant feminist theory of intersectionality and geographic scholarship reflected in this empirical project. Finally I examine the possibility of other researcher to deploy the Black Feminist Intersectionality framework used in this research.

Power Hierarchies in Place: Black Feminist Intersectionality Framework and Feminist Geography

I examined the relationship between study participants' daily activity patterns, the composition and use of social networks, and occupational mobility within the long-term care industry. I found that they are linked to the sociospatial production of power and associated patterns of inequality. The phrase *U.S. matrix of domination* provides theoretical and conceptual language to catalog the multiple ways systems of power associated with social identity categories are organized and maintained (Collins, 1990, 2000a).[67] Collins asserted that documenting the situated knowledge produced by the social location of individuals and groups in the matrix of domination within the United States (henceforth referred to as the *matrix of domination*) is a powerful analytical imperative of the intersectionality framework. Collins identified four domains of power, but only one is addressed explicitly in analysis of this research.[68]

I found that the interpersonal domain of power had the most significant influence in shaping study participants' daily activity patterns, as well as their ability to compose and use social networks that facilitate occupational mobility. However, all four domains of power work together, reinforcing and shaping the processes and mechanisms used in the other domains of power. The conceptualization of the matrix of domination is foundational within a Black feminist intersectionality research framework (Hancock, 2007; Johnson, 2001; Zinn & Dill, 1994, 1996).

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[67]Extensive discussion of the U.S. matrix of domination can be found in Chapter 3.

[68] Collins suggested that intersectional method and analysis should be attentive to four domains of power: structural (laws and institutions), disciplinary (administrative and bureaucratic management), hegemonic (the cultural, ideological naturalization of relationships of domination), and interpersonal (everyday interactions influenced by various hierarchies; Collins, 2000a).

This framework posits that power hierarchies are constructed and maintained through discourses and practices that maintain dichotomous binaries that place the dominant group (e.g., White, male, heterosexual, citizen, citizen of a nation of the Global North) at the center and all others (e.g., people of color, female, transgender, and other nonconforming gender identifications, LGBTQIA[69], immigrant/refugee, and citizen of a nation of the Global South) at the margins (hooks, 1984). The relationship between groups at the center and those at the margins of multiple power hierarchies is not only or even primarily about an individual's personal identity formation process.

It is rather a critical examination of how the uneven distribution of power within a society has a significant effect on the life chances and circumstances of people as members of historically marginalized groups. Despite the theoretical robustness of the Black feminist intersectionality framework, it currently does not explicitly account for geographic concepts such as place, space and mobility in the operation of the matrix of domination. Here, feminist geographic modes of inquiry are instructive. Social differences are constructed through lived geographies of placement (Pratt & Hanson, 1994).

The material reality of lived experiences manifested through social identity categories—such as race, nationality, gender, class, educational level, immigration status, religion, and age—"never operate aspatially but are inextricably bound up with particular spaces and places" (Bondi & Rose, 2003, p. 232). The Social Relations Chart is a methodological tool[70] that provides a means to assess the particular ways that social

[69] LGBTQIA is an umbrella term. Each letter represents the following words: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex and Asexual.

[70]Extensive discussion of and two examples of social relations charts can be found in Chapter 4.

relations shaped by the complex intersection of multiple power hierarchies operate in place and across space. The Social Relations Chart reinforces the idea that the production of power is also a sociospatial phenomenon. The analysis of the Social Relations Chart revealed the limited number of places included in study participants' daily activity patterns. For the majority of the study participants, the places included in daily activity patterns were church, home, and their workplace(s).[71] In Chapter 5, I discussed how a variety of power hierarchies shaped the study participants' experiences and church. In this chapter, I turn my attention to workplaces.

Workplaces are significant because of their prominence in the study participants' daily activity patterns, the number of hours participants spend there, and the nature of the social relations formed there. All 30 of the study participants worked at least 8 hours a week in the long-term care industry. Ten study participants (30%) regularly worked more than one long-term care job, including employment in private residences caring for one patient. One study participant's other job was outside the healthcare industry, but all others maintained employment at multiple locations that provide long-term care services. Twenty-six study participants were employed fulltime, working an average of 40–72 hours a week. In addition, three study participants worked full time while completing coursework toward the next level of the nursing occupational hierarchy. Educational institutions and employment facilities provide access to similar forms of social relations.

Previous scholarship documented that workplace(s), and educational institutions to a lesser degree, are one of the primary public spaces where members of historically marginalized groups are likely to make connections outside their racial or ethnic

[71]Work and home (often defined as family) are also key analytical locations in many Black feminist empirical studies (Collins, 1998b).

community (Gilbert, 1998, 2000; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Peake, 1995, 1997; Pratt, 2002, 2004, 2005; Valentine, 2008). This finding was supported by the participants of this study. This study coincides with other scholarship about the feminization of labor migration streams from the Global South to Global North to work social reproductive jobs (Browne & Misra, 2003, 2005; Corra & Kimuna, 2009; Hochschild, 1983; Parreñas, 2001; Sassen, 2002; Tronto, 2005; Yeoh, 2005). Similar to previous research, this study highlighted the simultaneously global and intimate expressions of the global economy in the daily-lived reality for individuals (Freeman, 2001; Katz, 2001; Mountz & Hyndman, 2006; Nager, Lawson, McDowell, & Hanson, 2002; Pratt & Rosner, 2006; Pratt & Yeoh, 2003).

Further, this study supports other findings documenting how providing compensated reproductive labor perpetuates ideologies at the intersection of race and gender about who is responsible for being the best provider of caring labor (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995; Brewer, 2003; Duffy, 2005; Dyck, 2005; Glenn, 1992; McDowell, 2015; Pratt, 1999). Finally, this research coincides with previous research about appropriate skills and compensation for this type of labor, which found that providers of social reproductive labor are lowly-paid and lowly-regarded (Dyck, 2005; England, 1996, 2005; Kobayashi, 1994a; Lawson, 2007; Leidner, 1991; Mattingly, 1999; Ruchti, 2012; Tellis-Nayak & Tellis-Nayak, 1989; Tilly & Scott, 1989).

More specific findings related to the gender power hierarchy were unearthed in this study. Men and women had starkly different orientations to providing body work as a "normal" part of their jobs. Men were intentional in describing their work responsibilities in such a way that distanced themselves from body work. Further, the pace of

occupational ascension was much faster for men compared with their female counterparts. I detail in the following sections the key concepts related to the gender hierarchy, body work and the gendered dimensions of social network composition and occupational mobility. I do note (in footnotes) in the remainder of the chapter other significant analytical findings related to the intersection of gender and race, class, or nationality, as appropriate, from the narrative data presented.

Gender, Race, Class and Nationality: The Dimensions of Body Work

All study participants worked in jobs whose most basic function required they have direct and regular contact with nonfamilial acquaintances in the performance of body work. Body work is a component of social reproductive labor and refers to work done on the body—both to one's own body, as well as paid work done on the bodies of strangers (Twigg, 2000). Twigg (2000) identified multiple objectives in performing bodywork: medical, therapeutic, pleasurable, aesthetic, erotic, hygienic, and symbolic. Hygienic bodywork is necessary but is largely considered the least desirable within the context of paid labor performed on strangers.

The study participants working as HHAs, CNAs and LPNs (to a lesser extent, depending on the work site) within the long-term care industry provided direct care to patients in the most intimate spaces of bedrooms and bathrooms. According to Twigg (2000), one of the key markers of the nursing occupational hierarchy is the distance from the body in one's regular job tasks. More professional status and job prestige is accompanied by having less and less interaction with the body. As workers move up the nursing hierarchy, they move further away "from the basic body work of bedpans and sponge baths towards high-tech skilled interventions; progressing from dirty work on

bodies to clean work on machines" (Twigg, 2000, p. 390). Although study participants accepted this as routine job responsibility, many often pointed to the low pay for this type of work.

> ***Eva, 56, CNA, 12 years in industry***
> Eva: They don't pay in nursing. There are certain things you are doing that they should pay you more.

While very few people in the world would remark that their jobs pay them adequately for all the work they do, Eva's comment is thought provoking because of where in the second sentence she suggests that there are particular things or tasks that should be compensated with more money. Junio's remarks provide more detail about the nature of these tasks and why one might expect to make more money given the nature of the tasks involved.

> ***Junio, 37, CNA, 2 years in industry***
> So, a problem happened because I missed the first clinical training. I had done good on the written tests so far, but I still did not know the job. Based on the book, the job looks like a nice little job. The book says you would control blood pressure, to control pulse. So when I got to the clinical for the first time, this is when I started to understand the job. I was with a whole bunch of young girls and I was just watching. This is when I found out that if someone dirties themselves with . . . [fecal matter] . . . excuse me . . . that I have to clean them up. This made me . . . this made me say, wait a minute. But I said to myself, well, I am a man . . . this isn't my country so I have to do what I have to do. As a foreigner, you are just looking for a way out. This is not a job I like, but since I am a foreigner, that's my situation. Plus, the economic situation, means . . . you understand . . . I don't like it but I need to work. I had already paid for the course even though . . . now I know I don't like it. If I did not already pay, I might have tried to get into another field. So, my goal is to go to school to become a LPN.

This excerpt illuminates a key challenge identified by many study participants. Many acknowledged that they had to perform these undesirable tasks to ameliorate their economic positions. Junio identified that the least desirable aspects of the job were those related to cleaning up and interacting with a patient's bodily excretions/fluids (including

feces). Furthermore Junio remarks that he is a man, introducing the gender power hierarchy to this analysis. This assertion offered as an aside, as he discussed the performance of bodywork suggests that performing these types of tasks that this type of work differs from what is expected for his gender identification. This finding coincides with other findings that gender played a significant role as organizing study participants' perception of appropriate jobs for men and women, respectively. Similarly, his ending comment that indicates that he intends to go back to school to pursue an LPN coincides with other findings that men ascend the occupational hierarchy much faster than women. This is likely due to their desire to put greater distance between themselves and the provision of direct body work.

Fifteen study participants, all twelve men and three of the women working as HHA/CNA, explicitly discussed the provision of bodywork activities as an unpleasant and undesirable aspect of their jobs. Junio plainly linked his employment in this job to his gender, nationality and his identification as a "foreigner." Thus, this finding reflects the intersection of gender, nationality power hierarchies as an important consideration in the types of jobs that individuals pursue and related economic outcomes.

Gender, Social Network Composition, and Occupational Mobility

The design of this research project was intentionally attentive to the gendered dimensions of social networks and the resulting effect on occupational mobility. This analytical priority provided important insights about the nature of the social capital that study participants accessed to enter and effectively navigate the long-term care industry.

The geographic analysis of the social networks of immigrants provides a lens to examine the relationship between the complex intersection of multiple power hierarchies

(in this instance gender and nationality) and spatial mobility. Two themes related to the gendered implications of social network composition and use emerged from the data: women's reliance on co-ethnic women in the provision of assistance with household responsibilities and the role of connections between co-ethnic men in facilitating other men's entry and rapid ascension in the occupational hierarchy.

Women's Reliance on Co-Ethnic Women for Assistance With Household Responsibilities

Like other studies of social reproductive labor, I found that network connections between co-ethnic women proved to be the primary means by which women entered this segment of the labor market.[72]The co-ethnic Haitian women studied exchanged all of the aforementioned types of social capital with other women to varying degrees. Each type of social capital contributed to these workers' ability to achieve occupational mobility. Although the co-ethnic Haitian women in this study had much longer work histories than the men, they had significantly less mobility within the occupational hierarchy of the long-term care industry. Women tended to enter the industry through the lower tiers working as HHAs and CNAs. In addition the women tended to stay in those lower tier positions for a significantly longer time than their male counterparts.

A possible explanation for the pattern of slower pace of ascension of the occupational hierarchy for women could be attributed to the challenges associated with balancing household responsibilities and their labor market activities. By contrast, the men rarely mentioned household responsibilities at all, unless asked directly. When men

[72] Much of the existing scholarship considers how women of color, particularly women from the Global South are incorporated into compensated social reproductive labor in the Global North (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995; Brewer, 1993; Browne & Misra, 2003, 2005; Duffy, 2005; Dyck, 2005; Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003; England & Dyck, 2012; England & Lawson, 2005; Glenn, 1992; Mattingly, 1999; Parreñas, 2001; Sassen, 2002; Tronto, 2005; Yeoh, 2005; Yeoh & Ramdas, 2014).

were posed questions related to household responsibilities, they rhetorically gestured toward their wives. Alex's response to my question succinctly exemplifies this:

> ***Alex, 50, LPN, 7 years in industry***
> Sg: Making the link between your work life and home life, do you ever experience any conflicts between your job responsibilities and your household responsibilities?
>
> Alex: Not really, because I got a wonderful wife. I work very hard, and she handles most of the family responsibilities.

This statement typifies that for men, social reproductive tasks were not a primary concern and where not determinative of the labor market options they pursued. To the extent that men undertook any social reproductive labor in their homes, it was only after they were "trained" by their wives to do so. This narrative of "training" suggests that although women uncritically assumed responsibility for these tasks, men undertook them only after a woman required it and took the further step of providing the necessary instruction for its completion. None of the participants discussed women being "trained" to perform household responsibilities.

The process of assuming that household tasks are the natural purview of the women presents a significant challenge for women seeking to expand their labor market opportunities through additional training and more demanding jobs. Thus, it should not be surprising that among the 12 women who were employed as LPNs and RNs, assistance with household responsibilities was critical to facilitating their occupational mobility. This social capital was typically provided by a female family member living in the same household as the study participant. This was the most common means by which these workers were able to effectively balance their household and labor market activities: The female family member was almost always the mother of a female study participant.

The excerpt of Alyssa's experience highlights the important role that the live-in mother played in helping her balance her multiple responsibilities. Alyssa is a single mom to two teenagers and a 3 year old. At the time of the interview, she was employed as an RN at a nursing home in Philadelphia. She also shared her household with her retired mother and a younger brother. In the excerpt, Alyssa described how she was able to balance her multiple responsibilities:

> ***Alyssa, 39, RN, 13 years in industry***
> Alyssa: Sometimes you still stuck at work based on the responsibility, let's say you started some project then you can't . . . you have to finish it and then you have to be at home, like sometimes I felt like I'm neglecting my household, which creates guilt, motherly guilt, but when I find that happening, I just take some time off and recuperate and then get back to work . ... Thank God, my mother's here and my other kids are grown with her but other than that it would have been the job or the house and of course the house would take priority.

Eight of the 12 LPNs and RNs had a live-in mother when they were going through their training programs, as well as when they sought to manage their demanding work schedules in the present. The reliance on the live-in mother was evident, regardless of whether the study participant had children. While providing care to children was a major hurdle for those seeking occupational mobility, as indicated by Alyssa, other activities of social reproduction (e.g., household cleaning, running errands, cooking) also required consistent attention. Working a demanding job with long hours, as Alyssa highlighted, made it difficult to meet those obligations. Sage, Molly, Chloe, Ella, Emily, Dee, and Grace also recounted the significant roles that their mothers played in ensuring their successful completion of their LPN or RN educational programs. By caring for the reproductive functions of the household, the mother, as a social network connection who is physically present in the household, provided critical social capital that allowed study

participants to pursue employment opportunities and additional education/training, which in turn facilitated occupational mobility.

The importance of households composed of extended family and multiple generations was described by many of the study participants. At the time of the interview, half of the 30 study participants resided in multigenerational or extended-family households. Many others had lived in such households in the past. Such household arrangements were key in helping study participants manage their activities for production and social reproduction. While both men and women resided in these types of households, women were much more likely than men to note the significance of these household arrangements in facilitating their labor market activities. This was not the only difference between women's and men's composition and use of social network connections.

Beyond the scale of the household, the men and women largely participated in gender-segregated networks. This finding confirms previous scholarship (Hanson & Johnston, 1985; Hanson & Pratt, 1991, 1992, 1995). Although mixed gender networks existed, they were not as prevalent or as important to understanding study participants' occupational mobility. In general, the mixed gender networks tended to be used by men to receive assistance from women, rather than by women to receive assistance from men. This is because the long-term care industry, like other forms of social reproductive labor, has a much higher quantity of women than men. In relation to this particular study, the women also had significantly longer work histories in this field than their male counterparts and thus conceivably had a greater set of knowledge and resources to offer. Despite these qualifications, women's pace of occupational ascension was considerably

slower than their male counterparts. In the following section I consider why the differential social network connections of the men result in different labor market outcomes.

Co-Ethnic Male Connections: Entry and Rapid Ascension in the Occupational Hierarchy

Although some men did rely on women to navigate this industry, the connections between co-ethnic men played a much more important role. Connections between co-ethnic Haitian men were crucial for facilitating male entry into nursing occupations and the related rise up the occupational hierarchy. Seven of the 12 men in this study were employed as LPNs. An eighth man, Joe, worked as a CNA but had completed all educational requirements to become a LPN (he had only to pass the state board exam to receive his LPN credentials). Thus, the majority of the men in the study did not work in the lowest tiers of this occupational hierarchy but instead had achieved a level of mobility by becoming LPNs. Despite this, their average number of years in the healthcare field (6.6) was less than half that of their female counterparts (13.7).

This finding indicates that the men moved up the occupational hierarchy of the industry at a much faster pace than their female counterparts. A key reason for this rapid ascension is that the men entered and moved through these jobs with an explicit objective of moving past the entry level relatively quickly. Men were able to achieve these objectives with social capital provided by co-ethnic men and the often naturalized and invisible reproductive labor of their wives and female partners.

Study participants typically received advice to pursue this type of work from another co-ethnic man. Women, often wives and other close female family members offered this advice as well, but it was not until a man suggested it that the advice was

heeded. The majority of the men in this study were married to a woman who had long been employed in the long-term care industry, as exemplified by Eva and Choute. However, in describing why they chose to pursue work in this field, the men were more likely to cite the emotional support—defined as motivation and encouragement to enter and make it through nursing training programs—offered by a co-ethnic man. In addition, they received tangible material support as they navigated the program, for example, studying assistance or having another man enter and complete the training program with them.

