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Social, Human, and Positive Psychological Capital in the Labor Market Re-integration of People Deported to the Dominican Republic

Abstract

More than six million people have been deported from the United States since 1996. The Dominican Republic is one of the top ten countries to which the United States deports people. Most scholarship on deportation focuses on the challenges deported people face post-deportation. This article draws from scholarship on how migrants draw from social, human, and financial capital to integrate into host societies to consider what forms of capital are useful for deportees. We focus on the forms of capital deportees draw from to survive in the aftermath of deportation. An analysis of 60 in-depth interviews with people deported from the United States reveals how deportees' combination of limited human capital, fractured social capital, and positive psychological capital assists in their re-integration. Results also show that access to employment is not only an important step in social and economic integration, but that it also helps deportees to achieve emotional stability.

INTRODUCTION

Large-scale Dominican migration to the United States began in the 1960s, after the CIA-orchestrated assassination of President Rafael Leonidas Trujillo¹, who had restricted emigration during his three decades of despotism. The first wave of emigrants primarily was composed of political refugees who had been supporters of Trujillo. Tens of thousands of emigrants followed during the next decade of political and economic turmoil in the Dominican Republic. The timing was also fortuitous: the United States passed a large-scale immigration reform in 1965 that made it easier for Dominicans to emigrate legally enter the United States. Emigration continued to grow in the 1970s and 1980s, due to economic strife in the Dominican Republic and permissive laws in the United States. More than 250,000 Dominicans came to the United States legally during the 1980s, and 335,221 in the 1990s. Tens of thousands of other Dominicans entered illegally or on temporary visas. More than half of Dominican migrants have settled in New York City (Levitt 2001; Sagás and Molina 2004; Duany 2004; Guarnizo 1994).

Just as the numbers of Dominicans in the United States reached a peak, the US began to pass restrictive immigration laws. The passage of the The United States (USA) and the Dominican Republic (DR) have a long history of immigration and other political and economic relations (Guarnizo 1994). Therefore, immigration and deportation must be understood in a broader social-economic context (Guarnizo 1994,

¹ <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/06/13/archives/cia-is-reported-to-have-helped-in-trujillo-death-material-support.html>

Dingeman-Cerda and Coutin 2012). After the implementation of the **1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA), the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), and the 2001 US Patriot Act** led to increases in the numbers of deportations from the United States, and the Dominican Republic was disproportionately affected. ~~there was an increase in deportations from the United States to different countries around the world, including the Dominican Republic (DR).~~ **Among countries** experiencing suffering experiencing **high rates of deportations** from the USA, **the Dominican DR Republic ranks in the top ten**, with about 3,000 Dominicans deported each year between 2005 and 2012, with 8,299 individuals, mostly men, of them males, deported from the USA to the DR between 2005 and 2006 (Kanstroom 2007, Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013, (DHS, 2017). The increase in deportations has been significant since 1990, especially after the passing of the 1996 and 2001 laws (Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2011, Kanstroom 2007). The 1996 legislation facilitated deportations by expanding the criteria for which non-citizens (including permanent residents) could be deported, eliminating most grounds for appeal, and implementing an expedited removal process.

More than six million people have been deported from the U.S. since 1996, the year of the last significant changes to U.S. deportation laws. The 1996 Anti-terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act and Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act made mass deportation possible by expanding the grounds on which people could be deported and narrowing the grounds for appeal (Noguera 1999, Morawetz 2000, Hernández 2008, Golash-Boza 2012).

Studies on the aftermath of deportation emphasize the effects of deportations on the person deported as well as the financial and emotional consequences for families and communities (Lonagan 2007, Hagan et al 2008, Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Zatz and Rodriguez 2015). Deportees face individual barriers to reintegration such as depression, alienation and isolation (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Preston 2012, Drotbohm and Hasselberg 2015, Menjivar, Morris and Rodríguez 2017, Boodram 2018). They also face structural barriers such as a limited labor market, high crime rates and a negative context of reception (Coutin 2010, Golash-Boza 2016, Frank-Vitale 2018). With a **strong** focus on barriers to reintegration, few studies explore the other side - what makes reintegration possible. Thus, this study examines the extent to which positive psychological capital facilitates deportees' labor market and social re-integration, and how securing employment facilitates their social re-integration and enhances their psychological capital.

Our results show that the structural context into which individuals are deported, such as government policies, ~~and~~ high stigmatization, **and labor**

market segmentation, makes it challenging for them to access the formal labor market. We also find that deportees are able to draw on a combination of limited human capital, fractured social capital, and positive psychological capital to remake their lives in their countries of birth.

