

The Haitian-Dominican Contradiction: Migration and Development in the Dominican Republic

by

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DEDICATION PAGE

This thesis is dedicated to the people who let me into their communities and homes in the Dominican Republic. I hope this thesis does their stories justice.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the connection between migration and development in the Dominican Republic, specifically in regards to people of Haitian descent there. To examine the connection, perceptions held by Dominican citizens were researched. The historical context of the island and the citizenship issue are imperative to understand the situation of people of Haitians in the Dominican Republic, since this represents a unique situation involving movement from one developing country to another. Social theories were used to examine the perceptions of this movement held by Dominicans. These were used to analyze how Dominicans create their perceptions of others, and how these perceptions may possibly be changed. A political economy framework is used to review the connection between perceptions of migration and perceptions of development. This broad framework allows political and economic aspects of the situation to be considered in tandem. It can also allow for comparisons between different incidences of migration, such as to understand similarities and differences between movement from developing countries to developed countries. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with Dominicans to garner these perceptions, in both the rural and urban setting. The conclusions based on the research conducted for this thesis, contrary to most other research in the field, is that Dominicans view migration in the Dominican Republic positively and do not see a conflict between immigration and development of their country.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

ESS	European Social Survey
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GFMD	Global Forum for Migration and Development
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NNM	North-North Migration
NSM	North-South Migration
OBMICA	Centro para la Observación Migratoria y el Desarrollo Social en el Caribe
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PNRE	Plan Nacional de Regularización de Extranjeros/ascen Situación Migratoria Irregular
RD	Dominican Pesos
SNM	South-North Migration
SSM	South-South Migration
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WESP	World Economic Situation and Prospects

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

People across the world were shocked and dismayed when images of the drowned body of Alan Kurdi were splayed across the news in September 2015. People questioned how this could have been allowed to happen. The reality is that this is the fate of many people across the globe, desperate men and women who find themselves anxiously searching for a new home. If all the stateless people (people who lack citizenship of any country) in the world were to form one nation, that country would be the 19th most populated country in the world. In all there are 72 million people across the globe who are not recognized as being a legal citizen of any country, and this does not include those who left their home country solely to search for a life with better economic conditions (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2012, p. 14). This problem has been recognized by international organizations for over 60 years, and yet little progress has been made. The number of people without citizenship will continue to grow, especially as the world is currently in the throes of a major refugee crisis. This is an important topic as it is impossible to protect the rights of those who are not recognized as citizens.

The issue of statelessness and irregular status, one of many which have arisen from human migrations, can often be pushed to the side due to the fact that there are still many nations struggling to provide for all of their current citizens, especially those at the bottom of the societal ladder. Most people will not argue the position that basic human rights should be guaranteed for all, derived from the 1946 Declaration of Human Rights. There are also a number of other treaties and agreements to ensure the rights of particularly vulnerable groups including the 1951 United Nations (UN) Refugee Convention and the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. However, most citizens and governments are untroubled with denying the simple right of identity to people

across the globe, often to those within their own nation, but most basic human rights cannot be protected if these people are not granted citizenship. This is the reality for millions of stateless people around the world. After World War II the topic of migration, and in particular displaced persons, became important on a global scale, and continues to be an issue of growing importance with thousands fleeing tyrannical regimes and places where war rages. Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms that “everyone has the right to a nationality and that no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality” (UN General Assembly, 1948, p. 2). This statement is clear, and in theory is a guiding principle for international governance. This year marks the 60th anniversary of the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Peoples, yet many nations have not changed their policies regarding citizenship or immigration processes, nor acted on them.

One of the many examples of a country denying both citizenship and effective immigration policies can be found in the Caribbean, on the island of Hispaniola. The Dominican Republic on the east of the island, and Haiti on the west, have had a tumultuous shared history. In the past, when the two countries were not being conquered by other nations, they were fighting each other for control of the island. There has been continuous movement between the nations, with the majority Haitians often seeking to migrate to the Dominican Republic. At times, too, the migratory flow was exacerbated or limited by government policies.

In 2013 the highest court of the Dominican Republic issued a ruling that made stateless thousands of people who have lived there for generations. The courts passed a judgment which stated that children born after 1929 to foreigners, including those born on Dominican territory, did not, and never had possessed, a right to Dominican citizenship. This action has directly affected people of Haitian descent living in the Dominican Republic, and it possibly left more than 200,000 people stateless (UNHCR, 2015). These numbers are conservative and only

include those that had papers, not the thousands who were living there already with an undocumented status. It also would prevent any more recent arrivals from being welcomed through appropriate channels into the country.

After an international outcry ensued, the government announced a process that would allow Haitian-Dominicans to apply for citizenship. In May 2014 Congress passed a law that would both regularize the legal standing of children of irregular migrants who had birth certificates, and also allow descendants of irregular migrants who never had papers, to become naturalized citizens. However, many have actively resisted registering as foreigners because they claim that they are Dominican by birth, and therefore deserve all the rights that come with it—for example, a naturalized citizen cannot run for high office. This new process requires Haitian-Dominicans who were born in the Dominican Republic to obtain documents from Haiti, as well as seven affidavits, proving that they were from the Dominican Republic in order to be granted two years of residency—and this in what is in fact their own country. The requirements, which are extremely demanding, allowed only a few thousand people to apply before the deadline in June 2015, leaving the vast majority of Dominicans of Haitian descent still with an irregular status or stateless. That process plays an important role in analyzing perceptions of migration and development in the country, which is the focus of this thesis.

While the number of Haitians in the Dominican Republic is widely contested, one generous and often-cited estimate in the media, claims that there are two million stateless Haitians in the country (Kosinski, 2009, 382; Human Rights Watch, 2016; Episcopal News Service, 2015). This comprises almost 20% of the country's population of 10.6 million people. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) estimated the number of people with the country of origin being Haiti as 329,281. The Observatorio del Mercado Laboral Dominicano (OMLAD) estimated that the "Haitian population" was 254,337.

This thesis uses the first estimate, as the definition is broader. If someone who was born in the Dominican Republic was asked if they were part of the Haitian population they may deny this because they identify as Dominican. If that same person was asked their country of origin, they may well agree if their parent or grandparent came from Haiti. At the most basic level what has prevented Haitians from obtaining citizenship is an unjust immigration process that denies citizenship to people who have been living in the country for generations. This unjust process, which has prevented them from obtaining citizenship, has various historical roots with diverse tensions at play. Most of the research and recommendations that have come from this area of research have focused on the ontological harms resulting from the denial of admission. Ontological harm is the deprivation of fundamental human qualities (Parekh, 2014, p. 645). While this is an essential part of solving the problem, it is unclear whether this can successfully encourage meaningful structural change in order to act in a preventative way.

Thomas Pogge (2010) argued that there is an inherent moral obligation of humanity to aid the marginalized. Governments need to care for everyone in their country, and in turn the people are also individually morally obligated to support one another. His first justification for this belief is that the current social order was created due to immoral historical events which have simultaneously created affluence for some groups and misfortune for others (Pogge, 2001, p. 14). Secondly, he argues that there is biased access to the single natural resource base on which life depends (Pogge, 2001, p. 14). This resource base includes employment, wealth, social services, and all the material aspects of life. This is especially true for people moving across borders, as they do not have the means to obtain education or employment in order to sustain themselves. Finally, life currently exists based on an economic order that perpetuates this fundamental division (Pogge, 2001, p.14), and therefore nothing can help to rectify the resultant harm until this inequality is addressed. For all of these reasons, Pogge insists that everyone is responsible

for the well-being of others. While the effects of irregular status are felt by the Haitian refugees most often at the primary level, the discrimination they face is perpetuated by the federal government through its legislation and actions. Based on Pogge's theory, changing the attitudes of Dominicans could be the foundation for changing legislation.

Citizenship is an integral part of the migration process. Citizenship as a concept has been around for millennia, but its definition and meaning differ across time and space. In order to understand the current issues of migration across the globe, it is important to understand the idea of citizenship in its own right. Citizenship can at once be used to both unify people and exclude others. It involves a two-way relationship: people cannot be recognized fully without citizenship, and nations are not whole without recognizing all of the people within their borders. Some people may claim that the concept of citizenship is losing value, given the continuation of globalization. Understanding the meaning of citizenship, and how it is used as a tool, is, however, essential to this project.

As well, migration has become a central part of the identity of most countries. However, for emerging countries trying to compete in the global market, balancing migration with development can be a difficult task. This is particularly true in the Dominican Republic, which has both a growing economy and longstanding tensions with Haitian migrants, where the two issues may be seen as mutually exclusive. People of Haitian descent in the Dominican Republic have often been denied citizenship, a process which affects their standard of living. This in turn could affect the development of the Dominican Republic as people in the country fall behind, and resources are misallocated due to perceived migration issues.

This Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate perceptions of migration in the Dominican Republic, and the way in which these perceptions interact with perceptions of development in the

country. The main question being asked is: how do Dominicans view migration, and how does this affect their perceptions of development in the Dominican Republic? The scope of this study will be limited to an analysis of the situation in the Dominican Republic. While the issue is inherently linked to issues in other countries, especially within Haiti and other destination countries for Dominicans, this project will focus on perceptions of migration within the Dominican Republic, including both immigrants to the country, and peoples' experiences with emigration. The central problem which this project will address is the denial of citizenship to Haitians, a decision which clearly affects their standard of living and creates tensions in the country, a process which in turn affects the development of the Dominican Republic. As these people are unable to obtain full citizenship, including essential documents, they are unable to break away from the menial labour that they have thus far been forced to undertake. They are also unable to participate in other rights that citizenship is supposed to guarantee, including obtaining education, gaining access to the medical system, and benefiting from social welfare programs.

Through the examination of first-hand interviews conducted in the Dominican Republic and secondary sources, I will examine the current situation. Most research that currently exists about the region tends to focus on racial tensions, or is from biased sources which detail only the most dramatic and violent happenings in local confrontations. This type of research, and particularly the media reports, neglect to delve into the roots of the problem, yet it is crucially important to understand how the situation affects people in the most mundane, basic, day-to-day ways. To answer the research question, the following four central questions were asked:

1. What are your perceptions of migration in the Dominican Republic in general?
2. What is your experience with emigration from the Dominican Republic?
3. What are your interactions with people of Haitian descent?

4. What do you believe is the most important development issue?

This research is important because the borders between nations are changing, often becoming less of a barrier. Migration is also playing a central role in relation to economic policies, and needs to be considered in tandem with development. Not only is transnationalism becoming more prominent, but there are also more and more human rights challenges that put people in a situation where migration is the only option. Indeed, the world is currently facing the worst refugee crisis since the end of the World War II. Over a million people crossed the Mediterranean Sea in 2015 alone, with the number of deaths in the thousands as they fled attempting to find a better life. Migration processes are continually altering, and these need to be understood in order to be able to ensure that basic human needs are being met. In regards to the Dominican Republic, it is important to acknowledge this because the lives of people who have been calling the country home for generations are being disrupted.

I am personally interested in this topic because I saw first-hand the marginalization of Haitians in the Dominican Republic in 2011 during a trip to explore development issues faced by both Dominicans and Haitians in the country. Their images and stories have stayed with me over the past five years. Throughout my undergraduate degree, I examined specific parts of the Dominican Republic in regards to discrimination and race, but I have never examined how integral perceptions of migration and development are to one another.

Migration

Migration has been occurring since the dawn of time. Humans have been on the move for most of their existence, and this is not a new phenomenon. Despite this longstanding history, it is important to remember that “migration is the exception, not the rule” (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 7). Indeed, the number of people currently living in a place that is not their native land is 244 million, or approximately 3% of the world population (United Nations, 2016).

Despite the long existence of migration, Castles and Miller (2009) believe that there is not much cooperation globally on the matter. One example they give of such a disconnect is that rich, labour-importing countries are unwilling to enforce migrant rights and make concessions that might improve outcomes for countries of origin because that would increase the cost of migrant labour. This is the reality, despite the fact that it was partly globalization that created the conditions for increased migration in two ways. First, we should note the advancement of technology and culture. Secondly, the persisting neoliberal model which has led to vast inequalities between the global north and the global south. This disconnect at the basis of migration studies is only one example of the anomalies of migration.

Studying migration requires considering the issue from a variety of angles. Due to this, the study of migration has been determined to require an interdisciplinary approach. Formerly, considering migration from a silo perspective has led to the failure of policymakers to see migration as a dynamic process (Castle and Miller, 2009). As migration is of an interdisciplinary nature, policies to manage migration need to be flexible and linked to related fields that influence migration patterns. Therefore, a more holistic approach is needed to study the phenomenon. Furthermore, Castles and Miller (2009) explain that migration policy has evolved from being nation-based, and addressing essentially short-term economic and political interests, and now needs to be viewed in the context of broader, more international, if not global, management strategies. These strategies could include employer sanctions, legalization programmes, temporary foreign worker admission programmes, and points systems which seek high-skilled workers while restricting the number of low-skilled workers. The changing global condition and numerous interconnected issues means approaches to migration need to be thoroughly examined.

This is true as the study of migration has its deficiencies. For example, Alarcón (2009) stated that migration studies tend to focus on individuals rather than the family (p. 91). It is an

important facet to consider, as migrants who have access to their usual family structures are potentially more productive, healthier, and better adjusted than those isolated from their families (Alarcón, 2009, p. 91). As well, gender-biased, gender-blind or gender-neutral policies may be hindering the full developmental potential of migration for origin and receiving (Alarcón, 2009, p. 92). This is particularly pertinent as it has been found that there are now comparable numbers of women and men on the move. Furthermore, “special policy consideration of family unit, gender-related needs, and social welfare of migrants and families abroad, as well as families staying behind, can amplify the developmental effects of migration” (Berumen and Calleros, 2010, p. 2). Therefore, not only do migration studies need to be interdisciplinary and robust, they must also be altered to be more attuned to current migration patterns.

One group in particular needs special consideration when studying migration. Much of what people hear in the news currently is about “illegal” migrants, a term that is misleading and should instead be replaced by the term “irregular”. In general, an irregular migrant is any person who does not have official recognition in the country in which they live. There is no officially accepted definition of the term, as will be discussed in Chapter Two. Problems of irregularity often arise when there are contradictions between the state and the market, whereby the market signals that migrants are wanted while the state rejects their arrival. To deal with this issue, “governments sometimes use ‘crackdowns’ on irregular migrants as a way of appeasing public opinion, while tacitly permitting irregular labour migration to meet employer demand” (Castles and Miller, 2009, p. 119). The situation is further complicated by the fact that asylum seekers have to enter in an irregular fashion, only then to apply for a regular status. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) gives guidelines for differentiating between economic migrants and refugees, a process which would allow for respect of the human rights of both groups, but adherence to these recommendations are often disregarded.

Development

Development studies often examine issues of poverty, social justice, inequality, and social change in a global context. However, this does not mean that development studies cannot be done on a local or inter-level scale. Much work on development can only truly be done through grassroots movements, or through the combination of citizens' actions and government policy. The first mention of development is believed to have been made by Harry Truman in 1949. At the time development was thought to be needed in the period after the end of World War II to help reconstruct devastated nations, move away from colonialist pasts, and prevent the spread of communism. All three of these defining factors were mentioned by Truman in his inaugural speech:

we must embark on a bold new programme for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of *underdeveloped* areas...The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit – has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing (Harry Truman, inaugural address, January 20, 1949, italics added).

Over time, the definition of development has shifted more towards human development rather than focusing on purely economic gains. Human development is founded on enlarging peoples' choices and can include indicators such as literacy, maternal death rate, or happiness indices.

As with migration studies, development involves research based upon a variety of fields, including political science, sociology, environment and sustainability, and history, to name a few. Also, similar to the question of migration, the study of development requires a vast array of players and actors. For instance, governments dole out international aid, while citizens participate in charity initiatives and, perhaps more importantly, have their own beliefs about

development which may or may not affect legislation. These different aims and definitions can make cohesive progress difficult. Nevertheless, in accordance with the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development, all people should expect and work towards development, individually and collectively. Article 2.2 states that “all human beings have a responsibility for development, individually and collectively, taking into account the need for full respect for their human rights and fundamental freedoms as well as their duties to the community” (UN General Assembly, 1986). Thus, development should be seen as a right by everyone to be beneficial to all in their community.

Development is not only hard to define, but it is also difficult to measure. This is especially true when dealing with marginalized groups such as migrants, and particularly irregular migrants. Development initiatives are more likely to be successful if they benefit specific, easily identifiable groups. Additionally, the main cause of irregular migration is not disregard of regulations by migrants, but rather the growing inequality between countries and the failure of “states to create adequate migration regimes to meet economic demand” (Castles et al., 2012, p. 130). This illustrates that the connection between development and migration is not purely unilateral or coincidental. Migration does not only influence development, since in turn development factors influence migration. This point will be examined more thoroughly in the following section.

