



**Uncharted Migration: OAS Rapid Assessment Report of
Trafficking in Persons from the Dominican Republic into
Puerto Rico**

**LITERATURE REVIEW ON PUBLICATIONS
THAT ASSESS SMUGGLING AND TRAFFICKING
IN PERSONS IN THE CONTEXT OF PUERTO
RICO AND DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

1) Azize, Yamila. **Proyecto de Estudios de la Mujer (PROMUJER)**. Available Online, <http://www.saludpromujer.org/main.asp>

This piece highlights the importance of remittances as a motivational factor in the immigration of many Dominicans. Also the facility of obtaining false documentation is highlighted by the author. Azize's analysis also supports Jorge Duany's thesis that many Dominican women enter the informal sector as domestic workers because Puerto Rican women prefer to find other forms of employment.

According to Azize using arranged marriages to obtain a visa by Dominican women is a standard practice.

2) **Beltrán Hernández, Ruth. "Puentes Para la Prosperidad," *El Nuevo Dia*, 8 March, 2005, Specials Section.**

Article relating the different routes and methods employed by Dominican immigrants to come to the US. Many Dominicans purchase illegal documents, such as a driver's license, in Puerto Rico to come to the US. The total number of Dominicans in the US is calculated at 150,000 to 200,000 by the US Census but the number is considered to be much larger by Dominican activists.

3) **COIN. *Migración y Trata de Mujeres*. Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: March 2004.**

The majority of Dominican women are heads of household who immigrate due to their precarious economic situation. The traditional destination for Dominican women is Puerto Rico and the US. The majority of women migrate to labor as domestic workers, caretakers, dancers, or prostitutes. Other women are subject to exploitation by marrying to regularize their migrant condition. Traffickers utilize different methods to convince women to travel; these include promising employment, marriage, provision of false documents and other means.

4) **Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Health Department, Auxiliary Secretariat of Planning and Development Evaluation Division. *Final Report: Health Needs Assessment of Dominican Population Residing in Puerto Rico*. Puerto Rico: Government of Puerto Rico, 2005.**

This assessment of the Dominican community is one of the most recent studies by the government of Puerto Rico designed to improve the delivery of services to this marginalized community. Although this study does not specifically deal with migration, it does present a clearer picture of the needs that the Dominican community in Puerto Rico does face. A principal factor is the sense amongst the Dominican community that they are devoid of any legal advocate recourse in the case of suffering injustices and sub-

human treatment. This study also established a profile for the Dominican community based on focal group meetings. However, when the researchers who put together this study provided me a copy of the report they were quick to mention that the focal groups were severely unattended and that it was very challenging to ensure that Dominican immigrants would be present at these focal groups. This study estimates that the average age for the Dominican population is about 47.2 years and that the population is equitatively balanced between males and females. It is unlikely that this study presents an accurate picture of the Dominican community, because of the nature of the focal groups severely limits the amount of available data. As a result extrapolating the divisions amongst these four focal groups appears to be an unlikely reality of the Dominican population in Puerto Rico.

5) Cedeño, Olga. *El Nacional*. 23 February 1989.

Cedeño establishes that in 1988 about 7,200 Dominicans were repatriated and 75% of these came from Puerto Rico. Although lacking precise numbers the article suggests that many of these immigrants are women who find themselves in a specific vulnerability to deceit and sexual abuse because of their migrant condition. It cites that many women find themselves becoming a resource of cheap labor that is often forced to marry to obtain legal status. It also argues that the Dominican government must act with greater strength to limit current immigration.

6) Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. *The Fact Book on Global Sexual Exploitation: Dominican Republic*. Accessed April 12, 2006.

<http://www.catwinternational.org/factbook/DominicanR.php>

This report cites the findings of the IOM Report on Trafficking in Women from the Dominican Republic for Commercial Sexual Exploitation (1996) that has already been included in this review.

7) Dávila, Javier Colon. “Entre Marejadas y Malezas,” *El Nuevo Día*, 8 March 2005, Specials Section.