These findings about the significance of male-dominated social network connections are consistent with previous research that indicated men are more likely to enter female-dominated fields through the advice, counsel, and support of other men (Batnitzky et al., 2009; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; Lupton, 2006; Pullen & Simpson, 2009).[73] Furthermore, the men were able to rise much faster than their female counterparts, consistent with previous research detailing the glass escalator phenomena, as characterized by Williams (1992; 2013). The "glass escalator" suggests that men are more likely to assume leadership roles in female-dominated industries because of gender ideologies and structural advantages that favor them.[74] However, unlike Williams' (1992) research participants, the men in this study were not promoted through the ranks because of institutional advantages alone.

Rather, they were able to move through the ranks due to intentional strategic entry into the field, as directed by the nature of the advice offered by their co-ethnic male

[73]For a review of relevant geography literature, see Longhurst (2000).

[74]Wingfield (2009) also critiqued the "glass escalator" thesis for failing to accurately account for the intersection of race and gender in examining men's experiences in female-dominated occupations.

peers. By and large, male study participants entered the industry through LPN training programs, whereas the women tended to enter through CNA training programs. Thus, the men had an educational advantage, despite lacking a comparable work history. This was possible because men typically moved to nursing only after exhausting labor market options in other more traditional male-dominated fields, such as manufacturing or transportation (e.g., driving a taxi). In addition, male participants who were married had the opportunity to move directly to the LPN program, which requires a training period of at least 1 year. They could do this through the subsidy offered by their wives' productive and reproductive labor. They could rely on the stable income provided by their wives, many of whom were already employed in the long-term care industry. In addition, they could rely on their wives to manage the reproductive responsibilities of the household.

Geographic analyses of the social networks of immigrants provide a lens to examine the relationship between spatial mobility and the complex intersection of multiple power hierarchies, in this instance gender and nationality. First the examination of the gender dynamics in the composition and use of social networks highlights again the overwhelming significance of co-ethnic connections for occupational mobility within the long-term care industry for Haitian immigrants. Furthermore this finding extends existing scholarship about how different spatialities of power are implicated in the migration process.

The findings presented in the last two sections about the operation of the gender power hierarchy are important and significant. However, I devote the remainder of the chapter to the power hierarchies identified as salient by study participants. Study participants identified situated knowledge related to the power hierarchies of race, class,

and nationality as most salient in discussing social relations in the site of their workplace(s). The inclusion of the intersection of race and other power hierarchies is a major contribution of this research to feminist geographic inquiry about migration and urban labor markets.

Race–Class and Race–Nationality: Complex Intersections

Race and class represent an important set of relations within the Black feminist intersectionality cannon.[75] The social relations that organize the power hierarchies of race and class are so bound up together in determining economic outcomes that within the United States, one construct begins to lose meaning without referencing the other. Collins (1998) suggested that feminist scholars who understand race–class[76] to be bound up together in this way cannot ignore the race analysis in favor of one that focuses exclusively or alternatively on class or gender.

However, as the demographic composition of the United States population changes, so too should our understanding of the simultaneous operation of these power hierarchies. An intersectionality framework demands careful attention to the situated knowledge produced by study participants' social location[77] within the U.S. matrix of domination. In this study, study participants' identified race, class and nationality as he salient power hierarchies for understanding their workplace social relations. Study participants' conception of and the constitutive elements they considered in illuminating

[75]An extended discussion on the significance of race–class and its position it the Black feminist intersectionality cannon can be found in Chapter 3.

[76]Race–nationality is intentionally written in this fashion to denote their close articulation.

[77]Extensive discussion of the relationship between situated knowledges and social location can be found in Chapter 3.

the relationship between these multiple power hierarchies and resulting social relations reveal new analytical insights.

The intersections between the power hierarchies of race, class, and nationality are essential linchpins in understanding both the causes and consequences of study participants' social relations in the workplace and ultimately the composition of their social networks. This argumentation does not in any way accord primacy to any one of these power hierarchies but is rather an organizational strategy that seeks to manage the simultaneity and complexity of presenting the results of intersectional analysis. Study participant Solange illustrated the manner in which study participants discussed the impact of power hierarchies and resulting social relations in their places of employment:

> ***Solange, 50, LPN, 20 years in industry***
> Solange: Sometime people make fun of my accent. I might even call a doctor and they say that, I don't understand you, because of my accent, and he asks where I am from. I say well I am from Haiti. So sometimes, I might be talking to someone born over here and they say, can you repeat that, I don't understand you. I don't mind though. First of all, I was not born in the U.S., I had to learn English. This isn't my first language, I have two other languages before I even learned English. So even if someone says I have an accent, I say of course I have an accent, I'm not from here! . . . About racism thing, it might come with a patient or a family member. Those kind of things are not something that can be removed from someone, because it is in their blood. Only God can . . . or they need to come to the realization that God created all of us. There is nothing anyone can do with that. And even a patient might call you nigger you see the person still has racism in them that they have the nerve to call you nigger, but that doesn't bother me much. I don't let those things bother me much.

In Solange's excerpt and for the majority of study participants, nationality was typically coupled with race in a recurring fashion. Further race and nationality were often used interchangeably—study participants did not draw strict distinctions between the two power hierarchies. As a result, I suggest that study participants make sense of their social location, both as individuals and as members of a group of immigrants, within the U.S.

matrix of domination simultaneously through nationality and racial power hierarchies. Thus, an important finding of this study revolves around the analytical pattern that I at times refer to as race–nationality to denote their close articulation.[78]An articulation of race–nationality does not negate the significance of the race–class framework, which is at the core of much of the Black feminist intersectional scholarship. Rather, the presentation of this articulation suggests that despite the phenotypical resemblance (i.e., in terms of skin color, hair texture, facial features) to U.S.-born Black populations, the manifestation of power hierarchies in the daily lives of foreign-born Black groups may be differently composed. Thus, it is necessary to engage in a much closer examination of the constitution and constellation of these particular power hierarchies and their associated social relations using the situated knowledge produced by study participants.

The finding that nationality shapes race (or conversely that race shapes nationality) is not particularly novel. Omi and Winant (2014) suggested that a nation-based conception of race has its roots in European colonial conquests. Further, they asserted that within the context of the United States, the population of the "nation" is largely imagined as White (Omi & Winant, 2014). However, who is included under the banner of "Whiteness" is always under revision. Despite this continual and ongoing racial formation process across White and non-White groups, Whiteness has been priveleged throughout U.S. history (Lipsitz, 1998).

Both in terms of policy and practice, the objective among the general public has been to distance oneself from "Black" in the racial hierarchy (Bashi, 2004). The incorporation of new immigrants has provided ample evidence of this phenomenon. As

[78]The race–nationality formatting choice is directly influenced by the custom of writing race–class that emphasizes the specific set of historical and current power hierarchies organized at the intersection of race and class (Collins, 1998). Extended discussion of this argument is provided in Chapter 3.

individuals and members of nationality-based groups enter the United States, an important discursive and material process has been to situate oneself in relation to and within the existing Black–White dichotomous racial binary of U.S. society (Bashi, 1998; Bonilla-Silva, 2000, 2001; Ong, 1996; Winant, 2002). The principal objective for many newly arrived European and white-skinned immigrants from other nations was to be considered White and to be "not Black"—to be considered anything but Black. For the increasingly growing population of foreign-born Blacks, the option of rejecting Blackness is not as easily accessible. Thus, many have sought to recreate and reimagine Blackness. This has been done by emphasizing their cultural distinctiveness tied to their nation of origin in stark contrast to narratives about the cultural inferiority of the U.S.-born Black population (Bashi, 2007; Greer, 2013; LaGuerre, 1998; Model, 1991; Pierre, 2004; Ramos-Zayas, 2007; Zephir, 1996). Despite these efforts, my findings suggest that social relations marked by marginality continue to shape the material reality of individuals and groups who are socially located at the intersection of the racial hierarchy and the hierarchy of nations (Bashi, 2007).

First I identified how the social relations related to the power hierarchies of race, class and nationality shape study participants' entry in this segment of the labor market. The findings of this research suggest that study participants are employed in the long-term care sector because they have limited other options. Study participants were asked questions about why they initially pursued employment and continue to be employed in the nursing segment of the long-term care industry. All 30 identified themes related to the ease of finding work and the relatively low barriers to entry into this field, despite their

"foreigner" status. After Ella indicated that most of her friends and family are in the field, her response to my question reflects these themes:

> ***Ella, 39, LPN, 11 years in industry***
> Sg: Okay. And so being that you are in nursing, most of your family, most of your friends are in nursing, why are you and other Haitians attracted to this field?
>
> Ella: I'm telling you, it's the only job right now that can help you. You know, after you've been married, have kids, it's not very easy for you to go to school, to get something else, so most of my friends, they already had the CNA papers so that's why they've been working in there even though they going to plan to go back to school. But now, that's the only thing that can help them.

Ella's comments about healthcare providing a viable entry point into the labor market, and associated financial outcomes links with another finding: the job stability offered by work in this segment of the labor market. Twenty-three study participants identified the job security and stability of this segment of the labor market as an important reason why they entered and remained in this field. For many participants, stability was particularly important, because they had witnessed the shifts and evolution of urban labor markets over their life course and understood their labor market options were dictated by those constraints more than the accumulation of any human capital assets. Experiences from across the life course had taught them this important lesson in real, material fashion as they first struggled to establish employment options in the United States.

Migrating to the United States required many study participants to start over in a variety of ways, most notably in relation to their career trajectories. Abigail asserted the following:

> ***Abigail, 56, CNA, 13 years in industry***
> Haitians go into nursing because it is the easiest. It is the easiest for them to find work. And it does not matter if someone went to school before or

> not, they can still get a job. It takes a long time to go to college and most people enter the country already old. When people come here they have a lot of responsibilities and some people have people they have to take care of in Haiti that they need to send money for their family. So if someone who has all these responsibilities, they will not go to school. They will never finish. Plus when you are older, it is difficult for people to learn. You spent all your young years learning already. When you get here you do not have any brain left to learn. So people have to go with what is easiest. If you do this, you can find a job easier. Even if you cannot find a full time job, you can easily find a part time job.

Abigail suggested that because immigrants enter the United States older in age, it is important that they pursue jobs that allow them immediate access to earnings. Study participants' privileged the low barrier to entry and almost immediate access to earnings over continuing in pre-existing occupations or educational training. Although Abigail suggested an inability to learn in this excerpt, her work history contradicts this assertion. Abigail was the only participant of this study who trained as a nurse or worked in any healthcare-related jobs while in Haiti. She completed a 2-year nursing program in Haiti but currently works as a CNA.[79] Abigail experienced occupational downgrading. The level of training and job task associated with her nursing education and the related job tasks in Haiti was significantly more robust than her current position as a CNA in Pennsylvania. However she is atleast in a comparable job.

For the remainder of the study participants, there was not such a close connection with previous training or work experience. These skills, education, and work experiences were not reflected in their current careers in the nursing occupational hierarchy in any meaningful way. Sixteen study participants had training or work experience in fields as diverse as education, business, the legal field, computer science, fashion design, culinary arts, and transportation. Two more study participants were self-employed entrepreneurs

[79]CNA training programs in Pennsylvania are 80–151 hours (3–6 weeks).

before migrating. All of these study participants described experiences of having to start over upon entry into the United States. For many participants, this was directly connected to their nationality. These study participants lacked the English language skills to translate these human capital assets to the U.S. context. It is clear that many study participants, including Abigail (quoted earlier), were unable to use human capital accumulated in the country or origin. However, to suggest that English proficiency is the sole reason is too simplistic. Eleven[80] study participants completed training in the United States in fields as diverse as accounting/business, paralegal studies, childcare, cosmetology, auto mechanic, paramedics, public health, and phlebotomy. However, these participants were also unable to translate those human capital assets, earned in the United States, into viable work opportunities that allowed them to effectively meet the economic goals for themselves and their families. Some attributed this to not being welcome in these fields because of their foreigner status or racial identification, whereas others noted that these jobs simply did not pay enough at the level they could access with their training. After investing time, money and energy in acquiring this training, they have now shifted to a career in the nursing industry, because they have developed situated knowledge about the nature of the opportunity structure of the labor market.

In addition to the difficulty of transferring human capital, study participants had to shift employment throughout the life course after the initial years of migration. This was particularly true for study participants who migrated to the United States during the 1980s. In the 20 years after, those immigrants worked a range of manufacturing and transportations jobs (i.e., cab or truck driving). They then experienced downsizing and

[80]Addison, Adam, Arnold, Michael, Alex, Eva, Solange, Joe, John Doe, Emily, and Majopie all completed training programs, outside of nursing, in the United States before transitioning to the nursing occupations.

layoffs when these manufacturing sector jobs no longer existed or when transportation jobs were no longer economically viable. However, as those early migrants and those who arrived in the 1990s surveyed the employment landscape in the early 2000s to the current moment, they saw very few viable opportunities other than nursing and long-term care. These immigrants' workers perceived that they have limited other labor market options. The scholarly literature has documented that the intersection of multiple power hierarchies and related social relations shape the set of labor market options available to members of historically marginalized groups.[81]

Addison is college educated and worked for several years as a teacher in Haiti. After migrating to the United States, she worked for more than 5 years in the manufacturing sector in New York City. The excerpt that follows is her response to my question about why Haitians work in the long-term care industry.

> ***Addison, 56, CNA/HHA, 30 years in industry***
> Yes, because they don't want them in other places. Yeah like the office jobs or the better jobs, they won't put Haitians in them. But, the nursing home jobs, they don't have a choice. Because Black Americans are not going to do it for them.. . . They will look for other jobs to do, go to stores, work at Kmart, those kind of things. You understand. But, they are not going to take the poo as easy as that. So, Haitians as foreigners are always welcome in hospitals and nursing homes. Immigrants are always welcome there. That's why you see Haitians go to it.

Addison's perception, which was echoed by many study participants, suggested that the long-term care sector is one of a limited set of labor market opportunities available to Haitian immigrants in the contemporary service-based labor market. Study participants often used the power hierarchy of race and nationality interchangeably as the

[81]For extended discussions, see Bakan and Stasiulis (1995), Brewer (1993), Brown and Misra (2003, 2005), Dyer et al. (2008), Glenn (1992), McDowell (2015), and Twigg (2000).

primary explanatory lens, asserted that they would not be welcome into other industries and sectors.

However not all study participants shared this perspective. Seven[82] study participants adamantly resisted the relevance of questions related to race or nationality power hierarchies in their current workplaces or the nursing industry, broadly defined. Charles illustrated this resistance in response to my questions:

> ***Charles, 46, LPN, 8 years in industry***
> Sg: Okay. What role—if any—do you think race or nationality play in whether or not somebody goes into the healthcare field?
>
> Charles: Oh, race and nationality has nothing to do with it.
>
> Sg: Okay. Do you feel like race plays a role, like does race plays any role in your job?
>
> Charles: No.
>
> Sg: How about being, being a man, how does that impact your job, or the field in general?
>
> Charles: Before like I said, before I became an LPN, I was influenced by these stereotype [Inaudible][0:37:52] what people say, about being a nurse. But, when I become a nurse, working in the field, it doesn't make any difference.

Charles' insistent denial that any categories of social difference affect his employment in the field is clear. To place Charles' responses in context, it is important to note that Charles opened the interview by talking about the 'American Dream' and the

[82]The seven study participants are Alyssa, Adam, Arnold, Alex, Charles, John Doe, and Joe. The fact that the majority of these participants are male and the associated gendered implications are not lost on me. These male participants emphasized the clinical and technical aspects of their labor and tended to mute the care taking responsibilities of the job. Their insistence that technical skill was the most important criterion in understanding their employment in "women's work" re-establishes masculinity (Batnitzkyet al., 2009; Lupton, 2006). Lupton (2000, 2006) identified this as critical identity work done to bring their masculine gender into alignment. I tentatively suggest that part of that re-alignment process includes race and nationality. These study participants seemed resistant to the idea that the constellation of their gender, in addition to race and nationality markers, might be a more significant explanatory frame for why they are employed in this segment of the labor market.

idea that anybody can make it in America if they work hard enough. Further, he also spent a great deal of the interview highlighting how he has evolved in terms of gender stereotypes and appropriate work. For example, he used to believe that only women and gay men worked in nursing. However he now believes this perspective to be inaccurate and that the job is all about having strong technical skills and gender does not matter at all. Thus his denial of the importance of power hierarchies should not be surprising. Despite the denial of the impact of any power hierarchies in their labor market activities, seven study participants specified the improbability of the nursing field engaging in discriminatory practices. Adam explained it so:

> ***Adam, 58, LPN, 14 years in industry***
> Sg: Why do you think so many Haitians work in healthcare, in nursing?
>
> Adam: So when you consider, it's not only about Haitians, its foreigners. People come from all over, Haitians, Jamaicans, Africans. As a matter of fact, there are more Africans who work in healthcare. Because it's the one job where there is not much discrimination to get a job there because they always have a need.

Put simply, this excerpt suggests there are not enough bodies to do the work. As a result, the seven respondents are identifying the existence of jobs as evidence that there these healthcare facilities are not sites of other discriminatory practices. The following excerpt from Arnold illuminates this point further. Arnold worked in a group home for individuals with intellectual challenges. At one point, it was the policy of Arnold's employer that current employees attend new employee orientation. This served as part of the in-service training program within this workplace. Arnold shared his observations at one of these new employee orientation sessions:

> ***Arnold, 33, HHA/CAN, 10 years in industry***
> Arnold: We used to . . . they call it like introduction, the purpose is to introduce like the group home [inaudible] or something, or whatever. So, we go in there it used to be like 2 hours, like if we have 20 people in the

> training class. After my manger is done training, after he's done with the session, it probably get down to about 9 to 7 people, because it's like he explains and tell you exactly what you are going to do. So some people you know. That's not what their expectation was so they just quit from there, don't even waste their time to keep going. He would tell you exactly like when you get there you brush teeth, to wash, shower, change diapers, cook, clean, all of that, some people they don't , that's not what they think it was.
>
> Sg: Are there any commonalities between the people who stick it out over a longer period versus those who do not?
>
> Arnold: Most people that stayed were foreigners, because like they probably know that they are not the best, you just came to the country it's like you don't have no background, no type of like training. That's the only job that hire, without no job experience. So, therefore, let me just stay here, then get some experience. And for some people, most of the Americans and stuff like that, they leave.

