

TRAFFICKING OF HAITIANS ON THE ISLAND OF HISPANIOLA AFTER
THE 2010 EARTHQUAKE

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Dedicated to Terry Lynn King
and all of my other friends out on Unit 2

Abstract

On January 12th, 2010 a 7.0 magnitude earthquake hit the nation of Haiti. The people of Haiti suffered many losses of life, homes, and livelihood. Later that year, as a result of the earthquake, a cholera outbreak occurred in Haiti taking the lives of thousands more. This study attempts to determine if Haitians were at a higher risk of being trafficked and if human trafficking increased on the island after the earthquake. I analyze how human trafficking in Haiti and the Dominican Republic was impacted as a result of the earthquake and the consequent reaction of the Dominican Republic in both policies and public attitude towards Haitians. Using past studies on factors that affect levels of trafficking I form the theoretical framework for my argument. The factors from the literature on trafficking that pertain to the case of Haiti and the Dominican Republic are economic levels, discrimination, and immigration policies. I measure and analyze these three factors in order to determine if Haitians were more vulnerable to trafficking and if trafficking increased after the 2010 earthquake. The results suggest that, after the earthquake, economic conditions in Haiti worsened, levels of discrimination towards Haitians in the Dominican Republic increased greatly, and that the Dominican-Haiti border was patrolled in such a way that increased levels of trafficking. I thus conclude that, it is likely that Haitians were increasingly susceptible to being trafficked after the earthquake and trafficking increased on the island.

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Introduction

On January 12th, 2010, the island of Hispaniola was struck by a 7.0 magnitude earthquake. The part of the island most affected was Port-au-Prince, Haiti and its surrounding provinces. This event had devastating impacts, as Haiti was already the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere with exceptionally weak infrastructures and systems of bureaucracy. The death toll estimates range from 200,000 to more than 350,000. Another 300,000 were injured, while over a million were displaced from their homes¹². The Inter-American Development Bank cites the earthquake as “the most destructive event a country has ever experienced when measured in terms of the number of people killed as a share of the country’s population”; an estimated 2% of the population died in the earthquake.³

In October of 2010 the first case of cholera was discovered in Haiti outside of a United Nations peace keeper camp set up to help in earthquake relief efforts. It is now widely believed that these peace keepers brought the disease over from Nepal where there had recently been an outbreak of cholera⁴. With the devastation that Haiti experienced earlier that year to hospitals, homes, and general infrastructure, the cholera outbreak would spread quickly and relentlessly through the country. Within two years of this first case being detected, the public health ministry reported over 600,000 cases of cholera in the country and over 7,000 deaths⁵.

¹ DesRoches, Reginald, Mary Comerio, Marc Eberhard, Walter Mooney, and Glenn J. Rix. “Overview of the 2010 Haiti Earthquake.” *Earthquake Spectra* 27, no. S1 (October 2011): S1–21..

² The World Bank. “Haiti Earthquake PDNA (Post-Disaster Needs Assessment) : Assessment of Damage, Losses, General and Sectoral Needs.” The World Bank, March 1, 2010.

³ Cavallo, Eduardo A., Andrew Powell, Inter-american Development Bank. “Estimating the Direct Economic Damage of the Earthquake in Haiti.” *Economic Journal*, 2010, 298–312.

⁴ Gladstone, Rick. “U.N. Brought Cholera to Haiti. Now It Is Fumbling Its Effort to Atoné”. The New York Times. June 2017.

⁵ Barzilay, Ezra J., Nicolas Schaad, Roc Magloire, Kam S. Mung, Jacques Boncy, Georges A. Dahourou, Eric D. Mintz, Maria W. Steenland, John F. Vertefeuille, and Jordan W. Tappero. “Cholera Surveillance during the Haiti Epidemic — The First 2 Years.” *New England Journal of Medicine* 368, no. 7 (February 14, 2013): 599–609.

In the days and weeks following the earthquake, many praised the neighboring country of the Dominican Republic for its humanitarian response. While the international community was deciding how to help, Dominicans were entering Port-au-Prince to rescue and provide medical help to those injured. Within a matter of days, the Dominican President and Public Works Minister were on the ground assessing the damages. Borders were opened for injured Haitians and in some areas were completely opened in the following months so that Haitians could get the aid and medical help they needed in the Dominican Republic⁶. Many thought this was a turning point in the relations between the two countries, which had been tense since their formation as individual nations. However, this generous outpouring was short-lived. In the midst of the cholera outbreak in Haiti later that year, the Dominican Republic began implementing policies motivated by xenophobic attitudes. Over the next couple of years, the border was militarized, media began reporting Haitians as a threat to the country and policies stripping those of Haitian descent of their Dominican citizenship were implemented. Hundreds of thousands of Dominican citizens lost their citizenship and were left completely stateless.

Scholars and individuals have long discussed the possibility that natural disasters have an impact on rates of human trafficking in a given area. The chaotic environment after a disaster logically seems to be conducive to traffickers more easily exploiting a larger number of men, women, and children. News outlets such as the New York Times, The Guardian, and The Atlantic often report after large natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina or the 2004 Tsunami in

⁶O’Neil, Dan, and director of the Pan American Development Foundation in Santo Domingo. “For Haiti, Some Neighborly Help From Next Door.” NPR.org. Accessed February 3, 2019.

“Dominican Republic Aid to Haiti Eases Historic Tensions - CNN.Com.” January 2010. Accessed February 3, 2019.

Indonesia that trafficking greatly increases as a result of these events.⁷⁸⁹ However, this topic has rarely been viewed from an academic or research-oriented standpoint.

This thesis proposes that the circumstances after the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, including the cholera outbreak later that year and policy responses of the Dominican Republic, put Haitians at a higher risk of being trafficked and that human trafficking and sex trafficking likely increased on the island. As the limitation of data availability makes measuring actual rates of trafficking difficult, I argue that the convergence of several factors that indicate trafficking in this time and space display this increase. These factors include economic conditions in Haiti, discrimination towards Haitians, and immigration and citizenship policies.

In order to accomplish this, in Chapter I, I present the necessary background information of the earthquake event, the historical relations between Haiti and the Dominican Republic and an overview of trafficking including attempts to measure trafficking on the island. I then present three studies done on trafficking in Chapter II in order to produce a theoretical framework for my argument. These studies generate the factors that indicate a trafficking increase that I use to frame the remainder of my thesis: economic levels, discrimination, and border and immigration policies. In Chapter III I discuss how the economic situation of Haitians after the earthquake likely pushed them into more trafficking situations. In Chapter IV I display the increase in discrimination towards Haitians in the Dominican Republic and demonstrate how this pushed Haitians farther underground. In my final chapter I argue that the policies of the Dominican Republic on citizenship and immigration made Haitians more vulnerable and allowed for more cases of trafficking. I find that economic factors worsened in Haiti, Haitians were more discriminated against, and due to new

⁷ Reckdahl, Katy. "The Lost Children of Katrina". *The Atlantic*. April 2015.

⁸ "The Tsunamis and Child Trafficking". *The New York Times*. Jan 2005.

⁹ Aglionby, John. "Criminals May Be Trafficking Orphans". *The Guardian*. Jan 2005.

immigration policies Haitians individual's susceptibility to trafficking increased after the 2010 earthquake.

Chapter 1: Background Information

1.1 Introduction

The topic of human trafficking in Haiti and the Dominican Republic can only be fully understood and discussed after explaining several pieces of background information. In this chapter I present an overview of the earthquake and cholera outbreak in order to provide an understanding of the great impact it had on Haiti and its inhabitants. The extreme devastation that was incurred during this event caused a spike in migration of Haitians. Second, I discuss the historical relations between the two countries, an insight that is important to know when analyzing the Dominican responses to the earthquake and cholera outbreak and the policies that they implemented making Haitians more vulnerable. Lastly, I give an overview of trafficking on the island of Hispaniola. I provide a few estimates on numbers of individuals trafficked on the island before and after the earthquake to give a general idea of the number of people that were vulnerable to sex trafficking after the earthquake.

1.2 Overview of the Earthquake and Cholera Outbreak

The January 12, 2010 earthquake in Haiti is estimated to have caused damages and losses equal to between US\$7.8 and 13.9 billion.¹⁰ This is an especially shocking number when viewed in comparison to the total 2009 GDP of Haiti of \$US 6.58 billion.¹² Most reports of the event estimate that over 200,000 individuals were killed in the earthquake and over 300,000 were injured.¹³ A similar earthquake hit San Francisco in 1992 and fewer than 100 persons were killed, and a much larger earthquake hit the coast of Chile in February of 2010 killing fewer than 1,000

¹⁰Grunewald, Francois, Claude de Ville de Goyet, Juan Pablo Sarmiento. "Health Response to the Earthquake in Haiti, January 2010," Pan American Health Organization. 2011. 1.

¹¹ Margesson, Rhoda, and Maureen Taft-Morales. "Haiti Earthquake: Crisis and Response,". 69.

¹² World Bank. "GDP (Current \$US)." The World Bank Group. Accessed March 23, 2019.

¹³ DesRoches, Reginald, Mary Comerio, Marc Eberhard, Walter Mooney, and Glenn J. Rix. "Overview of the 2010 Haiti Earthquake." *Earthquake Spectra* 27, no. S1 (October 2011): S1–21.

people.¹⁴ The extreme loss of life in Haiti during the earthquake can be attributed to “uncontrolled construction, poor material quality, and lack of rigorous engineering design”.¹⁵ Pre-earthquake Haiti had no enforced building codes and individuals were able to build wherever they wanted within the capital city without a license. This weak infrastructure was devastating as an estimated 105,000 homes were completely destroyed, and 1300 education establishments sustained severe damages during the earthquake.¹⁶ Even the Presidential Palace of Haiti, seen in Figure 1, was not constructed in a way that could withstand the earthquake. The palace collapsed and to this day has not been rebuilt.



Figure 1: Haitian Presidential Palace¹⁷

¹⁴ Pierre-Louis, Francois. “Earthquakes, Nongovernmental Organizations, and Governance in Haiti.” *Journal of Black Studies* 42, no. 2 (2011): 186–202.