This article reports the growing incidence of violence on part of Dominican immigrants who come illegally into Puerto Rico by sea. According to reports, the Puerto Rican Police have reported growing incidences of violent resistance by undocumented immigrants as they attempt to elude authorities on Puerto Rican shores or during the process of disembarkation.

8) ----- . “Lucro Boricua con el dolor ajeno,” *El Nuevo Día*, 8 March 2005, Specials Section.

In the fiscal year 2004 3,568 illegal immigrants were arrested from about 70 countries such as China, Argentina, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Jordan, Venezuela, and Holland. The majority of migrants come into Puerto Rico by crossing the Mona channel from the Dominican Republic. Once these immigrants come to the shore they are greeted by a network of organized individuals who seek to exploit them. These organized groups provide these immigrants a safe haven as well as transportation to the island's capital. Other services include the facilitating of false documents. According to testimony these safe houses at times also hold immigrants captive for a ransom that is to be paid by their family members for their release.

9) Del Castillo, José. “La inmigración Dominicana en los Estados Unidos”. In *Los Inmigrantes Indocumentados Dominicanos en Puerto Rico: Realidad y Mitos*. Edited by Juan E. Hernández Cruz. Puerto Rico: Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, 1989.

Jose Del Castillo sets out to examine how the Dominican migration to the US is characterized by its change in flows over time. By 1980 the US census indicated that the majority of this community was female 55% and primordially young. The number of women who found themselves as single or divorced was calculated at 33.3%. The Dominican migration is distinguished by two principal phases. The first one began in the 1960s while the second phase solidified in the 1980s and is characterized by clandestine voyages. Some immigrants violate their visa, others enter with false documentation, and the great majority enters Puerto Rico illegally through maritime passages. It is estimated that 18,000 Dominicans enter Puerto Rico in this way every year.

10) Duany, Jorge. “Caribbean Migration to Puerto Rico: A comparison of Cubans and Dominicans.” *IMR* Vol. xxvi, No.1. (1989).

In his article Duany identifies major differences between the two largest urban minorities present in Puerto Rico. This study identifies critical differences between both communities and posits that between 1970 and 1979 the Dominican community in Puerto Rico doubled from about 13,000 to 22,000 (these numbers are for legal immigrants). Many of these immigrants continued on to the US after being in Puerto Rico for some time. It also identifies the majority of Dominican immigrants as composed by the lower middle sectors of Dominican society.

11) -----, “Dominican Migration to Puerto Rico: A Transnational Perspective.” (forthcoming), 2005.

This academic piece by Jorge Duany examines the transnational nature of the Dominican population. The Dominican community in Puerto Rico is of importance especially since it is the second largest community of Dominicans in the US after New York City. Dominican migration to Puerto Rico reached substantial numbers in 1961 after the fall of

the Trujillo regime and has subsequently been prone to an enlarged flow during election periods or political instability. However, since the 1970s the material disparity between these Caribbean islands has served as a motivator for many Dominican immigrants.

A comparison between Dominicans in New York and Puerto Rico yields that the majority of Dominicans in Puerto Rico are less educated, from a predominant rural background and less skilled than their counterparts in New York. Furthermore there are a much larger number of undocumented Dominicans in Puerto Rico. From the 1980s on the majority of Dominicans in Puerto Rico have integrated into the secondary labor market. The gender distinction amongst Dominican immigrants in New York and Puerto Rico suggests that 3 out of 5 immigrants are female, young (20-40 years old), and were single or divorced.

12) -----. “**El Sector Informal y la Migración Internacional: El caso de los dominicanos en Puerto Rico.**” *Nueva Sociedad* 113, (1991).

This is a short discussion of the informal sector in Puerto Rico. In it Duany again posits that the Dominican immigration increased after the death of Trujillo in 1961. The main pull factor for migration is credited as the disparity in wages between Puerto Rico and Dominican Republic. The total number of female Dominican immigrants is established as 59%, establishing a clear numerical majority. Of these immigrants, 55% were born in the rural countryside and women have little access to the informal sector. With the employment shortage that began in the 1970s in Puerto Rico, Dominican immigrants were forced to join the informal sector due to their limited options. Thus the presence of Dominicans in the Puerto Rican structural is in large part the result of structural conditions.