Development and Migration

The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) notes the potential benefits of migration for development. Despite the creation of the GCIM in 2003, the convening of the High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development at the United Nations in 2006, and its follow-up through the annual Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), there has been little global cohesion on migration.

In its early days, development was thought to reduce the need for migration. The idea first emerged in the 1990s, and its influence has wavered ever since. Three reasons for its initial emergence were:

...1) optimism about positive impacts from remittances and other contributions by emigrants to their home countries, 2) concerns about negative impact from the loss of skilled people, and 3) an underlying hope on the part of some major destination countries that accelerated development might slow migration flows from the developing countries toward the North. (Newland, 2007, par. 5)

At the time people asked: can development and development policy help reduce emigration from poorer countries? Contrarily, it is now clear that development can lead to more people having the required resources to migrate. Rather than focusing on decreasing migration, the focus should be on decreasing inequality between developed and developing countries so that migration will occur under better conditions and enrich the experience for both the migrants and communities.

There are many other areas of focus that receive more attention in both areas of study. It can be argued that the greatest influence on development has more to do with global labour markets, private sector practice, and information technology than with migration policies. This line of thought leaves the spheres of migration and development disconnected. Another reason for this disconnect is that often countries of interest for development agencies do not coincide with those of interest to migration agencies. As will be noted as an important point of this thesis, the majority of migration research focuses on movement from developing countries to more developed countries. Organizations may tend to focus on the minority groups this phenomenon creates in developed countries. Some believe that development and migration are even contradictory notions, as the high costs of managing migration means there are less resources to contribute to development. Furthermore, there are few international fora that deal with migration

and development from a practical angle. The focus is instead often on theory, which is unfortunate because practicalities are important, particularly peoples' perceptions of both topics. These beliefs have led to the pessimistic view concerning the connection between development and migration, with some stating "migration and development – nobody believes that anymore" (Massey et al. 1998, p. 260).

Nonetheless, there are still many examples in which migration is an integral component of development initiatives. One such case is that of circular migration, a good example being the relationship between Mauritius and Canada. As part of Mauritius' reform and human resource strategy, official policy encourages migrants to return home with financial and social capital. This model shows how circular migration can be an integral part of national development planning, and bring origin and destination countries together. Circular migration can thus act as a development tool. This process allows migrant-importing countries to meet labour needs in a flexible and orderly way while combining the interests of developing countries in accessing global labour markets, fostering skills transfer, and mitigating the risks of brain drain.

Every GFMD meeting since 2007 has called for more robust data and analysis of the linkages between migration and development. Yet little empirical evidence about where and how the connections between migration and development work at any point in the migration cycle, is available. As Newland (2007) stated:

what is clear is that policy, to be effective, needs to be based on evidence, and that the evidence base for the links between migration and development is still very weak. Public and private institutions will be well advised to make the coming years a period of analysis, data-gathering, experimentation, and evaluation. (par. 31)

Debates on the topic of migration tend to be dominated by those concerned with national borders and security rather than with development. And this, despite the fact that "migration

should be seen not as a threat to state security, but as a result of the human insecurity that arises through global inequality” (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 145). As Castles and Miller eloquently stated:

Migration has the potential to bring benefits for origin and destination countries and for migrants themselves (UNDP 2009). Human mobility is an integral part of development as articulated by Amartya Sen (1999). For Sen (1999), development represents the “process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy” (p. 3). Mobility is a basic freedom and has the potential to lead to greater human capabilities. Reducing migration restrictions and ensuring that people can move safely and legally helps enhance human rights and can also lead to greater economic efficiency and social quality (UNDP 2009). This situates development as much more than economic growth in itself. However, as de Haas (2009) argues: restrictive immigration policies and marginalisation of regular and irregular immigrants do not only involve considerable risk and suffering for the migrants involved, but are also likely to have a negative impact on the poverty and inequality-reducing potential of migration (p. 55).” (p. 134-135)

While it is easy to say that the two spheres of development and migration should be linked, this is easier said than done. For example, it can be difficult to establish a cause-effect relationship between a policy and its outcomes. Indeed, initiatives such as the Millennium Development Goals, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, and Official Development Aid Targets clearly have good intentions, but often are not implemented.

Another obstacle to connecting migration and development is that relatively few governments send development officials to GFMD meetings. The only countries that have been doing so consistently are France, Sweden Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Furthermore, a few countries have successfully attacked the issue of migration and development unilaterally, but

have had limited success regarding international collaboration. For these two issues to be taken seriously in tandem, world leaders need to recognize the important effects that migration has on development and vice versa.

Outline

I will begin with a literature review to highlight the key debates and broader discussions that surround this research project. First, I will focus on the literature dealing with the situation in the Dominican Republic specifically. Then I will move on to examine literature on perceptions of migration and important definitions in the field, including the literature on citizenship. I will then review literature on South-South Migration effects, which is integral in the case of the Dominican Republic.

Chapter Three will focus on the theoretical framework of this project. I will first examine theories about the causes of migration, and social theories which help to illustrate how perceptions can be formed. Primarily, I will review political economic theory, and how this can aid in examining perceptions on migration and development in tandem. This will also include a review of the challenges of using political economic theory and alternate theoretical frameworks.

Chapter Four will contain the main findings of the research conducted into the situation of migration in the Dominican Republic. This chapter will include an explanation of the methods that were used and the challenges that were faced during the research phase, before making and analyzing three main conclusions. In the Conclusion, I will review this project and its findings. It will include an examination of future research opportunities, as well as recommendations concerning the situation in the Dominican Republic.

Migrations affects people across the globe, and has since the existence of time. The issues discussed in this thesis are not exclusive to the Dominican Republic, but are apparent in every society. This does not mean, however, that every situation should be treated the same. No

matter the place, the first thing that needs to be understood in order to resolve such issues are the thoughts of the people involved—whether they are officially called citizens or not.

CHAPTER 2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE

REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter examines some of the key debates concerning the question of migration to the Dominican Republic. I review the literature that touches on the history of the nation and how it came to be a country based upon migration, including its identity as a country with patterns of high emigration. I explore its relationship with Haiti and the way in which perceptions of migration have developed within the nation. Then I analyze what migration means in the context of the situation in the Dominican Republic, and briefly touch on the different types of migration in the country. Lastly, I examine the literature relating to the economic effects of migration, including the Dominican Republic's economic positioning. This is important in order to use a political economic framework. First, an understanding of the historical component is necessary to contextualize the current situation.

Historical Overview of the Dominican People and Migration

The Taíno people, an indigenous population, have inhabited the island of Hispaniola since the 7th century. After the discovery of the New World, the population was decimated by disease from abroad, as was the case with most other indigenous populations in the region. However, some Taíno bloodlines still exist. A census from 1514 showed that 40% of Spanish men in Santo Domingo were married to Taíno women (Ferbel, 2002, p. 4), and there is literature (Guitar, 2012; Martínez Cruzado, 2002) which shows Dominicans today that are still believed to have Taíno ancestry. Hispaniola was the first permanent European settlement in the Americas, and the first seat of the Spanish colonial rule in the New World. Eventually, France took over the island as part of the Peace of Basel treaty signed by Spain. The earliest slave uprising in the region took place in 1801 in Haiti, and the newly-freed Haitians took over the entire island.

In 1808 Santo Domingo was placed back under Spanish rule (Roorda et al., 2014, p. 145). It was not until November 1821 that the Dominican Republic claimed independence from Spain (Roorda et al., 2014, p. 145), but in February 1822 Haiti annexed the eastern side of the island. Some 22 years later the Dominican people gained independence again in the Dominican War of Independence (Roorda et al., 2014, p. 141). It is on this date in February that they celebrate their independence. However, they fell under Spanish colonial rule again, but the Crown was subsequently defeated and did not return to the island in an official capacity after the Dominican War of Restoration in 1865 (Sagas, 1994, para. 6). The United States occupied the island from 1916 to 1924 (Roorda et al., 2014, p. 225). That was the last official international intervention, and the country has been ruled by various internal leaders, some better than others, since then. This history of upheaval provides an interesting foundation for the country and created a diverse population.

One statistic claims that the Dominican population is 73% racially mixed, 16% white, and 11% black (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016), and diversity continues to grow with continued immigration. With the largest economy in Central America and the Caribbean, it attracts immigrants from close by—for example, there are an estimated 32,000 Jamaicans in the country (Joshua Project, 2016). People from other Caribbean islands have historically worked on the sugarcane plantations and the docks. There are some immigrants of Asian descent, largely from China and Japan. Europeans are largely from Spain, Germany, Italy, and Portugal. There is a considerably large Jewish population, which was welcomed by the otherwise jingoistic dictator, Rafael Trujillo. He was the only national leader out of 32 to offer refuge when called upon by the United States in 1938, and created the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (Symanski and Burley, 1973, p. 367). Other people have sought refuge from neighbouring countries. Cuban immigrants and Puerto Ricans fled economic troubles and social unrest

throughout the 19th century and early 1900s. In the 20th century many people from Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Japan, and South Korea migrated to the country for agricultural opportunities, as both labourers and merchants. Some academics believe that the lighter skin of certain groups helped them integrate better into Dominican society (Howard, 2001, p. 24), which is admired by Dominicans. Due to the nature of the labour and economic booms elsewhere, there were relatively few African slaves in the Dominican Republic in relation to Spanish settlers (Howard, 2001, p. 52). This was because when African slaves were first introduced to the Caribbean in the early 1500s, the main commodity in the Dominican Republic was raising cattle, which required less labour intensive work. As time continued, there was an increase in Haitian labourers in the sugar cane fields, which only became a successful industry in the Dominican Republic in the 1880s. These workers were often sought out by company owners and the government.

Today, the Dominican Republic admits immigrants from a variety of different countries. Of the 262,522 immigrants identified in the 2014 National Labour Force Survey, 213,910 were Haitians, while the remaining 48,612 came from elsewhere (Tejeda, 2015, p. 79). In 2014, 2,635 residence permits were granted, 99.7% of which were temporary and 16 or 0.6% to permanent residences (Tejeda, 2015, p. 86). Of the temporary residences granted, the three largest were for immigrants from Spain (413), USA (368), and Italy (178). Of the permanent residences, the three biggest groups were Italy (6) Peru (4), and Haiti (3) (Tejeda, 2015, p. 86). Given the large Haitian population in the country (329, 281), which is the largest population in the country (compared with the next largest, the United States at 25,814) (UNDESA, 2015), the fact that so few were granted to this group illustrates the importance of the regularization plan which was largely created for them. This program will be examined in more detail below.

Emigration identity.

The Dominican Republic is a country with significant emigration, since approximately 13% of its population live abroad, mainly in the United States, Spain, Venezuela, Italy, and Panama (Tejeda, 2016, p. 68). One of the first times emigration grew significantly was after the assassination of the dictator Trujillo in 1961, as people fearing persecution from his supporters fled. As well, when the United States occupied the island again in 1965, they made it easier for Dominicans to obtain American visas (Morrison and Sinkin, 1982, p. 825). The flood of Dominicans to the United States continued, with migrants being pushed by high unemployment and political repression. Emigration grew with continued economic troubles in the 1980s and the transition was made easier with a settled network, largely in New York. In 2012 there were 1.7 million people of Dominican descent in the United States (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016), a tenth of the Dominican population.

One might think that since most Dominicans have a relative or friend abroad, this would encourage them to create a welcoming community for foreigners. Howard (2001) wrote that “Dominicans often compare their attempts to gain residency in the United States with those of Haitians trying to acquire legal status in the Dominican Republic” (p. 35). Wooding and Moseley-Williams (2004) noted that emigration from the Dominican Republic is significant and therefore gaps need to be filled, and that if they want their people to be accepted elsewhere they need to be accepting themselves (p. 39). This is a complex issue, and must be examined using a transnational lens as “the condition of being a country of origin, transit, and destination imply certain challenges for the governance, including the guarantee of human rights, while presenting opportunities for promoting development of the Dominican Republic and the Caribbean” (Petrozziello & Wooding, 2016, p. 95). Unfortunately, such a view has not been taken at the government level.

History with Haiti

As mentioned in the section on the history of the Dominican Republic, Haiti has played a significant role in the development of the nation—and not just because the two countries share an island. The historical relationship between the two nations is important to take into consideration. Ever since the French colonized Haiti, and the Spanish colonized the Dominican Republic, there has been a significant strain between the two countries. After decolonization, there were different periods of Haitian rule in the Dominican Republic (in 1801, 1805, and 1822), leading to a growing Haitian population in the country with an estimated eight Haitians for every one Dominican. After the end of Haitian occupation, Haitians and other black migrants from British-owned islands faced prejudice, as Dominicans feared losing autonomy once again. Furthermore, the United States’ occupation in 1965 led the country to refuse entry to the country “for any race except Caucasian” (Plant, 1987, p. 19). However, despite this stipulation, Haitian labour increased to an estimated 79,000 by 1970 (Plant, 1987, p. 19). These strains came to a head in what has been dubbed the Parsley Massacre in 1937 under Trujillo, in which the Dominican government killed an estimated 15,000 Haitians in six days, claiming that they were an inferior race – and to stop migration (Roorda et. al, 2014, p. 281). Despite the massacre, since that time the Haitian population has continued to grow, from approximately 18,700 in 1950 to 97,100 in 1970 to the 329, 281 today (Cortan, 1976, p. 18), with many entering irregularly or with temporary work permits. The majority entered to work in occupations in deplorable conditions, largely in the agriculture sector. They took on the jobs that not even the poorest Dominicans wanted to do.

Certain incidents saw the Haitian population in the Dominican Republic grow exponentially. One such example was the earthquake in 2010, as the Haitian government was not able to provide adequate social or health conditions, or relief aid. When Haitians first crossed the border to flee the disaster, they were welcomed with aid and resources. The Dominican

government eventually had to admit that they had exhausted their resources to help. However, even after this many of the newcomers did not leave. The problem was made worse with the subsequent epidemic of cholera. The Dominican government, media outlets, and the general population claimed that the disease was caused by the Haitian people, even though it has been proven that the disease was introduced to the area by foreign aid workers. These are considered push factors, which the International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines as causes which drive people to leave their country (such as economic, social, or political problems) (IOM, 2016, para. 24). One pull factor, defined by the IOM (2016) as any factor that attracts a migrant to a destination country (para. 24), for Haitians could have been the fact that at one time anyone who set foot on Dominican soil was granted freedom from slavery, a process which surpassed any other human rights precedence at the time (Howard, 2001, p. x).

As a result, there have been several factors that have contributed to the large population of people with Haitian ancestry, estimated to be around 329, 200. The problem comes from the fact that these people have often been marginalized, and left without regular status. The Dominican government has cited their right to choose who it wants as citizens as their rationale for not providing citizenship to Haitian immigrants. They have even gone as far as changing their constitution in order to more easily reject the appeals of Haitian migrants.

By going against the calls of global organizations to establish a system that would allow for proper racial and social integration, the Dominican Republic has created a citizenship crisis there. In 2004 after a case was brought against the Dominican Republic for denying people, especially children, rights in their country, the government defiantly went against the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights ruling which demanded that they change their processes. The Dominican Republic then created The General Law on Migration (No. 285-04), which essentially cancelled the country's *jus soli* principles, which meant that anyone born within

Dominican borders was automatically a citizen. The new regulations allowed the government to deny birth certificates if a child's parents could not prove that they were legal residents of the Dominican Republic (Kosinski, 2009, p. 383). They did this by including the caveat that anyone born 'in-transit' would not be granted citizenship. This stipulation is normally only applied to diplomats who may give birth in a foreign country. By contrast, the Dominican Republic applied this to anyone who did not have legal documentation confirming their status. While the Dominican Republic and many other countries state that any admittance is an *ex gratia* policy, as they have no legal or moral obligation to do so, with the continuing rise of globalization, this statement is surely losing validity.

While there is little literature on the topic, and it is difficult to quantify the tangible effects of anti-Haitianism, some research (Keys et al., 2014; Keiser et al., 2015) shows the negative effects on the Haitian population, mainly by examining mental health indicators. David Simmons (2010) conducted a study in six different *bateyes* – communities consisting largely of Haitian agricultural workers (p. 10). He found there were many obstacles to proper health care including segregation, access to transportation, health concerns related to the immigrants' occupation and environment, and negative treatment from health professionals (Simmons, 2010, p.10). He sees these as mechanisms of anti-Haitianism rooted in structural violence (Simmons, 2010, p. 10). Another study found that women in the *bateyes* have a much higher rate of HIV infection than that estimated for women in the general population of the Dominican Republic, and in fact is a rate comparable to that of female sex workers in the country (Brewer, 1998, p. 1880). These data clearly illustrate the ontological harms directly felt by Haitians in the Dominican Republic. These prejudices are all inflicted at the primary level but are systematically ingrained in society. While the impacts of these prejudices are devastating for the lives of the people they affect, it is

also important to consider perceptions of migration held by the general population to address the issue holistically.