This perspective, while not an accounting of a direct experience of discrimination or marginalization encountered by Arnold, is linked to narratives about the most appropriate people to do body work[83]. While the seven study participants noted that they did not face personal experiences of discrimination in their workplace, they were embedded in a segment of the labor market that, by virtue of job tasks, has been documented to be discriminatory in the perception of appropriate workers (Dyer et al., 2008; Glenn, 1992, 2002, 2010; McDowell, 2015; Twigg, 2000). In this research study, 15 additional participants shared observations that reflect the theme "no one else will do this type of work."

This research finding suggests that the recognition that some jobs are more open to immigrant or Black populations. In using this explanatory frame, study participants displayed an acknowledgment about the types of workplaces that could be appropriate for them. In this context, the "no one" referenced by study participants was always U.S.-born

[83]See England et al. (2002), England (2005), Hochschild (1983), McDowell (2009), and McDowell, Batnitzky, and Dyer (2007).

workers and at times specifically U.S.-born Black workers. By explaining their labor market position in relation to the racial and nationality hierarchy, study participants acknowledged the importance of race and nationality as an organizing logic for who does what type of work. Discrimination based on ascriptive characteristics, such as race, class, gender, and national origin, to name a few, is harder to overcome in an environment of limited employment opportunities (Bean et al., 2004; Shields, 2004).

Race–Class–Nationality and Work Place Social Relations

All study participants recognized that despite their low pay and undesirable job tasks, their particular jobs were critical for the efficient operation of their employment sites and the broader healthcare industry. They were equally aware, however, of the precarious and tenuous nature of their employment as a defining feature of the terms of employment. Alex asserted the following:

> ***Alex, 50, LPN, 7 years in industry***
> Yeah. Yeah. You have to admit and also, it's—they may fire you at any second . . . because you're dealing with people's lives. Any mistake you make, that will really be a mistake, but sometimes, if they have to call the state, sometimes, they require to fire you . . . or the family member, they may fire you just to please them.
>
> So, you just . . . Sometimes, it's just easier to let you go and also, if they let you go, they may not even affect your license. If they called the state on you, [then] you may lose your license."

In this excerpt, Alex was aware that he could be held personally responsible and fired for any reason or no reason at all. He hinted at what many study participants spoke of outright—that they often felt like they were targets if issues or concerns were raised in their place of employment by a patient or patient's family.

This observation is connected to the socioeconomic status/class power hierarchy. Ten study participants explicitly discussed the fear of losing a job or worse yet,

endangering their state-issued certification/professional license due to mistakes or perceived mistakes on the job. Although the realities of work in the medical field are unique, the specious terms under which workers' employment can be terminated is a common marker of jobs across the postindustrial labor market. Employment precariousness is an important component of study participants' social location in the socioeconomic/class power hierarchy. This finding coincides with existing research about the relative insecurity of employment in service sector jobs, which rely on increasingly flexible but incredibly tenuous and precarious labor relations (Shields, 2004).

Study participants noted that they felt particularly vulnerable because of how this class position intersects with race and nationality power hierarchies. In Chapter 4, I provided a detailed discussion about the deployment of the Social Relations Chart tool and provided examples from the experiences of study participants Michael and Grace to illuminate its use. An incident that both Michael and Grace shared revolved around the experiences of a significant share of the Haitian or Black nursing staff being summarily laid off and replaced with White nurses at three different long-term care facilities. However, the actual experience of witnessing other workers being let go due to race or nationality was not a common theme across the entire data set.

Relatedly and more common were study participants' explication of incidents of overt and covert marginalization tied to race and nationality. Twenty-one study participants shared personal experiences of marginalization at the intersection of race and nationality power hierarchies. Two[84] more study participants implicated the race and nationality power hierarchies in general evaluations of the long-term care industry,

[84]Molly and Avery recounted general discussions of how race and nationality shape nursing industry but did not share any specific personal experiences.

although they reported no personal experiences of marginalization. All of these experiences connected to narratives and ideologies about racial and nationality groups contributed to study participants' feelings of vulnerability in their jobs.

Experiences of Overt Marginalization

Study participants' experience of overt marginalization tied to race and nationality were typically propagated by patients, patient families, or both. The most egregious examples of overt marginalization included acts of physical violence. Dee shared one such experience in the following excerpt:

> ***Dee, 44, RN-AA, 15 years in industry***
> Dee: [inaudible][0:28:11] first of all the I don't know, I don't want to bring it up [inaudible][0:28:16] but it is a problem. You'll find patient you know the old school.
>
> Sg: I was going to ask if you ever have those experiences, but since you bought it up, please go ahead.
>
> Dee: They old school, the fact that they are old school sometimes they do not understand that this is another era, and of course I have an accent, and I'm from another country, and I'm your nurse. And sometimes you will also find it not only the patient, you'll find family members like that too. And then you have to put it, you have to take yourself away from the position so you don't feel that—your feelings don't get hurt.
>
> Sg: So do they say things like how do you know that they're old school? Like what do they say, what do they do, how do you know?
>
> Dee: I have one patient who slapped me once.
>
> Sg: Like in your face?
>
> Dee: Yes in the face. [inaudible][0:29:09] She was looking for her nurse, and I was a nurse, and I went to [her] and said I'm the nurse, how can I help you, all nice and everything and then she threw her hands and said get out of here you . . . [inaudible][0:29:13][*Dee mouths the word nigger*], you know. So that day, I just like got my keys, and I gave it back to the supervisor. I said, I got to go home. I said, I got to go home. If I need to come back at my job, I have to go home [inaudible][0:29:30]. If I need to still have a have job, I have to go home. I know she's dementia and

everything, but I still like, I feel hurt so you know Haitian don't like people to touch their face [inaudible][0:29:38].

The inaudible portion of Dee's excerpt at the 0:29:13 mark was her mouthing the words "nigger" to me during the interview. The fact that she mouthed/whispered it suggests that this is a word with significant taboo associated with it. Dee was the only study participant who reported getting slapped in the face. However, other participants shared experiences of physically violent altercations as routine occurrences in their workplaces. In these other accounts of overt marginalization, patients explicitly asserted that they did not want their care provided by a Black or Haitian staff member. Respondents Addison, Majopie, and Alfred each shared experiences of being called names, being identified by racial slurs, being physically accosted, and having patients explicitly reject their care giving.

Addison, 56, CNA/HHA, 30 years in industry
Addison: If you knock on the door, and they don't answer, and they don't wish to see you, you don't come. You go do whatever, and you go report that to your supervisor. And your supervisor will handle it. You don't go and fight or do whatever with them. Even if they insult you, you don't insult back, because they are always right. You don't insult back, and even if they hit you, you don't hit back. They insult you with all kind of insult. Especially if they know you Haitian. They will call you Haitian boat people, you stink, don't touch them. They give you all kind of insult. Even by the way you talk they insult you about that.

Sg: Like accent?

Addison: Yes like accent. They will tell you, you don't go to school. You have to go to school to learn how to talk.

Majopie, 58, RN-BSN, 27 years in industry
Majopie: You know, you think you're going to be comfortable before you get in the field but once you get in it, they'll surely make sure that you know you're Black.

Sg: Really? Is it primarily the patients or is it like the staff?

Majopie: Patients, staff. Yes. Administration? Yes.

Sg: Everyone. And so when you say they make sure you know that you're black, how is it that they like "let you know that you are Black?"

Majopie: Oh like, "Ooh, get your dirty hands off me!"

Sg: Oh wow! Okay.

Majopie: Yeah. And also, "Ooh my God! You shouldn't be putting my IV. You should be mopping the floor." I've got responses like that from patients.

Alfred, 54, CNA, 10 years in industry

Alfred: If you need to feed someone, you need to take care of the person, and even if the person calls you a nigger, you have to give them a chance, because the medicine they are taking, it excites them. The other day I went to work and a patient gripped me [Alfred gestures and grabs at the front of his collar, at his throat]. He grabbed at the front of my shirt. I was in the room with him by himself so if I wanted to do something to him, I could have done it very easily. But, I just told him, "let me go" and "we cannot fight." He just smiled and let me go. But, if I were to fight with the patient, this could cause me to get fired. Sometimes the patients tell me that they do not want me, they don't want me to take care of them because I am Black. These old White people are racist, and they say no they don't want you. But, that does not mean you leave them alone. So, it is important to remain calm, cool, relaxed, professional. This job, if you don't love it, its better not to go into it, because it can make you fight. There are people who throw the food you are feeding them, right at you. They dirty your clean uniform. So when that happens, you might feel like you want to retaliate to the patient but you cannot.

All of the preceding excerpts highlight a significant challenge faced by study participants. The nature of the work required that they have close—often intimate—contact with people who routinely marginalized and abused them because of their race or nationality identification. Patients or patient families specifically and explicitly indicated they did not want their care provided by a Black or Haitian person. But the patients also used slurs and stereotypes associated with those social identity categories as the words or

instrument of the abuse. Six[85] study participants reported these experiences of overt marginalization. I use the term *overt marginalization* to describe these experiences, because there is no doubt that study participants are being marginalized specifically because of stereotypes and negative ideologies associated with these social identities—primarily race and nationality. Despite the nature of these experiences, all study participants indicated that they understood this to be a result of interactions with "old fashioned" people beset by dementia or other serious medical conditions. They largely ignored the insults, tried not to take them personally, and sought to provide the highest level of care regardless.

Study participants' reactions to these egregious and blatant forms of discrimination complicate our collective understanding of the constitutive elements of everyday racism for Black immigrants employed in this segment of the labor market. The concept of "everyday racism" emerged in the 1980s and offered theoretical language to describe the lived experience of racial oppression (Essed, 2008). The theoretical orientation of everyday racism is not to identify racists, but rather those racists' practices that exist as common societal behavior. Everyday racism is not typically linked with egregious acts of racism, such as physical violence or the use of racial slurs, but rather to more subtle forms of coded language, behavior, policies, and institutional practices that have a disproportionately negative impact on individuals and communities of color. I suggest, however, that the manner in which study participants react to these recurring and persistent acts of overt marginalization serve as a reconceptualization of everyday racism.

[85] Dee, Addison, Alfred, Samantha, Junio, and Majopie are the six participants who shared experiences of overt marginalization.

I make this argument fully recognizing the unique and sensitive position of working with chronically ill people but intentionally and purposefully privileging the experiences of the workers. To the extent that workers' regular and routine worksites include individuals who behave in this fashion—regardless of whether illness is the precipitating reason—is in and of itself problematic. It still requires significant emotional labor to distance oneself from these offenses, regardless of the state of mind of the offender. To the extent that the experiences of the patient are privileged over that of the worker if there is ever an effort to examine these experiences, further harm is perpetuated upon the worker. In this study, none of the Haitian workers or key informants indicated the existence of workplace policies or practices intended to address these experiences. After conducting this study, it is unclear if supervisors, managers, and workplaces are attentive to these instances of physical and verbal violence and the impact on the workers beyond suggesting that workers not take it personally. As a result, it is clear that study participants have accepted these forms of explicit physical and verbal violence as an occupational hazard of employment in this segment of the labor market. Study participants accept it as such, because they perceive that they have limited recourse when it occurs and limited power in the interactions between patient and worker. As indicated by all six study participants who expressed similar experiences, they are subjected to this particular form of violence precisely because of the intersection of their race or national identities. The workers' reaction to the physical and verbal violence is thus what characterizes it as a form of everyday racism. This finding challenges racial oppression narratives that consider everyday racism only within the context of covert marginalization.

Experiences of Covert Marginalization

Experiences of covert marginalization had a more significant effect in shaping study participants' experiences in the workplace, because they were reported as more common and routine. Individually, it is relatively easy to suggest that these are isolated incidents or that they are the result of a clash of personalities, casual misunderstandings, or an experience that is not reflective of broader systems of power and oppression. By documenting experiences of covert marginalization across the entire data set, these individualized experiences can be identified as patterns of pernicious and systemic oppression that impacts groups socially located on the margins of multiple hierarchies of power.

Covert marginalization is a term I use to describe marginalization where it is less clear whether an instance of discriminatory language or behavior is occurring because of a particular perceived or ascribed social identity category. Twenty-one[86] study participants recounted experiences of covert marginalization in their workplaces. These experiences revealed three patterns, all of which are linked to systems of oppression operating at the intersection of the power hierarchies of race and nationality. The three themes related to covert marginalization are exclusion, microagressions, and presumed incompetence. These experiences of covert marginalization were also enacted by patients and patient families but were normally enacted by co-workers and supervisors.

Exclusion

Valentine (2007) argued that particular spaces are shaped by dominant spatial orderings that produce moments of exclusion for particular social groups. Valentine

[86]The figure of 21 reported here includes the 6 study participants who had experiences of overt marginalization. All 6 shared more egregious examples of overt marginalization, as well as covert examples. Fifteen study participants shared only covert examples of marginalization.

linked exclusion in places as evidence of asymmetrical power relations. Other scholars have linked social exclusion as a critical component for understanding the usefulness of social and cultural capital for historically marginalized groups (Edwards, 2004; Fernández-Kelly, 1994; Gill & Bialski, 2011). In this study, social exclusion refers to the extent that study participants were alienated from informal friendship groups in their workplaces. It is unclear from the data collected in this study whether these experiences of exclusion were initiated by the study participant or by co-workers/supervisors. However, it is clear that, in general, study participants were not part of work-based friendship groups unless there were other Haitian immigrants in their places of employment. Stephanie provided a description:

> ***Stephanie, 23, CNA→RN-BSN, 3 years in industry***
> Stephanie: Because, like us Haitians, we look out after each other, you know, we have each other's back. So, of course Haitians among themselves would be nice, and then you find Koreans among themselves to be nice.

Stephanie's excerpt reflects a common theme: study participants' positive social connections in their workplaces were with other Haitian immigrants. By comparison, Samantha's comments reflect how study participants interacted with non-co-ethnic co-workers. Her comments are in response to my question about whether there was any union organizing in her place of employment. In answering the question, she quickly indicated that no such activity existed and then moved to provide further context about the nature of her relationships with her co-workers.

> ***Samantha, 37, CNA/HHA/MedTech, 15 years in industry***
> Samantha: No. Nobody even talks about it [inaudible] [0:26:19.7] like for me honestly like for me, I just go to work. The people see me, they see me. They just give me my paycheck. I don't say hi to them, they don't talk to me.
>
> Sg: Okay. And so that goes for your co-workers as well?

> Samantha: I say hi, but I just I kept to myself. I don't really have to talk to anybody. If it doesn't have to do with my patient, you understand? If I need his medication, I'll go get it. If I need this, I need that, or if he has—let's say if he has a cut, I'll make a report. I report it to the nurse [inaudible] [0:26:52.4] I say I saw this and this and listened to him. He said this should be taken care of or make a doctor appointment, but there is no—everybody has a little group. Everybody has their little section. For me, it's better for me that I keep to myself because of just to stay away from the drama. Because when there's this group there and that group, there's always a group who doesn't like this group. So, I'm not in no group. Everybody respect me, I will respect everybody, hi, hi. When you're in a group, you don't last in a job.

Samantha's comments mirror the experiences of 12 other study participants. They all shared experiences of being on the outside of cliques or friendship groups in their workplaces. The particular narrative used to describe those experiences typically hinged on some version of "I don't have any friends at work. I don't need any friends at work. I just do my job and that's it." Although none of these study participants explicitly linked race or nationality as reasons why these work relationships did not form, this was still an important finding related to the intersection of race and nationality. Study participants who perceived of themselves as excluded from work cliques and friendship circles were also likely to link any negative job action to the racism[87] or xenophobia[88] of supervisors or co-workers. Eva and Necole's comments further illustrate this point:

> ***Eva, 56, CNA, 12 years in industry***
> When a Black person and a White person do something, they are treated differently. They are hard on the Black person, but the White person, they

[87]I identify racism based on the constitutive elements of race power hierarchy identified by study participants (see table 5, chapter 4). According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, *racism* is "the belief that some races of people are better than others" (Merriam Webster, 2015a). Study participants largely focused their accusations of racist behavior, intentions, or words within the context of the White–Black binary racial hierarchy primarily used in the United States.

[88]I identify xenophonia based on the constitutive elements of nationality power hierarchy identified by study participants (see table 5, chapter 4). According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, *xenophobia* is defined as a "fear or hatred of strangers or foreigners" (Merriam Webster, 2015b). No study participant used the word xenophobia or xenophobic, but they did commonly used the phrase, "they hate foreigners" to describe U.S.-born co-workers social relations with foreign-born workers.

> act like it's not nothing. That's what I don't like about the job. Because in the nursing home this is really an issue because if a patient says something about you, it really is a problem. Because they will believe it, write you up, send you home, and start an investigation about you. That's my biggest problem in the job.
>
> ***Necole, 52, RN-AA, 14 years in industry***
> Some other co-workers are backstabbers. They are in competitive world. Some of them don't like foreigners, some of them are racists. But some of them are very good. The ones who don't like foreigners, you can tell by the way they talk that they don't like foreigners. Like for example if you are working with them . . . if I see you have a problem, if I can help you out I will help you. If it's something I cannot fix, I will call you. but that's not how they are. If I make a mistake instead of calling me . . .. Now understand that I would never ask anyone to fix my mistake, I would never ask anyone to risk their license but if there is a problem I would prefer that co-workers call me. If it's something minor, if it is something that can be fixed. But these co-workers are more likely to report you. Sometimes they lie, and they are selfish.

Each of these examples specifically cited adversarial relationships between themselves as self-described Black or Haitian workers and their supervisors/co-workers. In prior discussions in the interview, they each had described instances of exclusion in their work locations. Consequently, when they described experiences of negative job action, such as being written up, it is not unreasonable to link the exclusion from positive social relations with individuals outside their nationality group with the perceived racist or xenophobic intentions of co-workers and supervisors. It was, in fact, quite common for all study participants to attribute any threat of or actual negative job action to their "foreigner" status or their Black skin. This was evident in the examples Grace and Michael shared in Chapter 5. Thus, study participants saw their vulnerability to job action as being connected to their exclusion from social network connections with people outside their nationality group in their place of employment. Again, it is unclear whether study participants willingly distanced themselves from such social relations or they were first made to feel unwelcome. Regardless, the effect was the same: Study participants

socially located as immigrant and Black were on the margins of their workplace social groups, and this was a defining feature of the majority of their social relations in the workplaces.