¹⁵ Marshall, Justin D., Anna F. Lang, Steven M. Baldrige, and Daniel R. Popp. “Recipe for Disaster: Construction Methods, Materials, and Building Performance in the January 2010 Haiti Earthquake.” *Earthquake Spectra* 27, no. S1 (October 2011): S323–43.

¹⁶ Grunewald et al. “Health Responses”. 3.

¹⁷ Tyler Anderson. National Post. <https://nationalpost.com/news/haitis-quake-damaged-national-palace-razed-to-the-ground-to-be-rebuilt-from-scratch>

The recovery efforts were slow and inefficient in Haiti as the earthquake damages weakened the already lacking systems of bureaucracy. Seventeen of eighteen government ministries were destroyed, as well as the majority of the Haitian media outlets.¹⁸ Thus, communication between government and citizens was nearly impossible. Those that were injured and required medical attention had difficulty accessing health care because hospitals, health centers, and the Ministry of Health were greatly affected. As seen in Figure 2, The Ministry of Health building was completely destroyed. Many Ministry of Health personnel were killed in the earthquake according to a report done by the Pan American Health Organization in 2011.¹⁹ This report also found that fifty hospitals and health centers suffered severe damage including the largest hospital in Haiti, the Haiti University and Educational Hospital.



Figure 2: Haitian Ministry of Health²⁰

¹⁸ Pierre-Louis, Francois. "Earthquakes, Nongovernmental Organizations, and Governance in Haiti." 194.

¹⁹ Grunewald et al. "Health Responses". 3.

²⁰ Photo: Victor Ariscain. PAHO/WHO.

One investigation done on foreign field hospitals published in January of 2012 found that 60% of secondary and tertiary hospitals in Haiti were severely damaged or destroyed during the earthquake.²¹ The authors of this report estimate that before the earthquake there were 11,700 hospital beds available in Haiti and after the earthquake only 4,800 remained. The damage endured by the health infrastructure of the country would be especially harmful in the midst of the cholera outbreak that began in October of 2010.

Thousands of international organizations and volunteers flooded into the country of Haiti in the days and weeks following the earthquake. Large non-profits such as UNICEF, The Red Cross, and World Food Program as well as government and UN agencies such as the International Organization for Migration and the United Nations Development Program entered the country to offer humanitarian aid. The relief efforts were largely ineffective due to limited communication lines, damaged infrastructure and a lack of transportation for people and supplies.²² As a response to the destruction of most of the capital's health centers and hospitals, many organizations set up foreign field hospitals (FFH). It is estimated that within the first three weeks of relief efforts an additional 3300 hospital beds were provided through FFH.²³ Many of these make-shift hospitals were set up outside with no coverage as can be seen in Figure 3. The medical care that could be provided was limited due to lack of supplies and shelter.

²¹ Gerdin, Martin, Andreas Wladis, and Johan von Schreeb. "Foreign Field Hospitals after the 2010 Haiti Earthquake: How Good Were We?" *Emergency Medicine Journal* 30, no. 1 (January 2013): e8.

²² Margesson and Taft Morales. "Haiti Earthquake Crisis and Response". 8.

²³ Gerdin et al. "Foreign Field Hospitals after the 2010 Haiti Earthquake". 2.

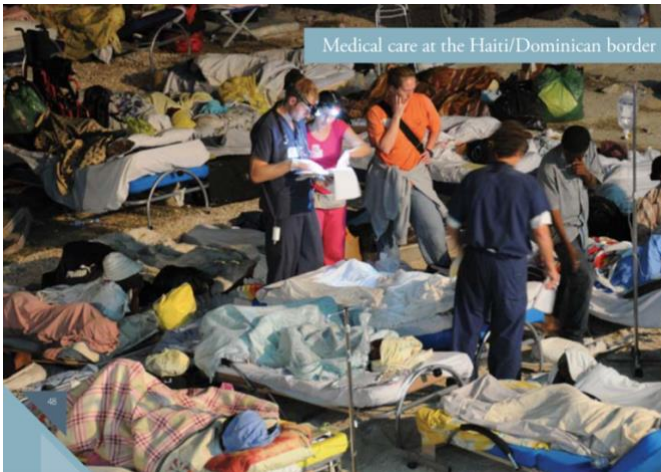


Figure 3: Foreign Field Hospitals after the Haiti Earthquake²⁴

On October 12th of 2010, nine months after the earthquake, a 28-year-old man in the town of Mirebalais, Haiti began showing symptoms of cholera, a disease that had not been seen in the country for a century.²⁵ He was believed to have contracted the disease from drinking the water of the Latem River. It has since been confirmed that the Meye River, which feeds the Latem River, was contaminated with *Vibrio cholerae* O1 by faulty sanitation practices of a United Nations peacekeeper camp that housed UN workers who had recently aided in an outbreak of cholera in Nepal.²⁶ This first individual who is believed to have contracted the disease died before being hospitalized or receiving medical help. The first confirmed cases of *Vibrio cholerae* O1 were determined by the National Public Health Laboratory on October 21, 2010. For the next months and years, the country would suffer greatly from the epidemic of cholera. “Despite multisectoral relief efforts, Haiti’s infrastructures for health care, water, and sanitation were severely damaged, complicating an already precarious situation”.²⁷

²⁴ Grunewald et al. “Health Responses”. 5.

²⁵ Ivers, Louise C., and David A. Walton. “The ‘First’ Case of Cholera in Haiti: Lessons for Global Health.” *The American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 86, no. 1. 2012. 36–38.

²⁶ Ivers and Walton. “The ‘First’ Case of Cholera in Haiti”. 36-38.

²⁷ Barzilay, Ezra et al. “Cholera Surveillance During the Haiti Epidemic”.

Cholera thrived in this post-earthquake environment as most individuals did not have access to clean water. According to the Center for Disease Control (CDC) cholera spreads when people drink water or eat food that is contaminated with the cholera bacterium. Only around 20% of people in Haiti have access to proper sanitation, thus people often defecate in water ways “and cholera—which causes explosive diarrhea—drove more people to use the river as a toilet”.²⁸ Additionally, a large portion of Haitians do not have access to clean water and thus use rivers and other water ways to bathe, clean clothes and often for drinking water. It was in this way that cholera spread so quickly from person to person in Haiti. According to the World Data Bank, as of 2010 around 40% of the population was not using basic drinking water services.²⁹ Port-au-Prince was especially vulnerable to the spread of the disease due to crowded conditions, limited access to safe water and the destruction of hospitals and health centers from the January earthquake.³⁰ Additionally, doctors who were available had no previous knowledge on how to treat cholera as this strain had never been seen in the country before 2010.³¹ By April of 2011 the CDC had documented 283,362 cases of cholera and 4,856 deaths from cholera.³² By 2017 those numbers had increased to 809,000 cases and 9,670 deaths.³³ The rapid spread of the disease invoked fears in the neighboring country of the Dominican Republic and was used by Dominicans to justify the separation and tension between the two countries that had existed long before 2010.

²⁸ Kean, Sam. “As Cholera Goes, so Goes Haiti.” *Science* 345, no. 6202. 2014. 1266–68.

²⁹ World Bank. World Development Indicators. *People using at least basic drinking water services (% of population)*. The World Bank Group. Accessed April 2, 2019.

³⁰ De Rochars, Valery EM Beau, Julie Tipret, Molly Patrick, Lara Jacobson, Kamil E. Barbour, David Berendes, Diana Bensyl et al. “Knowledge, attitudes, and practices related to treatment and prevention of cholera, Haiti, 2010.” *Emerging infectious diseases* 17, no. 11 (2011): 2158.

³¹ Guillaume, Yodeline, Ralph Ternier, Kenia Vissieres, Alain Casseus, Maurice J. Chery, and Louise C. Ivers. “Responding to Cholera in Haiti: Implications for the National Plan to Eliminate Cholera by 2022.” *The Journal of Infectious Diseases* 218. 2018. S167–70.

³² Luquero, Francisco J., Marc Rondy, Jacques Boncy, André Munger, Helmi Mekaoui, Ellen Rymshaw, Anne-Laure Page, et al. “Mortality Rates during Cholera Epidemic, Haiti, 2010–2011.” *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 22, no. 3. 2016. 410–16.

³³ Zarocostas, John. “Cholera Outbreak in Haiti—from 2010 to Today.” *The Lancet* 389, no. 10086 (June 10, 2017): 2274–75.

1.3 Overview of Haitian/Dominican Relations

The events that occurred between Haitians and Dominicans in the post-earthquake time period, including trafficking of Haitians, must be situated in the greater historical relations between the two countries. Both countries were colonized by European powers until the beginning of the 19th century, Haiti by France and the Dominican Republic by Spain. Shortly after achieving independence, Haiti took over their neighboring country, uniting the island under Haitian rule. Under the rule of Jean Pierre Boyer slavery was abolished, new land reforms were implemented, and whites, mulattos and blacks were placed on a more equal social and juridical level in both the Haitian and Dominican sides of the island.³⁴ Land was promised to all slaves that had been freed and consequently many elites, including the Church, were stripped of their lands.³⁵ Control of Dominicans was sustained “more through military rule than voluntary submission” and Haitians and Dominicans remained socially divided due to differences in their language and customs.³⁶ Additionally, there was economic and political unrest due to the drop in coffee prices and the devaluation of the currency after excess paper money was printed to pay off the Haitian debt to France.³⁷ The island was suffering and elites in particular became weary of rule under Boyer. In 1838 Juan Pablo Duarte and other Dominican nationalists founded an opposition movement known as the Trinitarios.³⁸ This underground group spread across the country and gained traction over the next few years with the goal of “organiz[ing] Dominican resistance and separat[ing] the eastern part of the island from Haiti”.³⁹ Two years after President Boyer was ousted from his position in Port-au-Prince by a Haitian elite group, several hundred Dominican “trinitarios” marched into

³⁴Pons, Frank Moya. *The Dominican Republic: A National History*. Markus Wiener Publishers Princeton, 1998. 123.

³⁵ Ibid. 128.