Perceptions of Migration

One of the cornerstone works on perceptions of migration in the Dominican Republic is by David Howard titled *Coloring the Nation: Race and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic*, published in 2001. He examined how ideas of skin colour and racial identity factor into the everyday life of Dominicans. His three study sites were chosen to provide a sample of different income ranges and urban and rural residents. His participants were chosen to provide a sample with a varied range of incomes and urban and rural experiences as well as differing demographics. Significantly, he considers the Dominican Republic transnationally, as both a sending and receiving country. He cited ambiguities of race as a cause for inconsistencies and accuracy in his results, as racial terms are “highly specific to person and place” (Howard, 2001, p. 3).

Howard (2001) found that differences were so subtle that distinctions are arbitrary and subjective, and therefore devoid of objective reality outside of the particular social context (p. 10). He believes that identification with Indigenous heritage is limited, but that the Dominican people are still willing to identify with their Taíno roots rather than their African heritage, which is strongly associated with Haitian culture. He found that the country clings to their Spanish roots as they “have to look for a way of separating [themselves] from the country which conquered [them] for more than twenty years, hence the temptation to seek in Spain something that will distinguish [them] from the other part of the island” (Howard, 2001, p. 4). He found that “many Dominicans are more concerned to disassociate themselves from Haiti than to claim ‘white lineage’” (p. 9), but nonetheless this European bias has now turned to become an American bias (Howard, 2001, p. 10), with Dominicans admiring Americans and their way of

life. When he asked his respondents what it meant to be Dominican, Howard often heard that it meant to not be Haitian (Howard, 2001, p. 10).

Opposition to Haitian residency was apparent across all sites (Howard, 2001, p. 6), although residents with more contact (the low-income urban group), may be more accepting of Haitians. However, rural dwellers were more opposed. He thought this might be explained by their more vulnerable economic status, and the threat of Haitians who are assumed to work for lower wages. As well, in the case of rural people, the lack of contact with Haitians allows racial stereotyping to be exaggerated.

Many people believed that “attempts to formalize the Haitian presence through residency permits would be the most effective way to minimize and monitor a controlled Haitian population in the country” (Howard, 2001, p.71). There was distrust across all classes, but urban dwellers accepted the idea of Haitians obtaining residency if their labour would benefit the economy (Howard, 2001, p. 72). The majority felt that they should not be welcomed without employment (Howard, 2001, p. 72).

Moving from the general public’s perceptions, Howard (2001) also questioned whether anti-Haitianism was a tool used by the state to create cohesion and garner support. Media in the country portrays the presence of Haitians as restricting modernization and development, as they report that they keep wages down, and sustain a non-mechanized system of farming. There is no media attention paid to the situation in Haiti, as Howard (2001) believed similar experiences of poverty do not reduce Dominicans’ contempt for their neighbours (p. 83). Paulino (2006) agrees, stating that the ideology espoused during the Trujillo era has survived as the “anti-Haitian sentiment outlived the dictatorship remaining solidly entrenched in Dominican society for subsequent generations” (p. 266). He argued that “this violence merits special attention because of its proto-genocidal nature” (Paulino, 2006, p. 266). Howard (2001) found some traces of this

dangerous statement, as he noted one informant said “I will pay you money, if you see a Haitian walking down the street. We don’t want Haitians here. We don’t want them!” (p. 33). However, despite the animosity, some were still able to recognize the negative effect that the expulsion of people of Haitian descent would have. One of his participants said that “before the expulsion [of Haitians from the community], I used to sell \$1,000 RD [US\$35] daily in lotto tickets. Now, I sell about \$600 RD [Dominican Pesos, US\$21]. But I am glad they are gone. You can only take so much” (Howard, 2001, p. 33). As more evidence of the contradictions Dominicans make, one 62-year-old woman he interviewed, and who was waiting to re-migrate to the United States, stated “each to their own place. I’m not giving my nationality to anyone” (Howard, 2001, p. 115). About this contradiction Howard (2001) wrote that “the perception and awareness of race, the racial hearth of Dominican society, remains one of the few aspects yet to be transformed by the development of a transnational community” (p. 119).

Contrarily, Wooding and Moseley-Williams (2004) noted that people of Haitian descent often form ‘sub-communities’, and that these groups “may take part in the social and cultural activities of the *barrio* (neighbourhood)” (p. 56). They found that:

...*los haitianos* [emphasis added] keep themselves largely to themselves, but they (the Dominicans) know and greet them, and there are no problems between them, although there may be occasional bad feeling...In general, while there is prejudice and wariness on both sides, and occasional friction, the two groups live amicably together. There are no serious problems of bad race relations at the community level such as are experienced in the United States and Europe. (Wooding and Moseley-Williams, 2004, p. 56)

Wooding and Moseley-Williams are in the minority with their conclusion

Howard (2001) stated that most families in the Dominican Republic shared some experience of migration, directly or indirectly (p. 62). He believes that many Dominican

emigrants face a sharper racial and ethnic segregation in the United States, and find themselves having to identify as black Hispanic, Latino/a, or African American (Howard, 2001, p. 62). Yet a re-evaluation of racial awareness has not been translated to the island. Instead, racial divisions, although different from what are found in the United States, are translated to the Dominican Republic. Jiménez believes that attitudes will begin to change as liberal Dominican intellectuals based in the United States visit, lecture, and publish on the island (as cited in Howard, 2001, p. 110). However, as identified in the report by the Centro para la Observación Migratoria y el Desarrollo Social en el Caribe (OBMICA), the United States is playing a limited role in the ground-breaking migration reform in the country, especially small in comparison to the European Union's contribution which included financial, technical, and logistical support (Peterzolli & Wooding, 2016, p. 105).

The difference between this thesis and that of Howard's publication is that here the focus will be on migration, rather than perceptions of race and ethnicity. This allows for an avoidance of the difficulties of race studies. This is particularly relevant in the case of the Dominican Republic, where Howard (2001) said that there was both overt and inferential racism. Examples of inferential racism can include neoliberal racism or institutional racism. Even without racial divides, every society is divided by social structuring. Howard (2001) believes that race cannot be reduced to categories of class, although the two are entangled, as Hall (1980) argued that social divisions can be explained largely by economic processes, and that race is the 'modality' through which class relations are experienced. While race, ethnicity, and class all have important roles in perceptions of someone classified as an "other", migration is used more broadly here so that a balanced view that includes perceptions of different groups (mainly Americans and Haitians) can be used.

Role of the nation.

It is important to examine the state's role in citizenship practices. While nationalism can inspire self-sacrifice and love for one's homeland, it also has affinities with racism and hatred of 'the other' (Anderson, 1991, p. 141). Nationalism has been said to be racism's last card (Nederveen Pieterse, 1992, p. 15), but different forms of nationalism can emerge, some more harmful than others. One form is civic nationalism, which is based on state-building practices that bind a community together with laws, government agencies, and national holidays (Brubaker, 1999, p. 57). This type of nationalism is non-exclusionary and does not discriminate within its borders. A more prevalent and harmful type of nationalism is ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is based on pre-existing ethnic characteristics, language, religion, and customs rather than shared rights (Brubaker, 1999, p. 58), which can act as criteria of eligibility. Historically, in 1937, under Trujillo's rule, the Parsley Massacre occurred. Haitians were killed if they could not pronounce correctly the "r" in *perejil*—the Spanish word for parsley, since it was assumed that they were francophone—and by extension Haitian. In modern-day Dominican Republic, exclusion is implemented through the denial of citizenship. These practices create a strict definition of who is a part of the nation, and who is not.

Speaking on nationalism, George Orwell (1998) noted that "there is a habit of mind which is now so widespread that it affects our thinking on nearly every subject" (para. 1). He added that nationalism can be solely based on a negative feeling of an "other", and does not necessarily require loyalty to a certain group (Orwell, 1998, para. 3). This can be evident in a nation where racism is rampant, but many are also ambivalent towards their government. As well, "a nationalist is one who thinks solely, or mainly, in terms of competitive prestige" (Orwell, 1998, para. 4). This is evident in a feeling of superiority of one group over another. Orwell (1998) noted that nationalism does not always have to be negative, and can in fact have benefits (para. 4). It is positive when minority groups unite and call for fair representation and recognition from

their government, and negative when people are oppressed. However, a nationalist is very set in their ways and “having picked his side, he persuades himself that it is the strongest, and is able to stick to his belief even when the facts are overwhelmingly against him” (Orwell, 1998, para. 4). Even though the Dominican Republic’s actions have been condemned by many international organizations, change has been slow or non-existent. Dominicans may be blinded by division and “have the power of not seeing resemblances between similar sets of facts” (Orwell, 1998, para. 12), such as the common African roots of both peoples. While nationalism is possibly one of the obstacles to improving the situation in the Dominican Republic, an adoption of a multiculturalist attitude could also be a remedy.

Multiculturalism.

Howard (2001) suggested that “promotion of a popular ideology of multiculturalism could provide the basis for anti-racist policy in the Dominican Republic” (p. 16). However, multiculturalism is a highly debated approach, with both positive and negative aspects. Supporters of multiculturalism promote it as a fair system that allows people to truly express who they are within a society that is more tolerant, and that adapts better to social issues. Historically, support for modern multiculturalism stems from the changes in Western societies after World War II, in what Susanne Wessendorf calls the "human rights revolution". As a result, the horrors of institutionalized racism and ethnic cleansing became almost impossible to ignore in the wake of the Holocaust (Verotec & Wessendorf, 2010, p. 46). With the decolonization of Asia and Africa and the coming of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the idea of accepting other cultures became more of a mainstream ideology. As this history shows, multiculturalism in Western countries was considered to contain a useful set of strategies to combat racism, to protect minority communities of all types, and to eradicate policies that prevented minorities from having full access to the opportunities for freedom and equality.

However, despite the seemingly positive appeal of multiculturalism, there are critics of the theory. Some see multiculturalism as unsustainable and undesirable (Nagle, 2009, p. 178). There is even evidence amongst the general population to support these claims. A study of American communities found that more ethnically diverse communities have less trust in their society (Putnam, 2007, p. 147). While multiculturalism may seem to be a utopian ideal, it still takes time for people to adjust. While either of these ideologies, nationalism or multiculturalism, may help to change perceptions in the Dominican Republic, it is unclear which solution might work. In order to fully understand the situation, it is important to get a better grasp of migration terms that help to define the situation of people in the country.

Migration Definitions

It is important to understand the definitions of the linguistic terms used in these debates, and the specific categories that will be considered in this thesis. Another interesting facet in regards to this project, is the fact that another language is at play, together with its own linguistic peculiarities. I will make a brief mention about the choices of words used by people in the Dominican Republic in Chapter Four. As in every country, there are different types of migrants in the Dominican Republic, and this section will help explain which groups are marginalized.

The IOM (2016) defines a migrant as:

any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is". (para. 19)

The term migration includes "any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons

moving for other purposes, including family reunification” (IOM, 2016, para. 19). Thus, the term migration is broad, and the groups in any situation need to be more specifically identified.

The IOM also uses the term labour migration, which is:

movement of persons from one State to another, or within their own country of residence, for the purpose of employment. Labour migration is addressed by most States in their migration laws. In addition, some States take an active role in regulating outward labour migration and seeking opportunities for their nationals abroad. (IOM, 2016, para. 18)

Another term which may be used in this situation is “economic migrant”. The IOM does not define economic migrant in their list of key terms, but Migration Watch UK (2016) defines an economic migrant as “a person who has left his own country and seeks by lawful or unlawful means to find employment in another country” (para. 4). This is important as economic migrants are often given different priority in immigration systems.

Another classification for a migrant is that of asylum-seeker. This is “a person who seeks safety from persecution or serious harm in a country other than his or her own and awaits a decision on the application for refugee status under relevant international and national instruments” (IOM, 2016, para. 3). With the many migration issues now seen across the globe, this term is often conflated with refugee. However, there is an important difference that needs to be recognized, as classifications of people are important for ensuring their human rights. A refugee is “a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” (Art. 1(A)(2), Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Art. 1A(2), 1951 as modified by the 1967 Protocol). As well, the definition of a refugee found in the 1951 Refugee Convention, Art. 1(2), the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention

states that a refugee is “any person compelled to leave his or her country owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country or origin or nationality”. Furthermore, the 1984 Cartagena Declaration notes that refugees are also people who leave their country “because their lives, security or freedom have been threatened by generalised violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order” (IOM, 2016, para. 25).

A different situation occurs when a person is stateless. A person is considered stateless if they are “not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law” (Art. 1, UN Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons, 1954). A person could have an irregular status but not be stateless. For example, this would be the case if they had entered a country other than through the regular migration channels, but their country of origin still had policies that would mean they were considered a citizen. As such, a stateless person lacks those rights attributable to the protection of a State, and has no inherent right of sojourn in the State of residence, and no right of return in case he or she travels (IOM, 2017, para. 22).

While these are all strict legal classifications, one cannot exactly consider them steadfast or clear-cut, and anyone who falls outside of these official classifications is considered to have an irregular status. Irregular migration encompasses any “movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries. There is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration” (IOM, 2017, para. 17). People in this situation are often referred to as illegal, but this term is avoided in migration scholarship as it connotes that the person in question has committed an unlawful act, or caused harm to a victim.

It is not surprising that “irregular migration flows make migrants more difficult to track, quantify, and thus harder to protect. Lack of documentation means that estimates of Global

South-Global South migration (SSM) flows are likely far lower than the reality” (Phelps, 2014, para. 9). High levels of irregular migration pose challenges to both sending and receiving governments, as irregular migration leaves migrants vulnerable to trafficking, fraud, exploitation, and abuse (Campillo Carette, 2013, p.17). The Dominican Republic is currently experiencing this issue. While shorter distance migration may be less risky, such as the case on the island of Hispaniola, irregular migration produced by barriers to mobility (such as the new citizenship regulations) is extremely high-risk and can result in enormously negative consequences (Campillo Carette, 2013, p. 61). Negative consequences that can be seen in the Dominican Republic are racism, lack of education, and a higher risk of disease, among others.

Given the many definitions to describe people’s movement, it is difficult to attach labels indiscriminately to the varied situations of migrants in the Dominican Republic. With the changes to the 2010 constitution, “children born in the Dominican Republic to parents in the country illegally are ineligible for citizenship. A September 2013 Dominican Constitutional Tribunal ruling applied that criterion retroactively to descendants of all undocumented migrants born in the country since 1929” (Seelke and Margesson, 2016, p. 1). These people would have been considered stateless, because Haiti exercises *jus soli* policy, not *jus sanguine*, so those born in the Dominican Republic to transient parents (which was mentioned earlier, and in this case means anyone without citizenship) were stateless.

There are various groups that are affected by the change in citizenship legislation in the Dominican Republic. The first category is Group A which includes “people born in the country between 1929 and April 19, 2007, whose births were officially registered (i.e., they had Dominican citizenship)” (Seelke and Margesson, 2016, p. 2). This category would be people born to parents without citizenship, but who were given a birth certificate. Group B is comprised of “people born in the country between 1929 and April 19, 2007, who lacked Dominican identity

documents” (Seelke and Margesson, 2016, p. 2). This group is in the more precarious situation as they have to obtain identity documents within an expensive and convoluted system. There is also another group who are “undocumented migrants who entered the country before October 2011” (Seelke and Margesson, 2016, p. 2).

Currently, after the implementation of the *Plan Nacional de Regularización de Extranjeros/as en Situación Migratoria Irregular (PNRE)*, the status of thousands has been clarified, but there is still a lot of confusion. Some people have been regularized, while others are still considered stateless if they could not get the necessary documentation. Some were also given a sticker in their passport allowing them to stay for one or two years. In 2012 La Encuesta Nacional de Inmigrantes identified 524,632 people living in the country who were foreign-born and only 239,956 people were regularized by the end of 2015, which is 45.7% of the identified population (Petrozziello and Wooding, 2016, p. 97).

The citizenship conundrum.