13) -----. “**Migration in a Small Semi periphery: The Movement of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans.**” *IMR* volume xxiv, No.4 (1990).

Duany establishes that Puerto Rico is a labor surplus zone characterized by high rates of unemployment, declining labor force participation and a strong out migration. In 1983-1984, 6% of foreign born immigrants were from the Dominican Republic. However the Dominican migration is more substantial than these numbers due to the undocumented nature of this migration. Puerto Rico has followed a different pattern of development from the rest of the Caribbean that makes it not periphery or center but rather the semi periphery. Puerto Rico's economy is geared toward the US market but since 1975 has increased its role as an intermediary for transnational capital in the region. It has also seen an increase in administration and service sector white collar jobs while not addressing mass unemployment indicative of an underdeveloped economy. The dependence of many families on state assistance has greatly increased.

Women constitute the majority of the Dominican immigrants. Estimates range that 76 men enter PR for every 100 women (Junta de Planificación 1982:35, in Duany 671). The level of schooling of these immigrants is much lower than the level of schooling for the

Puerto Rican population. Furthermore their motivations for migration are economic. Many smugglers recruit women migrants with the promise of jobs (Duany, 672). It is clear that women fill a niche in the Puerto Rican labor market as, 60% of domestic servants are from the Dominican Republic. The demands of the white collar sector create a demand for cheaper service oriented labor force that is usually supplied by immigrants.

14) Duany, Jorge et al. *El Barrio Gandul: economía subterránea y migración indocumentada*. Puerto Rico: Nueva Sociedad. 1995.

Duany centers his study on a specific Dominican community in Santurce, Puerto Rico, named Barrio Gandul, which is known for having a high proportion of Dominican immigrants. Duany posits that Dominican migration to Puerto Rico and the US is distinguished for its chain like structure in which many immigrants after settling in their host country arrange for other family members to meet them. This particular form of migration requires that migrants remain in contact with family members in the Dominican Republic. Usually women are the primary operator in chain migration as they immigrate independently to integrate into the labor market. A great portion of illegal migrants come to Puerto Rico illegally by crossing the Mona channel on small boats or as an alternate route through the island of St. Marteen and then Puerto Rico. The cost of these trips is somewhere between US \$ 300-1,000. These immigrants represent a heterogeneous socio-economic component, which is reproduced in el barrio Gandul.

The majority of Dominican immigrants face marginal conditions predicated on racial and national discrimination, which often limit their economic mobility. Furthermore women are further constrained by gender discrimination to the lower spheres of the labor market and the informal sector. Most women find placement as domestic workers, for which there is a large demand in Puerto Rico.

15) Enchautegui, Maria E. *Los determinantes de la inmigración dominicana a Puerto Rico*. Available Online, <http://www.uprrp.edu/uie/PDF%20files/ensayo%20104.pdf>

This study determines through multivariable analysis that Dominican migration to Puerto Rico is inexorably linked to Dominican migration to the US. At the same time the study indicates that one of the principal motivators for this migration is the lack of economic development in the Dominican Republic in 1990s. Enchautegui argues that the increased flow of Dominican migrants to Puerto Rico is not only due to the fact that Puerto Rico is a US territory because it has had this political definition for the last 100 years. Rather the responsible factors for this increased migratory flow are identified as 1) the large Dominican migration to the US 2) stern US migratory policies against illegal immigration and 3) the attractiveness of Puerto Rico given the economic hardships faced by the Dominican Republic.

This study estimates that for 1996 the Dominican population was between 92 and 97 thousand, of which around 28% were undocumented.

16) González, Ruddy L. “La cima del contrabando,” *El Nuevo Día*, 8 March 2005, Specials Section.

The Dominican Republic is currently the nation in the Caribbean with the most smuggled citizens into the US. This migration has continued despite the enactment of a law that punishes migrant smuggling and human trafficking in the Dominican Republic in the year 2003. In addition to this other nationals from Cuba, Asia and South America come to the Dominican Republic to be smuggled into the US. This process is facilitated by the lax visa standards in the Dominican Republic that facilitate their entrance.