³⁶ Ibid. 134.

³⁷ Ibid. 134-136.

³⁸Ricourt, Milagros. *The Dominican Racial Imaginary: Surveying the Landscape of Race and Nation in Hispaniola*. Rutgers University Press, 2016. 130-131.

³⁹ Pons, Frank Moya. *A National History*. 138.

Santo Domingo and forced Haitian leaders to surrender.⁴⁰ In the following days negotiations were discussed and Haitians surrendered all governmental property, military equipment, and archives and the nation of the Dominican Republic was born.⁴¹ Today in the Dominican Republic the Day of Independence is celebrated on January 27th, the day that Haitian forces surrendered to Juan Pablo Duarte and not on the day that the nation gained independence from Spain. Anti-Haitian sentiments were born out of this period of unification of the island in which those on the Dominican side lost much of their economic and social power. While the two countries co-existed for the next eighty years with few physical conflicts, tensions were amplified as elites internalized the writing of intellectuals such as Sánchez Valverde and José Gabriel García.⁴² These writers situated Dominicans as “victims of Haitian barbarism”.⁴³ Anti-Haitian sentiments grew throughout the eighty year period after Dominicans gained independence, but the first physical expression of these sentiments was not seen until the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo and the Massacre of 1937 under his rule.

While Dominican elite held unfavorable opinions of Haitians, social relations between Dominicans and Haitians were amicable in the early twentieth century. In his book, *Foundations of Despotism*, Richard Lee Turits describes a pre-Trujillo border region in which Haitians and Dominicans lived daily life together and the border was “entirely porous”.⁴⁴ Those that lived in the border towns of Haiti and the Dominican Republic lived in a society shaped by bilingualism, biculturalism, and transnationalism. Individuals often spoke both Haitian Creole and Spanish and crossed the border several times a day. Some school kids would enter into Haiti to attend school,

⁴⁰ Ibid. 140-141.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ricourt, Milagros. *The Dominican Racial Imaginary*. 10

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Turits, Richard Lee. *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, The Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History*. Stanford University Press, 2004. 78-80

return home for lunch in the Dominican Republic and cross the border again to return to school in the afternoon.⁴⁵ However, many academics and elites such as Manuel Peña Battle, a lawyer and historian, and Joaquín Balaguer, a politician who later became President of the country, maintained strongly negative sentiments towards Haitians far from the border.⁴⁶ Rafael Trujillo capitalized on these beliefs as he rose to power and assumed the presidency in 1930.

Rafael Trujillo was elected president in the Dominican Republic in 1930 and officially held office until 1938 and again from 1942 to 1952 but in reality held power over the country from 1930 to 1961 when he was assassinated.⁴⁷ His dictatorship was defined by violence, terror, and torture. In his presidency, Trujillo undertook a campaign of reshaping Dominican identity and the “dominicanization” of the border region. He incentivized the immigration of white European farmers, allotting to them land in the border region, while implementing migration laws that inhibited the entrance of Haitians into the country.⁴⁸ To promote the ideologies of “Spanishness” and specifically Catholicism, Trujillo had numerous Catholic churches built near the border. The main purpose of these churches was, as Dominican scholar Milagros Ricourt notes, “to expiate the “evil” practices of Voodoo” emanating from the other side of the border.⁴⁹ Additionally, Trujillo had many streets, towns, and other structures renamed to commemorate past battles with Haiti and Dominican heroes that had died in these battles.⁵⁰ Lastly, Trujillo enacted a new immigration policy early in 1937 decreasing the quotas of Haitians that could cross the border in order to work on sugar farms in the Dominican Republic by forty percent. Many Haitians continued crossing illegally, as work in Dominican sugar cane fields was their only source of livelihood and income.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 80-81.

⁴⁶ Turits, Richard Lee. "A World Destroyed, A Nation Imposed: The 1937 Haitian Massacre in the Dominican Republic." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (2002): 589-635.

⁴⁷ Pons, Frank Moya. *The Dominican Republic*. 356-360.

⁴⁸ Ricourt, Milagros. *The Dominican Racial Imaginary*. 130-131.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 134-135.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Trujillo and his administration coined this continued migration the second “invasion” of Haitians into their country and used this rhetoric as a justification for the Massacre of 1937. The ideologies of the dictatorship culminated in this event that took place in September and October of 1937.

In the 1937 Haitian Massacre over 15,000 ethnic Haitians living on the Dominican side of the border were violently murdered on the order of Rafael Trujillo. Most of those killed had lived their entire lives in the Dominican Republic and were thus, defined as citizens of the Dominican Republic by the 1924 Constitution. Hundreds of Dominican soldiers and civilian reserves entered into the border region and slaughtered any individual appearing to be of Haitian descent, even those that attempted to escape across the border.⁵¹ Individuals were identified as being Haitian just by being black. The entire event was orchestrated and executed by Trujillo and marked the beginning of an era in which “Dominicanness” has been defined greatly by anti-Haitian sentiments. Scholars such as Manuel Arturo Peña Batlle and Joaquín Balaguer continued discussing and writing that to be truly Dominican one must accept all that comes from the “motherland” of Spain and denounce all that originated out of Africa and represented Haitian culture.⁵² To be Dominican meant to be white, Catholic, and Spanish speaking and to be as disconnected as possible from “blackness”. These ideas permeated throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century.

Towards the end of the Trujillo-era in the Dominican Republic, the dictator made an agreement with Haitian leaders concerning Haitian sugar cane workers. Haitian authorities were responsible for organizing groups of Haitian workers and sending them to the Dominican sugar cane farms and factories⁵³. Under this agreement Haitians could legally cross the border as long as

⁵¹Turits, Richard Lee. “A World Destroyed, A Nation Imposed”. 602-604.

⁵²Ricourt, Milagros. *The Dominican Racial Imaginary*. 138.

⁵³Martinez, Samuel. “From Hidden Hand to Heavy Hand: Sugar, the State, and Migrant Labor in Haiti and the Dominican Republic.” *Latin American Research Review* 34, no. 1 (1999): 57–84.

they resided only within the “Bateyes” or sugar worker towns. During the second half of the 20th century, hundreds of thousands of Haitians entered into the Dominican Republic under the pretense of working and living in Bateyes.⁵⁴ During this time citizenship was based on the Constitution of 1924. This Constitution stated four categories of citizenship: those that were already considered Dominican citizens, those born in Dominican territory, excluding children of diplomats and migrants “in transit”, those born overseas to Dominican citizens, and those that became citizens through a naturalization process.⁵⁵ Under this policy children of Haitian immigrants born in the Dominican Republic were considered citizens because they were not considered “in transit”. While this was the case in terms of the law, in real life, authorities often made their own decision on citizenship. Many “overzealous Dominican officials would not issue these children of [Haitian] immigrants with birth certificates...alleging that they were Haitians”.⁵⁶ For the many decades that this constitution was the governing document of the country, there was much debate on whether or not Haitian migrants were considered “in transit” or not and if their children were considered citizens. As anti-Haitian sentiments were widely accepted across the country, many individuals were motivated by racism and a distaste of Haitians when arguing that they were not eligible for citizenship.

The government of the Dominican Republic did not take a strong stance on citizenship of Haitians and their children until 2004. Law 285-04 marked the beginning of a stream of legal changes in the Dominican Republic that targeted individuals that are ethnically Haitian even if they were previously considered citizens of the state. Law 285-04 and the Dominican Constitution

⁵⁴ Corten, André, Isis Duarte, Consuelo M. Soto, and Viviana Fridman. “Five Hundred Thousand Haitians in the Dominican Republic.” *Latin American Perspectives* 22, no. 3 (July 1995): 94–110. .

⁵⁵ Sagás, Ernesto. Report on Citizenship Law: Dominican Republic. Global Citizenship Observatory (GLOBALCIT). 2017. 5-6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 6.

of 2010 altered the definition of citizenship that had existed since 1924. Children born in the Dominican Republic to Haitians that had crossed the border to work would no longer be granted citizenship. A few years later, in the high court ruling TC-168, this constitution change was decided to be retroactively applied back to 1929. Effectively, this meant that hundreds of thousands of Dominican citizens would be stripped of their citizenship and left stateless. Many of whose families had lived in the Dominican Republic for almost a century and had never visited Haiti nor spoke Haitian Creole.⁵⁷ These legal changes greatly impacted Haitians and those of Haitian descent living on the island. They were pushed underground and made more vulnerable leading to a higher likelihood of being trafficked.

1.4 Overview of Human Trafficking on the Island of Hispaniola

Human trafficking had taken place on the island of Hispaniola long before the earthquake of 2010. The economic and social differences between the two countries have created an environment that is conducive to the mass movement of persons across the border and often times trafficking. Prostitution is legal in the Dominican Republic which attracts many sex tourists to the island. The Dominican Republic is also highly popular to tourists for its beaches and culture. The country has become a prominent sex tourism destination increasing the demand for sex workers which is often supplied from sex trafficking. The 2008 Trafficking in Persons report of the US State Department stated that a significant number of women, boys, and girls are trafficked to the country for sexual exploitation. “Sex tourism and child sex tourism are problems, particularly in coastal resort areas”.⁵⁸ Historically in the Dominican Republic black women and specifically Haitian women have been over-sexualized. Popular sex myths perpetuate the idea that “darkness is heavily associated with unbridled sexuality” and that the creole woman can provide “taboo

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ United States Department of State. 2008 Trafficking in Persons Report-United States of America.

sexual pleasures that would tarnish the [white or mulatto woman]”.⁵⁹ For this reason, Haitian women are often desired in the sex industry, but still occupy the lowest paid and least mobile positions.⁶⁰ Additionally, there is a myth among Dominican men, known as *cocomordan*, that Haitian women are capable of strong vaginal contractions that makes sex especially pleasurable.⁶¹ This over-sexualization of Haitians transforms the body into an object of pleasure and often leads to the abuse of Haitians in higher rates than Dominicans and more cases of trafficking.