Citizenship has been important in everyday life and literature for centuries. Most scholars who have dealt with the topic of citizenship, and the issues of a lack of citizenship, focus on the right of admission to a country as the necessary component of citizenship, and by extension national stability and development. Lacking citizenship is undesirable for the individual, but the existence of undocumented people is also undesirable for the state and the international community as it may lead to tensions and problems (Weis, 1979, p. 162). As well, having a nationality is a gateway to other rights; Hannah Arendt¹ viewed the stateless as lacking the very “right to have rights” (Arendt, 2009, para. 17). Without citizenship or nationality ties to a

¹ Arendt was a political theorist and philosopher. As a German-Jewish woman she left Germany and was essentially stateless for several years before becoming a naturalized citizen in the United States.

particular state, a person lacks many fundamental rights including, perhaps most fundamentally, the right to a place in the world where one's opinions are significant and one's actions effective (Arendt, 2009, para. 17). Every person must be able to have grounds on which to voice their needs, and a venue in which they feel those needs are heard.

Arendt (2009) explained that in the New World after the Great Wars, the re-creation of the state and international laws meant that human rights were in actuality civic rights that were enshrined in the state, and thus they could only have precedence when one had citizenship (para. 13). This meant that human rights were tied to one's citizenship (Arendt, 2009, para. 13). She identified the problem with statelessness as not entailing a specific act, but rather revolving around the person's mere presence (Arendt, 2009, para.10). She does take into consideration the concerns of the state by conceding that an influx of people to whom no laws apply could incite a pandemic of lawlessness (Arendt, 2009, para. 11). However, this is not due necessarily to the undesirable character of the newcomers, but rather to a lack of responsibility between themselves and the state. She emphatically states that instead of a proclamation of human rights only upheld in the most privileged of countries, there should be a stronger enforcement of an internationally guaranteed right to citizenship, no matter where this citizenship is held (Arendt, 2009, para. 17).

This coincides with Kymlicka's views. Kymlicka notes that after World War II there was a call for an emphasis on individual rights as humans over group rights (Kymlicka, 1996, p. 3). Rather than giving a group of people special contentious rights, all humans should simply be covered by basic civil rights (Kymlicka, 1996, p. 2). This coincides with Pogge's (2010) views on cosmopolitanism, as people are more inclined to help an innocent person than to help a group of people where the innocence is less prevalent (p. 9). Until this requirement is met, "we shall have more and more people who with respect to their legal status no longer are human, who have no longer a place within humanity" (Arendt, 2009, para. 17). Thus, the issue of statelessness

does not concern solely the migrant's lack of identity within a specific nation, but it also means that they are anonymous to the world. Until there is a change towards a focus on the "global citizen", nations are the ones who need to address this issue. Furthermore, Kymlicka (1996) uses the idea of liberalism to explain why people should be able to migrate at will (p. 10). He emphasizes the importance of the individual to make choices, and simultaneously the necessary respect from others of those decisions (Kymlicka, 1996, p. 10). Nations need to consider changing their legislation to be able to support the choices of those that wish to gain citizenship in their country.

Debates on Economic Effects

Depending on how one categorizes "development", the Dominican Republic can be considered a country that is struggling in economic terms, despite its potential. It is the largest economy in the Caribbean and Central America, making it the 9th largest in Latin America overall (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016). It has a reputation as one of the fastest growing economies in the region. For 2014, 2015, and 2016 it was the fastest-growing economy in the Western hemisphere (World Bank, 2016). Its rate of growth was 5.8 at the end of 2016 (Central Bank of the Dominican Republic, 2017).

However, when delving deeper into the statistics, and looking at more robust development indicators, this success is put into perspective. On the Human Development Index (HDI), the Dominican Republic at 0.715 is ranked at 101 out of 188 countries (United Nations Development Programme, 2015, p. 209). In comparison, Haiti falls at 0.483 on the index and is ranked 163rd, and Cuba is placed 67th at 0.769 (United Nations Development Programme, 2015, p. 209-210). The HDI for Latin America and the Caribbean as a group is estimated to be 0.748 for 2014, placing the Dominican Republic slightly below average for the region (United Nations Development Programme, 2015, p. 211). The World Economic Situation and Prospects (WESP)

classifies all countries into three categories: developed countries, economies in transition, and developing countries (United Nations, 2012, p. 131). They consider the Dominican Republic as a developing economy. When organized by Gross National Income (GNI) the Dominican Republic is listed in Upper Middle Income, while Haiti is classified as Low-income (United Nations, 2012, p. 131). When looking at least developed countries, Haiti is the only one considered from Latin America and the Caribbean to fall in the category (United Nations, 2012, p. 131).

Most literature on the economies of Haiti and the Dominican Republic focus on the disparities between the two, and analyze how the former became to lag so far behind. One paper concludes that there is a striking divergence in growth performance despite their broad similarities in terms of geography and historical institutions (Jaramillo & Sancak, 2007, p. 23). The inequalities are not only evident between the two countries. The differences between Dominicans and Haitian-Dominicans are very evident in the labour market. The migrants' lack of citizenship in the Dominican Republic confines them to menial, under-the-table jobs. This limits them from negotiating towards any sort of upwards mobility, and ultimately subjects them to the human rights abuses that proliferate in these circumstances (Pérez, 2014, para. 5). As well, certain legislation in the country is in place to prevent them from becoming part of trade unions, "leaving them without a voice on the job or access to the pensions or social security systems that they contribute to" noted the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations report (as cited in Pérez, 2014, para. 5). Despite these limitations, labour provided by people of Haitian descent is pertinent in several key industries, accounting for significant value added to the economy.

There is limited literature on the labour effects of Haitians in the Dominican Republic. What little research there is does, however, point to the positive effects of this labour contribution. The notion that Haitian migration is detrimental to development in the Dominican

Republic is a myth (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004, p. 11). Most analyses about Haitians living in the Dominican Republic have linked Haitians to the sugar industry (Jayaram, 2010, p. 32). Other works (Food and Agriculture Organization, 2009; Schwerdtfeger, 2008) have recognized this population's contribution in the construction industry, cigar production, communications, service, transport, and hotels, which have been staples of the economy since the turn of the century. Evidently, as noted by Wooding and Moseley-Williams (2004) "migrant labour has shaped the modern economy and has become integrated into it" (p. 15), such is the case in many countries which see out-migration affecting their demographics and thus their economy. Emigration by Dominicans from their homeland is large, and an estimated 1.3 million people emigrated in 2015 (Tejeda, 2016, p. 67), losses that could be compensated by Haitian immigration. Indeed, one could argue that, if they want Dominicans to be accepted elsewhere, they should be accepting themselves. On a related point, it is worth noting that some researchers even contend that the tensions between the two nations have been exacerbated by outside sources to weaken the island's economy and to encourage external intervention (Howard, 2001, p. 19).

All studies show that Haitian labourers make less than their Dominican counterparts and are competing amongst themselves for jobs, not with Dominicans (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004, p. 68). As the rate of migration was -3.00 per thousand residents between 2010 and 2015 (Tejeda, 2016, p. 67), there are jobs that need to be filled in the Dominican Republic, and unemployment needs to be reduced in Haiti. At the same time, remittances being sent to both from host countries are reducing poverty in each nation (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004, p. 68). One World Bank report suggested that Haitians create wealth for the rich as they force already low wages down and inhibit the modernisation and mechanisation of enterprises, which may "de-rail the government's poverty reduction plans" (as cited in Wooding and Moseley-Williams, 2004, p. 68). However, there is no other research on this topic, and while they may be

increasing the profit margins of the already wealthy, they may be affecting inequality but not necessarily affecting poverty.

South-South migration effects.

A considerable amount of research has been done on Global South-Global North migration (SNM), but not much on SSM, as is the case of Haitian migrants in the Dominican Republic. The results indicate that higher levels of international migration are associated with lower scores on the HDI, but that the effect of international migration is relatively small (Sanderson, 2010, p. 70). This means that the overall decrease in standard of living is not enough to justify denying immigrants. However, this study cites bias in the fact that many people enter a country illegally or without the necessary documents, which is a known problem in the Dominican Republic. This issue needs to be taken into consideration to create a framework that will positively affect the Dominican Republic.

The Dominican Republic is considered a wealthier Southern country. Regardless of this, “SSM receiving countries face unique challenges in managing migration that cannot be solved by simply applying policies used by Northern countries managing SNM” (Phelps, 2014, para. 4). Furthermore, those moving from one developing country to another may see no other option and will use migration as an extreme survival strategy (Campillo Carette, 2013, p. 25). This means that the risk in movement is inherently higher in SSM cases, as is the case with Haitians fleeing to the Dominican Republic. If the Dominican Republic tries to institute Northern-influenced selective policies which seek to restrict low-skilled workers, irregular migration is encouraged. This less-researched, but increasingly important topic of SSM, will be addressed in the next chapter in regards to the need for a well-rounded theoretical approach.

Conclusion

This literature review serves to outline some of the key debates that are at the root of this topic. An understanding of how these issues factor into the situation is paramount to move towards a more equitable, balanced approach to the immigration question. The chapter reviewed the history of the Dominican Republic and the people that live there, including their identity as an emigration country. It then moved on to reflect on the particular issue of Haitian migration in the country, and the challenges this entails. Previous studies on perceptions of migration in the country were explored, this was examined in conjunction with an analysis of literature on the role of the nation in migration, and the way in which multiculturalism is a factor. From there, the chapter analyzed the precise meanings of migration terms that would be used in this project, and the manner in which citizenship will be considered. Lastly it examined the economic considerations that must be weighed, particularly given the economic position of the Dominican Republic, and the fact that this is a case of mostly SSM.

This research project seeks to fill a gap in the current literature. It does this by examining perceptions of migration on the ground, as was done by Howard. Yet while he considered the situation transnationally, the conclusions that he reached were more focused on Haitian migration issues of race and ethnicity. Furthermore, with the recent changes in Dominican legislation, a lot has been written about the governmental framework for migration. At this stage it is important that perceptions of migration amongst the general population are reviewed, to ensure the changes going into effect at the highest echelon are having meaningful effects in people's everyday lives. There are still many other areas that need to be addressed in this complicated situation, but this begins to highlight the key focus areas of this research project. The next chapter will deal with the theory behind this issue.

CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The objective of this thesis is to understand the connection between peoples' perceptions of development and migration, with specific reference to the role of Haitian migration in the Dominican Republic. It is pertinent to note that migrations can be classified using four different categories depending on the source and host country's level of development. These categories are North-North migration (NNM), North-South migration (NSM), South-North migration (SNM), and South-South migrations (SSM). Understanding the type of movement that is occurring is important to contextualize people's perceptions of development. That is, does the type of migration that is happening affect a domestic citizen's view of the impact on development based on their own country's status and that of the newcomers. I will explore the definitions of Global South and Global North, and theories that help understand movements between them. As migration happens in many different forms across the globe, and the situations in these places differ, it is important to examine how they vary in order to understand the movement of people, and the discourse that surrounds this movement. I will then analyze the way in which peoples' perceptions are formed, using relevant social theories. To understand how peoples' perspectives affect development in a country, I will use a political economic framework to link the two spheres. As political economic theory is the primary framework used to understand how these issues intersect, I will explore challenges that result from its application, and alternative theories. I will end this chapter by explaining why a political economic framework is the best choice for the research that was conducted.

Migration and North and South

It is important first to understand what is meant by the terms "North" and "South". From a development perspective, there are many problems associated with these terms, and the ideas

they provoke. First, they imply a hierarchy, and insinuate that a few countries dominate the rest. Secondly, they are not holistic in that they do not account for the differences within countries themselves. Although these terms have their limitations, they serve the purpose here to illustrate the difference between developed (North) and less developed (South) countries.

According to the UNDESA classifications, North refers to North America (excluding Mexico), Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand (Laczko, 2013). Thus, every other country is considered part of the South. This is the definition that this thesis will use, but it is important to note that this is only one definition of many. The World Bank's list of Northern countries also includes Bahrain, Barbados, Hong Kong, China, Israel, Macao, Oman, Puerto Rico, Qatar, the Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Arab Emirates (Laczko, 2013). This list is based solely on GNI per capita, and does not include other human development factors. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) list is also different. It is similar to the World Bank list, but also includes a few other high income countries in Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia (Laczko, 2013). This thesis will use the first definition given by the UNDESA because it takes a more rounded approach, and does not solely rely on economic indicators, which often do not give a full picture of reality.

Park (2015) notes that our modern world is in many ways defined by migration, largely from the South to the North. Given the generic definition that North implies a more developed level than the South, one may ask if it is even worth examining SSM or NSM, as it may mistakenly be assumed that SNM is the most common path, based on standard knowledge of human action and preferences. Furthermore, the definition of a migrant given by the Oxford dictionary – “a person who moves from one place to another in order to find work or better living conditions” (Oxford Dictionaries Online, n.d.) – is another example of this limited, indeed erroneous, notion. The IOM estimates that there were 7 to 13 million migrants from the North

living in the South in 2010 (Laczko, 2013). Of that number, the largest group is Americans living in Mexico, while other significant movement of migrants is seen from Germany to Turkey, the United States to South Africa, Portugal to Brazil, and Italy to Argentina (Laczko, 2013). Some motivations for NSM include: economic opportunity and the global economic crisis, return migration, expansion of global companies, student migration, and retirement migration (Laczko, 2013). The inclusion of return migrants in this category is an interesting choice. In the Dominican Republic, this would most likely pertain to Dominicans who migrated to the United States and then returned home. It is debatable whether return migration should be classified as NSM as the factors forcing them to return may include deportation (legally or otherwise), or the end of a work contract, which is often for a very short duration. Therefore, it is clear that SNM is not the only type of migration occurring and that SSM warrants examination, including how this movement can affect the receiving country's view of development.

Relative deprivation theory.

Another migration flow that has been given slightly more attention in recent years is SSM. One theory that helps to understand South-South movement is relative deprivation theory. This theory contends that awareness of the income difference between neighbouring countries or other households to the migrant-sending community is an important factor in migration. As we saw in the previous chapter, Haiti is far behind the Dominican Republic in development indicators, and the close proximity makes it a sensible choice for relocation.

Just as NSM is significant enough to warrant consideration (although it will not be the focus of this thesis), similarly, SSM should not be discounted from our analysis. There has been a rise in SSM, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimates that as of 2015 there were 82 million people who had moved from one developing country to another, comprising 36% of the total migrant stock (OECD, 2016), and this number

may be even greater given the difficulty of tracking such movement. One reason for this increase is that, as developed nations move towards immigration systems that favour migrants with high skills, this may deter people that are low-skilled who may then choose a more lenient country with a less developed immigration system (Hujó & Piper, 2007). For example, Leach (2012) notes that this is the case for many in the Caribbean who do not have the high skills required to move to North America or Europe. Seeing an influx of migrants because of these restrictions in Northern countries, could encourage lesser developed countries to limit entrance at their borders as well. Most literature shows that migration from low-income to high-income countries has overall global gains, yet most high-income countries impose strict limits on labour inflows and set their admission policies unilaterally (Epstein, 2012, p. 17).

Cases of SSM and SNM require differentiated policies as the characteristics of each differ. South-South migrants are more likely to engage in migration as an extreme survival strategy than their counterparts moving to developed countries, a process which creates irregular migration flows that make migrants more difficult to track, quantify, and thus harder to protect (Campillo Carette, 2013, p. 25). This irregularity means less people are identified in official systems and not accounted for as they should be. This status makes them more likely to face trafficking, fraud, exploitation, and abuse (Campillo Carette, 2013, p. 7). South-South movement can also be spurred because of the close proximity of countries. However, while shorter distance migration may seem safer (such as the case on the island of Hispaniola), irregular migration produced by barriers to mobility is extremely high-risk and can result in immense negative consequences (Campillo Carette, 2013, p. 23).

Social Theory

This thesis discusses anxieties about immigration that may be based on economic or social factors. Economic anxieties are more obvious, but social anxieties are also an important factor,

and can come in different forms. One social anxiety of immigration that is particularly prominent in recent policy debates in Europe is the perceived effect of immigrants on rising crime rates (Card, Dustmann, & Preston, 2005, p. 7). The belief is that the presence of immigrants may also contribute indirectly to crime, if immigration leads to increased group conflict, or if social tensions lead to harassment or violence towards immigrants (Card et al., 2005, p. 7). Another form of social anxiety comes in the form of a cultural threat. Inflows of groups with a different religion, language, or culture may be perceived as undermining existing institutions and threatening the way of life and social status of current residents (Card et al., 2005, p. 9).

Other than crime and cultural impact as determinants of perceptions, the social aspect of migration can also consider media influence. A study by Facchini, Mayda, and Puglisi (2009) found that people's beliefs about immigration policy may be correlated to their choice in media source (p. 3). Facchini and Mayda (2009) use a political framework to examine models such as median-voter and interest groups models, and find that policies are usually influenced to either maintain the status quo or to become more restrictive (p. 1). Therefore, the sources of media that are available can influence the public's opinions, inciting both economic and social anxieties.