Microagressions

The two other themes related to covert marginalization are intimately linked: microagressions and presumed incompetence (Gutiérrez y Muhs, Niemann, Y. F., Gonzalez, C. G., & Harris, 2012; Hall & Fields, 2012: Joshi, McCutcheon, & Sweet, 2015). *Microaggressions* are defined as the "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (Sue, et al., 2007, p. 271). Emily's comments provide an overview of experiences shared by study participants:

> ***Emily, 27, RN-BSN, 4 years in industry***
> Emily: So, the negative ways that that has come is in terms of like us from patients specifically. You have some patients who are just blatant discriminatory or racist where they're like, "I don't want a Black person," or whatever. So, you encounter that or just I think sometimes maybe the expectation they might have for like a Black female might just kind of be put into a certain type of circle and then you would get the comments like, "You are surprisingly very low drama." And I'm like, "Why is that surprising? Did you expect that I'm—." Or patients say when they see my name, it's Emily which is funny because every single Black female who works on my unit has a "regular" name, but I think people just have this understanding of how a Black or a Haitian person might function and then, all you have to do if you're Haitian, they will say, "You don't look Haitian," or like as a Black female, they're like, "Is Emily a family name? How did you get that name?" I'm like, "How did you get your name?" Don't you just get a name, doesn't your parents just name you.

Many study participants' experiences of covert marginalization were linked to stereotypes of Black racial or Haitian nationality identities. In Emily's excerpt, she reflected on interactions that presented stereotypes about having a "regular" name and

being “low drama.” Stereotypes around ethnic names and levels of “attitude” and “drama” are commonly associated with women of color and operate at the intersection of race, nationality, and gender. While seemingly innocuous and harmless, these types of comments are the very definition of microagressions. In addition to the two examples provided by Emily, other microagressive commentary directed at study participants included people’s assumptions about their educational attainment, or intelligence, as well as comments about how foreigners come in and “take jobs” away from U.S.-born workers.

Presumed Incompetence

Presumed incompetence is defined as an explicit or inferred expectation of substandard work performance on the basis of ascribed or perceived social identity group membership (Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992). Much like the exclusion discussed in the previous section, study participants’ experiences of microagressions and presumed incompetence operated at the intersection of race and nationality power hierarchies. All of these microagressions serve to perpetuate and provide a platform to understand the third theme, presumed incompetence. Excerpts from Chloe and Dee’s interviews illuminate this point:

> ***Chloe, 37, LPN, 10 years in industry***
> Chloe: Everybody is different. I really does not see race or anything like that. The only thing that I have observed is that the Black Americans, when you come to work, if you are working with them on the same floor, they sometimes are jealous.
>
> Sg: What do you mean by that?
>
> Chloe: I was a CNA before, then I went to school to become an LPN. I think they are jealous that as a foreigner, I am getting a promotion. They seem to be jealous of all foreigners who are making advances. Sometimes they say things like . . . I didn’t know how I was able to pass the test. What they don’t know is that even if I am a foreigner, in my country, I have an

educational background. When I came to the, to the U.S., I have to start over. Like when I was in Haiti, I used to work at the bank, which is a more prestigious job, but when I came to the U.S., you have to take a job. I did not like the job, but I had to take care of my responsibilities, both here and in Haiti. Plus, I was all by myself. I did not have my mother or anyone with me so I had to forget about my education. I had to go from 0 to where I am at now. As a can, these people don't like you because you are a foreigner. But when you become an LPN, they believe you should have remained a CNA just like them. If you have an accent, they think you are stupid. Especially if they see you are a CNA and they are too, with all your accent then if they see you go to school and get promotion they like you even less. But this does not bother me.

Dee, 44, RN-AA, 15 years in industry

Dee: It's a lack of knowledge that make people think that the fact that you're a foreigner or you have an accent or something, it's about people do not know, there are a lot of people really. They live here and they don't travel, they never see anybody else. So, you take the occasion to teach them, it's a variety and as a matter of fact I'm happy that I can speak two or three languages so it's an advantage for me for real when you look at it that way. So, I always try to tell them, to know more people, like . . . I have okay my position you will see people coming in . . . sometimes you have a problem right that happened and you ask a nurse or care nurse [inaudible][0:32:30] to write a statement so you—I've seen people laugh at their statement. The way you know, the way they formulate the sentences and stuff.

Sg: Like if the CNA or the care nurse is like Haitian or immigrant of some variety the people laugh at the . . .

Dee: They laugh at the statement of—what do they mean by that [inaudible][0:32:51] and stuff like that. So I have to take my . . . I always take the time to tell them that do not judge somebody just because they cannot write in complete sentence[s] in English, do not judge them because it's more than that, it's more than what you see. I always take the defense and let them know that you know because . . . for me, myself in the beginning it was very hard for me and I always let the people know that I'm not dumb I'm not speaking English very well but I will get it. So this is . . . I don't want people to do that but they do that a lot, my coworkers [inaudible][0:33:23] if they know what she is talking about I just say [you know what she means, why do you have to make fun of her] . . .. I don't think she's dumb you know. It's seems lack of knowledge and I believe that a lot of people that I work with, they're not open to other cultures, they don't know what they know [people from other cultures].

Both Chloe and Dee reflected on the theme of presumed incompetence. Both detailed experiences of co-workers, supervisors, and patients assuming that they (or other Haitian immigrants) lacked the competence and skills to effectively meet the demands of the job because of their accent or facility with English. Chloe shared that co-workers were surprised that she successfully completed the LPN training program and licensure exam, and she attributed their surprise to not knowing her entire story. She goes on to explain that she graduated with a 4-year college degree in business and had worked a prestigious job in Haiti in a bank. Thus, in her mind, the completion of a 1-year training program should not be surprising. Dee took it a step further, not only advocating for her own intelligence and competence but also challenging the perceived and assumed incompetence assigned to other Haitian and immigrant workers which serves to marginalize them. She made it a point to challenge those who would mock or belittle others because of their lack of English proficiency. She cited the ability to effectively deploy multiple languages as a significant social capital asset that is often undervalued or marginalized.

Across all levels of the occupational hierarchy, the presumed incompetence theme was presented but it was most likely to be reported by the female LPNs[89] and RNs. At this occupational level, study participants often had significant clinical, supervisory, and managerial responsibilities as part of their job tasks, yet patients, patient families, and newly arrived medical staff often assumed they were HHAs or CNAs. These assumptions were acted on even when study participants were wearing badges and uniforms that

[89]None of the male LPNs shared this type of occupational misrecognition. No male RNs were interviewed in this research project.

indicated their accurate job titles. This was a common experience shared by female study participants working at this level of the occupational hierarchy[90].

Navigating Workplace Conditions: Race, Class and Nationality Power Hierarchies

Race and nationality were often simultaneously invoked to explain study participants' understanding of their interpersonal social relations in the workplace. I documented the multiple ways that study participants raised the specter of racism and xenophobia. The resulting social relations directly shaped social network composition and use, which had a significant effect on study participants' labor market outcomes. In all of the previous excerpts, study participants described negative experiences in the workplace using language linked to both race and nationality power hierarchies, often using the two interchangeably. In almost all examples, study participants began by asserting that someone was a "racist," but then specifically cited nationality markers, such as accent, language barriers, being a foreigner, or country of origin. Thus, a key theoretical contribution of this empirical project was the identification of the distinguishing features of descriptions of racial- and nationality-based social relations, as outlined in Table 5. In addition, this study documented the saliency of the intersection of race and nationality through the examination of the social location of Haitian immigrants as a group within the U.S. matrix of domination.

For the majority of the participants of the study, their workplaces were the site of significant experiences of overt and covert marginalization organized around discourses and practices operating at the intersection of race and nationality power hierarchies. However, equally important and because this research revolved around experiences in

[90] None of the male LPN participants reported this experience.

employment contexts, I also implicitly considered how study participants were situated in socioeconomic and class power hierarchies. The operation of the intersection of the power hierarchies of race–class–nationality was discussed in the previous sections, explaining the precarious nature of study participants' employment in the long-term care industry, a sector of the postindustrial urban labor market.

The impact of the mutual and complex constitution of the race–class–nationality power hierarchies is related to earnings in this segment of the labor market. Regardless of how "low wage" some jobs in this sector of the labor market are, they allow study participants to meet the economic and social goals of their families. Despite the negative aspects of these jobs, these jobs often pay more than immigrants would earn in their country of origin or other low-wage jobs with better terms of employment within the destination country (Connell, 1993; The Section on Underserved Occupational Population, 2012). This material reality cannot be ignored despite all of the negative connotations associated with these jobs.

All study participants, regardless of pay or occupational level in their nursing jobs in the United States, had the capacity to take care of their families both in the United States and in Haiti in ways that would have been impossible if they had remained in Haiti. Further, the intersections of race–class–nationality shaped study participants' "standing" in the Haitian community, both in Haiti and within their church communities in the United States. The majority of study participants discussed sending remittances to Haiti as a significant economic responsibility. The sending of remittances establishes one's position in the family or community in Haiti. I presented evidence in Chapter 5 of the high regard accorded to nurses within Haitian churches in the United States.

The significant empirical finding of Chapter 5 is around the development of social network connections associated with nationality. The question, however, of the specific consequences of study participants' lack of social network connections outside of their nationality group remains. So what? Why does it matter? Here I point specifically to the terms of employment and conditions of work in this segment of the labor market.

The most significant complaint expressed by study participants about their worksites was not about physical violence, racial slurs, social exclusion, microagressions, or presumed incompetence. Study participants' chief complaints expressed in relation to their workplaces was that they lacked support from management as well as material resources to effectively perform their jobs. Twelve study participants discussed at length the adversarial relationships between the workers and the management in their place of employment. They asserted that the management and workers did not have a positive relationship, as evinced by work climates in which the workers were expected to balance increasingly demanding workloads with limited support. Excerpts from Molly, Sage, Stephanie, and Michael illuminate these tensions.

> ***Molly, 26, RN-BSN, 3 years in industry***
> Molly: I always like helping people. Like I said, I love to help people, I love caring for people, but it's just the way, for me, I believe that the way, even at [my 4-year university], like I went to [a 4-year university], the way that nursing was presented to us, is not the way nursing is in the real world. There's nursing where we want to care, we want to hold the patient's hands, and we want to make sure everyone's feel comfortable, but then in reality on the floor, that's not nursing. I have 30 patients in the morning and evening and 60 patients for an overnight shift per nurse, which was not what I was taught at [my 4-year university]. At [the 4-year university], the focus is patient care, holistic care. I can't do holistic care for 60 or 30 patients. It's impossible. "Just take your medicine and keep it moving." That's it.

> ***Sage, 31, RN-AA, 11 years in industry***
> It's a very challenging place to work, very challenging. They always have us working understaffed. You know, it's funny, because when you were in

school and as a nurse, you feel like you should actually sit down with your patients and talk to them. You nurture them. But it's very unfortunate, because that is not what the reality is. Because when you have this work, you have 8 hours and the load of what they are asking you to do, it just take up so much of your time. Where you don't even actually have to provide any bedside care for your patient. So this is the kind of place it is where they are always short staffed and a lot of paperwork so people don't stay. Very high turnover.

Stephanie, 23, CNA→RN-BSN, 3 years
Sg: What impact would you say that this job has on your body?

Stephanie: It breaks my back.

Sg: Okay. What does that mean? Can you tell me more about that?

Stephanie: Because some or some beds in the nursing home, they don't—because what they tell you when you take the CNA class, well I believe anything in the nursing field they tell you when you're taking care of the patient at least put the bed high enough like to your waist so you don't have to bend over too much. And the problem with this nursing care, nursing center some beds don't go high enough like—

Sg: Are they broken or they just—

Stephanie: They probably they are old beds that's why. They are not hospital beds so it's not luxury. So, some are . . . I don't think they are broken but old, so—

Sg: They just are not the proper—Stephanie: Yeah, they don't go high enough and others they are so slow. It's like you're going to be waiting for 30 minutes so you just want to get to an acceptable height. So, either way you still are going to bend over too much. And then some residents they—even if you get help some you have to get help and they tell you to help them. So, when you have to transfer them from the bed to the wheelchair and you have to, not lift, but you know support them to get them to the wheelchair and even that especially the person is heavy you still break your back, you know it hurts.

Michael, 26, LPN→RN-AA, 3 years in industry
Michael: Everything is like stocked, meaning it's hidden. They lock everything up. You don't know and things are always breaking down. You can never get proper material. And management always tell you they will fix it, but before they fix it, it takes like a month or two. So by that time, everybody is used to it. So it's like the whole place is corrupted.

These four study participants' excerpts highlight the nature of the limited resources. They lacked both management support and access to material resources. They pointed to high patient-to-nurse ratios, insufficient number of people for the number of patients in any given shift, outdated or broken equipment, and scarcity of materials to effectively perform job responsibilities. These common workplace challenges will likely be exacerbated as cost pressures increase and the increasing share of population needing long-term care expands. Yet, study participants had limited avenues to challenge these workplace conditions.

A common recourse that workers used in other work contexts is labor union organizing. The question of labor union organizing presented interesting findings in this research. Only eight study participants reported the existence of unions in their place of employment. However, union representation was unevenly distributed across the various jobs of the occupational hierarchy. For five of these eight study participants, union representation was available only to CNAs and LPNs. Another study participant had union representation only at some of the workplace locations within the same company. The final two study participants had no restrictions on union representation. Ten study participants had no access to union representation available in their workplaces. Twelve study participants were not asked specifically about union organizing, as this was a question added later in the data collection process. Despite this, not one study participant identified unions or labor union organizing as a viable avenue to challenge problematic workplace conditions. Thus, labor union organizing did not seem to be a viable avenue to help study participants address employment conditions. Unions provide a formal and

institutionalized form of social relations to militate against problematic workplace conditions.

In addition to the paucity of formal social relations, study participants do not have access to informal social linkages outside their nationality group. Throughout this chapter, I documented the impact of race–class–nationality in shaping study participants' workplace social relations; I also highlighted that divisions and factions among a variety of different social groups as a recurring theme. Primarily, participants are separated from their co-workers along racial and nationality social identity categories. This delineation was particularly sharp for social relations between study participants and similarly positioned U.S.-born Black workers. How do we make sense of and analyze these patterns of intraracial divisions in the workplace?

hooks' revolutionary conception of the overarching and interlocking systems of domination that define much of daily life in the United States (and other advanced capitalist states) is expressed through the phrase "White supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (hooks, 1984, 2004). In the documentary *Cultural Criticism & Transformation* (Jhally, hooks, Patierno, Hirshorn, & Gabriel2002), hooks described use of the phrase:

> I began to use the phrase in my work "White supremacist capitalist patriarchy" because I wanted to have some language that would actually remind us continually of the interlocking systems of domination that define our reality
>
> To me an important breakthrough, I felt, in my work and that of others was the call to use the term white supremacy, over racism because racism in and of itself did not really allow for a discourse of colonization and decolonization, the recognition of the internalized racism within people of color and it was always in a sense keeping things at the level at which whiteness and white people remained at the center of the discussion.
>
> In my classroom I might say to students that you know that when we use the term white supremacy it doesn't just evoke white people, it evokes a political world that we can all frame ourselves in relationship to . . .

The framework provided by White supremacist capitalist patriarchy is intellectually robust and useful for this study. For more than 30 years, hooks advocated a more complex theorization of identity that accounts for the simultaneity of social identity constructs operating not just at the personal level but also as part of a broader power hierarchies. hooks' conceptualization of White supremacist capitalist patriarchy considers the dynamic and intersecting sets of cultural, discursive, and material practices. This conceptualization moves beyond descriptive identifiers of social identity categories and instead places a stronger focus on the manner in which these systems shape historically marginalized people's perception of themselves and interactions with other historically marginalized peoples. In examining the racial hierarchy of White supremacy, it is possible (and likely) that members of historically marginalized communities may support elements of White supremacist capitalist patriarchy and contribute in the reproduction of this system of domination, even as they seek to improve their own material well-being.

Both study participants and the U.S.-born Black co-workers with whom they had so much animosity were all actively reproducing White supremacist capitalist patriarchy in the manner in which they interacted with one another. The internalized oppression expressed by both groups was reflected in the manner in which they sought social control and domination over one another, in whatever limited fashion they had available to them. I documented throughout this chapter study participants' report of U.S.-born Black co-workers belittlement of them, as well as study participants' documented negative stereotypes of U.S.-born Blacks. Both groups actively worked to highlight the differences between each other and mute any similarities between them, each casting the other as inferior. The invocation of White supremacist capitalist patriarchy highlights the

significance of multiple systems of power and oppression operating simultaneously. The chasm between these workers, who are all already marginalized within the context of workplace, is further divided on the basis of other categories of social differentiation.[91]

Summary of Scholarly Contributions

In this chapter, I documented how intersections of race, nationality, class, and gender shaped study participants' experience in the workplace. I documented how those power hierarchies shaped their insertion and continued employment in this segment of the labor market. The gender power hierarchy shaped workplace ideologies related to the appropriate workers to perform body work. In addition, the gender power hierarchy shaped social network composition and differential pace of ascension within the occupational mobility for men and women. Other power hierarchies were implicated in the findings of this research.

Nationality was typically coupled with race in a recurring fashion. As a result, I suggested that study participants make sense of their social location, both as individuals and as members of a group of immigrants, within the U.S. matrix of domination simultaneously through nationality and racial power hierarchies. Further, I argued that those power hierarchies shaped social relations, resulting in experiences of overt and covert marginalization. In sum, I argued that the specific constellation of power hierarchies is linked to the composition and use of social network connections. Study participants were alienated from people outside their nationality group. The examination

[91]This sentence is not meant to imply that class is most important or that other social identities compound the effect of class. This sentence is meant to be descriptive, about the nature of the social relations, not a theoretical claim about the supremacy of class or socioeconomic status in understanding inequality.

of study participants' labor market experiences provides a reconceptualization of ideologies associated with social reproductive labor.

Reproductive labor, even when performed for compensation in the labor market, is still described using virtuous terms such as love, family, and selflessness (England et al., 2002; England, 2005; Hochschild, 1983; McDowell, 2009). Those narratives have been challenged, particularly when asymmetrical power hierarchies ensure that the providers are members of historically marginalized groups such as women, immigrants and racial minorities (Dyer et al., 2008; England et al., 2002; England, 2005; McDowell et al., 2007). I contribute to this particular body of literature by suggesting that jobs in the long-term sector should be considered among 3D jobs.