Haitian women are generally drawn to the Dominican Republic for sex work as a way of providing for themselves and their families. Many women cross over the border inspired by “*sueño capitaleño*” or the “dream of the capital”.⁶² Many of the women that attempt to cross the border do so in order to eventually arrive in Santo Domingo. The capital offers the promises of higher wages, educational opportunities, and a general advancement in quality of life. This demand is recognized by *buscones* or “scouts” that transport individuals across the border. *Buscones* work within a sphere of other actors that make trafficking possible such as drivers, checkpoint guards and other complicit authorities.⁶³ They use the promise of arrival in Santo Domingo to draw people into trafficking situations. *Buscones* will go as far as Port-au-Prince to recruit men, women, and children to come with them into the Dominican Republic.⁶⁴ It is important to recognize that while this movement is always illegal, it is not always a case of trafficking. Often times Haitians elect to cross the border in order to work in construction, sex work, and other industries. However, due to

⁵⁹ Kempadoo, Kamala. *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race and Sexual Labor*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Routledge, 2004. 82.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 83.

⁶¹ Petrozziello, Allison, Bridget Wooding. “Fanm nan fwontye: Violence against Haitian migrant women”. 2012.

⁶² Petrozziello, Allison. “Borders, buscones, brothels, and bi-national markets: Haitian women negotiate how to get through”. 2013.

⁶³ Wooding, Bridget, and Allison J. Petrozziello. “New Challenges for the Realisation of Migrants’ Rights Following the Haiti 2010 Earthquake: Haitian Women on the Borderlands.” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 32, no. 4. 2013. 407-410.

⁶⁴ Petrozziello. “Borders, buscones and brothels.”

the underground nature of traveling with *buscones* as this movement is not regulated by any government body, placing trust in these individuals can often lead to cases of trafficking.⁶⁵

There are several non-government organizations, media outlets, and government agencies that have attempted to measure trafficking on the island both before and after the earthquake. The United States State Department marked Haiti as a “special case” in their 2010 Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report, meaning that the situation in Haiti reached outside the scope of the normal three-tiered system of ranking in TIP reports.⁶⁶ They noted that Haitian National Police and local NGOs reported an increase in alleged cases of forced labor and forced prostitution of children and adults since the earthquake. Additionally, the 2010 TIP report stated that within the Dominican Republic undocumented or stateless Haitians were at an increased risk of trafficking. The state department estimated in 2011 that between 173,000 and 225,000 children had been trafficked for domestic servitude within Haiti.⁶⁷

Other outlets such as *InSight Crime*, *The Telegraph*, UNICEF, and the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti reported increased incidence of trafficking of Haitians after the earthquake. One article done by *The Telegraph* reported on an investigation done by UNICEF in Haiti and interviews that they carried out. These interviews revealed that Haitian children were being sold for as little as 50 Haitian gourdes or approximately US\$1.20.⁶⁸ This report also indicated that before the earthquake there were an estimated 2,000 Haitian children trafficked every year. From April 2010 to February 2011 the Protection of Minors Brigade (BPM) of Haiti found 1400 children crossing the border that had no documentation.⁶⁹ As this is the number of children that

⁶⁵ Petrozziello, Allison, Bridget Wooding. “Fanm nan fwontye”. 91.

⁶⁶ 2010 TIP report

⁶⁷ 2011 TIP report

⁶⁸ Milner, Glen. “Haiti Earthquake: Children Sold by Traffickers for as Little as 76 Pence Each,”. *The Telegraph*. February 21, 2011.

⁶⁹ Milner, Glen. “Haiti Earthquake”.

were detected at the border we can assume the number of children that were ultimately trafficked across is much higher. Another UNICEF report in 2010 revealed that over 2,000 irregular voyages had been detected at the border in the months after the earthquake and almost 500 of these were suspected to be cases of trafficking.⁷⁰ *InSight Crime* reported similar numbers of 2,509 children stopped without proper documentation and 459 of these were determined to be cases of trafficking.⁷¹ An article written by the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti reported that in the year after the earthquake 7,300 children were trafficked from Haiti into the Dominican Republic compared to only 950 in 2009.

⁷⁰ Unicef. *UNICEF Annual Report for Haiti 2010*. UNICEF, 2011.

⁷¹ Dudley, Steven. "Video-UN: Human Trafficking in Haiti Worse Since Quake." *InSight Crime* April 6, 2011.

Chapter 2: Framework and Methodology

2.1 Introduction

Research in human trafficking has great limitations due to the underground and illegal nature of the work that traffickers do. The information that is available comes from non-profits, government agencies, and scholars that have researched the topic. Within the island of Hispaniola research on trafficking has been done on small scales by organizations like UNICEF, International Justice Mission, the US State Department and the International Organization for Migration. I found no information on trafficking produced by the governments of either Haiti or the Dominican Republic. This is to be expected as the Trafficking in Persons report done by the State Department categorized both countries as Tier 2 Watch List, Tier 3, or Special Cases from 2007 to 2012 meaning that their governments do “not fully comply with minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking”.⁷² Most reports done on trafficking in Haiti and the Dominican Republic by NGO’s focus on the problem of forced servitude of children in Haiti and child trafficking within both countries and across the border. Organizations such as International Justice Mission did not enter into the area until years after the earthquake and thus do not provide information on trafficking before and after the earthquake. In order to gain a more holistic understanding of trafficking on the island around the earthquake, I employ the theoretical framework of other scholars that have studied factors that affect trafficking levels. I rely on their findings to evaluate the case of Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

⁷² United States Department of State. 2010 Trafficking in Persons Report-United States of America.

2.2 Factors that Predict Trafficking

Tom Obokata laid the framework for trafficking push/pull factors in 2006 in his book, *Trafficking of Humans from a Human Rights Perspective*. Obokata analyzed past literature on trafficking and conducted a case study in Thailand and Poland in order to understand the phenomenon of human trafficking and to identify major causes of trafficking.⁷³ The primary factor Obokata found in both Thailand and Poland that escalates incidents of trafficking is poor economic conditions, often caused by specific disrupting events such as the 1997 economic crisis in Asia and the break-up of the Soviet Union. These events both caused negative growth in the economies and a decrease in employment in Thailand and Poland. Obokata noted that these economic impacts incentivize individuals to move across borders into more affluent areas which can ultimately lead to more cases of trafficking. These events are comparable to the earthquake of 2010 which had similar major effects on the economy of Haiti. In Haiti the GDP growth rate dropped from 3.1% in 2009 to -5.4% in 2010 and the unemployment rate increased from 15.4 to 15.9 in 2010 after the earthquake.⁷⁴ Obokata also pointed to high levels of discrimination as a leading cause of trafficking. In both Thailand and Poland women suffer high levels of discrimination which leads to lower levels of employment and education of women and a lack of protection of women's rights. Furthermore, he identified discrimination on the bases of race and ethnicity as a motivator of trafficking. Certain tribes in Thailand are not considered citizens of the state due to ethnic discrimination and are thus, disadvantaged socially and economically. This leads to a need to resort

⁷³ Tom Obokata is a professor of International Law and Human Rights and has advised committees from the International Organization for Migration, the UK Parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights, the Northern Ireland Assembly on Human Trafficking, and many more. Additionally, he has worked for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

⁷⁴ World Bank. World Development Indicators. *GDP Growth (Annual %)*. The World Bank Group. Accessed April 18, 2019.

⁷⁵ Statista: The Statistic Portal. *Haiti Unemployment Rate from 2007 to 2017*. November 2018.

to smugglers to move within the country and across borders leading to higher levels of trafficking. This is especially relevant to my study on the island of Hispaniola as Haitians are so discriminated against in the Dominican Republic that many Dominican citizens of Haitian descent have had their citizenship stripped and have been deported to Haiti. Lastly, when examining the countries that had high levels of incoming trafficked individuals, Obokata noticed that restrictive immigration laws were often implemented. Specifically, in Western Europe when visa requirements have been more rigid, there have been more opportunities for traffickers to exploit individuals who are unable to cross borders legally.⁷⁶

Another investigation that informs my research is that of Gergana Danailavo-Trainer and Patrick Belser in 2006 in which trafficking is viewed as an economic “exchange between recruiters and exploiters”.⁷⁷ Danailavo-Trainer and Belser use data from the International Labor Organization (ILO) database constructed in 2005 which contains over 2,000 reports, citing specific incidents of trafficking. Additionally, they analyzed over 200 reports from ILO that calculate aggregate estimates of trafficking and forced prostitution. Using these two databases they constructed estimates of trafficking in thirty-seven countries. They compared these estimates with socioeconomic factors from the countries, such as openness of borders and income distribution, in order to ascertain what factors are consistent with high levels of trafficking. Those that they found to be statistically significant were incidence of prostitution, openness of borders, and female youth unemployment. Specifically, countries with higher levels of prostitution have a higher demand for trafficking victims and countries with less protected borders are more susceptible to trafficking

⁷⁶ Obokata, Tom. *Human Trafficking from a Human Rights Perspective*. Leiden, The Netherlands. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. 2006. 42-47.

⁷⁷ Danailova-Trainer, Gergana, Patrick Belser, International Labour Office, and Policy Integration Department. *Globalization and the Illicit Market for Human Trafficking: An Empirical Analysis of Supply and Demand*. Geneva: ILO, 2006. 2.

victims crossing into the country. Furthermore, according to their investigation if “female youth unemployment goes up by one percent, so does the number of [trafficking victims] as a fraction of the population”.⁷⁸ A more recent study done in 2012 by Seo-Young Cho used a multiple regression analysis to verify the validity of these factors found by Danailavo-Trainer and Belser. She discovered that these were still statistically significant push and pull factors of trafficking.⁷⁹

The last study on trafficking that I have found to be useful to my investigation is that of Sally Cameron and Edward Newman.⁸⁰ Cameron and Newman broadly suggest structural and proximate factors that, combined, create an environment that allows organizations and individuals to traffic people across borders. Structural factors are social, economic, geopolitical, and ideological factors that cause individuals and groups to become vulnerable populations. Proximate factors on the other hand are broader factors affected by the state and laws that allow for an environment that is ideal for traffickers.