17) ----- . “Travesías frustradas.” *El Nuevo Dia*, 8 March 2005, Specials Section.

An article narrating the different modalities that Dominican nationals come into Puerto Rico establishes that a considerable percentage of women on illegal embarkations are women. Furthermore it posits that sometimes illegal immigrants go out to sea in small boats “yolas” and are then picked up by large merchant ships in collusion with smugglers to bring them into Puerto Rico.

18) Hernandez Angueira, Luisa. “Across the Mona Strait: Dominican Boat Women in Puerto Rico”. In *Daughters of Caliban: Caribbean women in the twentieth century*. Edited by Consuelo Lopez Springfield. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1997.

This chapter was developed with help from Cesar Rey and Jorge Duany and presents a coherent picture of Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico.

Hernandez argues that the migration of Dominican women constitutes an act of transgression in which they challenge the male dominated discourse regarding the submission of women to men (Angueira, 97). She also establishes that about a third of the Dominican population is undocumented and that the majority of the Dominican population is composed of young women, between 20 and 40 years of age with an eighth grade education, most of whom come from an urban background. These women suffer discrimination due to racial politics in Puerto Rico, forcing many women into the informal sector as domestic servants. These women are also repressed sexually, as they are accused of working as prostitutes, engaging in promiscuity and stealing men from other women (Angueira, 100). Most of Dominican women immigrate alone leaving their children behind, making it a unique migratory pattern. This makes migration also an act of assertion as a head of household, through which women assert their independence and challenge male dominance as the primary breadwinner.

Many Dominican women are relegated to informal sector in low wage and insecure positions due to both race and gender. Men on the other hand do not face the same limitations in terms of low wages and insecure employment (Angueira, 106). This brings into relief the sexual division of labor. The increase in female headed households despite this is understood to be the feminization of poverty.

19) Hernandez, Ramona and Francisco L. Rivera Batiz. *Dominicans in the United States A Socioeconomic Profile*. New York: CUNY Dominican Studies Institute, 2000.

In this piece Hernandez and Batiz present a good profile of the Dominican migration to the United States. They find that the Dominican population in the US rose from 520,121 in 1990 to 1,041,910 in 2000 making it the fourth largest Latino group in the US. According to current estimates it will be the third largest Latino group by 2010. The major source for population increase is immigration, between 1990 and 2000, 300,000 Dominicans migrated to the US on a net basis. The majority of these immigrants are concentrated in New York and the Eastern Seaboard. In New York the majority of these immigrants are in Manhattan but have spread to other boroughs in the city. In 1999 the annual per capita income for Dominicans was half of the national average, \$11, 065. Furthermore the poverty rate amongst Dominican New Yorkers was the highest in the city at a total of 19.1% compared to 29.7% for the overall Latino population. There are also a solid number of female headed households at 32%. The labor force participation of Dominican immigrants is lower than for the rest of the US, about 64% for men and 53.1% for women. The figures for the overall US population were 72.7% for men and 58.5% for women. Also the unemployment rate of Dominican women and men was greater than for the rest of the population in 2000. The Dominican labor force is characterized by being very young and unskilled with some of the lowest levels of educational attainment, 49% have not completed high school. In contrast it is important to distinguish the high level of educational attainment achieved by the Dominican population in the US.

20) Hernández, Ramona. “Mercado de Trabajo de los Dominicanos en Nueva York”. In *Los Inmigrantes Indocumentados Dominicanos en Puerto Rico: Realidad y Mitos*. Edited by Juan E. Hernández Cruz. Puerto Rico: Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, 1989.

In this particular piece Ramona Hernandez discusses the nature of Dominican undocumented migration to Puerto Rico. Since 1966 it is estimated that the average number of Dominicans who arrive in the US legally lies between 12,000 and 14, 000. However, research demonstrates that the number of Dominicans who enter illegally duplicate this number. Thus there is a clear dominance by undocumented immigrants coming into Puerto Rico.