The phrase *3D jobs* is a neologism, used to describe a category of jobs in which immigrants are overrepresented.[92] The phrase refers to the following characteristics of these jobs: dirty, dangerous, and demeaning[93] (Section on Underserved Occupational Population, 2012; Connell, 1993). I documented in this chapter how employment in the long-term care sector reflects these characteristics of the 3D jobs. Employment in this sector of the labor market is dirty because of the extent to which workers do body work. The work is demeaning because of the nature of the social relations formed in the workplace. Those social relations result in experiences of overt and covert marginalization. The second D, dangerous, is not discussed in this research manuscript at

[92]The scholarly literature argues that immigrants are concentrated in 3D jobs because they lack human capital (i.e., skills, documentation, education, and English language proficiency) and that these jobs are all that are available to them (The Section on Underserved Occupational Population, 2012). As argued throughout this manuscript, the explanation for study participants' employment in the long-term industry is much more complex than human capital deficiencies.

[93]There are three versions of the 3D framework, which are often used interchangeably. The 3D phrase is sometimes identified as dirty, dangerous, and difficult; ***or*** dirty, dangerous and demanding ***or*** dirty, dangerous and demeaning. For the sake of clarity, in this chapter, I will use only dirty, dangerous, and demeaning.

length, but is also a defining feature of study participants' workplace experiences. A majority of male and female study participants, at all levels of the occupational hierarchy, identified physical[94] and mental[95] impacts of the work. Further, research among nurses suggests that increased exposure to microagressions and racial bias are linked to health disparities for those workers who are the target of those behaviors (Hall & Fields, 2012, 2013). These findings are the result of the situated knowledge produced by the specific social location of the participants of this study. The intersectionality framework in combination with feminist geographic modes of inquiry provide a lens for this analysis to emerge.

In Chapter 3, I argued that adopting a Black Feminist approach to intersectionality would enrich feminist geographic research and outlined a theoretical framework for that engagement. This chapter highlights the empirical findings of this theoretical engagement. In this chapter I have remained attentive to feminist geographic scholarship about the relationship between place, space, power and mobility in urban labor markets and the social identities identified as salient by study participants, particularly race and nationality. In addition, this study, situated analysis at the level of the group, documenting the social location of Haitian immigrants in the U.S. matrix of domination. In so doing, this study has incorporated the tenets of a specifically Black Feminist approach to intersectionality. Such an approach has not been previously incorporated in feminist geographic scholarship. As I close this chapter, I reflect on the possibility of other researchers adopting a similar theoretical framing for their empirical projects.

[94]Physical impacts include chronic fatigue and long-term, acute and chronic spinal and musculoskeletal damage and pain.

[95]Mental impacts include high stress and anxiety levels.

Black Feminist Intersectionality Researcher

At this point, it might be helpful to examine who can be a legitimate practitioner of the Black Feminist intersectionality paradigm. A critical component of this paradigm is the explicit inclusion of the race analysis, if identified as salient by study participants. Thus far, geography as a discipline has not systematically included race or racial formation as an analytical imperative (Kobayashi & Peake, 1994, 2000; McKittrick, 2006; McKittrick & Woods, 2007).

The hesitancy to address explicitly in research how race interacts with other categories of social differentiation in people's lives might be tied to the lack of diversity within the discipline. The relative absence of women of color in the discipline of geography is well documented (e.g., Akinleye, 2006; Dias & Blecha, 2007; Kobayashi, 1994b, 2006; Kobayashi & Peake 1994, 2000; Liu, 2006; Mahatani, 2006; Sanders, 2006; Sioh, 2006). Crenshaw (2011), writing from an interdisciplinary context, pondered whether the hesitancy to engage with intersectionality is connected to the notion that a theory proposed and developed by Black women is too particular and specific.[96]

Women of color, Black women in particular, are likely to be the specific and group that might gravitate toward Black feminist scholarship. Collins (1998, 2000a) argued that Black Feminist Thought is a critical social theory for Black women produced by Black women. She suggested that only Black women can practice and do research using intersectionality and the unique feminist standpoint consciousness associated with it. However, she also argued that this is a consciousness that must be struggled for and is not automatically attained by virtue of being a Black woman.

[96]Ironically, she wondered why theories proposed and developed by White men were not considered too specific and particular.

Audre Lorde (1984) also identified struggle as exceedingly important for feminists seeking to build coalitions across differences. She went on to suggest that the differences between women are the greatest assets available to combat system of oppression such as capitalism, patriarchy, racism, and heterosexism, which would seek to keep people divided on the basis of differences. Lorde (1984) wrote, "in our world, divide and conquer must become define and empower" (p. 112). She encouraged scholars to be candid and open about our differences, to engage in honest conversations and struggle, and to seek to understand each other, so we can in turn use those new understandings as tools to combat our shared oppression. Similarly, Desbiens (1999) argued that feminist geographers should remain in a constant state of tension, strategically moving between dominant ideologies and creating new ideologies and systems of meanings. Based on my interpretation of these readings, I believe it is necessary and possible for a range of people who claim membership to different social identities groups, who are also differently placed in the matrix of domination, to do intersectionality research as conceived by Black feminist scholars. However, they like Black feminists scholars need to be willing to engage in the struggle. It is in those moments of struggle, those paradoxical spaces (Rose, 1993), that the visionary pragmatism (James & Busia, 1993) that imagines a world liberated from of all forms of group oppression (hooks, 1984) has a chance to become a reality. In the concluding chapter of this dissertation, I consider the possibility of coalition building across complex and differences to address problematic workplace conditions for the workers who participated in this study.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study explained the labor market outcomes for a group of foreign-born Haitian women and men employed in the long-term care industry in Philadelphia, PA. The study is a feminist geographic analysis of their social networks related to migration and employment. The project elucidated the relationships among the geography of social networks, the dynamic and complex intersections of multiple social identities, and occupational mobility. In this final chapter I provide a review of the key findings of the study and highlight direction for future work. The chapter is composed of three sections. First, I summarize the scholarly contributions of this study. In this section I also identify a significant limitation of the study. Second, I identify shifts in the policy landscape that suggest future areas for research. Finally, I discuss how the intersectionality research paradigm, in connection with other modes of inquiry provide a lens to foster transnational coalition building that can be used for activism.

Scholarly Contributions

This research is a timely intervention that brings together the academic literature of feminist geographic inquiry about urban labor markets, feminist geographic inquiry about migration, the interdisciplinary field of migration studies, and the feminist theory of intersectionality. The scholarship of each of these has developed along parallel but separate trajectories. By bringing them in conversation with one another, this research makes important contributions to a number of important theoretical and empirical debates within each of them.

This study illuminated the important role of co-ethnic social network connections in upward occupational mobility than previous research had suggested. Study participants' social networks are dominated by connections between co-ethnic peers for migration and occupational mobility over the entire life course, not just at the point of initial migration or entry to the first job. Furthermore, the social networks were used over time and had a multiscalar geography, stretched between Haiti and the United States, as well as across multiple urban centers within the United States. By comparison, previous research had documented the centrality of place-based social networks rooted in a local community within the United States. Additionally, the results of these research found that churches are an important geographic site within a majority of study participants' current daily activity patterns. Churches also served as the primary site for the maintenance of the multiscalar spatiality of the social network connections throughout the life course.

In addition to findings related to the geography of social networks, this research had significant findings related to the complex intersection of multiple social identities and social networks. Social network composition and use was differentiated by gender, in terms of the type and scale at which social capital resources were accessed. This in turn has significant implications on the nature and differential pace of occupational mobility for women and men. Women relied on familial co-ethnic women who lived in the same household to provide assistance with social reproductive labor in their private residences. The men also relied on familial co-ethnic women for the same types of social reproductive labor. However the men in the study also relied on co-ethnic men. These male dominated social network connections provided members access to social capital resources related to educational advice, emotional support, studying assistance or

educational accompaniment which played a significant role in the men's more rapid ascension up the occupational hierarchy of the long-term care industry.

Previous feminist geographic scholarship about migration has encouraged analyses of how conceptions of space and mobility are tied to complex intersections of multiple social identities in ways that enrich critical theorizations of power (Silvey, 2006). This research attended to this call by offering a theoretical framework that integrates a Black feminist approach to intersectionality and feminist geographic inquiry about the relationship between power, mobility and place. While previous feminist geographic intersectionality scholarship has examined embodiment, performativity and subject formation processes as a means to examine the operation of inequality and oppression, the theoretical framework of this research integrated Black feminist scholar Collins' (2000a) conception of the U.S. matrix of domination and feminist geographer Rodó-de-Zárate's (2014) relief map to document the operation of asymmetrical power hierarchies in place.

This framework advanced feminist geographic inquiry and Black Feminist scholarship. First by utilizing Black feminist approach to intersectionality, this research utilized the situated knowledge of study participants to define and specifically highlight the intersection of multiple power hierarchies. This is in contrast to the ill-defined concept of power structures that has been used in feminist geographic scholarship. Furthermore this framework advanced Black Feminist Thought through an explicit attention to geographic concepts such as place, space and mobility. These are considerations that have been absent from this scholarly tradition. The resulting methodological tool, the Social Relations Chart, is a new and important contribution to

both scholarly communities. The empirical results of using this tool offered additional research findings.

Study participants' social relations in the workplaces were shaped by the operation of the salient power hierarchies of race, nationality, class, and gender. Similar to previous geographic scholarship I found that both men and women's entry and navigation into this type of work is linked to gendered discourses and ideologies, most expressively through the concept of bodywork. However the most significant findings utilizing the Social Relations Chart were related to the operation and intersections of race, nationality and class power hierarchies. I found that study participants' experienced a great deal of precarity in the workplace tied to the complex intersection of these power hierarchies. Further, I found that the constitutive elements of these power hierarchies were linked to experiences of overt and covert marginalization. These findings suggest that social relations characterized as marginalizing may be both the cause and a consequence for study participants' limited social network connections in the workplace.

This research presented new insights that link the construction and use of multiscalar social networks, migration, and labor market outcomes for transnational migrants through a Black feminist approach to intersectionality. Therefore, it furthers feminist geographic scholarship about the relationship between place, space, scale, power, and mobility in urban labor markets. Further this approach adds a spatial dimension to Black feminist theorization of intersectionality. Additionally, the research addresses significant gaps in our knowledge of how people find jobs through social networks composed of co-ethnic peers in an increasingly important segment of the labor market. Furthermore this research has documented that immigrants are able to use jobs in

the lower tier of the long-term care industry as the first rung on a job ladder in an industry that is increasingly important to both the economy and health service delivery.

Although this study made important contributions to several overlapping bodies of scholarship, it also had a significant limitation in terms of the nature of the data collected. In order to respond to the four research questions that guided this study, an expansive amount of data was collected. The data collected in this research from Haitian workers included extensive migratory, residential, work, and educational histories, as well as information about the important people in their support networks. This provided insights about the relationships between complex intersections of multiple social identities, social network type, composition, and spatial extent (e.g., kinship, community organization affiliations, Haiti, in Philadelphia region, outside of Philadelphia region), uses of social networks, and different labor market outcomes. In addition, the in-depth interviews consisted of open-ended questions designed to elicit information about (a) other experiences of migration and settlement, (b) other community affiliations, and (c) an accounting of daily activity patterns (e.g., where they go for childcare, shopping, and leisure activities; how they get there; how they manage household chores/domestic responsibilities; and who they work with, relationships with supervisors, co-workers, and clients).

The expansive nature of the data collected, made it difficult to determine which elements of this data to focus on for analysis and made it very difficult to present a cohesive account of study participants' material reality. Additionally, as the majority of this data was collected across the life course, the temporal relevance of certain elements of the data presented unwieldy analytical consideration. The final limitation that this data

collection strategy imposed surrounds the level of detail that was able to be collected about any one of these interview sections. For example, 30% of the long-term care workers were employed at multiple sites, however because the interview guide was so expansive I could not spend too much time discussing the differences or similarities between their multiple employers. Instead during interviews we focused our discussions on their primary employer. Although some study participants presented accounts of multiple employers (for example Michael's discussion in Chapter 4), this was not a consistent feature of all of the research interactions. My analysis would have been improved with a stronger attention to the connection between multiple power hierarchies and different employment contexts. In the next section I consider the implications of my research for public policy. I propose that the collection of data that is attentive to how different work contexts reproduce asymmetrical power dynamics would have been particularly instructive and provide an important basis for future research.

Policy Implications of Research

This research is particularly timely, as the long-term care industry is on the verge of significant policy changes. In the first three chapters of this dissertation I provided an overview of the policy context of long-term care industry. I argued that the terms under which this type of social reproductive labor is performed has significant implications at the metropolitan scale of Philadelphia, the state scale within Pennsylvania, as well scales beyond such as the United States and other countries of the Global North. As the demography of these places change to include greater shares of people in need of long-term care and insufficient numbers of people to perform the labor, the system to pay for and provide this care places increased pressures on families, communities and

governments. However these pressures also impact the terms and conditions of employment for those providing the care. I have argued throughout this dissertation that a closer examination of the experiences of workers in this context could provide important insights. I argue in this section that several elements of the findings of this research, as well as points for future research could have important implications for these policy changes.

The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010 (ACA) has created a new policy landscape for the long-term care service provision system. The ACA provided enhanced federal financing to improve access to and delivery of these services. Medicaid, and to a lesser extent Medicare are the primary payers of long-term care services in the United States (Reaves & Musemuci, 2015). Thus changes made on the funding streams of these programs have significance for the entire system. There are six different options for states wishing to access these new funding streams (Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2013). All six funding streams prioritize cost cutting, structural reforms and encourage a greater share of the provision of this care be moved to home-based and community-based sites, over institutional locations (Kaiser Commission on Medicaid and the Uninsured, 2013).

The impact of these changes did come up during this research study, particularly in interviews with key informants. This extended exchange with two key informants illuminate the nature of these discussions. These key informants are representative of the District 1199C Training and Upgrading Fund in Philadelphia. The District 1199C Training and Upgrading Fund was created in 1974 by collective bargaining agreements between District 1199C of the National Union of Hospital & Health Care Employees

(NUHHCE) and 11 Philadelphia hospitals. The Training and Upgrading Fund is a labor management partnership that serves both union members and the community. The organization provides a range of training and development courses but they have a specific Career Pathways program in nursing which includes Home Health Aide, Certified Nurse Assistant and Licensed Practical Nurse training programs (District 1199C Training and Upgrading Fund, n.d.). I interviewed the Executive Director, as well as the Director of the Practical Nursing Training Program in April 2014.

Executive Director and Director of Practical Nursing Training Program, 1199C Training, and Upgrading Fund

Sg: How would you describe the geography of nursing industry? Where are people working and why?

Director of Practical Nursing (PN) Program: I think it depends on your title. I really do. What we have seen in hospitals, is that hospitals only want bachelor's prepared nurses because of magnet status. Magnet status is a certification kind of thing that hospitals get, its an organization and to have this is, it puts them as kind of, ok like, having really high standards and part of the requirements is that 75 percent of your nurses have to be Bachelor's prepared. So that's what we've seen in at least in the last five years is the direction that hospitals are going in but now I'm not so sure.

Executive Director, 1199C Training and Upgrading Fund: I was just in a conversation, very interesting. In the Affordable Care Act you are not rewarded for Magnet status. So it's a little bit of a shift now. So what you are awarded for is cost savings. So that sorts of turn it upside down. It's going to be fascinating to see how it shapes things.

Director of PN: That's going to be interesting. You know I have been in nursing for over 40 years. And I've seen it come full circle. For what I see LPNs. I have been watching the trends for LPNs. And for LPNs the jobs are in homecare, nursing centers, acute care centers, community centers. That's where they seem to be focused right now. But I think it's going to change. Because LPNs…I just received an email that they're expanding the skill level on what a LPN could do. Whereas before they could not…a LPN could not do central line dressings and TPNs (total perinatal nutrition). Where before LPNs were limited, they are now opening.

> Executive Director: Well because the Affordable Care Act is going to reward moving some of the skills down to some of the settings that are not as costly.
>
> Director: I'm just wondering if the next five years if we are not going to see hospitals back to hiring LPNs.
>
> Executive Director: [claps enthusiastically]
>
> Director: and the reason being, if you could hire someone to do the same job for $50 an hour, as opposed to $100 an hour, what are you going to do?
>
> Executive Director: And I was very nervous with this Magnet status thing because there have been hospitals that laid off all of their LPNs and are only using RNs. There this movement to have the BSN serve as entry-level nurses which would cut out Associate Degree nurses, diploma nurses, LPNs. That would cut out the whole career ladder I talked about. You know the, Brookings Institution. They are doing this whole study on pre-Baccalaureate programs on health care in particular, as a huge part of the labor market in healthcare. This fits right in with what we are discussing. And the idea is that these, all of these thousands of thousands of workers in pre-Baccalaureate jobs can make good livings and its on a career path. In nursing if you cut that all out, what are you leaving for people to be able to move up a career ladder and have that opportunity? And in my opinion that would not be not good for the occupation and not good for society and not good for the patients. And the Affordable Care Act if it levels the playing field that would be one good thing.

This exchange suggests that some industry professionals believe that cost cutting measures might open up more opportunities for a greater share of the nursing labor force. The two key informants particularly focus on the benefits that might derive to those who have not or cannot pursue Bachelor level credentials in nursing. This would open up significant additional employment contexts to workers similarly situated as the Haitian workers included in this study. However the ACA includes other provisions which may also impact these same workers.

Although the ACA was passed in 2010, until recently, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has not actively engaged these policy changes. Former Governor Tom

Corbett, a Republican, was highly suspicious of the provisions of the ACA and sought to develop a Pennsylvania specific approach to healthcare reform (Millman, 2014; Pennsylvania Office of the Governor, 2014, 2015b; Pennsylvania Long-term Care Commission, 2014). The current governor, Tom Wolf, a Democrat, has indicated his intention to implement more fully all of the provisions of the ACA, including the Medicaid provisions (Esack & Olson, 2015).

In an early budget proposal, Wolf called for a 50% increase in the share of Pennsylvanians who receive long-term care services in home-based or community-based settings (Pennsylvania Office of the Governor, 2015a). Opponents of this plan suggest that labor force challenges could stymie this effort (Mamula, 2015). What is currently missing is any examination of these changes to the long-term care system is how these policy changes might impact the people who do this work. These changes suggest significant changes in the structure, organization, and location of work.