Structural Factors	Proximate Factors
<p><i>Economic Factors:</i> Globalization; poverty; deprivation and economic downturns and trends; free market economics; deregulation; migratory movements</p> <p><i>Social Factors:</i> Social inequality; gender discrimination; discrimination and marginalization based upon age (children and minors); gender status; disadvantaged cultural, regional, and linguistic status, prostitution</p> <p><i>Ideological Factors:</i> Racism; xenophobia; gender and cultural stereotyping</p> <p><i>Geopolitical Factors:</i> war; civil strife; violent conflict; military bases and operations</p>	<p><i>Legal and policy aspects:</i> Inadequate national and international legal regimes; poor law enforcement; immigration/migration laws and policies; inadequate and poorly enforced labour laws and standards</p> <p><i>Rule of law:</i> Corruption; complicity of state criminal activities; support by state officials of underground criminal networks; organized criminal/parallel entrepreneurship including underground sex trade; smuggling; trade in arms and drugs</p> <p><i>Inadequate partnership between civil society and state:</i> Weak education campaigns; low awareness among vulnerable communities; apathetic civil society; poor accountability of state organizations</p>

Figure 4: Proximate and Structural Factors as Defined by Edward Newman and Sally Cameron

⁷⁸ Ibid. 14.

⁷⁹ Cho, Seo-Young. “Modeling for Determinants of Human Trafficking”. Berlin, Germany. German Institute for Economic Research. 2012. 38.

⁸⁰ Newman, Edward. *Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions*. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University Press, 2008.

While these factors are not necessarily direct causes of trafficking they are predictive of high levels of trafficking based off of past data. The first structural factor they discussed is poverty. In a study done of child trafficking in Central and Western African countries, in 94% of cases, poverty was cited as the main reason that parents allow their children to go with an intermediary often resulting in trafficking. In a Nepalese study the majority of parents knew that their children were working and living in poor conditions but agreed that it was better than living in poverty without the extra income. Newman and Cameron discussed the desperation that comes with poverty and how this pushes individuals to take more risks which often lead to trafficking cases. Measures of poverty that they include are “adequate nutrition, water, sanitation, education, employment and health care.”⁸¹ The next factor that they discussed is globalization and the expectations that arise from globalization. Many people view their level of poverty relative to countries around them and thus decide to migrate. This can be seen in migration from Haiti to the Dominican Republic as the GDP per capita of the Dominican Republic is eight times that of Haiti. Additionally, as the world has globalized, markets have become internationalized and there are higher levels of trade across borders. With this increase has come a higher demand of cheap labor, but strict immigration policies have been increasingly implemented and thus this demand cannot be met. This combination of forces often creates an environment conducive to trafficking of persons so that low skilled labor demands can be met.

Furthermore, Newman and Cameron provided gender and race as structural factors affecting trafficking. Inequality in most countries is gendered, negatively affecting women at substantial levels. Women are more likely to be found in poverty and thus are at a higher risk of being trafficked. Industries that are fueled by migration are also highly gendered. Migration that

¹ Ibid. 23.

is carried out legally in many regions is for the purposes of participating in sectors such as construction and agriculture which are dominated by men. Women, therefore, must find illegal means of migration that many times result in cases of trafficking. In the Dominican Republic, for example, for the majority of the 20th century Haitian men were legally allowed to migrate into the country to work on sugar cane farms. Women, however, had to find more underground ways of crossing the border as this opportunity was not available to them. Race is another factor that was discussed in this study. Newman and Cameron found that discrimination based off of race both at home and in the country of destination is common among regions that have high amounts of trafficking. Those that are discriminated against in their country of origin are often pushed to migrate due to inability to find employment. On the other hand, how a race or ethnicity is perceived in another country affects an individual's ability to be employed in certain industries after migrating. This might lead to a turn towards less desirable and even illegal work and might also make someone more desirable in certain industries causing them to be more enticing to traffickers. For example, in this study Newman and Cameron discussed how Asian women are often more desirable in the sex industry as they are portrayed as “undemanding, demure, exotic, [and] childlike”.⁸² Thus, when traveling in areas that have populations that believe these stereotypes, Asian women can be at a higher risk of being trafficked. This is comparable to Haitian women in the Dominican Republic who are often perceived as being exotic bodies able to perform taboo sexual acts.⁸³ The sexualization of black bodies increases the demand for Haitian women in the Dominican sex industry and thus motivates traffickers to acquire victims from Haiti.

The investigations of Tom Obokata, Gergana Danailova-Trainer and Patrick Besler, and Sally Cameron and Edward Newman provide factors that affect human trafficking levels. Those

⁸² Ibid. 46.

⁸³ Kempadoo, Kamala. *Sexing the Caribbean*. 82.

that apply most directly to the case of Haiti and the Dominican Republic in the years following 2010 are levels of economic factors, levels of discrimination, and openness of borders. These studies argue that the worsening of economic situations and the increase of poverty incentivize migration and can increase the probability of trafficking. These authors also display that as a group is more discriminated against, the likelihood of their being trafficked increases. Lastly, Obokata argues that strict immigration policies lead to increased rates of trafficking while Denailavo-Trainer and Belser contend that less protected borders lead to more cases of trafficking. I believe that these two arguments converge in the case of Hispaniola. While the Dominican Republic implemented strong immigration policies and militarized main crossing points of the border, large stretches of the border were left opened, thus providing opportunities for traffickers to lure individuals across these less visible and patrolled areas. I argue that the convergence of these three factors on the island of Hispaniola created circumstances in which trafficking of Haitians was much more likely to occur. In the following chapters I discuss each of these factors individually and demonstrate how the earthquake and resulting policies of the Dominican Republic caused these factors to increase.

Chapter 3: Poverty and Economic Conditions of Haitians after the Earthquake

3.1 Introduction

Economic conditions are a large motivator for migration. Increased poverty incentivizes movement across borders and into more affluent areas. Additionally, a lack of access to basic necessities such as food, water, and shelter motivate individuals to take more risks in the process of acquiring these needs. In this chapter I argue that after the earthquake in Haiti poverty increased and the economic situation of Haitian individuals became more bleak resulting in two outcomes that increased the likelihood of trafficking to occur. The first is an increase in the movement of people within the country and across the border into the Dominican Republic. As more people needed to get across a border that was difficult to cross to escape the destruction of the earthquake, trafficking became more likely to occur. Second, the desperation of Haitians after losing housing, family, jobs, and access to basic needs urged them to partake in more risky activities to access necessities for themselves and their children. These motivations created situations in which traffickers could more easily manipulate trusting and despondent individuals as they attempted to escape poor living conditions by crossing the border.

3.2 Increased Migration

The earthquake of January 2010 had detrimental economic impacts on the nation of Haiti and its people. In February and March of that year the World Bank conducted research assessing the damages of the earthquake and the needs of those impacted. They found that around 15% of the population of Haiti was directly affected by the earthquake.⁸⁴ Over 220,000 people were killed and another 300,000 were injured in the event. They estimated that over 105,000 homes

⁸⁴ The World Bank. "Haiti Earthquake PDNA (Post-Disaster Needs Assessment): Assessment of Damage, Losses, General and Sectoral Needs." The World Bank, March 1, 2010.

were destroyed and 208,000 suffered great damage.⁸⁵ Due to homelessness and lack of job opportunities large numbers of people were forced to either depend on resources from international aid such as tent cities or leave Port-au-Prince. About 1.3 million inhabitants of Port-au-Prince were still living in temporary shelters such as tent cities at the time of The World Bank investigation in March and more than half a million individuals had migrated out of the capital city.⁸⁶ A report done by UNICEF on the 90 days after the earthquake states that as of March 1st 604,215 Haitians had reported arriving in unaffected areas and over 100,000 in the border region.⁸⁷ However, they believe that the true numbers of people that left the earthquake area are much larger than those reported. According to the National Census of the Dominican Republic in 2010, over 300,000 Haitians immigrated into the country that year.⁸⁸ Research in Eastern Europe done by Toman Omar Mahmoud and Christoph Tresbech in 2006 found that “both supply and demand-side channels predict individual trafficking risks to be higher in areas of large-scale emigration”.⁸⁹ Thus, as emigration from Haiti greatly increased in the post-earthquake period, it is likely that the risk of trafficking also increased.

3.3 Desperation and Risk-Taking

As the research of Sally Cameron and Edward Newman showed, often times trafficking cases arise due to the desperation of individuals with seemingly nowhere to turn. Newman and Cameron found that in Central and West African countries 94% of cases researched included parents who were in extreme poverty and therefore took the risk of trusting their child with an intermediary in order to acquire income and a perceived better future for their children. The

⁸⁵ Ibid. 5.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ UNICEF. 90 Day report. 12.

⁸⁸ Cáceres Ureña, Francisco. Los inmigrantes en la Republica Dominicana ¿Quiénes son?. Revista Actualidad Edición 8. Universidad Autonomía de Santo Domingo. 2015. 9.

⁸⁹ Mahmoud, Toman Omar, Christoph Trebesch. “The Economics of Human Trafficking and Labour Migration: Micro-Evidence from Easter Europe. Journal of Comparative Economics. 2010. 9.

earthquake in Haiti caused a great increase in poverty resulting in an increased vulnerability of individuals to trafficking. Nine years before the earthquake, in 2001, 76% of the population of Haiti was living on less than \$2 per day and 56% were living on less than \$1 per day. In the years leading up to the earthquake it is estimated that the poverty level decreased by 8%. However, the earthquake caused these levels to return to their 2001 levels.⁹⁰ Additionally, the GDP of Haiti had steadily increased since 2004 with a growth rate in 2009 of 3.1%. In 2010 the country experienced a GDP growth rate of -5.4%.⁹¹ The World Data Bank report also estimated that 8.5% of jobs in Haiti would be lost as a result of the earthquake, “with the greatest losses in commerce, tourism, transport, and communications”.⁹² Women in the commercial sector were especially affected by the decrease in job opportunities.⁹³ Furthermore, young people stopped attending school in the affected areas and 103,000 cases of children with no family protection were reported.⁹⁴

The earthquake results in a spike in unemployment, loss of homes, and an overall economic to the country of Haiti. Individuals found themselves in situations that seemed impossible to escape and thus, were likely to take more risks to provide for their family and bring them to a place with more opportunity. Marie-Elie Alexis, Border Project Manager of UNICEF, stated that traffickers after the earthquake “promise something, education, a better life, meals for their kids”.⁹⁵ Parents that are desperate to help their kids are more likely to fall into the traps of cunning traffickers. One article from *The Telegraph* reported that traffickers often pose as NGO officials in order to gain trust of authorities and legal guardians. One of the Haitian mothers interviewed admitted to selling four of her five children for 50 gourdes (Approximately US\$1.20) each while living in a tent city

⁹⁰ The World Bank. PDNA. 19.