21) -----, *The mobility of workers under advanced capitalism: Dominican Migration to the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

In this pointed presentation of the contemporary Dominican migration to the US by Ramona Hernandez, she focuses on the labor market integration of this community. The author identifies the important misconception amongst the existing literature on the Dominican migration that identifies the majority of Dominican immigrants as possessing

a high degree of human capital, who do not represent surplus labor and who migrate to improve their economic lot. Hernandez concludes that Dominican immigrants are likely to be unskilled and blue collar with little or no education, who were not necessarily employed prior to migration. A large portion of the Dominican population concentrates in New York in particular neighborhoods such as Washington Heights. Writing about this enclave economy, research has shown that Dominican and Colombian women in the enclave in New York City are exposed to higher levels of exploitation than women in the open economy (Hernandez, 110).

The Dominican population in the 1980s and 1990s had the highest unemployment rates, lowest earnings, low labor force participation rates, and high poverty levels amongst Latinos in the US.

22) International Human Rights Law Institute, DePaul University College of Law. *In Modern Bondage: Sex Trafficking in the Americas: Central America and the Caribbean*. Chicago: De Paul University, 2001

The dire economic situation of the country where 21 out of every 100 Dominicans lives in poverty is a factor in human trafficking in this country. The Dominican economy is characterized by the tourism industry, free trade zones, and the exportation of agricultural products. Poverty in this country has become feminized as structural adjustment policies have a greater negative effect on the female population. Women generally face greater difficulty in the labor market and it's harder for them to obtain loans or land. Thus women tend to be forced into a double shift as primary caretakers and participants in the labor force who are structurally condemned to the least desirable positions.

There is a common perception that Dominican women are highly involved in the commercial sex trade abroad. This in combination with informational campaigns has resulted in a shift where the majority of women who are presently trafficked are aware that sex work will be involved but are unaware of the conditions or exploitation to which they will be subjected. The factors identified that facilitate the trafficking of women are: structural economic conditions, gender discrimination/demand, racist ideology, an image of success for women who have worked abroad, the pursuit of an American dream (consumption), the existence of established trafficking networks, sexual tourism, disinformation, restrictionary immigration policies in destination countries, and family networks.

This evaluation provides a detailed analysis of current legislation in the Dominican Republic and suggests how it can be improved to better protect potential victims and punish traffickers.

23) IOM. *Trafficking in Women from the Dominican Republic for Sexual Exploitation*. June 1996.

<http://www.oas.org/atip/country%20specific/TIP%20DR%20IOM%20REPORT.pdf>

This IOM report establishes that the Dominican Republic has the fourth largest number of citizens abroad in the sex trade at over 50,000 women. The main concentrations of these women are in Austria, Curacao, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Italy, The Netherlands, Panama, Puerto Rico, Spain, Switzerland, Venezuela and the West Indies. Two principal reasons that facilitated the trafficking of women were their desire to provide economic support for their children or to buy a home for their parents. The imitation factor is another reason for women to go abroad as many know of another woman who has done so. The average age of women going abroad is between 24 and 28 years old.

24) Iturrondo, Milagros. *Voces Quisqueyanas en Borinken*. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Camila, 2000.

Milagros Iturrondo presents a wealth of experiences of different Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico. Although covering a broad range of topics it includes a discussion of how many immigrants come to PR and integrate themselves into the informal economy. It also tells a first hand account of a case where a Dominican from a higher economic background was almost exploited by Puerto Ricans who demanded money from his cousin in exchange for his delivery after being smuggled to Puerto Rico

This book posits that Dominican migration to Puerto Rico in the last 10 years or from the 90s on has been defined by the poorest segments of society that is different from previous migratory waves. This phenomenon places members of this migratory group perhaps in greater peril as they have less to fall back on (Iturrondo, 53).

It is clear that the smuggling business is coordinated by Dominicans and Puerto Ricans working together, as many cite that Puerto Rican people were there on site ready to house and feed them in exchange for a fee. Transportation to San Juan were most Dominicans reside is also exchanged for a fee. Each trip of Dominicans to Puerto Rico differs in social, economic and political makeup.

25) Junta de Planificación de Puerto Rico. *La Migración en Puerto Rico: Características de la Población Inmigrante 1983-1984*. Puerto Rico: Government of Puerto Rico, 1986.