Future research on this segment of the labor force should consider how moving a greater share of long-term care service provision to more geographically dispersed locations impacts the economic stability of the workers in the industry. A preliminary analysis of the data collected in this study suggests that care work provided in private spaces (individual patient homes and small scale community housing arrangements) provided supplementary income to study participants. That is because long-term care provided in this fashion offered a limited number of available work hours, typically 2 to 4 hours per home. It was instead their primary jobs located in institutional settings, for example rehabilitation centers, nursing homes or hospitals that provided the bulk of study participants' income. Work performed in institutional settings provided at minimum, an

eight hour work shift. It is the income that they earned in these institutional settings, which the participants of this study primarily used to sustain themselves and their family. Future research should critically examine whether moving the provision of care to more geographically dispersed locations disrupts these and other similarly positioned workers' ability to accumulate enough hours to maintain sufficient wage levels. Previous scholarly research about carework performed in private spaces such as homes and community-based settings would be instructive.[97]

This study suggests another opportunity for future research. Study participants' experiences of overt marginalization were most likely to be perpetuated by patients and patient families. I have argued in this research that that study participants were not sufficiently supported after these social relations with patients within institutional facilities. Future research could explicitly examine whether these occurrences are more or less likely to occur in private care-giving spaces as compared to institutional settings. Existing research suggests that the intimate spaces of patient rooms even within institutional settings are a private space, resulting in workers' vulnerability to slurs and problematic social relations linked to race, class and nationality social identities (Ruchti, 2012). Additionally future research could examine the differential strategies used by employers and workers to address these occurrences in relation to different sites of employment. A comparative examination of covert marginalization by patients, patient families, co-workers and supervisors in relation to different sites of employment would be equally important. Analysis of the existence of both types of marginalization could

[97]Similar and related studies have been conducted about other types of carework performed in the context of private spacess (Boris & Klein, 2006; Creese, Dyck & McClaren, 2008; Dyck, 2005; Dyer et al., 2008, 2011; England et al., 2002; England & Dyck, 2012; Lawson, 2007; Mattingly, 1999; McDowell, 2009; McDowell et al., 2009; Tellis-Nayak & Tellis-Nayak, 1989).

offer additional insights about the sociospatial operation of power for workers within this increasingly important segment of the labor market.

The findings of this research and proposed direction for future research suggests that policy makers and employers should examine carefully the experiences of these and other affected workers before making wide scale policy changes. The experiences of Black and other marginalized communities have long shed light on the economic and political health of the nation, serving the role of "canary in the coal mine" of impending economic change (Guinier & Torres, 2002; Harris-Perry, 2011). The results of this research with foreign-born Haitian workers currently employed in the long-term care industry could be quite instructive in this critical moment of pending change in the long-term care industry. Policy makers, employers and the general public would be wise to take notice.

Transnational Coalitions: Building a Transversal Politic Informed by Black Feminist Thought, Feminist Geography, and Transnational Migration

A significant contribution of this project is its critical engagement of multiple scholarly debates, which have largely developed independently from one another. The most significant scholarly interplay is explicated in chapters three and four in which I detail the theoretical and methodological implications of bringing an explicitly Black Feminist intersectionality research paradigm in conversation with feminist geographic inquiry about the nature, significance and spatial extent of place-based social networks. Underlying the two empirical chapters of this dissertation is a robust examination of how the dynamic and complex sociospatial production of difference and inequality affects people's daily activity patterns, as well as the composition and use of social networks in

job search and occupational mobility. The critical engagement with multiple modes of inquiry including transnational migration studies, feminist geography, and Black Feminist Thought results in the complication of terms such as space, scale, power and mobility and ultimately the theorization of intersectionality.

An explicit goal of the intersectionality research paradigm is disruption. Intersectionality disrupts who is considered a reliable epistemic agent. Crenshaw (2015) asserts "intersectionality is an analytic sensibility, a way of thinking about identity and its relationship to power. Originally articulated on behalf of black women, the term brought to light the invisibility of many constituents within groups that claim them as members, but often fail to represent them." This study takes up Crenshaw's charge by exposing the particular ways that power hierarchies intersect and shape the material reality and the daily lived experience for a group of Black workers, foreign-born Haitian men and women, whose social location as a group places them at the intersection of multiple hierarchies of power and multiple layers of intersection. Race and nationality have been extensively documented in this dissertation. Further, by examining how these hierarchies intersect in their employment in the long-term care industry, this research also engages with study participants' placement in class/socioeconomic power hierarchies. Despite these multiple social identity affiliations, the narratives and experiences of Haitian immigrants have remained on the periphery of all of these groups to which they can ostensibly claim membership.

In addition to considerations of who is included in intersectional analysis, intersectionality disrupts and challenges taken for granted assertions about how power operates to maintain social power hierarchies. Patricia Hill Collins (2000b) asserts that

"social theories that reduce hierarchical power relations to the level of representation, performance or constructed phenomena not only emphasize the likelihood that resistance will fail in the face of pervasive hegemonic presence but also reinforce perceptions that local, individualized micropolitics constitute the most effective terrain of struggle" (p. 52). Collins draws the distinction between understandings of power as hegemonic and seemingly absolute, coupled with a belief in local, small scale, often individual resistance as the best people can do, flies in the face of actual, historical successes. People of color, including Blacks, women, poor people, and many others have achieved results through social movements, revolts, revolutions and other collective social action against government, corporate and academic structures. Thus, the U.S. matrix of domination is not an all-encompassing social structure or power hierarchy that overrides the radical, revolutionary political agency of individuals and/or groups.

Although intersectional analysis in the Black Feminist tradition has historically illuminated the experiences and social activism of Black women, Collins (2000a) argued that the matrix of domination can be extended to the transnational scale. Such an intervention would further understanding of the experiences of Black women in the United States, but also illuminate the theoretical contours of a transnational matrix of domination that focuses on the particular challenges to women of African descent throughout the world. Collins asserts, "intersecting oppressions do not stop at the U.S. border" (2000a, p. 250). A shared history of racial oppression organized via slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and an emerging system of global racism position women of African descent in such a way that there are many similarities in the issues they encounter. Issues such as endemic, persistent and intergenerational poverty and cultural

narratives of inferiority plague Black women in the United States but also within other countries all over the world. Despite the substantial heterogeneity of the Black diasporic experiences, these points of commonality suggest that including a transnational lens to the matrix of domination would be a worthwhile theoretical endeavor.

However, such an approach to intersectional analysis and the matrix of domination would again render some groups invisible. How do we account for people with these diverse diasporic histories and experiences who are currently in the United States, such as Black immigrants? Black immigrants (both men and women) within the United States are a community who could benefit from the transnational matrix of domination analysis. Collins is concerned with building coalitions between Black communities across the African diaspora, in a variety of nation states. This is certainly a worthy goal however such an accounting of transnational coalition building is limiting and the assumed definition of transnationalism merits further deliberation.

The assertion that territorial boundaries of multiple nation states are the appropriate place and scale for analyzing the experiences of historically marginalized groups or coalition building have been problematized by migration and geographic scholars alike. Scale is a defining feature of geographic inquiry. Scale is often mistakenly assumed to refer to empirically identifiable, fixed, pre-existing units (containers) such as the local, regional, national, and global. Silvey (2004) identifies the political construction of scale as the understanding that in fact scales are not pre-given entities but rather the result of sociospatial hierarchies and processes. Further, she detailed how feminist geographers concerned with migration research have analyzed the power-laden, socially constructed, gender-and difference- inflected nature of spatial scales. Consequently, there

is a robust geographic literature concerned with the dynamism of scaling and rescaling processes rather than mere observations of static governance units (Brenner, 2011; Gilbert, 2010; Gilmartin, 2008; Marston, 2000; Marston & Smith, 2001; Massey, 2005; Mountz & Hyndman, 2006; Nager et al., 2002; Walton-Roberts, 2004). There is also an emerging body of scholarship, which explicitly examines a Black sense of place from across the African diaspora (McKittrick, 2006, 2011; McKittrick & Woods, 2007).

Further, transnational migration scholars have troubled the nation state as the most appropriate scale for examining the experiences of migrants (Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2011). Transnationalism is most commonly defined as: "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many migrants build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders" (Basch, Glick-Schiller, & Blanc 1994, p. 8). These social fields termed, transnational social fields complicates understanding of place and scale for immigrants. Rather than focusing on the distinct territorial boundaries that separate nation states, transnational social fields are multiscalar and contribute to processes of re-scaling both in place, as well as across and between territorial boundaries (Collins, 2009; Glick-Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995; Glick-Schiller & Fouron, 1998, 2001; Ley, 2004). This is significant because rather than Collins' (2000a) assertion that imagines transnational coalition building between nation-states, these more current and up to date body of scholarship suggests that transnational coalition building can occur within nation-states, or any scale of sub-national units, such as the urban labor market or even one particular work place.

By bringing Black feminist intersectionality framework in conversation with feminist geographic and transnational migration modes of inquiry, the space for transnational coalition building within the United States, in the specific place of long-term care employment sites becomes more visible and viable. I have documented in this dissertation how social relations operating at the intersection of race-class and nationality power hierarchies shape study participants' particular lived experience. Documenting these experiences is important for highlighting the distinctive ways that power hierarchies operate in people's daily lives, and shape their material reality. In general, people are unaware of the ways they uphold other people's oppression thereby reproducing much of the narratives and discourses of prevailing power systems. I have documented in Chapter 6 some of the potential reasons why Haitian immigrants experience oppression, as well as potentially oppress others. The result is that these immigrants have limited social network connections outside of their nationality group in the workplace. As a result of this study, I can argue that at present no such transnational coalition exists. Such transnational coalition building might open the space to reframe wage labor in this employment context (Gibson-Graham, Healy, Cameron, & Project Muse, 2013). Such a reframing would equally privilege the interests of all members of the members of the community: those needing the care as well as the paid caregivers across the multiplicity of their intersecting and complex differences.

Transnational coalitions rely on transversal politics. Transversal politics are rooted in standpoint epistemologies which recognize that one's social location determines how one views the world (Brewer, 2011; Collins, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 1999). However that view of the world is partial, incomplete, unfinished. Standpoint epistemologies go

further however and argue that the only way to begin to approach a more complete and true view of the world is by engaging with others who very likely have a different view of the world. The engagement occurs, in spite of and through struggle. The recognition of difference should "encompass, rather than replace notions of equality. Such notions of difference are not hierarchical. They assume a priori respect for others' positioning-which includes acknowledgement of their differential social, economic and political power" (Yuval-Davis, 1999, p. 95). Transversal politics deeply trouble and disrupt the binaries found in the power hierarchies of the U.S. matrix of domination and offer direction for social activism (Collins, 1990). By upholding binaries that pit marginalized groups against each other, those in power are able to ignore the needs and demands of all those assumed to be without power. The deployment of an intersectional framework, in conversation with other modes of inquiry, exposes the operation of power and could expose a path forward, together.

GLOSSARY

Foreign born. An individual who is born outside the United States, Puerto Rico, or other U.S. territories and whose parents are not U.S. citizens. The foreign-born population includes naturalized citizens, lawful permanent residents (LPRs), certain legal nonimmigrants (e.g., persons on student or work visas, persons with Temporary Protected Status), persons admitted under refugee or asylum status, and persons illegally residing in the United States. The terms *foreign born* and *immigrant* are often used interchangeably (Kochhar, 2007; Migration Policy Institute, n.d.).

Global South. Global South is used throughout this text in reference to countries that have been alternatively identified as "third world," "developing," "less developed," or on the "periphery" (Rigg, 2007, p. 3). All of these identifications set these countries in contrast to the nations in the Global North (the advanced capitalist nation-states, for example, the United States, Canada, and Western Europe). Global South is not strictly a geographic designation, but rather one focused on economic inequalities that have a level of geographic and historical continuity. The usage of this term is intended to emphasize that nations are interconnected in global processes regardless of whether they are designated as part of the North or South.

Intersectionality. A critical social theory that asserts social identity categories are mutually and interdependently constituted and implicated in the materiality of daily life (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Lorde, 1984; hooks, 1984; Moraga & Anzaldua, 1983; The Combahee River Collective, 1977). Intersectionality also asserts that there are linked and mutually constituted systems of oppression, associated with these identities. Finally,

intersectionality is a normative theoretical argument as well as an approach to empirical research (Hancock, 2007).

Labor market outcomes. Labor market outcomes refer to the types of jobs people find and maintain, the terms of employment (e.g., hours, wages, benefits), and the opportunities for advancement.

Latin America/Latin Americans. This terms defines those nations with a colonial history and linguistic heritage tied to Spanish or Portuguese. This definition is adopted from the Mexican Migration Project (MMP) and the Latin American Migration Project (LAMP; Durand & Massey, 2010). This definition nominally excludes a number of smaller Anglophone and Francophone territories that are in close proximity to the defined region. Some exceptions exist however. LAMP includes data from Haiti, a former French colony whose official languages are French and a French-based Creole. The project also includes data from Puerto Rico, which is not an independent country but a colony of the United States. Migrants from both territories, however, share similarities with the other countries in the region.

Long-term care. A segment of the healthcare industry that provide care to an individual for an extended period of time. An individual is classified as needing long-term care once he or she has lost either the mental or physical capacity to function independently (Stone & Weiner, 2001). Individuals may need assistance with activities of daily living or instrumental activities of daily living.

Social network. The webs of social relations based on mutual trust and exchange that offer emotional, informational, material, and instrumental support to members (Oakley, 1992; Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008).

Social reproductive labor. Social reproductive labor is labor that sustains people as cultural, social, and physical beings (Glenn, 1992). Included under this umbrella term are activities such as maintaining a household, raising and caring for children, and caring for adults who cannot care for themselves.

Spatial entrapment thesis. According to the spatial entrapment thesis, women's economic opportunities are restricted due to the spatially limited nature of their daily activity patterns.

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APPENDIX A

NURSING OCCUPATIONAL HIERARCHY, DESCRIPTIONS AND WAGES

PHILADELPHIA METROPOLITAN AREA

Occupation						
Code	**Title**	**Job Description**	**Location Quotient[a]**	**Median Hourly Wage**	**Mean Hourly Wage**	**Annual Mean Wage[b]**
31-1011	Home Health Aides (HHA)	Provide routine individualized healthcare such as changing bandages and dressing wounds, and applying topical medications to the elderly, convalescents, or persons with disabilities at the patient's home or in a care facility. Monitor or report changes in health status. May also provide personal care such as bathing, dressing, and grooming of patient.	1.97	$10.18	$10.38	$21,590
31-1014	Certified Nursing Assistants (CNA)	Provide basic patient care under direction of nursing staff. Perform duties such as feed, bathe, dress, groom, or move patients, or change linens. May transfer or transport patients. Includes nursing care attendants, nursing aides, and nursing attendants. Excludes "Home Health Aides" (31-1011), "Orderlies" (31-1015), "Personal Care Aides" (39-9021), and "Psychiatric Aides" (31-1013).	1.35	$13.82	$14.18	$29,480
29-2061	Licensed Practical (LPN) and Licensed Vocationa l Nurses	Care for ill, injured, or convalescing patients or persons with disabilities in hospitals, nursing homes, clinics, private homes, group homes, and similar institutions. May work under the supervision of a registered nurse. Licensing required.	1.11	$23.96	$23.83	$49,750

Nursing Occupational Hierarchy Descriptions and Wages, Philadelphia Metropolitan Area (continued)

Occupation						
Code	**Title**	**Job Description**	**Location Quotient[a]**	**Median Hourly Wage**	**Mean Hourly Wage**	**Annual Mean Wage[b]**
29-1141	Registered Nurses (RN)	Assess patient health problems and needs, develop and implement nursing care plans, and maintain medical records. Administer nursing care to ill, injured, convalescent, or disabled patients. May advise patients on health maintenance and disease prevention or provide case management. Licensing or registration required. Includes Clinical Nurse Specialists. Excludes "Nurse Anesthetists" (29-1151), "Nurse Midwives" (29-1161), and "Nurse Practitioners" (29-1171).	1.16	$35.59	$35.66	$74,170

Source. Compiled from U.S. Department of Labor, Occupational Employment Statistics (May 2014) http://www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes_37964.htm#29-0000

[a]The location quotient is the ratio of the area concentration of occupational employment to the national average concentration. A location quotient greater than one indicates the occupation has a higher share of employment than average, and a location quotient less than one indicates the occupation is less prevalent in the area than average.

[b]Annual wages calculated by multiplying the hourly mean wage by a "year-round, full time" hours of 2080 hours.