⁹¹ World Bank. World Development Indicators. *GDP Growth (Annual %)*. The World Bank Group. Accessed April 18, 2019.

⁹² The World Bank. “Haiti Earthquake PDNA”. 19.

⁹³ Ibid. 38.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 41.

⁹⁵ Nunan, MP. “Haiti Protects its Border Against Post-Earthquake Child Trafficking”. UNICEF. October 2010.

in an attempt to provide for her one remaining son.⁹⁶ The trafficker promised that her children would be taken to a family that would be able to support them. Another example of trafficking that shows the ease with which traffickers were able to acquire kids is that of ten American citizens who were charged with trafficking at the border in February of 2010.⁹⁷ While this church group was reportedly in the country to aid after the earthquake and was attempting to help the children they were transporting, they reveal the shocking truth about vulnerable children after the earthquake. These Americans told the owner of an orphanage in Port-au-Prince that they would take the children to a better equipped orphanage in the Dominican Republic. With that promise alone and no legal action, 10 foreigners were able to take control of 33 Haitian children and get them to the border.

The extreme situations that Haitians experienced after the earthquake pushed them to provide for themselves and their families through whatever means they could. Many turned to moving out of the capital and entering risky situations to get their children to a better place. The combination of increased movement of people and the desperation of those impoverished led to circumstances in which trafficking from Haiti to the neighboring country of the Dominican Republic was more likely to occur.

⁹⁶ Milner, Glen. "Haiti Earthquake: Children Sold by Traffickers for as Little as 76 Pence Each," February 21, 2011.

⁹⁷ Marc, Lacey. "Haiti Charges Americans with Child Abduction". New York Times. Feb 2010.

Chapter 4: Discrimination towards Haitians in the Dominican Republic

4.1 Introduction and Methodology

After the 2010 earthquake and amidst the cholera outbreak later that year, Haitians entered into the Dominican Republic to escape the poverty and desperate situations that their country was facing. In the midst of these events, Dominican citizens and leaders adapted an increasingly negative rhetoric of Haitians. In this chapter I show how levels of discrimination towards Haitians in the Dominican Republic increased and argue that this increased prejudice towards Haitians indirectly allowed for more cases of trafficking of Haitians. Media can be used as a window into the sentiments of a country's inhabitants and in the case of the Dominican Republic newspaper article can give insight into how Dominicans perceive and discuss Haitians. In this chapter, I use articles from the *Listín Diario* online Dominican newspaper to analyze if Haitians were more discriminated against in the Dominican Republic after the 2010 earthquake. I chose the *Listín Diario* newspaper as it is the oldest and most widely circulated paper in the Dominican Republic.

On the *Listín Diario* online article database I searched, first, in the three months before the earthquake (October, November, and December of 2009) using the term "haitiano". I chose this term as it yields more personal results describing "Haitians" and not the nation of Haiti which gives an insight into how Haitians as individuals are perceived in the Dominican Republic. I then searched the same term in the same months after the earthquake (October, November, and December of 2010). Both searches yielded fifty results each. In reading through these 100 articles the themes that arose were crime, undocumented immigration, and cases of cholera. Therefore, I coded these 100 articles for the terms *indocumentado* and *ilegal*, *criminal* and *violencia*, and *cólera* and *higiene*. Some of the articles did not use these exact terms but if the content was strongly related to one of the terms, I coded the article into this category. Additionally, I use the research

of Daly Guilamo who investigated the increased display of discrimination and racism towards Haitians in Dominican newspaper cartoons. He discusses the blatantly racist portrayals of Haitians in the “funnies” section of the *Listín Diario*.

As the studies done by Tom Obokata and Edward Newman show, discrimination towards a group in a receiving country of migration can be a cause of trafficking. As a group becomes more resented in a community they are less likely to report crimes or to be identified as victims of crime. In the case of Haitians in the Dominican Republic more than resentment we see that overt racism is accepted and produced in publications showing the extremity of the discrimination that exists. As the discrimination towards Haitians increased after the earthquake and cholera outbreak of 2010 trafficking of Haitians presumably increased as well.

4.2 Newspaper Article Analysis

Of the fifty *Listín Diario* newspaper articles that I retrieved from the search term “haitiano” from October to December of 2009, thirty-three mention Haitians being either violent and/or criminals or undocumented and/or illegal immigrants in the Dominican Republic. The remaining seventeen articles discuss Haitians very neutrally and a few show positive attributes of Haitians. From October to December of 2010, after the earthquake, forty-five articles portray Haitians as violent and/or criminals, undocumented and/or illegal immigrants, or as being contaminated with cholera. The other five only mention Haitians in neutral ways, primarily pertaining to activities of Haitians outside of the Dominican Republic.

In post-earthquake Dominican Republic, individuals perceived Haitians as an increased threat to society. In the articles I analyzed from before the earthquake, seventeen describe Haitians as being violent or criminal. The crimes reported on vary from murder and trafficking of drugs to cutting down trees in an environmentally protected area. In 2010 I found nineteen articles that

reference Haitians as violent or criminals. This is not a great increase from 2009, however, I noticed a change in the portrayal of crimes. Most articles from 2009 reported on isolated crimes of Haitian individuals. For example, some titles of 2009 articles that reported on violence and criminality of Haitians were “Police Accuse Two Haitians of Murdering a Dominican”, “Haitians Accused of Killing a Farmer in Navarrete”, and “Inhabitants of La Vega Protest the Death of a Dominican at the Hands of a Haitian”.⁹⁸⁹⁹¹⁰⁰ These articles and most others from this time period focus on the crimes of individual Haitians or small groups of Haitians. In the articles from 2010, after the earthquake, authors began shifting focus to large groups of Haitians and the overall negative impact that they are having on Dominican communities. Article in 2010 covered topics such as “1,139 Haitian prisoners in Dominican Jails”, “massive manifestations of Haitians” violently try to cross into the Dominican border market, and “Haitians abandon neighborhoods of Santiago in masses”¹⁰¹¹⁰²¹⁰³. This last article title refers to a community in the city of Santiago that forcibly removed Haitians from the area in December of 2010. Newspaper articles that covered this story quote community members saying that “undocumented Haitians that lived there are responsible for the majority of robberies and assaults” and that “migration is the reason for the massive presence of undocumented Haitians in communities, many of whom commit all kinds of crimes”.¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵ While there was wide spread opinion that Haitians are violent both before and after the earthquake, we can see a slight change in rhetoric. In an attempt to show the extensive burden

⁹⁸ Santana, Ricardo. “Policía acusa a dos haitianos de asesinar a un dominicano”. Listín Diario. Dec 2009.

⁹⁹ Santana, Ricardo. “Acusan a haitianos de matar un agricultor en Navarrete”. Listín Diario. Dec 2009.

¹⁰⁰ Santana, Ricardo. “Moradores de La Vega protestan por muerte de dominicano”. Listín Diario. Nov 2009.

¹⁰¹ Cruz Benzan, Ramón. “En las cárceles de RD están presos 1,139 haitianos”. Listín Diario. Dec 2010.

¹⁰² Santana, Ricardo, William Estévez. “La tensión vuelve hoy a la frontera; haitianos se movilizan pidiendo reapertura del Mercado”. Listín Diario. Nov 2010.

¹⁰³ Santana, Ricardo. “Haitianos abandonaron en masa barrios de Santiago”. Dec 2010.

¹⁰⁴ Santana, Ricardo. “Haitianos comienzan a abandonar barrios”. Dec 2010

¹⁰⁵ Santana, Ricardo. “Haitianos abandonaron en masa”.

that Haitians are on the country, they were portrayed in newspapers as impacting entire communities just by being present in the Dominican Republic.

Moreover, Haitians have long been criticized for entering into the Dominican Republic without getting the legal authorization to do so. In the three-month period before the earthquake there are twenty-two articles that refer to Haitians as illegal or undocumented, and in the three-month period of 2010 I found twenty. There was clearly no increase in journalist reporting on this issue after the earthquake, however, when looking more closely at the use of “undocumented” verses “illegal” I found an important shift. In a study published in 2008, Mila Paspalanova investigates the use of these two terms in the U.S. media. She explains how the media and public figures have the power to “manipulate public opinions...on the phenomena of migration”.¹⁰⁶ Specifically, she explains the ability of the media to perpetuate negative social implications and stereotypes of migrants by using the term “illegal” to describe them.¹⁰⁷ The use of the word “illegal” is criticized by the United Nations for its negative social and political connotations while the use of the word “undocumented” is praised for referring to irregular migrants in an “emotionally neutral way”.¹⁰⁸

	Oct-Dec 2009	Oct-Dec 2010
Number of articles using the word “undocumented” to describe Haitians	22	14
Number of articles using the word “illegal” to describe Haitians	7	17

Table 1 Use of the terms “illegal” and “undocumented” in Listín Diario Newspaper Articles

¹⁰⁶ Paspalanova, Mila. “Undocumented vs. Illegal Migrant: Towards Terminological Coherence”. Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. Migraciones Internacionales Vol 4 Num 3. 2008.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

We can, therefore, infer that the increased use of the word “illegal” in reference to Haitian immigrants implies an increase in the negative stereotypes of Haitians. As can be seen in Table 1, from October to December of 2009 there were seven articles that referred to Haitians as “illegal”, while in the 2010 period that I analyzed, there were seventeen, more than double the number of articles that called Haitians “illegal”. This increased usage of a term that reflects poorly on Haitians shows the increased discrimination that they faced in the Dominican Republic after the earthquake.