Other social factors may affect immigration perceptions positively. Altruistic residents of a host country may support immigration to improve the lives of residents of poor countries (Card et al., 2005, p. 8). Surveys of different European countries have found that each country has very different histories of relations with other parts of the world, including periods of colonial control that may have left enduring links, positive and negative, in some nations. Due to these varied contexts, "one may expect the strength of altruistic feeling towards the source countries to differ widely between potential host countries and to contribute to differences in opinions toward immigration" (Card et al., 2005, p. 8). As was noted in the last chapter, the Dominican Republic and Haiti have a long and unique history, with lengthy periods of rule of the latter over the

former, but also times of goodwill between the two nations. I will briefly examine two social theories that will help explain how perceptions of migration may be formed.

Realistic group conflict theory and social identity theory.

One social theory that can explain interactions between groups is realistic group conflict theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 17). This theory posits that the perception of a zero-sum competition between groups translates into a belief in a “group threat”, leading to prejudices and negative stereotyping, while simultaneously bolstering within-group cohesion (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 17). By concurrently being exclusive and inclusive, the effect of separation is doubled. Realistic conflict theory broadens the notion of self-interest to all groups that are alike, even if different factions of the native populations had not been united before (Card et al., 2005, p. 9). If this theory were to hold in the Dominican Republic, there would be evidence of Dominican unity against the Haitian presence. In addition, it would be unlikely that the situation could be improved between the two groups.

Alternatively, social identity theory acknowledges that people strive to achieve positive social identity, a process which is reinforced by favourable comparisons between one’s own group and an outside group (Card et al., 2005, p. 10). While the pursuit of social identity could be a source of negative attitudes toward immigrants, it could also lead to more positive attitudes if the native group’s identity is strongly linked to notions of fairness, equality, or social justice (Card et al., 2005, p. 10). This is similar to the discussion on nationalism in Chapter Two, which found that it can be both a positive or negative platform. This theory works very well in the case of the Dominican Republic, as the people seem to want to identify as Dominican, not Haitian, while simultaneously noting their European and, now more important, American ties. The realistic group conflict theory focuses more on economic anxieties, and while people seem to have economic anxieties in regards to development prospects, they do not seem to connect this

issue to people of Haitian descent in the country, as will be seen in the data in Chapter Four. There is also evidence that the Dominican culture is very welcoming, and values a communal environment, which could be evidence of a more accepting future relationship. Furthermore, the relation of individuals to their government, and the actions of the government seem to be influenced by social identity rather than group conflict.

These theories may help to explain how Dominicans' perceptions are formed, but they cannot be all-telling. How a domestic citizen will react to immigration based on their social capital is less clear-cut than issues of their skill or income level (Miguet, 2006, p. 9), which are two of the factors considered in economic theories of personal preferences. According to Miguet (2009), someone with high social capital (that is a person with high levels of trust and reciprocity in their community) could react in a welcoming fashion, or conversely they could be very concerned with protecting their social norms and ties from erosion (p. 9). Therefore, using social theories to explain people's perceptions is more difficult than economic traits, but also allows for factors to be flexible, particularly in situations where economic traits are seen as given. Both the economic and sociological theories suggest that the perceived effects of immigration will vary according to the origin and personal characteristics of specific immigrant groups, and also according to the characteristics of the person whose opinion is being considered (Card et al., 2005, p. 11). I will now analyze the value of political economic theory, which allows the perceptions of migration and development, as affected by these social attitudes, to be considered in tandem.

Political Economy

I have established that there are different patterns of migration occurring, rather than simply South-North movement, and that relative conditions between sending and receiving

countries plays an important role in understanding migration trends. Thus, a theory is needed to compare between South-South and South-North movement that has a more holistic view.

The theory that will be used to examine this issue is that of political economy, which considers the interconnected factors of political and economic motivations. Freeman and Kessler (2008) believed that political science has not been able to fully integrate economic and political concepts concerning migration, and that this integration would be beneficial for a number of areas of study (p. 9). Gardiner Barber and Lem (2012) suggested that “deploying the framework of political economy to analyze migration yields significant insights into the forces that create differences and class inequalities both within as well as between migrants and other populations in the societies in which they locate” (p. 237). Furthermore, Epstein (2012) stated that “the political economy approach takes into consideration many elements that enable us to understand better the economic outcomes of migration” (p. 32). This research shows that considering politics and economics in tandem can be beneficial, especially in the field of migration, where the two spheres cannot be separated.

Although neoclassical economics is criticised for taking preferences as a given, in fact economic theory and analysis may be employed to give useful insights into the question of where preferences come from (Freeman & Kessler, 2008, p. 656). This does not mean that immigration preferences always reflect underlying material interests, but material aspects of migration are critical inputs into the migration policy process that must be considered (Freeman & Kessler, 2008, p. 656). This point is especially meaningful when analyzing migration between different economies that have diverse economic concerns, and different levels of development.

Conversely, political science “specialises in analysing the institutions and processes that frame, shape, transform, distort, and channel economic and non-economic preferences into policy agendas and outcomes” (Freeman & Kessler, 2008, p. 656). Political science is unable to provide

a convincing theoretical account of the origins of individual preferences on immigration or the motivations of institutions with respect to the issue, and thus the economic component of political economy needs to be implemented (Freeman & Kessler, 2008, p. 658). Furthermore, the issue of migration is one that affects everyone within a country and therefore justifies the use of a political economic perspective to understand the general public's attitude towards migrants (Miguet, 2006, p. 11), which in turn affects the country's official stance. The use of a political economic perspective thus allows for a structural analysis to compare differentiated situations in each country, which are in part due to the distinctive needs within the countries. Different sectors of society might have contrasting, and even clashing, perspectives. For example, while:

...capital owners wish to increase the number of migrants in order to increase profits...the local population (workers/voters) may want to increase migration to help in certain markets while in other markets they want to decrease migration so not to depress wages and employment (Epstein, 2012, p. 2).

If economic concerns are the same between the two groups of the same society, the local population may agree that newcomers would burden them (Epstein, 2012, p. 2). However, perspectives differ, as explained by each actor's possible stance on migration.

Host country perspective.

There are many reasons why a host country would want migrants. The most-often cited reason is that "migrants may be a way to receive low cost labor, to increase the supply of labor in order to decrease wages, scarcity of workers in certain fields or professions" (Epstein, 2012, p. 11). As was noted before, and will be noted by participants in Chapter Four, this was the primary reason Haitians were first introduced into the Dominican labour force, and this process continues today.

One reason for a country to take a strong stance against immigration is to avoid undocumented migrants in their country (although it has been noted that more restrictive policies do not curb but in fact increase irregular migration). Countries with rising problems of irregular migration should instead consider working bilaterally with the sending countries. An interesting transnational view is to:

...suggest a political economy such that the receiving country should direct some of the resources earmarked for coping with the problem of the illegal flow of workers to financially supporting the source countries, allowing them to compete among themselves for such aid. This support would be allocated according to the relative effort made by each source country in curbing illegal immigration, thereby motivating them to moderate the phenomenon. This level of transfer would be a function of the different efforts the interest groups in both countries invest to increase and decrease illegal migration. (Epstein, 2012, p. 31)

Another option is that “political bilateral connections between countries could also impose migration restrictions” (Epstein, 2012, p. 31). Freeman and Kessler (2008) conclude that if the state is a unitary actor pursuing national interests, it will favour open immigration in order to maximise aggregate economic and net fiscal gains, while also considering other relevant concerns of the state that might be threatened by immigration (p. 657). This would not include the attitudes of the general public, specifically in regards to security and concerns about strains on the labour market and social services. However, this model does not consider the reality that not all states are alike (Freeman & Kessler, 2008, p. 666). Thus, the query arises of whether states should pursue the same or dissimilar discourses with respect to immigration, and how the relative standing of these countries affects their national agendas.

Domestic citizens.

Despite the possible positive economic effects of immigration, it is often the perceived negative aspects that are the most publicised, and influence everyday discourse (Card et al., 2005, p. 2). Therefore, it is important to examine data which account for the general public's opinions. One study found that attitudes about immigration vary systematically with certain population traits such as age, education, and location being particularly important (Card et al., 2005, p. 2). The European Social Survey (ESS) extensively measures aspects of public opinion about immigration including perceived economic consequences, views on social effects, and favoured traits of immigrants (Card et al., 2005, p. 2). I am not going to go into the results of this survey, because it deals with migration to countries that are considered "developed", but instead will mention some broad patterns it identified. The study showed that attitudes about immigration vary across countries, and at the same time that there is wide variation in attitudes within countries, particularly in terms of age and education (Card et al., 2005, p. 2). However, each country perceives immigration differently based on historical, legal, and cultural factors. For example, in countries with *jus soli* policies people are only considered immigrants if born abroad, and if the country institutes a *jus sanguine* model people who simply appear as a non-majority may be considered an immigrant (Card et al., 2005, p. 3).

Traits such as age, education, profession, area of living, can be considered a key variable in a political economic framework. One study found a strong correlation between higher education and more favourable views toward immigration, and a tendency for older people to be less favourable toward immigration (Card et al., 2005, p. 38). They also found that attitudes are also related to individuals' employment status, religion, and whether the individuals are of immigrant or ethnic minority descent themselves (Card et al., 2005, p. 38). In their review of literature, Facchini and Mayda (2009) found that "whereas non-economic drivers have an important and independent effect on individual preferences, economic characteristics of the

respondents are shown to systematically shape attitudes towards international labor mobility” (p. 4). Understanding how these characteristics affect perceptions of migration and development are important, but understanding how they then affect politics can provide a deeper insight.

Economic factors are one of the most thoroughly examined areas that affect peoples’ perceptions. A simple hypothesis of economic self-interest suggests that lower-skilled workers will be opposed to inflows of low-skilled immigration (Scheve & Slaughter, 2001, p.670). On the other hand, high-skilled workers and employers tend to gain if relative wages of less-skilled workers are suppressed, suggesting that these groups will be in favour of less-skilled immigrant inflows (Card et al., 2005, p. 6). More complex models suggest, however, that impacts on wages are relatively small, or even zero (Card et al., 2005, p. 6). Despite this fact, the authors still concluded that it is reasonable to expect that lower-skilled workers oppose immigration based on their belief that it will lower their own economic prospects (Card et al., 2005, p. 6). Since full employment is near impossible, similar to the country’s view, domestic labourers would rather an immigrant be unemployed than themselves, and newcomers may even find that a more attractive option than what they left (Epstein & Hillman, 2003, p. 1652). However, the authors still noted that these perceptions can vary across the population and “can be deliberately shaped by interested lobbies, the media, think-tanks, and politicians” (Freeman and Kessel, 2008, 672-673).

After wage and labour issues, another highly cited economic anxiety is that of taxes and benefits. The general public may find it easy to follow the line of thought that “if immigrants pay less in taxes than they receive in government benefits, opposition to immigration may stem from concern over fiscal rather than (or in addition to) wage effects” (Freeman and Kessel, 2008, p. 661). Going back to the group conflict theory, “native residents could be expected to oppose inflows of immigrant groups who pay less in taxes than they receive in benefits, and support immigration by groups who will pay more in taxes than they will receive in benefits” (Card et al.,

2005, p. 7). Furthermore, “perceptions that large-scale immigration is connected to rising costs of public services can stimulate middle-class tax revolts among voters who might normally be supportive of immigration” (Freeman and Kessel, 2008, p. 672). An interesting point that may affect this notion, is that “because immigration is typically geographically concentrated, residents and elected officials in localities that bear a disproportionate share of such costs have greater incentives to oppose immigration, while those in other localities clearly have less” (Freeman & Kessel, 2008, p. 661). This is a point particularly pertinent to this case, as the Dominican Republic has an undeveloped tax system, and this was a pertinent theme in terms of the location and socioeconomic status of my participants. As well “fiscal costs can pit service payers (tax-payers) against service providers (bureaucrats, teachers, etc.) who argue for expanded budgets to meet immigrant demand” (Freeman & Kessel, 2008, p. 672), increasing tensions between the two sectors. However, this point can be countered by the fact that governments often bow to public pressure, condemning “freeloaders” who take advantage of the system without paying taxes.

Each of these factors plays an important role in shaping domestic citizens’ perceptions of migration. Both economic and social aspects were considered, and how both can affect politics. Similarly, the actions of newcomers as a minority group affect perceptions of migration.

The Minority Group.

Minorities, including migrants and irregular migrants, participate in the labour market differently than domestic citizens, and generally earn less income than their counterparts (Epstein, 2012, p. 21), as is the case in the Dominican Republic. While structural reasons create and sustain these conditions, another reason for the lag could be a lack of attempt to integrate by newcomers (Constant et al., 2009, p. 1). Failure to integrate can be positively viewed as an attempt by the minority group to preserve their heritage. But it can also be viewed negatively if the reason for lack of integration is due to prohibitively high adjustment costs, inadequate

language skills, or a lack of knowledge of local labour markets (Chiswick and Miller, 1995, 1996; Bauer, Epstein & Gang, 2005; Epstein, 2012). Lazear (1999) suggests that the size of the minority group affects the likelihood to assimilate (p. 39). If the size of the minority group comprises a significant portion of the population they may “not need the local population for economic reasons and, as a result, the cost of not assimilating decreases and they may even have a net cost for assimilating” (Epstein, 2012, p. 23). Alternatively, minority groups could also play on a country’s needs in order to benefit themselves. Epstein (2012) believed that “migration and assimilation play an important role in international trade. Migrants are a bridge to international trade since they have the knowledge of the home country and the host country” (p. 28). This could allow for minorities, as well as host countries, to work together to aid in integration.

The actions of minorities or newcomers to a country greatly affects how they will be perceived in the environment, and these actions can cause negative and positive reactions. By connecting the needs of newcomers, domestic citizens, and the host country, benefits can be maximised.

Difference between Developed and Developing Countries.

What are the differences between receiving countries based on their circumstances? Countries can be defined in many different ways, and not just with terms such as North or South, or developed or developing. Indeed, they can also be classified by the skill-level of the labour force. These characteristics influence the population’s perceptions. The Dominican Republic can be classified as having more unskilled labour than skilled, and people of Haitian descent in the country are also largely unskilled. Facchini and Mayda (2009) found that in countries with inflows of majority unskilled workers, income is negatively correlated with pro-immigration preferences, and the opposite is true for more skilled, higher-earning citizens (p. 5). Furthermore, government policy may influence the integration of newcomers into the labour market as well as

into everyday life. Epstein (2012) found that there is evidence “that natives in countries selecting immigrants on their skills are more likely to think that immigrants are generally good for the economy than are natives in countries which receive mainly asylum seekers and refugees” (p. 15). However, it is important to note that this research was all done on OECD countries. It is also interesting to note that in places like Canada and New Zealand, considered positive examples in terms of immigration policy, citizens are more likely to be concerned about labour effects, while “countries that receive mainly noneconomic migrants, natives are mostly concerned about increasing crime rates” (Epstein, 2012, p. 15). We will see in the results of this research project if Dominicans who expressed anti-Haitian sentiments were more likely to reference crime as a key factor in their view of Haitians.

Political economy can also be useful when examining the conditions of the sending country to understand reasons for emigrating. Epstein (2012) explains the process of skilled or unskilled migrants leaving a country is often based on skill and closeness to political powers (p. 29). From the sending country’s perspective, those furthest from the leader are the least privileged, and have the greater incentive to emigrate. Sometimes this is the unskilled, but also at times it is the skilled sector (Epstein, 2012, p. 29). This is especially true for less developed countries with military-supported autocratic governments, where there is evidence of benefits based on one’s proximity to a nation’s ruler (Kimyeni and Mbaku, 1995, p. 706). As well, the effects of migration trickle back into the sending community through remittances. In the sending country remittances and a decrease in labour participants may enable not only migrants’ children, but also others, to stop working even upon the return of the emigrant parents (Epstein, 2012, p. 30). A political economic framework can thus allow the researcher to understand motivations and results of migration, although this thesis will focus on the latter in the receiving country.

An important facet to consider in this analysis is how the different actors' perceptions influence each other. This influence can go in both directions. The image that the government portrays creates a certain environment which "plays an important role in determining voters' attitude towards migrants" (Epstein, 2012, p. 13). As well, "the degree to which the majority welcomes the minority plays an important role in assimilation" (Epstein, 2012, p. 22). The majority may be non-receptive if they take to heart the economic and social anxieties mentioned before. As a result, the effects move from the micro-level, to the structural level, as public attitudes towards immigration and immigrant-related issues are perhaps more important in shaping migration policies than factual information (Card et al., 2005, p. 37).