APPENDIX B

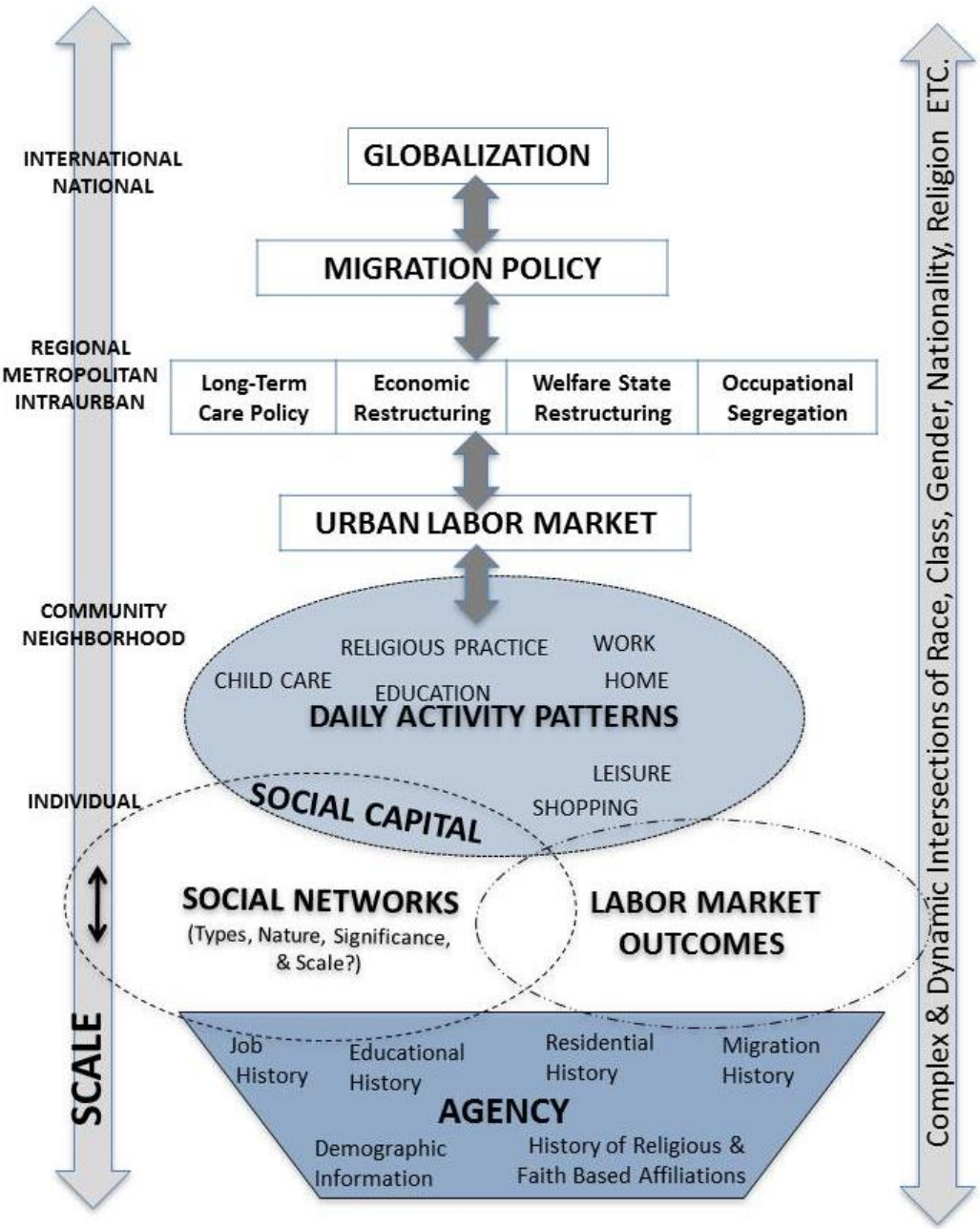
NURSING OCCUPATIONAL HIERARCHY TRAINING AND CERTIFICATION

Occupation Code	Occupation Title	Training/Certification Required in Pennsylvania
31-1011	Home Health Aides (HHA)	Training consists of a minimum of 75 hours of training, including at least 16 hours of supervised practical or clinical training.
31-1014	Certified Nursing Assistants (CNA)	Training consists of a minimum of 80 hours of training, including at least 37.5 hours of supervised practical or clinical training. The majority of State approved training programs in Philadelphia are an average of 151 hours. In addition potential CNAs must pass a two part competency exam ($102 exam fee). Successful test takers who pass both the skills and written test, will have their name placed on the Pennsylvania Nurse Aide Registry. In order for someone to be employed as a CNA they must be listed on the registry.
29-2061	Licensed Practical (LPN) and Licensed Vocational Nurses	High School Diploma/GED is a pre-requisite. Training consists of a minimum of 1500 hours. State regulations recommend that these hours be stretched out over at least a 12-month period. At least 60% of those hours must provide clinical experience and 40% theory. In order to practice as an LPN, workers must take a state licensing exam, the National Council Licensure Examination (NCLEX-PN) ($200 exam fee). Upon successful completion of the NCLEX-PN, the candidate may apply to the PA Board of Nursing for licensure ($135 application fee).
29-1141	Registered Nurses (RN)	Two educational levels for this. Registered nurses can practice with the equivalent of an Associate of Arts or technical degree typically completed in a community college or technical/trade school completed in 2 years, full time. There is also a Bachelor's level of nursing encapsulated by the Bachelor of Science in Nursing degree, which is earned at a baccalaureate granting institution, over 4 years, full time. The State Board of Nursing has NOT established a minimum number of clock hours for either level. However training must include some combination of the following types of course work: physical and biological sciences, humanities a/o social, behavioral sciences, as well as content related to the history, trends and professional responsibilities of nursing as appropriate for the specific level of student achievement. Students must also be provided with concurrent clinical experience. In order to practice as RN workers must take a state licensing exam, the National Council Licensure Examination-RN (NCLEX-RN) ($200 exam fee). Upon successful completion of the NCLEX-RN, the candidate may apply to the PA Board of Nursing for licensure ($35 application fee). Pennsylvania RNs must complete 30 hours of Board approved Continuing Education during biennial renewal periods ($65 application fee).

REQUIRMENTS, PENNSYLVANIA

APPENDIX C

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND LABOR MARKET OUTCOMES MODEL



Model for examining the geography of social networks and labor market outcomes for Haitian immigrants employed in the long-term care industry. Source: Theorizing digital and urban inequalities, by M. R. Gilbert, 2010, *Information, Communication & Society*, *13*(7), p.1007. Copyright © 2010 by Taylor and Francis. Adapted with permission.

APPENDIX D

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Participant Information

Name/Pseudonym:_____

Title (if applicable):_____

How long in current position:_____

Institutional/Organizational Name (if applicable):_____

Address/Location: _____

Connection to Long-term Care Industry (circle all that apply):

Workforce development professional

Nursing program educators or administrator

Immigrant social service provider

Aging or long-term care industry advocate

Haitian community Leader

Other:_____

Haitian Community Organization Questions

1. How long has your organization been in existence?
2. What is the stated mission or purpose of your organization?
3. How frequently does your organization host programs/workshops related to work, jobs, labor market?
4. How frequently does your organization collaborate with other groups/churches/community groups?
    a. Around what type of topics
5. Where does your organization host your community events?
6. Describe your membership?
7. What are the benefits of working in the long-term care industry/nursing field?
8. What might be some burdens of working in the long-term care industry?
9. What are some challenges Haitians face upon entering the US, Philadelphia, local labor market?
10. Are there other jobs/type of jobs were you feel Haitians are present in as many numbers as nursing/health care?

Long-term Care Industry Professionals Qs

11. Where are the long-term care jobs located in the metropolitan region? Suburbs? Urban? Where? Why?
12. Tell me about the career ladders for this industry?
13. Please walk me through the process to become a CNA or HHA?
    b. Walk me through the process to become a LPN?
    c. Walk me through the process to become a RN?
14. What do you know about Haitians who work in this industry?
15. May I contact you in the future to get clarification on any of your responses? Yes No

Email:_____ Phone: _____

APPENDIX E

LONG-TERM CARE WORKER INTERVIEW GUIDE

Part 1: Biographic & General Information

1. Pseudonym:
2. Zip Code, Neighborhood of City (so I can track where participants live):
3. Age (to make comparison):
4. Marital status:
5. Current Immigration Status:
6. Highest level of education you have obtained so far:
7. Do you rent or own your home?
8. Who do you live with? How many people live in your household

Person #	Age	Relationship to Participant	Occupation

9. If spouse, or other member of household worked in nursing, how long have they worked and did that influence respondent?
10. How many years have you been working in nursing industry total?
11. Why did you choose to pursue work in this field?
12. Have you considered continuing your education in this field? Why or why not?
13. How many people in your circle of friends work in nursing?
14. Why do you think so many Haitians are attracted to nursing industry?
15. Why do you think more men are going into the industry?

Personal Referrals:

Whenever a personal referral is mentioned, I will ask the following questions:

What is the relationship to the person who referred? _____

Where did you meet this person? _____

When did you meet this person? _____

Did this person provide you any other type of assistance at that time? _____

Did you provide any assistance to this person? _____

When was the last time you spoke with this person? _____

How frequently do you see them? _____

Where do you meet? _____

How do you connect with them? _____

PART II: Current Job & Daily Activity Patterns

What do you do for work? Title of Job:

Where do you work? Location of Facility, county or zip information:

What type of facility is it? (Examples: temporary placement agencies, private homes of patients, group homes, nursing homes, hospitals, geriatric center, or convalescence homes or something else.)

When did you get your training/license/certificate to be able to do this job?

Where did you do the training?

What state are you licensed/certificate in?

Is this the only job you have?

Do you have any other income generating activities that provide for your family?

Why do(nt) you have several jobs?

What year did you start working at this job?

Years of Employment at the primary job?_____

Where is the Job (City, State)? _____

How long does it take you to get to work?_____

How do you get to work? _____

Do you own a car: _____

How did you find this job? _____

Normal Shift?_____

Average # of regular Hours Worked per week?_____

Average # of Overtime Hours Worked per week?_____

Do you have any of the following Employment Benefits available to you at this job?_____

Health Insurance, Dental Insurance, Life Insurance, Vacation Days, Holidays,

Paid Educational Opps, Reimbursed Educational Opps, 401k/Retirement Benefits

If any of the above, do you take advantage of these benefits from this job?

If they do not get these benefits from work, do you have access to these benefits through any other avenue?

Tell me about your job? What do you do at work?

What impact does this job have on your body?

Is there any ongoing training/in services in this job? What are they usually about?

Have you received any other training/certifications/licenses in the health care field?

Was there any additional training or education required to take this job?

Where and when did you get the training/education?

Relationship with work colleagues:

- *Describe your relationship with the people you work with (supervisors, supervisees, co-workers and patients, patient families)?*
    - At your job, how many of your co-workers are Haitians? How many are other immigrants/foreigners?
    - Of your have non-Haitian co-workers, what is your relationship like with them?
    - Do you work with any friends or family members?
    - What's your relationship like with them?
    - How long have you been working with them?
    - Have you ever helped anyone come to your current job? Did someone help you connect to this job?
    - Have you ever helped anyone find a job in the nursing field? How? What did you do? Where did you know the people from?
    - Has anyone ever helped you find a job in the nursing industry?
    - Is there a union at your job? Management-worker relations?

Identity Questions

- Can you think of an example of when being a man was a benefit in this job/industy?
- Can you think of an example of when being a man was a problem in this job/industry?
- Can you think of an example when being a foreigner was an issue in this job/industry?

Work-Life Balance

- In doing this job, have you found any conflict between this job and your household responsibilities?
    - Have you experienced any burdens between your job and your household responsibilities?
    - How have you managed any conflicts?

- *We are now going to talk about your life, outside of work. Tell me about you, what do you do when you are not working. Tell me about your social life and your social networks?*
    - Do you go to church? Activities with your kids? Any hobbies? Things you do for fun?
    - Where do you go to church or other groups you belong to?
    - Do you have any formal roles in church (positions)?
    - Why you choose these church and different social groups?
    - How often do you go to them?
    - Where are they located?

- Do you find that this (all of your jobs) provide enough for you to provide for your family? Why or why not? How much would you pay for the following in an average month:
    - Housing expenses (rent or mortgage)
    - Utilities
    - Transportation
    - Pay debts
    - Food
    - General supplies
    - Child/dependents care expenses
    - Satisfy your personal hobbies, non work activities
    - entertainment
    - Sending money/stuff to Haiti
    - Other expenses

PART III: Life in Haiti

- Describe your quality of life in Haiti?
- Where is your family from in Haiti?
- Where were you born?
- Where did you grow up?
- Did you have any education after high school in Haiti? Where did this education occur?

Working in Haiti

- Did you work in Haiti?
- What kinds of jobs did you have in Haiti? List all jobs.
- Why did you choose those jobs?
- How did you find those jobs?
- Was there any educational or training requirements for each of these jobs?
- What kind of social activities were you involved in in Haiti? Are you still involved in those types of activities now?

Migration:

- Let's talk about you leaving Haiti…….
- What year did you leave Haiti for the first time?
- Have you been back? How frequently?
- Why did you decide to leave Haiti?
- Did you have anyone in the US who helped you migrate? How?
- Did you ever live in any other country besides Haiti? If so, where? Why?
- When you were preparing to leave Haiti, what did you expect your life would be like in the US? Why? What kind of work did you think you would take in the US?

PART IV: Migrating to US

- Tell me about the first year after leaving Haiti and how you got adjusted to life outside of your country.
- Under which immigration class/category did you enter the US? _____

- What city/area was your first destination? _____
- How long did you stay there? _____
- Did anyone help you to get settled in US? Who? How?
- Where did you live? Who did you live with?
- I'm interested in the jobs you had while living in _____
- What was the first job you had in the US?
- What year did you start that job?
- Where was it located?
- How did you find this job?
- Did you need any training/education in preparation for this job?
- Did anyone help you find that job?
- Did anyone help you as you were working in that job? How?
- How long did you stay in that job?
- What other types of jobs have you had outside of the health care industry?

PART V: Moving to Philly

- Have you ever lived anywhere else in US besides Philadelphia?
- When did you move to Philadelphia? _____
- Why did you move to Philadelphia? _____
- How did you get adjusted to life in Philadelphia? Who helped you? How did they help you? (finding jobs, housing, places to shop, places to worship, making friends, establishing yourself)
- Have you ever had any jobs outside the health care industry while living in Philadelphia?
- How did you find them?
- How long did you stay in each job?
- Why did you leave each job?
- What type of training/education did you need to prepare for each of these jobs?
- Where did you get the training/education?

Wrapping Up:

A. Do you have any suggestions on how Haitians can move up the ladder in the nursing industry?

B. Could you recommend any family/friends/other Haitians who work in the health care industry who you think might be willing to talk with me?

Name	Phone Number

C. If I have any additional questions, could I contact you?

D. What is the best way to contact you?

E. Do you have any questions about my research, what I'm doing and what my plans are?

APPENDIX F

KEY INFORMANT ORAL INFORMED CONSENT/PERMISSION TO AUDIOTAPE

[IRB project #21019]

Title of the research study: A Feminist Geographic Analysis of the Social Networks of Haitian Immigrants Employed in the Long-Term Care Industry in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Name and Department of investigator: Melissa R. Gilbert, Geography & Urban Studies Department, Temple University

This study involves research. The purpose of the research is to understand how the social networks of Haitian immigrants impact their ability to achieve occupational mobility within the long-term care industry.

What you should know about a research study:

Someone will explain this research study to you.

You volunteer to be in a research study.

Whether you take part is up to you.

You can choose not to take part in the research study.

You can agree to take part now and later change your mind.

Whatever you decide, it will not be held against you.

Feel free to ask all the questions you want before and after you decide.

The estimated duration of your study participation is 30 to 60 minutes.

The study procedures consist of interviews.

The reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts are

- Although the study team has put in safeguards to protect your information, there is always a potential risk of loss of confidentiality.
- There are no anticipated foreseeable risks or discomforts greater than what is usually encountered in daily life of normal persons or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests in normal persons.

The benefit you will obtain from the research is knowing that you have contributed to the understanding of this topic**.** Additionally, the findings of this project will be shared with institutions, which serve immigrant communities so they can be better equipped to help immigrants achieve occupational mobility in the healthcare industry.

The alternative to participating is **not to participate.**

Please contact the research team with questions, concerns, or complaints about the research and any research-related injuries by contacting Dr. **Melissa Gilbert via phone at** 215 204-5482or via e-mail at mgilbert@temple.edu.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Temple University Institutional Review Board. Please contact them at (215) 707-3390 or e-mail them at: irb@temple.edu for any of the following: questions, concerns, or complaints about the research; questions about your rights; to obtain information; or to offer input.

Permission to Digitally Record

Department: Geography/Urban Studies
Project Title: A Feminist Geographic Analysis of the Social Networks of Haitian Immigrants Employed in the Long-Term Care Industry in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

I give Sendy E. Guerrier permission to audiotape me. This audiotape will be used only for the following purpose (s):

RESEARCH

This audiotape will be used as a part of a research project at Temple University. I have already given oral consent for my participation in this research project. At no time will my name be used.

WHEN WILL I BE AUDIOTAPED?

I agree to be audiotaped during the time period: June 2013 to June 2016.

HOW LONG WILL THE TAPES BE USED?

I give my permission for these tapes to be used from: June 2013 to June 2016.

The audio file data will not be stored beyond the expected completion date of June 2014. The unidentifiable transcripts will be archived with Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR)[98], housed at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

WHAT IF I CHANGE MY MIND?

I understand that I can withdraw my permission at any time. Upon my request, the audiotape(s) and associated transcripts will no longer be used. This will not affect my relationship with Sendy Guerrier, Dr. Melissa Gilbert or Temple University in any way.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

If I want more information about the audiotape(s), or if I have questions or concerns at any time, I can contact:

Investigator's Name: Dr. Melissa Gilbert
Department: Geography & Urban Studies
Institution: Temple University
1115 W. Berks Street,
Philadelphia, PA 19122, USA
Phone: 215 204-5482
E-mail: mgilbert@temple.edu

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Temple University Institutional Review Board. Please contact them at (215) 707-3390 or e-mail them at: irb@temple.edu for any of the following: questions, concerns, or complaints about the research; questions about your rights; to obtain information; or to offer input.

Confidentiality: Efforts will be made to limit the disclosure of your personal information, including research study records, to people who have a need to review this information. However, the study team cannot promise complete secrecy. For example, although the study team has put in safeguards to protect your information, there is always a potential risk of loss of confidentiality. There are several organizations that may inspect and copy your information to make sure that the study team is following the rules and regulations regarding research and the protection of human subjects. These organizations include the IRB, Temple University, its affiliates and agents, Temple University Health System, Inc., its affiliates and agents, and the Office for Human Research Protections.

During the interview we will ask if you prefer that your real names and organizational affiliations remain anonymous in the research process. If so, you will be asked for your preference as to the appropriate way to refer to them and their organization (e.g. senior personnel in a large workforce development agency). You may also prefer to use and select your own pseudonym and we will use that name on all documents. The pseudonyms will be used in all transcriptions. No identifiable information will be linked with the audio or text files of interviews or focus group.Transcripts of your interview can be made available upon request.

[98]http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/org/index.jsp

APPENDIX G

LONG-TERM CARE WORKER ORAL INFORMED CONSENT/PERMISSION TO AUDIOTAPE

[IRB project #21019]

Title of the research study: A Feminist Geographic Analysis of the Impact of Social Networks on the Labor Market Outcomes of Haitian Immigrants Employed in the Long-term Care Industry in Metropolitan Philadelphia

N**ame and Department of investigator**: Melissa R. Gilbert, Geography & Urban Studies Department, Temple University

This study involves research. The purpose of the research is to understand how the social networks of Haitian immigrants impact their ability to achieve occupational mobility within the long-term care industry.