The last theme that I identified in these articles from the *Listín Diario* newspaper is the use of discussion of cholera and hygiene to “Other” Haitians in the Dominican Republic after the earthquake. Drawing on the argument of Mary K. Canales, Exclusionary Othering that is based on racial difference is a “process of categorizing culturally specific populations through linking real or imagined phenotypical attributes to human qualities such as intellectual abilities, moral fiber, and personality”.¹⁰⁹ In this case, Dominicans link the blackness of Haitians with bad hygiene and cholera. Those that are black are excluded from Dominicaness as they pose a perceived threat to cleanliness and healthiness in the Dominican Republic. We can see this process of Othering within the *Listin Diario* articles.

As would be expected, there are no mentions of Haitians having cholera or posing a threat to hygiene before the earthquake in 2009. Of all of the articles that I analyzed from October to December of 2010, half of them discuss Haitians having cholera and/or bringing cholera across the border. The first case of cholera was discovered in Haiti in October of 2010 and was almost immediately used by Dominican government and media as way of Othering Haitians and justifying the already existing social divide between Haitians and Dominicans. A few *Listin Diario* articles reported on government officials asking that “tourism and construction sectors do not employ

¹⁰⁹ Canales, MK. “Othering: Toward an Understanding of Difference”. *Advances in Nursing Science* 22. 2000.

Haitian workers” as a way of preventing the spread of cholera across the island.¹¹⁰ Many articles also reported on the closing of border markets and crossings as a way of stopping cholera from crossing the border. Border markets are essential to the livelihood of both Dominicans and Haitians living in the area as they are their only source of income and also the only access to food that some individuals have. One reporter in the border town of Pedernales wrote that “the binational market that usually opens twice a week continues to be closed for the fourth week in a row”.¹¹¹ Markets were kept closed as a preventative measure against the spread of cholera. These types of stories equate the entrance of Haitian bodies into the country with the spread of the cholera epidemic, thus encouraging the mistreatment and discrimination of Haitians. Other articles mentioned cholera when it appeared to be irrelevant to the topic being discussed. One article on the Haitian elections mentions that the elections are happening “in the midst of a cholera epidemic that is still far from being controlled”.¹¹² Additionally, an article that discusses the twenty injured Haitians in a serious car accident in the border regions mentions that “in spite of controls...established in the border as prevention measures against the epidemic of cholera... the traffic of undocumented Haitians continues to increase”.¹¹³ Apart from these sentences, these articles have no relevance to the cholera epidemic, yet the authors choose to include information on it. This re-emphasizes that Haitians bodies are linked with cholera in all situations and encourages the idea that Haitians come from a backward way of life and occupy a societal level below Haitians.

Another way in which we can see increased discrimination towards Haitians in the months after the earthquake and during the cholera outbreak are through the cartoons in Dominican

¹¹⁰Leòn, Viviano. “Pide no emplear haitianos en sectores turísticos y construcción por el momento”. Nov 17, 2010.

¹¹¹ Báez, Odalís. “Mercado sigue cerrado, vendedores dominicanos y haitianos abarrotan la zona para no perder cosechas”. Listín Diario. Dec 2010.

¹¹² “Haitianos van hoy a votar bajo el temor de violencia”. Listín Diario. November 2010.

¹¹³ Santana, Ricardo. “Más de 20 haitianos heridos al accidentarse camión que llevaba 87 indocumentado”. Listín Diario. Nov 2010.

newspapers. Daly Guilamo carried out a study on “Dominican Funnies” in the *Listín Dario* newspaper after the earthquake. In the funnies that Guilamo found in the period from June 2010 to December 2011, Haitians are always portrayed as dark skinned and with deformed physical attributes, often in a simian fashion. Portraying blacks as ape-like has historically been used to portray the sentiment that they are less human than individuals of another race. Dominicans in these cartoons are portrayed as white and without deformations. Guilamo notes that drawing Dominicans and Haitians with such stark differences serves to more easily categorize them into groups and implies that blackness indicates Haitianism and thus an implied exclusion from the Dominican Republic.

Figure 5: Image from “Dominican Funnies Not So Funny”



Figure 6: Image from “Dominican Funnies Not So Funny”



Figure 5 and Figure 6, cartoons printed in the *Listín Diario*, reveal the reality of how Haitian were perceived and treated after the earthquake. In these images, Haitians are drawn overtly as monkey or ape like characters in contrast to the white Dominicans with more realistic human attributes. Drawings and representations such as these were commonly found in Dominican newspapers at this time and were never openly criticized by authorities or other media outlets. The blatant racism portrayed here and the lack of backlash display how negatively Haitians were perceived in the Dominican Republic.

The increased level of discrimination that is seen in these newspapers articles and cartoons is indicative of an increase in racism and prejudice towards Haitians in Dominicans society which led to a rise in the vulnerability of Haitians. In her research on “The Racial Roots of Human Trafficking” in the United States, Cheryl Nelson Butler finds several connections between discrimination of minority groups and the trafficking of individuals in these minority groups. She asserts that “America’s anti-immigrant culture facilitates the sexual exploitation and trafficking of

immigrant girls”.¹¹⁴ The Dominican Republic has an anti-immigrant culture similar and arguably more severe than that of the United States but directed solely towards Haitians. When immigrants are perceived as a social and health threat to society they are less likely to be employed and more likely to turn to underground forms of work with high demand such as the sex industry. Butler describes these scenarios as cases of “survival sex” as young women enter the commercial sex industry in order to provide basic necessities for themselves and their families. Involvement in this type of work that is unregulated puts women at a much higher risk of being trafficked. As Haitians were seen in an increasingly negative light and authorities even requested that the public not higher Haitians, it is likely that they had to turn to opportunities outside the formal work environment. This push towards underground work, especially in the sex industry, allowed traffickers to take advantage of desperate women and children who need money for food and shelter. One article from the *Miami Herald* in October of 2010 reports on Haitian women working in the sex industry in the Dominican beach town of Boca Chica. Daniela, a sixteen-year-old Haitian girl interviewed, had paid a Dominican man \$70 to get her across the border into the Dominican Republic. She says that she has sex with tourists in order to provide for her mother and aunt who were affected by the earthquake.¹¹⁵ Another report on the sex trafficking to Boca Chica done by the Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti reveals the story of a young girl forced into sex work due to her status as Haitian. Unable to find an opportunity for work in the area, fifteen-year-old Maria decided to “surrender to sexual propositions made by several men in the park where she begged” in order to provide for her thirteen and ten-year-old cousins.¹¹⁶ She has sex with American and European

¹¹⁴ Butler, Cheryl Nelson. "The Racial Roots of Human Trafficking." *UCLA L. Rev.* 62. 2015.

¹¹⁵ Reyes, Gerardo, Pedro Portal. “Sex tourism thrives on Dominican streets with Haitian girls”. *The Miami Herald*. Oct 2010.

¹¹⁶ Charles , Jacqueline, Gerardo Reyes. “Sex Trafficking of Haitian Kids Exploding”. Institute for Justice and Democracy in Haiti.

tourists for as little as a dollar. According to this report “the story of Maria and her cousins has become commonplace since the Earthquake”.¹¹⁷ Young girls that enter the Dominican Republic in hope of finding more opportunity often find themselves with no other options than to enter into sex work.

Additionally, Butler contends that undocumented migrants are less likely and able to report exploitation to authorities.¹¹⁸ As societal discrimination towards Haitians increased post-earthquake, Haitians were forced more underground. Many Haitians were undocumented in the Dominican Republic and even those that were documented were seen as a threat and burden to society and were thus treated as such even by authorities. International Justice Mission carried out a research project from 2010 to 2015 on sex trafficking in the Dominican Republic. In this investigation they interviewed forty “stakeholders” in the Dominican Public Justice System. Several of these individuals admitted that Haitian survivors are less likely to report and less likely to be identified as victims due to prejudice and when they do report are treated in a discriminatory manner.¹¹⁹ “One judge also noted that authorities repatriate foreign survivors instead of identifying them as a survivor and pursuing a criminal case”.¹²⁰

Lastly, Butler demonstrates how minorities that are perceived as deviant are expected to be predisposed towards risk sexual behaviors.¹²¹ Minorities defined as “dysfunctional misfits” like Haitians in the Dominican Republic are seen as lacking in the morality that the majority group in the country is perceived to live by.¹²² Butler argues that this perception leads to victims of trafficking not being perceived as victims because individuals of color are expected to be

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ Butler, Cheryl Nelson. “Racial Roots”. 1483-1484

¹¹⁹ International Justice Mission. “The Public Justice System Response to Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the Dominican Republic: 2010-2015”.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Butler, Cheryl Nelson. Racial Roots. 1485.

¹²² Ibid.

participating in sexual behaviors such as prostitution. We can expect that as Haitians were seen as more deviant and excluded from Dominican society they were less likely to be seen as victims of trafficking.

Chapter 5: Border control and Migration Policies

5.1 Introduction

The growing xenophobic attitudes in the Dominican Republic, specifically towards Haitians, had drastic impacts in policy changes on the island that ultimately increased the vulnerability of Haitians in the country and on the border. The new immigration policies and law changes created more difficulty for undocumented migrants to cross at official crossing points. At the same time, large portions of the border were left accessible to unofficial crossings with the help of traffickers. The combination of both of these increased the opportunity for trafficking on the island.

5.2 New Immigration and Citizenship Policies

Under the Dominican constitution of 1924 children of Haitian immigrants in the Dominican Republic were legally supposed to be granted citizenship until 2004. Dominican authorities, however, often denied these individuals their legal right due to their own prejudices. Immigration Law 258-04, implemented in the Dominican Republic in 2004, states that the children of foreigners, considered to be “non-residents”, that are born within the Dominican Republic will not be granted a Dominican birth certificate and will not be considered citizens of the state. This law defines “non-residents” in ten different categories including tourists, business travelers, temporary foreign workers, those with expired visas, undocumented workers, and residents of the Dominican-Haitian border that are not Dominican.¹²³ The law defined these groups as “in transit” thus excluding their children, born while living in the Dominican Republic, from gaining citizenship. The primary group that this new law affected were Haitians. Law 285-04 made the

¹²³ Ley 285-04

discrimination that authorities had been enacting towards Haitians for decades legal. Over the next several years, implementation of this law varied from case to case as the connection between this law and the 1924 constitution was still a little unclear. However, in 2010 the government made a legal change that would solidify and clarify this law.