Problems with Political Economy

As was noted by Freeman and Kessler (2008), despite a political economic lens which makes sense of actor's actions by finding similarities, every country is different and should consider immigration independently (p. 666). Concerns of receiving countries in SSM are indeed similar to that of SNM, and these discourses are driven by a political economic narrative, where both factors are continuously intertwined. Despite these similarities in South-North and South-South discourses, these different types of movement require distinctive policies. Furthermore, "the political economy of migration policy is a fertile field not yet fully cultivated... Specifically, political scientists must address where individual preferences on migration policy come from and how these are aggregated and processed via interest groups, institutions and states" (Freeman and Kessler, 2008, p. 673). This can in part be remedied by using social theories such as social conflict theory and realistic groups conflict theory. While the appeal of this framework is that it is interdisciplinary and broad, researchers need to be careful to not try to account for too much.

Other Theories

Classical Economic Analysis.

In contrast to political economic theory, classic economic analysis assumes that individuals wish to maximize utility, while capital owners wish to maximise profits, and politicians are supposed to maximize social welfare (Epstein, 2012, p. 1). An author who looked at a case of migration through an economic lens is Ong (1999), who analyzed the case of Chinese immigrants in Canada. In the UNDESA definition used in this thesis, China is considered a southern (developing) country. Despite this fact, people leaving China are often well-off and have the privilege of flexible capital. These migrants' movements are the products of careful economic calculation, and dominate the choice of their destination (Ong, 1999). It is not in question that states practice economic-based decision-making in immigration policy, but this is evidence that migrants themselves are being selective, making their decisions based on economic criteria. Furthermore, Binford (2013) explores the case of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program in Canada. He explains that the perfect migrant is one that is at the beck and call of labour market needs, and yet forfeits the right to privileges of citizenship by being a part of Canada's prohibitive temporary worker system (Binford, 2013). Similarly, in Nicole Constable's (2014) account, newcomers are expected to act as appreciative workers, thankful for the opportunity being afforded to them. This mindset is similar to that seen in SNM, despite this being a case of a South-South mobility model. It seems the same concerns of strain on the accepting economy are still seen as cause enough to create a discourse of what Constable (2015) says is a neoliberal assumption that migrant workers are charity cases, a process which also sees the opportunity of working as humanitarian aid.

Each of these cases provide evidence that a purely economic framework can be useful to examine people's incentives for migrating, governments' actions, and to some extent people's reactions to immigration. However, it does not allow for a thorough examination of how these preferences are developed. An approach that solely focuses on economics is not enough.

Global power and transnational perspectives.

As Glick Schiller (2012) argues, migration scholars need a broad framework that encompasses a variety of factors, and she advocates using a global power perspective lens. Such a perspective would not be constrained by the nation-state as previous studies were, since this led to the fissure between development studies and migration research. Instead of a focus on the problematic ethnic group, this new approach would consider the impact of neoliberal economies on migration in a more objective way, and not be constrained by the idea of separate nation-states (Glick Schiller, 2012). Furthermore, “a global power perspective on migration allows scholars to speak to a series of integrally related processes that cannot be understood separately” (Glick-Schiller, 2012, p. 40), similar to a political economic framework. She advocated that a global power perspective is best “to examine simultaneously the cultural narratives of everyday forms of nation-state formation, *the global efforts to reconstitute capital and facilitate its flexible accumulation* and the struggles of people around the world to live their lives with dignity and justice” (Schiller, 2012, p. 52, italics added). The third and last points are similar to our goals here, but the second (italicized) is outside the scope of this thesis. While this thesis is concerned with the fact that the Dominican Republic is considered a developing country in the global order, it is also important to focus on it specifically in a nation-specific context. While the global power perspective is useful for examining migration, the use of political economy theory is more appropriate for the purpose of this project. A global power perspective focuses on transnationalism, while instead, I want to connect people’s perceptions of migration to perceptions of development within the nation.

Scholar de Haas (2008) also advocated for a more transnational approach specifically when looking at migration and development. However, he noted that:

...discourses naively celebrating migration, remittances and transnational engagement as

self-help development “from below” also shift attention away from the relevance of structural constraints and the important role states and other institutions play in shaping favourable general conditions for social and economic development to occur. (de Haas, 2008, p. 2)

He is correct, but I believe the political economic framework allows us to do that while keeping the focus on the domestic citizens of the country in question.

These are just two of the other theoretical frameworks that could be used to examine migration. While they are informative in delving into specific facets of migration, it is evident that a political economic perspective is particularly useful in connecting various parts of the issue, and to examine perceptions of migration at various levels.

Political Economy and the Connection to this Research Project

Miguet (2006) found that “public opinion pressures have not only widened the scope of the immigration policy debate but have also played a significant role in the shaping of national and international immigration policies” (p. 6). For this reason, I believe interviews conducted with people from various sectors of the Dominican population can give insight on how future policy could be shaped. One could also view the issue from the top-down, as it is recognized that “migration has a strong economic impact and as such, creates many rents for different groups in the economy” (Epstein, 2012, p. 2). Therefore, policies that are implemented by the government will have an impact on the economy, which will in turn affect the various actors involved differently. It is important to understand how perceptions of migration are created, and consider them in tandem with development objectives. If the masses connect development issues with migration policies, then more robust government policies would need to be instituted to ensure one is not uncondusive to the other.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how various theories can help explain people's perceptions of migration and development. I have argued that migration needs to be considered in relation to the specific context of the country, largely whether it is a developed or developing state. I then explored how individual preferences may be influenced, based on various social theories. I determined that political economic theory is the best way to view the connection between migration and development in the Dominican Republic. This framework makes it possible to explore the positioning of a country affects the issue of migration. It also illustrates that the perceptions of domestic citizens and minority groups can also have a bearing on the national stance. I then mentioned the limitations of political economy theory, before evaluating other frameworks that could have been used. I concluded by explaining why a political economic framework is the most appropriate way to consider the situation, given the methods that were used for this project.

It is evident that immigration discourse can change based on whether the movement is classified as South-South, South-North, North-South, or North-North. North-North discourse is largely favourable and is the focus of most high-skill migration plans to attract the brightest and the best. By contrast, South-North discourse is different, and largely negative, despite the fact that the movement is often done to fulfil labour needs in the receiving country as with North-North migration. SSM research is also much less developed. Given these differences, a political economic perspective is the best framework to examine the issue at hand in order to consider each unique situation. This will allow for a consideration of people's perspectives on the issue which may shape policy, labour market decisions, and affect the social life of newcomers.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Introduction

This section reviews the data that were collected during the period of fieldwork. The information collected provides a snapshot of perceptions of different topics related to migration issues. They are not illustrative of the entire country, but do give some insight into the general public's stance, something that is often not considered when studying how migration and development interact with one another. First, I explain the methods that were used, as well as the challenges and obstacles that arose. Secondly, I give a description of the results based on four central questions that were used, and finally I analyze the significance of these findings.

Methods

In order to understand the connection between perceptions of migration and development, I conducted semi-structured interviews in the Dominican Republic over a period of three months from the end of August 2016 to the beginning of December 2016. Interviews were conducted in three different sites in the Dominican Republic. The research sites were Santiago, Santo Domingo, and a small rural village which for confidentiality reasons will be called Luza. The three sites were chosen as they provide different styles of living. Santo Domingo and Santiago are the two most populated cities, with populations of 965,040 and 691,260 people respectively. For the purposes of this thesis, they are both categorized as urban. By contrast, Luza is a municipal district comprised of approximately 70,000 residents, and is considered rural.

I was the sole investigator. I took on a participant-observer role, which allows the researcher to more directly experience aspects of the situation and the people involved therein. The goal was to achieve inter-subjectivity with the people I studied, to access their viewpoints and experiences, and become intimately familiar with these peoples' situations as much as possible for an outsider. Interviews are generally the most instructive means of gathering

ethnographic data. They allow the researcher to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the community life. The aim is not to derive a theory from the data that is a meta-theory or “all-explaining”, but rather to develop trans-historical and trans-contextual relevant concepts.

The interview guide I used is attached as Appendix A. Semi-structured interviews are beneficial in learning Dominicans’ perspectives on migration and development because they allow people to express their beliefs. For this reason, I interviewed people of various regions and income levels. As mentioned in the previous chapter, extracting information from the general public makes it possible to see how politics within a nation may be shaped. Therefore, the results and analysis in this chapter may provide useful insight into the value of current legislation as seen by the people themselves.

Participants.

Of the 19 participants interviewed for this research project, all but three were Dominican citizens and had lived there their entire lives. The table below shows each respondent’s gender, the location of residence, and occupation. Two of my participants, Dr. Tejeda, and Dr. Wooding, are professionals who work on the subject of migration at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) and the Observatorio Migrantes del Caribe (OBMICA), respectively. They provided in-depth and invaluable information. They asked that their names be attributed to their responses in this project. When I reference the general public, they are not considered in this group, due to the nature of their work on the subject.

Table of participants.

Identification Number	Gender	Living	Employment
1	M	Urban	Farmer
2	M	Rural	Farmer
3-Dr. Tejeda	M	Urban	Professor

Identification Number	Gender	Living	Employment
5	M	Rural	Warehouse worker
6-Dr. Wooding	F	Urban	Researcher
7	F	Urban	Lawyer
8	M	Rural	Teacher
9	M	Rural	Store owner
10	F	Urban	Vendor
11	M	Rural	Government Official
12	F	Urban	Doctor
13	M	Rural	Business Owner
14	F	Urban	Factory Worker
15	F	Rural	Unemployed
18	M	Urban	Street Vendor
19	F	Rural	Lotto Stand Worker
20	M	Rural	Retired, Canadian
21	F	Rural	Volunteer Teacher, American
22	F	Rural	Business owner

Logistical and Methodological challenges/obstacles.

Cultural differences sometimes caused challenges during the research period. In the Dominican Republic the general public's definition of development seemed to be different from mine, and I often needed to explain my meaning. Participants were found by random selection when visiting public places in the communities. Language issues also posed a few problems. For logistical

reasons, using an interpreter did not prove viable. I decided to rely on my own Spanish skills to conduct the interviews. With ample preparation and extreme patience from all my participants, I conducted the interviews with little difficulty. Any discrepancies in interpretation are solely the fault of the researcher.

Time of the study.

Interviews took place from August to December of 2016. General elections were held in May 2016, with Danilo Medina re-elected as president, after his party amended the constitution so that he could have a second term. It is important to note the political climate given the topic and framework used. None of the respondents made explicitly negative remarks about Medina or his policies in the interviews. Even the two scholars interviewed agreed that his policies in regards to migration have been fairly useful. Dr. Tejeda said that:

It's the first time that the Dominican government makes this step to make an effort of regularization that I applaud. I think it's very positive, you know. For people who have lived here for 40 years, are not residents, not visible, we don't know who. Now we know who you are, what is your name, where do you live, if you have a contact here, if you have an employer. I think it's the better thing they do. Even if they ask for many, many papers so it's very difficult, but I think that this is a good thing that the government does. But we have to evaluate to see exactly what happened. (Dr. Tejeda, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016)

However, Dr. Wooding did note that no political party has made migration a priority issue. This despite the fact that:

...with a large number of migrants, the high unemployment rate in some of the host countries, xenophobia, and the perceived effect the migrants have on the local population (workers and capital owners), migration policy is becoming an important

issue in some of the developed countries and, in particular, it has become a central issue.
(Epstein, 2012, p. 12)

Understanding the context in which the interviews took place is pertinent in analyzing the results.

Description of results

There were four central questions around which the interviews were structured. They were as follows:

1. What are your perceptions of migration in the Dominican Republic in general?
2. What is your experience with emigration from the Dominican Republic?
3. What are your interactions with people of Haitian descent?
4. What do you believe is the most important development issue?

What are your perceptions of migration in general?

Overall, Dominicans welcome migration to their country. Not a single participant expressed sentiments that can be compared to rhetoric by the right in more developed countries, as publicized by the media today. However, most seemed to immediately connect the concept of “migration” to emigration from the country, which is not surprising given the high level of emigration from the Dominican Republic². This question often led to the topic of the basic differences between Haitians and Americans, and I will explain those responses here.

Haitians

Other than two of the people interviewed (Respondents 10 and 18), participants did not make negative comments about people of Haitian descent in the Dominican Republic. However, outside of the interviews, I noted a number of jokes made about Haitians in casual conversation.

² As was mentioned in Chapter Two, approximately 1.3 million people emigrated from the Dominican Republic in 2015.

If someone wanted to poke fun at someone, for example, they may call them *Haitiano*. One picture of three men was shared several times in my presence, asking the respondents which of the three subjects was more beautiful. All three men had very dark skin, and people would at times say none because they were *Haitiano*.

The two people who explicitly expressed negative feelings about people of Haitian descent both lived in urban areas. Respondent 18 stated that Haitians wished to harm, thief, and kill. Participant 10 also said Haitians were thieves. It is important to note that the urban areas do have a higher percentage of residents of Haitian descent, and not surprisingly the crime rates are higher than in the countryside. After the urban areas, the area I visited with the highest concentration of people of Haitian descent was in the mountains. Participant 22, lived in a very underdeveloped mountain region. She probably had the most contact with someone of Haitian descent out of all the participants as she had a Haitian woman working in her home as a housekeeper. When I asked about their interaction, she said she was a good woman, and that she was quiet. Otherwise, she was dismissive of her presence. In addition to location, age was a factor that I was interested in seeing if it had an influence. Respondents 15 and 2 were alive at the time of the Parsley Massacre, which involved the death of thousands of Haitians. They both would have been around the age of five or six, but both remember the time. Respondent 15 was one of the people more explicit in her feelings on Haitians, saying that they often suffer (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016).

Peoples' opinions on how the media affected their preferences varied among participants. In general, people did not seem to note that media played a significant role. However, Dr. Wooding expressed her concern with the media in the country, adding that there was really only one viewpoint expressed, which takes a negative stance on migration to the Dominican Republic. The media that I have found online is often very inflammatory, and provides only one point of

view, emphasizing that the Dominican Republic needs to practice protectionism against its Haitian neighbours. When participants were asked about how their perceptions were formed about Haitians and other migration issues, they usually cited life experience, with few referring to the media as an influence on their perceptions. I also believe, given the low education status of most of the participants, that none of these people would seek out news articles. Respondent 20 said that he does not know a Dominican who would ever read a paper.

The question of how the government influences perceptions and is affected by public opinion also had an ambiguous result. The general public seemed satisfied with their government, other than expressing some dissatisfaction with certain services. Several expressed their admiration for President Danilo Medina. One respondent made reference to Medina saying that he would not have come to the aid of Hurricane Matthew victims, which occurred in October of 2016, if the election had not yet taken place (Respondent 20, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). This was the only comment that I perceived as negative, since most respondents generally praised or thanked the President. However, both Dr. Wooding and Dr. Tejeda noted that the various political parties do not tend to take very differing stances on the issue of migration. He finds that across parties and time “they were the same, this kind of politics, very restrictive politics...stopping migration, and migration is natural so people are looking to improve their lives, and they don’t have work, they are going to find the work in another country” (Dr. Tejeda, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016).

One theme that was pervasive in the interviews, was that Dominicans felt that they had similar issues and challenges to those facing people of Haitian descent. This contradicts the generally held view that Haitians face far worse societal problems. Dr. Tejeda expressed the popular sentiment found in most literature that “if you’re from here you have no problem, if you’re Haitian you have problems” (Dr. Tejeda, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016).

Interviews with the general public depicted rather a different picture. For example, a number of people noted that they were lacking important identification documents, and that this had caused problems for them and their families. Respondent 2 said that one of his daughters did not have a *cédula* (identification card) and was unable to work at one *banca* (lottery stand). Respondent 14 gave birth to three children, none of whom were registered as her children. However, she is the legal guardian of one nephew. To have this changed would cost twelve thousand Dominican pesos, which is equivalent to \$334 CAD. As well, Participant 15 was unaware of her age, as she had never had a birth certificate. Similar issues are very common for people of Haitian descent, especially if they have irregular status.

It is also worth noting the opinions that Haitians hold about Dominicans. The only mention of this was by Respondent 5 who said that Haitians think Dominicans are brutes (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). In my opinion, and based upon what I observed, the Haitian reaction to Dominicans was one of deference. I never witnessed any instances of hostility or violence from people identified as being Haitian, and often saw these people working along with Dominicans in both the rural and urban settings.

One participant with a more rounded knowledge of migration in the country was Respondent 7. She is a lawyer who oversees the team of people that administer the PNRE process. They review applications and ensure applicants have all the necessary documents. She has been working on the program since it began, and says the process involves a lot of work. She noted that her team does not only work with people of Haitian descent. With over 100 nationalities represented in the program, they also work with people from Spain, Italy, Cuba, Colombia, Paraguay, Chile, Europe, Canada, and America – “nearly all countries” (Respondent 7, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). She believes that a lot of Haitians have the ability to obtain their documents but do not look for them. However, Dr. Tejada believes that

“they ask for a lot of papers that these poor people cannot provide” (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016).