What you should know about a research study:

- Someone will explain this research study to you.
- You volunteer to be in a research study.
- Whether you take part is up to you.
- You can choose not to take part in the research study.
- You can agree to take part now and later change your mind.
- Whatever you decide, it will not be held against you.
- Feel free to ask all the questions you want before and after you decide.
  The estimated duration of your study participation is 45 to 60 minutes.
  The study procedures consist of interviews and focus groups.
  The reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts are
- Although the study team has put in safeguards to protect your information, there is always a potential risk of loss of confidentiality.
- There are no anticipated foreseeable risks or discomforts greater than what is usually encountered in daily life of normal persons or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests in normal persons.

The benefit you will obtain from the research is knowing that you have contributed to the understanding of this topic and that the findings of this project will be shared with institutions, which serve immigrant communities so they can be better equipped to help immigrants achieve occupational mobility in the healthcare industry.

The alternative to participating is **not to participate.**

Please contact the research team with questions, concerns, or complaints about the research and any research-related injuries by calling Dr. Melissa Gilbert via phone at 215.204.5482or via e-mail at mgilbert@temple.edu. You can also contact Ms. Sendy E. Guerrier at 215.813.2485 or via email at sendy.guerrier@temple.edu.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Temple University Institutional Review Board. **Please contact them at (215) 707-3390 or e-mail them at: irb@temple.edu for any of the following: questions, concerns, or complaints about the research; questions about your rights; to obtain information; or to offer input.**

Permission to Digitally Record

Investigator's Name: Dr. Melissa Gilbert
Department: Geography/Urban Studies
Project Title*:* A Feminist Geographic Analysis of the Impact of Social Networks on the Labor Market Outcomes of Haitian Immigrants Employed in the Long-term Care Industry in Metropolitan Philadelphia

Participant ID/Pseudonym: Date: _____

I give Sendy E. Guerrier permission to digitally record me. This audiotape will be used only for the following purpose (s):

X RESEARCH
This digital recording will be used as a part of a research project at Temple University. I have already given oral consent for my participation in this research project. At no time will my name be used.

WHEN WILL I BE RECORDEDD?
I agree to be digitally recordedd during the time period: August 2013.

HOW LONG WILL THE TAPES BE USED?
I give my permission for these tapes to be used from: August 2013 to June 2016.

WHAT IF I CHANGE MY MIND?
I understand that I can withdraw my permission at any time. Upon my request, the digitally recording(s) will no longer be used. This will not affect my relationship with Sendy Guerrier, Dr. Melissa Gilbert or Temple University in any way.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
If I want more information about the digitally recording(s), or if I have questions or concerns at any time, I can contact:
Investigator's Name: Dr. Melissa Gilbert
Department: Geography/Urban Studies
Institution: Temple University
1115 W. Berks Street,
Philadelphia, PA 19122, USA
Phone: 215 204-5482
E-mail: mgilbert@temple.edu

During the interview, we will ask you to select your own pseudonym and we will use that name on all documents. The interview will be translated and transcribed. The pseudonyms will be used in all transcriptions. No identifiable information will be linked with the audio or text files of interviews or focus group.Transcripts of your interviews can be made available upon request.

Confidentiality: Efforts will be made to limit the disclosure of your personal information, including research study records, to people who have a need to review this information. However, the study team cannot promise complete secrecy. For example, although the study team has put in safeguards to protect your information, there is always a potential risk of loss of confidentiality. There are several organizations that may inspect and copy your information to make sure that the study team is following the rules and regulations regarding research and the protection of human subjects. These organizations include the IRB, Temple University, its affiliates and agents, Temple University Health System, Inc., its affiliates and agents, and the Office for Human Research Protections.

APPENDIX H

KONSANTMAN ORAL (HAITIAN CREOLE TRANSLATION)

[IRB project #21019]

Tit etid rechèch la: Yon Feminis Analiz Geographic Nan Enpak la Nan Rezo Sosyal sou Rezilta yo mache travay la Imigran ayisyen Ap travay nan granmoun aje swen endistri nan Metwopoliten Philadelphia

Non ak Depatman anketè: Melissa R. Gilbert, Geography & Urban Studies

Department, Temple University

Etid sa a enplike nan rechèch. Rezon ki fè rechèch la se konprann ki jan rezo sosyal yo pou imigran ayisyen enpak sou kapasite yo nan reyalize okipasyonèl mobilite nan granmoun aje swen endistri.

Ki sa ou ta dwe konnen sou yon etid rechèch:

- Yon moun pral eksplike etid rechèch sa a ba ou.
- Ou vin travay kòm volontè yo dwe nan yon etid rechèch.
- Si ou pran yon pati se moute nan ou.
- Ou ka chwazi pa patisipe nan etid rechèch la.
- Ou ka dakò yo pran pati kounye a epi pita chanje lide w.
- Tou sa ou deside, li pa pral fèt kont ou.
- Santi gratis mande tout kesyon yo ou vle anvan ak apre ou deside.

Dire a yo estime ki patisipasyon etid ou se 60 a 90 minit.

Pwosedi yo etid konpoze de entèvyou ak gwoup diskisyon.

Risk ki genyen rezonab prévisible ak dezagreman yo

- Malgre ke ekip etid la mete nan pwoteksyon pwoteje enfòmasyon ou, gen se toujou yon risk potansyèl de pèt nan konfidansyalite.
- Pa gen okenn risk antisipe prévisible oswa dezagreman pi gran pase sa ki anjeneral rankontre nan lavi chak jou moun ki nòmal oswa pandan pèfòmans de egzamen woutin oswa fizik oswa sikolojik tès yo nan moun ki nòmal.

Benefis la ou pral jwenn soti nan rechèch la se konnen ke ou te kontribye nan konpreyansyon nan sijè sa a ak ki sa yo jwenn nan pwojè sa a pral pataje avèk enstitisyon, ki sèvi kominote imigran konsa yo ka fè pi byen ekipe yo ede imigran reyalize okipasyonèl mobilite nan swen sante endistri an.

Altènatif la patisipe lan pa dwe patisipe.

Tanpri kontakte ekip rechèch la ki gen kesyon, enkyetid, oswa plent sou rechèch la ak nenpòt ki blesi rechèch ki gen rapò ak lè ou rele Dr Melissa Gilbert via telefòn nan

215 204-5482 oswa nan e-mail nan mgilbert@temple.edu. Ou kapab tou kontakte Ms Sendy E. Guerrier nan 215.813.2485 oswa via imel nan sendy.guerrier@temple.edu

Sa a te rechèch yo te revize ak apwouve pa Konsèy la tanp Institutional Review University. Tanpri kontakte yo nan (215) 707-3390 oswa e-mail yo nan: irb@temple.edu pou nenpòt nan bagay sa yo: kesyon, enkyetid, oswa plent sou rechèch la; kesyon sou dwa ou yo; yo kapab jwenn enfòmasyon.

PÈMISYON pou kasèt odyo

Tit etid rechèch la: Yon Feminis Analiz Geographic Nan Enpak la Nan Rezo Sosyal sou Rezilta yo mache travay la Imigran ayisyen Ap travay nan granmoun aje swen endistri nan Metwopoliten Philadelphia

Non ak Depatman anketè: Melissa R. Gilbert, Geography & Urban Studies

Department, Temple University

ID Patisipan / psedonim:_____ Dat: _____

Mwen bay Sendy E. Guerrier pèmisyon kasèt odyo m '. Sa a pral kasèt odyo dwe sèvi sèlman pou rezon ki annapre a (yo):

X RESEARCH

Sa a pral kasèt odyo dwe itilize kòm yon pati nan yon pwojè rechèch nan tanp University. Mwen te deja bay oral konsantman pou patisipasyon mwen nan pwojè sa a rechèch. Nan pa gen tan yo pral non mwen itilize.

Kile pou m 'rete audiotaped?

Mwen dakò yo dwe audiotaped pandan peryòd tan: _____ a _____.

Depi konbyen tan ap kasèt la kapab itilize?

Mwen bay pèmisyon mwen pou sa yo kasèt yo dwe itilize nan: _____ 2012 rive jen 2016.

E si mwen chanje lide mwen?

Mwen konprann ke mwen ka anile pèmisyon mwen an nenpòt ki lè. Lè yo fin fè demann mwen, yo pral kasèt odyo a (yo) pa t ka itilize yo. Sa p ap afekte relasyon mwen an avèk Sendy Guerrier, Dr Melissa Gilbert oswa Temple University nan okenn fason.

POU PLIS ENFÒMASYON

Si m 'vle plis enfòmasyon sou kasèt odyo a (yo), oswa si mwen gen kesyon oswa enkyetid nan nenpòt ki lè, mwen ka kontakte:

Non anketè a: Dr Melissa Gilbert
Depatman: Jeyografi / Urban Etid
Enstitisyon: tanp Inivèsite
1115 W. BERKS Street,
Philadelphia, PA 19122, USA
Nimewo telefòn: 215 204-5482
E-mail: mgilbert@temple.edu

Pandan gwoup la entèvyou / konsantre, n ap mande w chwazi psedonim pwòp ou yo epi nou pral sèvi ak non sa a sou tout dokiman yo. Pral gwoup la entèvyou / konsantre ap tradui ak transkri. Psedonim yo pral itilize nan tout Transkripsyon. Pa gen enfòmasyon ki pèmèt idantifye yo lye avèk dosye yo odyo oswa tèks nan entèvyou oswa group.Transcripts konsantre nan entèvyou ou ka fè disponib sou demann.

Espesyal Remak pou Patisipan Gwoup Konsantrasyon: Li enpòtan pou ke tout patisipan yo gwoup konsantre mentni konfidansyalite nan diskisyon ak idantite patisipan yo. Patisipan gwoup konsantre yo pral mande w respekte vi prive a nan sesyon yo ak pa divilge nenpòt enfòmasyon nan gwoup la konsantre yon fwa sesyon yo diskisyon pou fini.

Konfidansyalite: Y ap fè efò limite divilgasyon an nan enfòmasyon pèsonèl ou, ak dosye etid rechèch, bay moun ki gen yon bezwen revize enfòmasyon sa a. Sepandan, ekip etid la pa ka pwomèt konplè sekrè. Pou egzanp, byenke li te ekip etid la mete nan pwoteksyon pwoteje enfòmasyon ou, gen se toujou yon risk potansyèl de pèt nan konfidansyalite. Gen òganizasyon plizyè ki ka enspekte e kopye enfòmasyon ou a asire w ke ekip etid la ap swiv règ ak règleman yo konsènan rechèch ak pwoteksyon an nan sijè imen. Òganizasyon sa yo gen ladan yo IRB a, Temple University, afilyasyon li ak ajan, Temple University Health System, Inc, afilyasyon li ak ajan, ak Biwo pou Pwoteksyon Rechèch Imen.

APPENDIX I

HAITIAN CHURCHES IN PHILADELPHIA

Source: Alexandre, Pierre, Santine, Merone, & Castor, 2015

Jerusalem Eglise Adventiste du 7eme Jour
537 E. Wyoming Ave.,
Philadelphia, PA 19120
Daniel Sejour, Pastor
215-324-0374

New Maranatha Haitian Seventh-day Adventist
6439 Lansdowne Ave
Philadelphia, PA 19151
Daniel B Sejour, Pastor
215-877-9567

Sabbath Faith Adventist Church
206 E. Wister Street
Philadelphia, PA 19144
Pastor Mondy Dorsainvil
610-990-1015
capturedbymondy@gmail.com

Tabernacle Haitien of Philadelphia
206 E. Wister St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19144
267-939-3994
Satine_20@msn.com
Rev. Laumsomne Satine

Schekinah Adventist Church
531 W. Chew Ave
Philadelphia, PA, 19120
267-335-5198
215-424-0762
Rev. Jean Milca Fenelon

Eglise Baptiste Souffle Divin
1444 Windrim Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
215-324-3363
Email: mpolection@hotmail.com
Rev. Michelet Paulection

Eglise Baptiste du Sud-Ouest de Philadelphia
6536 Upland St.
Philadelphia, PA 19142
Rev. Fritz Elysee,
215-724-2031

Haitian Baptist Missionary Church
5331 N. 15th St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19141
Rev. Gerard Bonhomette,
215-456-0904

Eglise Evangelique Baptiste Haitienne
814 East Chelten Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19138
Rev. Dr. Christian Cesar,
(215) 842-3782

Eschatonic Unity Baptist Sanctuary
957 Pratt St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19124
Rev. Roger Jean-Paul,
215-743-6264

Eglise Baptiste Haitienne Ebenezer
258-60 E. Roosevelt Blvd,
Philadelphia, PA 19120
(215) 924-4578
Pastor Maurice Choisi

Eglise Baptiste de Morijah
901 West Spencer St.

Philadelphia, PA 19141
Rev. Fontenelle Philogene
215-778-2542

Mount Oliviers Church of God
7244 Rising Sun Ave
Philadelphia PA
Rev. Elie Dufresne, Pastor

Eglise de Dieu Bateau Celeste
7244 Rising Sun Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19111
Tel. 610-733-0860
Pastor Daniel Bertin
Eglise de Dieu de Galilee
540 W. Olney Ave.,
Philadelphia, PA 19120
215-549-4960
Rev. Magloire Metayer

Assemblee de Dieu en Jesus-Christ
4287 Paul St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19124
267-333-1966
215-469-3108
jeanorel89@aol.com
Rev. Jean Orel Point du Jour

Eglise de Dieu
"Christ est Ma Victoire"
314-334 E. Luzerne St.
Philadelphia, PA 19124
Rev. Charles M. St-Aude,
215-457-2883

Pentecost Church of God
606 N. 63rd Street.,
Philadelphia, PA 19151
Rev. Arnold Dorchery,
610-394-0103

Church of God by Faith
1224 Allengrove St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19124
Rev. Edner Antoine,
215-535-2115

Second Haitian Church of God
750 Herkness St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19124
Rev. Jean Raphael
215-535-8471

Mt. Sinai Assembly of God
7353 Limekin Pk.,
Philadelphia, PA 19138
Rev. Francois Marquis,
215-549-8705

Eglise de Dieu de la Restauration Chretienne
3408 B St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19134
Rev. Frantz Leblanc,
215-423-8730

Eglise de Dieu Centre d'Adoration
6100 N. Beechwood St.
Philadelphia, PA 19138
noziln@aol.com
Rev. Nesly Nozil,
215-438-4208

Eglise de Dieu de la Restauration Centre D'Adoration
5054 N. 5th. Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19120
215-702-6032
elspier2@verizon.net
Rev. Paul Pierre

Eglise de Dieu de Sion de la Nouvelle Direction
6055-57 Vine St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19139

215-871-3268
215-431-7291
Rev. Missel Josiaste

Eglise de Dieu du Bon Samaritain
5307 Front St.
Philadelphia, PA 19120
Rev. Clody Presny
239-895-8233
Rev. Edner Georges
267-467-0812

Eglise de Dieu du Rocher
7255 Ogontz Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19138
215-224-1888
267-709-7032
Rev. Monesse Ulysse

First Haitian Church of God
6219 Lancaster Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19151
Rev. Jean Vincent,
215) 877-1622 (215) 877-1622
Rev. Marie Vincent

Eglise de Dieu Par la Foi
5347 N. 2nd St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19120
215-535-2115
267-934-8289
Rev. Edner Antoine

Eglise de Dieu Par la
Foi en Jesus Christ
401 N. 68th St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19120
484-686-4257
Rev. Jean Emmanuel Rosembert

Ebenezer Church of God
6914 Woodland Ave.,
Philadelphia, PA 19142
Rev. Noisette St.Jean,
215-492-3288

Tabernacle Church
of God in Christ
228 W. Olney Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19120
Rev. Patrick Depestre,
215-879-2070

Eglise de Dieu de Canaan
267-970-7357

Sentinel Fellowship
Church of God
229 W. Mentor St.
Philadelphia, PA 19120
215-868-8237
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APPENDIX J

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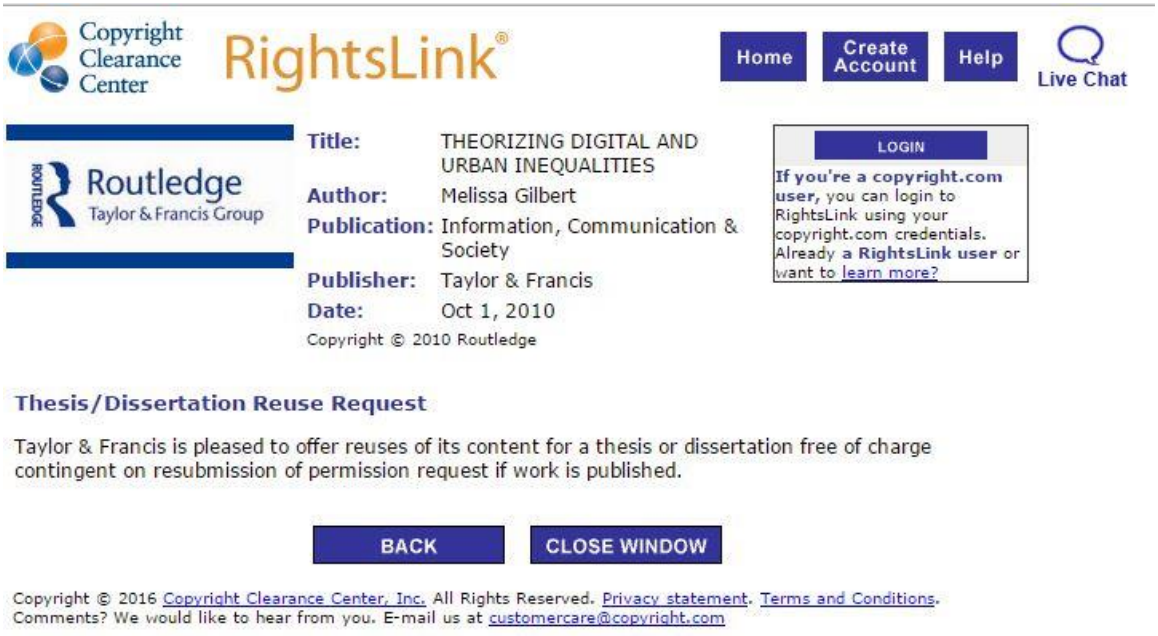

APPENDIX K

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