This study is a statistical effort by the government of Puerto Rico to better understand the Dominican population in the island. However, this analysis is not part of a continued effort and as a result stands alone as glimpse of the Dominican population. Most of the women 38.5% indicated they came to Puerto Rico to work and 27.2% affirmed they intended to look for work. This segment of the labor force is characterized by having little or no education 62.4% and a median age of 33.6.

26) La Luz Feliciano, Dinorah. *Tráfico Humano, Prostitución, y Otras Formas de Esclavitud en Latinoamérica y el Caribe: El Trafico desde el Punto de vista del Sistema de Justicia Criminal*, (unpublished).

La Luz Feliciano evaluates the concept of Trafficking in Persons within the context of Puerto Rico, discussing the possibility of trafficking in Puerto Rico. In the year 2003 a total of 2, 195 persons were arrested for prostitution. This data however is not disaggregated by sex. Prostitution in Puerto Rico is penalized as is pimping. Pimping is included under “Proxenetismo, Rufianismo y Comercio de Personas in the Puerto Rican Penal Code, which distinguishes victims who are coerced by a pimp. Under the TVPA Puerto Rico is subject to federal regulations criminalizing the act of trafficking in persons. However, appropriate records and statistics on this issue are not being kept by federal agencies or Puerto Rican authorities. This analysis calls for increase inter-agency cooperation and specialized training so that officers on the field are able to identify possible cases of trafficking. It is hard for the author to make any clear conclusions on whether or not trafficking does take place, given the lack of evidence. She does however identify that there exists a legal framework under US Federal standards to prosecute human traffickers.

27) Pérez Menem, Fernando. “Panorama Histórico de las Emigraciones Dominicanas a Puerto Rico”. In *Los Inmigrantes Indocumentados Dominicanos en Puerto Rico: Realidad y Mitos*. Edited by Juan E. Hernández Cruz. Puerto Rico: Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, 1989.

This exhaustive analysis by Perez Menem examines Dominican immigration into Puerto Rico, paying specific attention to how the flows have varied through the years. Most notable amongst these is the shift from an illegal migration through air in the 1970s to a more clandestine nature through sea in the 1980s.

28) Rey, Cesar A. and Jorge Duany. “La Emigración Dominicana a Puerto Rico (una entrevista).” *Homines* 13:2-14:1 (1989).

This is a transcript from a radio interview concerning the characteristics of the Dominican migration in Puerto Rico. Jorge Duany and Cesar Rey are being interviewed on the findings of their research on the Dominican community in Puerto Rico. Again the interview begins by citing the lack of adequate information on the Dominican immigration to Puerto Rico. Economic difficulty in the Dominican Republic is cited as the principal factor that stimulates migration to Puerto Rico, as unemployment in Dominican cities is estimated to be as high as 40%. These economic difficulties were preceded by high levels of political volatility in the 60’s that included the ousting of Juan Bosch as president and a subsequent interior struggle.

Duany and Rey posit that the majority of immigrants are not skilled laborers but also indicate that there exists a contradiction in the literature as to the origin of that migration.

The interview establishes that 20% of the Dominican population resides in Puerto Rico, making the total of the population 80, 000. Also it is established that the majority of immigrants are women. About 2 of 3 Dominican immigrants are female with an average age of 22.

29) Sagas, Ernesto and Sintia E. Molina. *Dominican Migration: Transnational Perspectives*. USA: University of Florida Press, 2004.

This collection of works is geared at evaluating the transnational nature of the Dominican population. Transnationalism is defined as the “process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and country of settlement” (Sagas and Molina, 5). This particular form of migration is distinguished by the cultural and economic ties that remain between the sending community and the migrant community.

Note: The transnational nature of Dominican migration could be an element in trafficking in persons because criminal associations may be transnational as well and facilitate the trafficking of victims in order to exploit them.