Respondent 7 noted that all the information about the PNRE process is available online, including information about the documents that are needed to regularize one’s status. She also noted that the government office is open every day. She said her job is difficult because the general public does not always understand the purpose of the program, as information is not always delivered equally and because Dominicans are nationalistic, leading them to be hesitant about regularizing the status of so many Haitians. She added that the current process will allow the government to learn and improve the system in the future, which is needed as the country has always had, and will continue to have significant waves of immigration. Dr. Wooding agreed, saying that the regularization program should not be thought of as a “one-off” program, but instead should be considered more as a “continuous process, and in that way to facilitate regular migration not to make it so difficult” (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016).

Dr. Tejeda believes that (mistaken) perceptions about the number of Haitians in the Dominican Republic could (and need to) be changed by making data on migration matters more public. He believes that figures from official documents make it:

so nobody can say ‘oh there are two millions of immigrants, you can ask somebody in the street...they have no work because of Haitians, there are two millions, three millions, 4 millions – no there’s not one million. So that’s very important for us to have these data, because now we can say...how they are, where they work, and how they contribute to the economy” (Dominican Republic, August-September 2016).

When asked if he truly believed having this concrete information could change Dominicans’ perceptions, he stated that he was unsure. At present, he noted, people question it “because now they are in the urban cities. They are working in construction, they’re working in services, and

they sell fruits on the streets so everybody sees Haitians every day. Before now they used to work in the *bateyes*” (Dr. Tejada, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). He also noted that there are at least “200,000 people, Dominicans of Haitian descent, Haitian origins. They are Dominicans that live here, feel like a Dominican, and they [Dominicans] don’t want to understand that” (Dr. Tejada, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). However, he said that even if Dominicans have negative perceptions of the migrants, they still engage with Haitians. He said that people did not “know anything about it” so they give them work, and created this contradiction, “I don’t like you, but I pay you to do that, to make construction, to make agriculture work. I engage you” (Dr. Tejada, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016).

US Citizens

Another important demographic to consider in this situation is that of US citizens—specifically Dominicans’ perceptions of them. The first demographic that seemed to come to mind for most respondents when asked about migration was the situation of US citizens in the Dominican Republic. As mentioned in Chapter One, a former European bias has changed to an US bias, given the close ties between the two countries. Due to this, US citizens are welcomed and moving to the United States is a coveted act. Respondent 18 said that US citizens do not cause harm, but instead they help people. Dominicans interviewed also often referenced them visiting the country as tourists as a form of migration.

Do you have family overseas?

In line with the fact that emigration is far greater than immigration in the Dominican Republic, every respondent of the general public said that they had family overseas. The majority were in the United States. However, despite a positive view of the United States and the lives of their friends and family who live there, only two expressed interest in ever wanting to emigrate there.

Respondent 2 and 18 both said there was no point as their whole lives were in the Dominican Republic. Respondent 19 provided a different perspective, saying that her situation was very difficult, making impossible the idea of even dreaming of going aboard.

What are your interactions with people of Haitian descent?

Only one participant acknowledged that they had everyday interaction with someone of Haitian descent (Respondent 22). She had a woman of Haitian descent working in her home doing daily chores. Participant 8, a teacher, said that he only had one student of mixed descent in his classes, a girl with a Dominican mother and a father from France. In his previous postings in more urban areas, he had taught students of Haitian descent. He said they were able to grasp Spanish and read and write at the same level as his other students. Respondent 2 shared with me some of the Creole words he had picked up working in the fields with people of Haitian descent over the decades. He said he did not keep in contact with any of them, and only had a vague idea of where they had gone since working with him.

Dr. Wooding said that a crucial step moving forward is to “draw attention to the fact that what’s been noticeable by its absence is policies on integration” (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). She said that events like the Border of Lights festival held annually are a good way to celebrate diversity. She believes one area that needs strengthening is work within the unions. She would like the unions to “adopt a more plural approach to who is and who isn’t a member” and to realize that doing so is “not inimical to Dominican members having Haitian members in their ranks, [and] that we’re all in this together” (Dr. Wooding, Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). As well, Dr. Tejeda’s research has found that the work of foreign populations accounts for 7.5% value added to the economy. The Haitian population alone accounts for 5.4% value added to the Dominican economy. These vital contributions need to be recognized moving forward.

What is the biggest difficulty of life here or obstacle to development?

The most commonly noted development problem mentioned by respondents was the matter of infrastructure. Participant 22 noted that in the mountain range where she lived, roads were literally being washed away with the abnormally heavy rain in the region in November. This was very evident when travelling to meet with her. This was her greatest concern despite having a husband and four sons with disabilities, who work in the amber mines under very dangerous conditions.

Other development problems that were noted were the lack of accessible and clean water, the high cost of living (particularly in relation to medical treatment medicine), and the lack of jobs with good wages outside of the bigger cities. Participant 8 noted that the provision of services in the Dominican Republic, such as electricity and clean water, move at a very slow pace. Overall, the participants seemed satisfied with their lives. Respondent 2 said he had just enough to live, “but you are happy, every day you are happy” (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). Respondent 18, one of the two with negative perceptions of Haitians, said that he had a good life; he has his business, food, community, and that is all he needs.

Overall participants seemed to separate the role of the government from the issues they identified as the biggest obstacles to development. Of the general public, only Respondents 8 and 20 explicitly identified the government as the reason that certain development areas were not functioning adequately Respondent 8, as noted above, mentioned the slow pace of development. However, he still lauded President Medina and had nothing but good things to say about him. Participant 20, a Canadian citizen residing with a family in the Dominican Republic, explained that any development problems are the fault of the current government.

Lastly, it is important to note a certain characteristic of Dominican culture. As noted by Respondent 20, there is a very strong culture of caring and sharing in the Dominican Republic. I noted this several times in my field notes. Respondent 20 said “they may be dirt poor, but they will still share everything” (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). Participant 11 said that “the Dominican Republic is open to the world” (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). This characteristic of the culture could have implications for policy as noted in the analysis of these data.

Analysis

As was noted above, the only two participants that expressed explicitly negative perceptions of people of Haitian descent lived in urban areas. This contrasts with Howard’s (2001) conclusions, which found that rural residents were more opposed to the presence of Haitians, likely due to either their vulnerable position or their lack of contact with the population. With reference to the people interviewed for this thesis, there were no specific characteristics of the participants that seemed to affect their perceptions. There were no noticeable differences across ages (of the two opposed to Haitians one was middle aged and one was a senior), educational experience (both had low educational experience, or gender (one was male, the other female). As the standard research notes, “one might expect class tensions in light of perceived competition for public goods but matters of geographic concentration or regional or local politics... complicate straightforward hypotheses” (Freeman & Kessel, 2008, p. 663). The information gathered in this project adds to Freeman and Kessel’s argument, as the only two people to express anti-Haitian sentiment were from an urban region. As Epstein (2012) discovered, socio-economic characteristics of the respondents such as education, gender and employment status do not seem to explain the major differences in the perception of immigrants across countries (p. 15). However, there are a lot of factors in these equations such as:

the utility of the local population (their stakes) may also be negatively related to the number of migrants as a result of xenophobia, desire not to interact with different cultures, the effect of the finance of public goods as well as welfare and distributional effects which adversely affect the local population (Epstein, 2012, p. 12).

Attitudes towards migrants may or may not be based on real economic outcomes. There are some conclusions that hold across different countries, such as the fact that immigration policy which results in immigrants being unemployed in the host country may affect the views of local employees and employers towards migration (Epstein, 2012, p. 17).

The very negative and prejudiced response that Howard (2001) received would have seemed very uncharacteristic amongst my respondents. However, perhaps it made sense at the time that Howard's research was conducted. Socio-economic conditions were very different in the early 1990s. His research also took place much closer in time to the presidency of Trujillo, which may have directly affected more people, whereas only two of my participants were alive at the time of the Parsley Massacre.

In terms of negative perceptions of Dominicans held by people of Haitian-descent, in my findings I noted that only one person of all those interviewed believed that Haitians thought Dominicans were 'brutes'. Howard (2001) alleged that Haitians share similarly prejudiced views of Dominicans. However, I agree with Howard (2001) that racial differences are so subtle that distinctions are arbitrary and subjective, and are therefore devoid of objective reality outside of the social context. Dichotomies simplify the complexity of everyday interaction, and this seemed to be true for both groups. Dominicans do not seem to consider the situation of each individual person of Haitian descent. In fact, this was one of the main issues behind the ruling that stripped people of citizenship. Scholars like Dr. Tejada were appalled that the court decided to make a widespread ruling that would affect thousands based on the evidence from one case, in which the

documents and status of one woman of Haitian descent were reviewed and led to the stripping of status of people back to 1929³. Moving forward, Dr. Tejeda believes any case about a person's migration status should be done on an individual basis.

While the majority of my participants do not express concerns about Haitians, some see Haitians as people who have just come over the border, even if they had never before set foot in Haiti. The history of the citizenship legislation is not well-known. While Howard (2001) found that "many Dominicans are more concerned to disassociate themselves from Haiti than to claim 'white lineage'" (p. 9), I found that most people proudly identified themselves as Dominican, not in contrast or in comparison to anything else (despite the love for Americans).

As noted from the interviews, my participants often drew parallels between themselves and disadvantaged Haitians. One way respondents did this was by noting their own lack of official documents. The Dominicans who shared these experiences did not seem to want to dismiss the struggles of Haitians, but rather just wanted to remind outsiders that they also faced obstacles. However, it is important to remember that many Haitian-Dominicans are particularly "disenfranchised by this system, since they cannot afford to purchase the necessary personal documents to prove their birth status, or else fear deportation as undocumented immigrants if they approach government officials" (Howard, 2001, p. 48). These similarities in social challenges could be used to unite the people, as was mentioned in the social identity theory explained in Chapter Two.

³ Juliana Desquis is the name of the woman who was seeking to gain a residency card, but was denied because she has a Haitian surname. When her case was denied in the Constitutional Court, the decision was applied to all people in a similar situation. The sentencing can be found here: www.tribunalconstitucional.gob.do/node/1764

Overall, these perceptions of migration held by respondents seem to connect with the way in which social identity theory suggests that perceptions evolve. Rather than citing economic competition as a reason for any negative perceptions of Haitians, participants expressed that Dominicans were simply different. Moreover, many also referenced the United States when questioned about migration, including their ties to the country through emigration of relatives. This suggests that they compare themselves to other lifestyles than just that of Haitians. As well, the two participants who expressed negative feelings about Haitians cited alleged criminal behaviour of Haitians, which was also one of the social anxieties that was noted in the social identity theory framework. While Epstein (2012) wrote that populations with overall negative perceptions of migration are more likely to cite crime as an issue, it seems that this rather neutral population does so as well.

This respect for emigrants and the high rate of loved ones abroad should mean the Dominican Republic is welcoming to newcomers, as they want the rights of their loved ones and friends to be respected. However, Dr. Wooding noted that there is often a double standard, as countries want their emigrants' "rights respected. You want as many advantages as you can possibly have, while for immigrants you are much more reticent" (Dominican Republic, August-December 2016). This emphasizes the nature of transnationality that was considered in the political economic framework, as seen from the host country's perspective. If countries are to strive for equality for their citizens in other countries, they need to ensure that the same standards are afforded within their borders.

The last central question that I examined was the issue of perceptions of development and the possible negative impact of Haitian immigration. If you were to research literature on the Dominican Republic, and in particular the media coverage of the issue, there is a central argument that that Dominicans blame Haitians for taking away jobs, thereby negatively affecting

their economic conditions and the development of the country. However, based on my research, this view was not recognized as a concern for any participants. The three most often-mentioned development concerns were: undeveloped infrastructure (particularly roads), a lack of services, and the high cost of living. Not a single respondent cited a lack of employment due to the presence of people of Haitian descent.

As was noted in Chapter Three, social identity theory explains why domestic citizens may categorize identities of other groups. However, I also mentioned that this approach can be positive and have a unifying effect amongst these groups, something which is very possible in the Dominican Republic. This could be especially true given the strong sense of generosity and kindness of the Dominican population, and could lead to a sense of unity and shared goals amongst the entire population. If so, a unified public opinion on the needs of all living in the Dominican Republic, and an understanding that migration is not opposed to this development, could create a supportive immigration system at all levels of society.

Conclusion

Overall, based upon my research and the interviews noted, perceptions of migration amongst participants were not negative. Only two participants expressed negative views of Haitians. The fact that the general population overwhelmingly has connections overseas, and such a positive view of Americans and emigration to the United States, should be the foundation to positively approach the issue of migration in the Dominican Republic. However, there is still ambiguity as to what change this information may be able to introduce as it is not clear “to what extent the sentiments of the population are in line with policy or policy is in line with sentiments” (Epstein, 2012, p. 17). The topics that were mentioned as the biggest obstacles to development varied dramatically, based upon the views of the participants. However, it is clear that an examination of the situation based upon a political economic framework allows for connections

to be made between migration and development policy. This means that the two spheres can be considered in tandem, when examining both citizens' perceptions and the actions of the government.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis began with some startling facts about the number of people with irregular status in the world and in the Dominican Republic. In the case of the latter this amounts to an estimated 200,000 people. Irregular status arises due to a number of problems at different levels of society, and can affect people across all nations and within all levels of a nation. However, it has been shown that reducing irregular migration is not achieved by implementing more restrictive immigration channels, and that there are a number of political and economic factors which have a strong bearing on the question of migration. Throughout this thesis it has been demonstrated that political economy is a good theoretical framework through which to analyze the issues of development and migration in tandem.

As a result of my research, I have illustrated that there are several pertinent issues which people with irregular status face in Dominican society. These issues are overarching and generally have a negative effect on a Haitian person's entire life there. First, the social and economic nature of current legislation allows for structural violence and prevents Haitian migrants from being easily integrated into Dominican society, and thus prevents access to necessary institutions such as education and health care. As well, government officials exacerbate the situation by emphasizing the need for nationalist values among their Dominican constituents. They focus (and with little subtlety) on the need to protect the Dominican Republic from a "Haitian invasion". Secondly, mass media outlets propagate this stigma by printing racially insensitive material. Not only do reports favour the need to protect the Dominican identity, but they also often exacerbate the differences between the two groups. These organizations, which have considerable power and influence in any nation, need to alter their focus instead of attacking an easy scapegoat. And thirdly, the effects can be felt on the ground

through *antihaitianismo* acts, whether through outright violence or subtler discrimination. These effects include insufficient health care, unfair labour conditions, and other maltreatment. This *antihaitianismo* transcends generations and is integrated into the national socialization process.

The Dominican Republic has an evident issue with irregular migration, and addressing these issues requires an approach that is multidimensional. Most research on irregular migrants focuses on the ethics of admission and admission processes. In this thesis I have contended that the focus needs to be on the full process of integration, which involves change at all levels, including personal perspectives. As demonstrated by the research findings of this thesis, the few negative responses from my participants are a possible indicator of a stable foundation on which to build.

Now is a key time of change in the Dominican Republic, with the first phase of the PNRE (the national plan to regularize the status of foreigners) recently completed, and with the government taking steps to integrate Haitians into national society. There is plenty of evidence to illustrate the deficiencies of the current system in the Dominican Republic. These deficiencies cannot be corrected by themselves, and one cannot solely focus on rectifying problems at the structural level. The effort to resolve these challenges needs to be simultaneously approached at all levels of society, with the implementation of legislation changes based on citizens' perspectives. Reports about the PNRE process will provide data concerning the number of people "regularized" and provided with immigration papers. However, this is not a problem that can be addressed solely using quantitative data. On the ground, research needs to investigate in detail how these processes affect and are viewed by both domestic citizens and newcomers in the country.

Despite these serious challenges, one finding of this thesis is that nationalist and anti-Haitian sentiments are not held by an overwhelming majority of Dominicans, as past academic

literature and media contend. In this final chapter, I will first provide a brief review of the central points discussed, and will then analyze the results found in Chapter Four. From these results, I will discuss my three main conclusions, and how they connect to the theoretical framework. From there, it is important to discuss possibilities for future initiatives and research.

For this thesis, it was important to recognize that migration and development are two important facets of our world. In that regard, the goal of this thesis was to examine the connection between people's perceptions of migration and development, particularly in a developing country which has received large numbers of migrants from another developing country. The literature review served to outline some of the key debates about migration and development. The history of the Dominican Republic and the people who live there, including their identity as a country where there is extensive emigration, were acknowledged as it is important in order to contextualize the situation. I then moved on to reflect on the particular issue of Haitian migration in the country, and the challenges that this entails. In particular, previous studies on perceptions of migration in the country were assessed. This was examined in conjunction with an analysis of literature on the role of the nation, multiculturalism, and citizenship in such issues. From there, I analyzed the precise meanings of migration terms that would be used in this project. Lastly, I examined the economic considerations that must be weighed, particularly given the economic position of the Dominican Republic, and the fact that this is a case of mostly South-South migration.