In 2010 the Dominican Republic adopted a new constitution that essentially re-implemented what was accomplished in Law 285-04 but was now a part of the highest law in the land and was stated in such a way that was not up to interpretation. Article 18 of the constitution defines Dominican nationality. It states that those born on Dominican territory are citizens with the exception of children of diplomats, foreigners in transit, or those that are residing illegally in the Dominican Republic.¹²⁴ The constitution, even more directly, prevented any children of Haitian immigrants from receiving citizenship, no matter how long their parents had lived in the country. The 2010 constitution was implemented January 26th 2010, fourteen days after millions of Haitians were affected by the earthquake. This constitutional change would have severe impacts on Haitians in the following years as more and more attempted to cross the border.

In the midst of the cholera outbreak that began in October of 2010 in Haiti, the Dominican Republic began using these new immigration laws as justification for deporting thousands of Haitians with no due process. By early 2011 the Dominican authorities had deported over 40,000 Haitians “suspected of not having their papers in order”.¹²⁵ This was at a rate almost five times higher than repatriations in 2009. Those that were picked up and forced across the border usually attempted to cross back into the Dominican Republic. According to several *Listin Diario* articles that I analyzed, Haitians that were transported across the border often arrived back in their

¹²⁴ Constitución de 2010 de la Republica Dominicana

¹²⁵ Kare, Kristenson, Bridget Wooding. “Haiti/Dominican Republic: upholding the rights of immigrants and their descendants”. NOREF: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center. Oct 2013.

Dominican communities within a few days.¹²⁶ These legal changes and increased repatriations made Haitians more vulnerable. The increased difficulty of acquiring citizenship paired with an increase of people crossing the border after being deported likely made Haitians more susceptible to being trafficked.

A high court ruling in the Dominican Republic in 2013 made the vulnerability of Haitians even more profound. In the TC168-13 ruling, the new definition of citizenship that was enacted by the 2010 constitution was decided to be retroactively applied all the way back to 1929. Under this implementation thousands of individuals who had lived their entire lives in the Dominican Republic, who spoke only Spanish and had never visited Haiti, were stripped of their Dominican citizenship. After this ruling, over 200,000 persons were considered stateless, as they had never had Haitian citizenship and were instantaneously stripped of their Dominican citizenship. Many of these individuals came from families that had lived in the Dominican Republic for decades.¹²⁷ International organizations and governments deemed this court decision a major violation of human rights and called on the Dominican Republic to make a change. The Dominican government eventually created a new regularization process for those that had become stateless, but it was extremely convoluted and ineffective. In the meantime, there were increased repatriations and any individual appearing to be Haitian that had no documentation was at risk of being picked up and taken across the border. Hundreds of thousands of individuals no documentation became extremely vulnerable.

One study done in 2017 by several scholars found that those of Haitian descent did, indeed, become vulnerable to a greater extent after the TC168-13 ruling.¹²⁸ Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes,

¹²⁶ “Vecinos amenazan con botar a haitianos indeseables de barrios”. *Listín Diario*. Dec 2010.

¹²⁷ Sagás, Ernesto. Report on Citizenship Law: Dominican Republic. Global Citizenship Observatory. 2017. 1.

¹²⁸ Amuedo-Dorantes, Catalina, Carlos Gratereaux-Hernández, Susan Pozo. On the Implications of Immigration Policy Restricting Citizenship.

Carlos Gratereaux-Hernández, and Susan Pozo found that there were great impacts on employment and schooling of stateless individuals. They discovered that Haitian men, meaning those of Haitian descent, were more likely to be employed in the informal sector than their Dominican counterparts and that Haitian women were far less likely to be employed in any sector than their Dominican counterparts. Haitian women that were working were much more likely to be employed in the informal sector. As Haitian immigrants were pushed farther and farther underground and into work that is not regulated, they were at a higher risk of being trafficking into sex work and other forms of forced labor. Additionally, the 2017 study found that the 2013 court ruling had a deleterious impact on the school attendance of Haitian children and youth. There was a four percent decrease in Haitians attending school in the Dominican Republic and a fifty percent increase in the likelihood of documentation barriers being the main reason for not attending school.¹²⁹ As employment and schooling of Haitian migrations decreased is likely that their prospects of being trafficked increased, as these two factors are often cited as risk factors of trafficking.

5.3 Crossing the Border

As the number of migrants going back in forth over the border increased due to the 2010 constitution and High Court ruling in 2013, Haitians crossing the border became increasingly vulnerable. In their research done in border towns, Bridget Wooding and Allison Petrozziello found that Haitian women especially became much more vulnerable in the borderlands after the earthquake. In interviews that they carried out before the earthquake she found that migrant women described the border as “virtual” rather than “real”.¹³⁰ Women were able to cross the border with

¹²⁹ Amuedo-Dorantes, Catalina, Carlos Gratereaux Hernández, Susan Pozo. “On the Implications of Immigration Policy Restricting Citizenship: Evidence from the Dominican Republic. IZA Discussion Papers, No. 10602. 2017. 20-21.

¹³⁰ Wooding, Bridget. “Shaking up the Grounds for Human Trafficking on Hispaniola”. DIVERSITIES Vol 13. No 1. 2011.

little to no difficulty. However, in October of 2010 thousands of Dominican troops were sent to “definitively seal the border”.¹³¹ This increased military personnel made official crossing points more difficult to get through. Due to widespread corruption among soldiers, many Haitians got through checkpoints by paying bribes. One newspaper article reported on a family that admitted to paying RD\$5000 or \$US98.47 for each individual of the family that needed to cross the border.¹³² However, as many women that crossed the border were doing so due to economic difficulties, they could not afford to pay off Dominican soldiers. Consequently, their migration was increasingly pushed to unofficial crossing points and made more invisible. Wooding and Petrozziello found that after the earthquake, cholera outbreak, and increased repatriations of Haitians, women more often cited passing through the border in *el monte* or “the bush”.¹³³ “The bush” refers to the regions of the borderland outside of official crossing points, usually where there is more brush and wooded areas to pass through and more risk of violence. In interviews with Wooding, women and girls stated that having to pass through the unofficial points required them to place trust in smugglers to get them across.¹³⁴ This increased need of smugglers in an increasingly invisible form of migration likely led to increased trafficking of women across the border.

Furthermore, in Wooding and Petrozziello’s investigations women reported an inability to report violence and exploitation to authorities. Most women had little knowledge of their own rights and even when they did, feared reporting crimes as they might expose themselves as

¹³¹ Andrews, Kysrtin Mallon. Sinks for the Press: Cholera and the State Performance of Power at the Dominican Border. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*. Vol. 23, No 2, pp. 1935-4932. 2017.

¹³² Reyes, Ramòn Pérez. “Sacerdote denuncia soldados cobran RD\$5000 para dejar pasar haitianos en la frontera”. *Listín Diario*. Nov 2010.

¹³³ Wooding, Bridget, Allison Petrozziello. “Borders, buscones, brothels, and bi-national markets: Haitian women negotiate how to get through. *Cultural Dynamics* Vol.25 Iss. 2. 2013.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 190.

undocumented immigrants risking deportation to Haiti.¹³⁵ One instance that portrays the disconnect between the violence and risk that women face, and the perception of authorities is a rape that occurred in early 2011 in the border town of Comendador. A young Haitian woman crossing over the border was brutally gang raped and left stranded in an isolated area of *el monte*. Most of the Haitian women that were interviewed by Wooding and her colleagues were aware of this incident. However, of the twenty Dominican authority figures that were interviewed in Comendador, none had heard of it.¹³⁶ This shows the gap between violence and trafficking that occur on the border and the legal actions taken against them. Often authorities are not aware of these crimes and a large number of soldiers and authorities on the border are corrupt and can be paid off to not act on crimes that are reported to them.

¹³⁵ Wooding, Bridget, Allison Petrozziello. "New Challenges for the Realisation of Migrants' Rights Following the Haiti 2010 Earthquake: Haitian Women on the Borderlands. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol 32, No. 4. Pp. 407-420. 2013. 415.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 412.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have suggested that Haitians were put at a higher risk of being trafficked after the 2010 earthquake and that trafficking on the island increased due to this natural disaster. I have provided a theoretical framework consisting of three factors that have previously been found to be indicative of increases in trafficking. The three trafficking factors that I have measured and analyzed are economic conditions, levels of discrimination, and immigration and citizenship policies. The convergence of poor economic conditions in Haiti, increased discrimination towards Haitians and policies that prevented formal migration alongside a border with many informal crossing points run by traffickers created an environment on the island that increased the vulnerability of Haitians to be trafficked. This analysis combined with estimates of trafficking and migration on this island before and after the earthquake suggest that trafficking of Haitians increased on Hispaniola as a result of the earthquake.

Several issues should be considered in continued investigation in this area. First, in future research, given the time and funding, I would supplement my discussion on Dominican perceptions of Haitians in newspaper articles with interviews of Haitians and Dominicans. Conversations with individuals would give a better insight into how Haitians were treated in day-to-day life before and after the earthquake and how discrimination affected their ability to secure work and rely on authorities after the earthquake. Second, my argument that trafficking increased after the earthquake could be strengthened by measuring additional factors that have been found to indicate an increase in trafficking levels.

Overall, this investigation contributes to the literature on factors that impact trafficking and also the affect that natural disasters have on human trafficking. My study strengthens the arguments of other scholars that have found economic factors, discrimination levels, and border

and citizenship policies to have great impacts on trafficking. Additionally, my research indicates that natural disasters, accompanied by certain factors such as racial discrimination and strict immigration policies in neighboring countries can lead to an increase in trafficking.

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