30) The Protection Project, Human Rights Report Dominican Republic, Accessed April 12, 2006. Available Online, <http://www.protectionproject.org/main1.htm>

According to a study in Antigua in 1992 Dominicans accounted for more than 50 percent of the women in brothels in Antigua and South America. The sex industry in the DR is also thriving as 50000 women are estimated to be engaged in prostitution in Santo Domingo alone, and is an increasingly popular sex tourism destination. Prostitution is illegal but tolerated by local authorities in return for kickbacks.

31) US State Department Trafficking in Persons Report. 2005.

The Dominican Republic is classified as a Tier 2 Watchlist country that is a source, transit and destination country for the trafficking of men, women and children. The Dominican Republic has been placed on the watch list because it has not complied with minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. Furthermore trafficking related law enforcement has remained weak, prosecution is still limited, and protection to victims of trafficking was catalogued as inadequate. In this evaluation the Dominican government was judged to not having established sustainable prevention campaigns.

32) Vanessa Pascual Moran and Delia Ivette Figueroa. *Islas Sin Fronteras: Los Dominicanos en indocumentado y la agricultura en Puerto Rico*. CISCLA/Revista Interamericana, San Juan, Puerto Rico: 2000.

Pascual Moran and Figueroa direct their analysis towards the role of Dominican participation in Puerto Rico's agricultural sector. This study focuses largely on male Dominican immigrants and their strategies for survival, as well as their participation in remittances flows. It gives a good background of Dominican immigration into PR which solidified in the 1980s with the economic crisis. Puerto Rico has not only been a stepping stone to the US but has also been a destination country for many immigrants.

The signing of NAFTA worsened economic conditions for Dominicans because it gave Mexican laborers an advantage and also makes transportation costs from Mexico to the US much smaller than from DR to the US.

In 1974 Encuesta Diagnos revealed that of 71% of Dominican immigrants were headed towards New York, 19% towards PR, and 6% to other places. According to the census of 1990 the Dominican population in PR totals at 37, 505. Despite the lack of good estimates it is thought that the illegal population is somewhere between 20,000 to 100,000.

A significant percentage 14.8% of Dominicans in Puerto Rico did receive higher education. Despite that 56.5% had not according to a University of Columbia study. This compares to 13.1% of Puerto Ricans. A third of those interviewed indicated they would continue on to New York. Also 80% of those who were illegal were intent in finding ways to bring their family home, if possible by becoming legal themselves. This makes us consider the impact of a continued increase in the Dominican population. Furthermore because illegal immigration from the Dominican Republic functions as an escape valve for socio economic problems in the Dominican Republic and a prospective source of earnings through remittances the Dominican government has not shown too much interest in adopting a policy geared towards controlling illegal migration.

33) Vázquez, José L. and Zoraida Morales del Valle. "Características Sociodemográficas de los Norteamericanos, Cubanos y Dominicanos Residentes en Puerto Rico." *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, Vol. xxi, No.1-2, (1979).

This is a bit dated analysis of the sociodemographic characteristics that utilizes as its primary resource US census information from 1970. This piece points out the lack of existing analysis on migrant communities on the island and stands as one of the few pieces of research from the period. It is useful in the indication of general trends and mistakes in the census information gathering mechanism which limits the classificatory options and may count some people as Puerto Rican when they might not be. Thus suggesting that the population of Dominicans in Puerto Rico has been underestimated since the 1970s. Another identified flaw in the census is the lack of response of about 92,000 people residing in Puerto Rico who did not identify their country of origin. Only about 800 of these are suspected to have been native Puerto Ricans.

The Dominican community is identified as having only 17, 000 members, a fact that indicates that this community has more than doubled in the last 30 years. Dominican

women are also cited as being very economically active, more so than the Puerto Rican population.

This analysis concludes that the Dominican population is defined as a separate socioeconomic group with certain similarities to the Puerto Rican population. However, the study clarifies that illegal immigrants were not a part of this assessment and that the results could be distorted. Overall, the sample included in this piece seems to concentrate on Dominicans with a regular migratory status that compose the higher levels of this group's migration. The proximity of this study to the post-Trujillo migratory wave which was largely composed of professionals and skilled laborers indicates that this study is likely to be biased and does not mention the subsequent migratory waves from the Dominican Republic who remain illegal for the most part and are at most risk to be victims of human trafficking.