In order to examine the issue, a broad theoretical framework was needed that included different types of theories. Of significance were various theoretical frameworks that can help explain peoples' perceptions of migration and development. I argued that migration needs to be considered differently depending on the context, since the context depends on the type of migration that is occurring (e.g. North-South, North-North, South-North, South-South, irregular

versus regular). I then explored how individual migration preferences may be influenced, based on various social theories and in particular, whether realistic group conflict theory or social identity theory would be more appropriate in the Dominican context. In order to address the main issue, I assessed whether political economic theory was the best way to view the connection between migration and development in the Dominican Republic. This framework makes it possible to explore peoples' perceptions from different positions in the country, the domestic citizens and the minority groups, as well as the differences between developing and developed countries. I concluded by explaining why a political economic framework is the most appropriate way to consider the situation given the methods that were used for this project.

Having a framework allowed for the data that were collected in the Dominican Republic to be reviewed in detail. First, the methods used, obstacles faced, as well as a brief overview of the participants, were acknowledged. Overall, the perceptions of migration among my participants were positive, and only two participants expressed negative views of Haitians. Of note was the fact that the general population overwhelmingly has connections overseas, and understands the phenomenon of migration as a means of improving basic living conditions. The topics that were mentioned as the biggest obstacles to development varied across the responses from participants. These results were followed by an analysis that made connections to the previously mentioned social and political economic theories.

Analysis of Results and Conclusions

Both immigration and emigration were viewed positively by my participants. Other than two participants, all respondents expressed positive views on these movements. There were no noticeable differences across ages, educational experience, or gender. The only noticeable marker was the location of respondents, as the only two people to express negative perceptions of Haitians were from the urban area. Other than an acknowledgement of the presence of Haitians,

perceptions did not seem to go much further than that. An example of this can be seen in a meeting I had with two young children on a walk. We were on higher ground overlooking an area, and they pointed out a group of people walking and told me that the people below were Haitians. I asked how they knew that those distant figures were Haitians, and they replied by noting that only Haitians work in that area. I asked what they thought about that, and they did not have a response. It was simply a matter of fact. The fact that a group of people is more likely to be relegated to a certain type of work, is a result of institutional factors, and not because of prejudices from everyday citizens.

One of the works I cited most frequently was by David Howard. His work examined issues of race and nationality in the Dominican Republic in depth. My data contradict some of Howard's findings, as outlined in Chapter Two. The very negative responses he received would have seemed very uncharacteristic amongst my respondents. Howard also believed that Dominican did not often identify with their Indigenous heritage, but would even less often identify with their African roots, as this would imply their ancestral connection to Haitians. I partially agree with this statement, as two participants made reference to their connection to the Taíno people, while no respondents made reference to African heritage.

One piece of information gleaned in the research, and mentioned in Chapter Four, was that Dominicans are generous and welcoming. I mentioned this anecdotally in my notes, and Respondent 11 stressed this in his interview. A recent report, the 2016 World Giving Index, supports this, ranking the Dominican Republic 36th among all countries examined when measuring generosity and helpfulness (Charities Aid Foundation, 2016). These positive traits of the country could aid in altering migration processes for the better, as mentioned in the Moving Forward section of this thesis, in order to make the Dominican Republic a more inclusive country.

It is important to underscore that no participant remarked that the process of migration, or in particular any specific group in the country, was the cause of the biggest problems the nation faces. The research that was conducted made it clear that Dominicans believe development is being stalled by institutional factors which need to be addressed by the government, and not by any trends in migration. The majority of participants noted slow and weak development infrastructure as the main issue within the country.

Theoretical Conclusions

I argued in Chapter Three that migration needs to be considered depending on the particular context being studied, and that individual preferences may be influenced based on various social theories. The fact that migration was not viewed negatively by my participants could be explained by the relative deprivation theory, which provides a framework for understanding why people flee for better conditions, particularly when close proximity magnifies the differences. Dominicans seemed to understand that people in their neighbouring country were suffering a lot more than they were. Relative deprivation theory could be a basis not only to explain the flight of people, but also used to instill ideas of empathy in the people of a receiving country. As well, while the pursuit of social identity could be a source of negative attitudes toward immigrants, in this case it seems the native group's identity is strongly linked to notions of fairness, equality, and social justice, a process which can lead to more positive outcome for all actors involved (Card et al., 2005, p. 10).

This main conclusion also can be explained by political economic theory which allows people to take into consideration facets of migration that have positive effects on their well-being rather than solely focusing on the economic factors. Furthermore, it is becoming apparent that economic migration is vital for advanced economies, and as the Dominican Republic continues to develop, their policies need to change to support this process

Other than political economic theory, it is important to recognize that in the case of the Dominican Republic, people's perceptions are more likely formed from the process identified by social identity theory, rather than that cited in realistic group conflict theory. The majority of my Dominican participants did not express having problems with people of Haitian descent, or that they are a threat to their resources or opportunities. Any note of difference between the two groups is simply that—a recognition that they are different. This difference is not necessarily a negative phenomenon, and may not cause significant challenges.

The people interviewed did not blame the slow pace of inadequate development on the fact that there are foreigners in their country. Rather they believe that the government is simply incapable of providing a higher standard of living. As was mentioned, this does not necessarily mean that they then have hostility for the sitting government, but rather that they wish things could simply be better.

It is clear that examining the situation by using a political economic framework allows for connections to be made between migration and development policy. However, the conclusion reached is not that migration and development necessarily conflict. Research has shown that the two can in fact be complementary, and this thesis shows that Dominicans may not see the two issues as being mutually exclusive. This means that the two spheres can be considered as working in tandem, both when examining citizens' perceptions and actions of the government.

Moving Forward

Dominican Government and Future of the PNRE.

In the field of development, the best forms of change are often thought of as being from the ground up. Trickle-down development, whether it be of a social or economic nature, is often shunned. However, on this issue, it is clear that the issue is with the government's view of migration and development, and there needs to be change at this level. As evidenced by my

research findings, participants believe they are a welcoming population, and the majority did not harbour animosity against newcomers, whatever their background. Instead, institutional factors may be what oppress and marginalize people in the Dominican Republic. This project, although it has a small sample size, may be an indicator that the government needs to learn from the people, an approach which political economy recognizes as an important factor of a successful state. Given the common trait of generosity in Dominicans, positive perceptions of migration should be accepted and used to inform future government policy.

Efforts to regularize the status of Haitians in the Dominican Republic need to continue, and it is also important to distribute accurate and equal information to all parts of the country. This will allow Haitian immigrants who need to go through this process to be informed, as well as help Dominicans understand the process. The past immigration process singled out Haitians, both by permitting the continued use of undocumented workers and as the 2013 decision that retroactively stripped people of their status only applied to Haitians. The PNRE seemed to be more neutral as it applied to people of all backgrounds, and reviews of the process will demonstrate whether it was successful. As well, sensitivity training could be provided for staff working on this project, to ensure people of all backgrounds are treated the same, as it is can be a difficult and intimidating process for any person in any country.

The Media.

There needs to be a change to media in the country for less biased reporting about Haitians. Based on the review done in Chapter Two of this thesis and the responses from participants, their reporting may not be fully telling of the situation, and more emphasis needs to be placed on producing fair and accurate reports. The focus could be more heavily placed on community efforts to unite people in the country, and an example would be coverage of the Border Festival as mentioned by Dr. Wooding. She also noted how often facts, such as the reality that almost

double the number of people leave the country as enter, are ignored, and are often replaced by more sensational stories. This is obviously not a problem that is confined to the Dominican Republic. It is also not an issue that is easily remedied, due to fears of limiting free speech or because of censorship. Dr. Wooding (2016) said:

the problem is that most of the media are heavily controlled by the conservative interests and so even though you may have some more liberal journalists working within, often they can't control what goes out as a headline. And people don't often read beyond the headlines so there's a lot of work that still needs to be done with the media, in terms of creating a public opinion that is more balanced (Dominican Republic).

Working on ensuring that more unbiased publications are distributed, can help in aiding the dissemination of clear and balanced information about migration programs and initiatives. It could also help to hold the government more accountable when they are creating or altering legislation.

Migration Practices Worldwide.

It must be remembered that the emergence of states with diverse populations, which can lead to social tensions, is an inevitable result of initial decisions to recruit foreign workers. Irregular migrants have helped provide the labour market flexibility central to neoliberal globalization, since they work for lower wages. Also important is the fact that international law does not distinguish between regular and irregular migrants with regard to entitlement to basic human rights. Significantly, most of the world's nations have refused to sign the 1990 convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families. Furthermore, the Migrant Workers Convention is the only international human rights instrument that specifically addresses the rights of migrants. It is currently the least ratified of the nine major human rights treaties, with only 48 states ratifying it, and most states that have done so are source or transit countries rather than host

countries. Several other countries have given recognition to the Migrant Workers Convention by signing it, but have not yet ratified it, meaning that they have expressed the intention of adhering to it but are not yet bound to do so by international law. No migrant-receiving state in Western Europe or North America has ratified the Migrant Workers Convention, nor have other prominent host nations such as Australia, India, or South Africa. It is also important to note that of the initial Members of the Committee who drafted the Migrant Workers Convention, all were from sending or transient countries, and no major receiving nations were involved. While the convention is more likely to affect the people of these less developed countries, it would have still been useful to have a host nation on the committee to provide their perspective. Bosniak (1991) believes that, despite the unmistakable normative value of its protective provisions, the Migrant Workers Convention's ability to substantially ameliorate the human right situation of irregular migrants is significantly constrained by its overriding commitment to the norms and structures of sovereign statehood. While the Migrant Workers Convention is one of the best instruments to protect irregular migrants, it still gives too much leeway to states in order to protect their sovereignty. These Conventions need to be taken seriously, not just by the Dominican Republic, but on a global scale especially by large host nations.

Furthermore, there needs to be more oversight with regards to migration for work, particularly when there is unofficial recruitment. Job matching is hard enough in one country, let alone involving the crossing of borders. The International Labour Organization (ILO) opposes labour being viewed as a commodity, since many private recruiters and agencies can be (and often are) exploitive. Article 8 of the ILO's Private Employment Agencies Convention 181 emphasizes that members should consider concluding bilateral agreements to prevent abuses and fraudulent practices in recruitment placement and employment. Haiti and the Dominican Republic are both ILO members and should be called on to review their policies in light of the

Convention. In addition the ILO advises the need to provide contracts in a written form, and in a language that workers can understand, which in the Dominican Republic would involve the document being translated into Haitian Creole. No-fee public employment services agencies currently have a small and declining role, but should be examined as a possible neutral third-party to assess in the future.

Within the current system of state territoriality, the absence of citizenship reduces individuals to the most basic human level, a process which requires them to sustain themselves economically within a territory where they have been excluded by the state, and yet, where the state has power over them (De Genova, 2010). The question of how countries can relegate hundreds of thousands of individuals to irregular status and deportability is premised on the logic that they are sovereign nations within the global nation-state system, and may therefore use deportation as a form of state-craft. While exploitive and unregulated bilateral relationships between states need to be reviewed, countries should not be encouraged to go to the other extreme end of the spectrum. Countries need to work together to combat these issues and create a facilitative environment for migrants.

Development.

Development in the Dominican Republic needs to be more concrete, with plans that are manageable and can be completed in a timely, and fair, manner. According to the National Survey of the Labour Force and the Central Bank, poverty decreased from 42.2% in September 2012 to 30.0% in September 2016, meaning that 1.72 million people were raised from poverty. As well, extreme poverty fell from 11.1% in September 2012 to 6.1% in September 2016, the equivalent of 480,692 people (Núñez, 2017). While these efforts are encouraging, and no doubt due to the high rate of growth in recent year, efforts need to be concerted so that migration and development efforts work together.

The Dominican Republic can also examine the possibility of more partnerships with other countries to ensure migration and development can work in tandem. One example of such a program mentioned earlier was that between Mauritius and Canada, and their agreement for circular migration, a process which benefits the labour markets and development in the sending country. Circular migration could be used as a tool to send back migrants, especially with co-development programs to finance development projects to encourage migrants to return. In other words development is used as an instrument of migration policy rather than an end itself (De Haas, 2006). An alternative option is to institute remittance programs to aid in development efforts in the sending country. This may be an option for Haitians in the Dominican Republic who have legal status in there, but it would be difficult to implement for the thousands of people without regular status in either country. Unilateral initiatives that focus on benefitting one country are inadequate in the face of globalized and interdependent forces such as labour mobility, trade, and development and focuses on collaboration and joint solutions. Howard (2001) believes that the animosity between Haiti and the Dominican Republic prevents them both from fulfilling their potential.

As well it is important to remember that irregular migrants may not achieve as much human development as regular migrants and domestic citizens. This will affect the development of the receiving nation as a whole. Safe and legal migration is the best way to prevent irregular, and often dangerous, migration. This is important to remember as “one thing is apparent: except in unusual circumstances, Western countries tend to spend significant resources towards limiting the number and/or type of immigrants they allow into their countries” (Epstein, 2012, p. 11). This can also apply to other countries, as problems arise from a lack of adequate migration policies, not from the migrants themselves. Furthermore, there is a need to recognize the contribution of irregular migrants in both the home and destination countries.

Conclusion

On the island of Hispaniola there are two countries, divided by a thin border, but seemingly much more so by cultural differences. Both countries have unique histories, which have been entangled over the years. Many people in the Dominican Republic are a part of several generations that have lived within the borders of the country and yet are still not legally recognized because their bloodlines trace back to Haiti. They are left without citizenship, a process which leads to them being systematically denied the opportunity of formal education, employment, healthcare, and overall security.

Anthony Smith said that “nationalism provides perhaps the most compelling identification myth in the modern world” (Smith, 1992, p. viii). This causes two problems within the issue of migration, particularly for irregular migrants. First, nationalistic ideals can invoke feelings of discrimination towards the minority group. And second, it means that those hoping to become a part of a nation must go through not only legal acceptance but also a rigorous process of acceptance amongst institutions and the general population. This is an obstacle that must be removed in order to remedy the problem of irregular migration in the Dominican Republic, but the findings of this small research project provide a positive outlook in this regard, if people’s perceptions in the Dominican Republic can influence policy. More research needs to be done with larger and more diverse sample sizes to understand if the general population’s perceptions have changed since previous research on the topic was conducted. Specific aspects need to be examined that were not considered in this project, such as the role of racism. As well, the transnationality of the situation should be included in future research to understand how factors outside the Dominican Republic influence migration. Most importantly, future research on the topic needs to include the voices of people of Haitian descent, since their perspectives was outside the scope of this thesis, but would have added an important dimension.

As the global population increases, so does the number of people living without citizenship or with irregular status. While international law and its instruments make at least some recognition of this fact, individual nation-states are still disregarding the issue. In moving forward, it is clear that countries have to take on specific responsibilities. Both states and international organizations need to review policies that solely seek to suppress and criminalize migration as they are likely unachievable, and instead create channels for legal migration (International Council of Human Rights Policy, 2010). Most importantly, in order for these instruments to be seen as necessary, states need to begin with the principle that migrants are human beings with rights, entitled to protection. This way of thinking, combined with the findings of this thesis that Dominican participants do not see development and immigration of Haitians as conflicting, can lead to better outcomes everyone in the country. Perhaps the contraction of needing but not wanting Haitians in the Dominican Republic is fading.

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APPENDIX A INTERVIEW GUIDE

Appendix Three: Interview Guide (in English and Spanish)

Interviewee Pseudonym:

Date:

Place:

Interview Start:

Finish:

Comments on the Interview:

1. Are you originally from the Dominican Republic?
 - i. Do you know people who live in the Dominican Republic but do not have citizenship?
 - ii. How does this affect their lives?
 - iii. How does the migration of Haitians to the Dominican Republic affect your life?
 - iv. How did the decision in 2013 affect your life?
 - v. How has the new process instituted in 2014 affected your life?
2. What do you do for a living?

- a. If employed:
 - i. How many days and hours do you work each week?
 - ii. Do you like your job and what is the most difficult part of your job?
 - b. If no employment: have you ever been employed in the Dominican Republic?
3. Have you had other jobs? If so, what were they?
 4. How many years of schooling have you completed?
 5. Have you always lived in the Dominican Republic or have you lived elsewhere?
 6. Do you have family members living in other countries?
 7. What do you think about people from other countries living in the Dominican Republic?
 8. What do you think about life in the Dominican Republic?
 - a. What is the most difficult about life here?
 - b. What is the best part about life here?
 - c. What problems do people living here have?
 9. What is the most important development issue in the Dominican Republic?