Re-integration Challenges for Deportees

Previous research makes it clear that deportation makes life difficult for deportees and their families (Lonegan 2007, Hagan et al 2008, Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Drotbohm 2015, Zatz and Rodriguez 2015, Patler and Golash-Boza 2017). Sentiments of alienation, the desire to recover family ties, and the threat of violence make re-integration challenging and motivate deportees to emigrate to the U.S. again (Hagan et al. 2008, Dingeman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Kubrin et al. 2012, Robertson et al. 2012, Schuster and Majidi 2013, Brabeck et al. 2014, Drotbohm 2015, Hagan et al. 2015, Koball et al. 2015, Bohem 2016, Menjivar et al. 2017). These challenges lead some deportees to suffer from drug addiction, alcoholism, and depression, which also impacts their possibility of successful re-integration (Brouwer et al. 2009, Ojeda et al. 2011, Dingeman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Kubrin et al. 2012, Rangel et al. 2012, Martín 2013, Fernández-Niño et al. 2014). In addition to personal suffering, an adverse context of reception that is violent, poor, or stigmatizing can severely diminish deportees' chances of re-integration (Schuster and Majidi 2013, De Genova 2018).

~~Deportees face significant challenges to re-integration into their home countries, particularly in terms of securing employment. One challenge is in securing gainful employment. Some deportees are integrating into the labor market in their home country for the first time as they emigrated as children whereas others are reintegrating as they had previously held employment in their country of birth. We thus use the word "re-integrate" to capture both integration and reintegration into the home country and the labor market. Several studies show how the emotional and psychological well-being of immigrants is impacted when they are uprooted from their country of residence, separated from their family and communities, and placed in an unfamiliar setting (Arbona et al. 2010, Sládková et al. 2012, Zatz and Rodriguez 2015, Ybarra and Peña, 2017, Silver et al. 2018). These sentiments of alienation, the desire to recover family ties, and the threat of violence make re-integration challenging and motivate deportees to emigrate to the U.S. again (Hagan et al. 2008, Dingeman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Kubrin et al. 2012, Robertson et al. 2012, Schuster and Majidi 2013, Brabeck et al. 2014, Drotbohm 2015, Hagan et al. 2015, Koball et al. 2015, Bohem 2016, Menjivar et al. 2017). These challenges lead some deportees to suffer from drug addiction, alcoholism, and depression, which also impacts their possibility of successful re-integration (Brouwer et al. 2009, Ojeda et al. 2011, Dingeman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Kubrin et al. 2012, Rangel et al. 2012, Martín 2013, Fernández-Niño et al. 2014). In addition to personal~~

~~suffering, an adverse context of reception that is violent, poor, or stigmatizing can severely diminish deportees' chances of re-integration (Schuster and Majidi 2013, De Genova 2018).~~

Most people who are deported experience unemployment and job insecurity when they return to their country of origin (DeCesare 1998, Precil 1999, Headley 2006, Golash-Boza 2014, Menjivar et al. 2018). However, this experience varies from country to country. In Brazil, deportees are more likely to succeed in their social re-integration. Since they are not considered criminals, it is easier for them to access the job market. On the other hand, in Jamaica, deportees experience high levels of unemployment and homelessness due to their high stigmatization (Golash-Boza 2014; 2015). One of the major negative consequences of stigmatization is that it limits deportees' access to the labor market and forces them to live precariously (Belliard and Wooding 2011, [Brotherton and Barrios 2011](#), [Martín 2013](#), [Golash-Boza 2014](#), [Menjivar et al. 2017](#), [Golash-Boza and CecilianoNavarro 2018](#)). For some deportees, relationships with relatives in the United States who send remittances help them survive (Golash-Boza 2014).

In Mexico, many deportees return with significant human capital that they developed during their stay in the United States. However, this does not necessarily lead to more stable or formal labor market re-integration – most of them re-integrate into work in agriculture and construction (Peña, 2015). In a study with young deported Mexicans, Anderson (2015) found that because these young deportees speak English and have knowledge of U.S. culture, they have been able to work in call centers. ~~However, these young deportees express how sometimes they have been accused of being part of a gang. Therefore, even though the call center represents a 'safe' workplace, it becomes dangerous for some deported persons (Anderson 2015).~~

In Guatemala, Golash-Boza (2016) found that although deportees may have human capital such as proficiency in English, the fact of having been deported determines their career path and possibilities for social integration. Therefore, some deportees are fortunate if they can access the labor market in the service sector (e.g. working in a call center) but are not exempt from precariousness and exploitation in these types of jobs. In Honduras, unemployment is common, not only because of the discrimination given their status as a deportee but also because of limited labor market options (Menjivar et al. 2017).

For Dominican deportees, both social and labor market re-integration are challenging due not only to implicit social stigmatization, but also explicit discrimination from the government. The Dominican government records and makes public their status as deportees, which limits deportees' access to formal and stable jobs (Belliard and Wooding 2011, [Brotherton and Barrios 2011](#), [Golash-Boza and Ceciliano-Navarro 2018](#)). In addition to these barriers, the labor market in the Dominican Republic is characterized by a high degree of segmentation, which translates into a large number of jobs

with little to no stability and low pay (Itzigsohn 2010). The Dominican labor market is highly reliant on the tourist industry in particular and the service sector more broadly (Meyer 2020). Jobs in these sectors tend to be seasonal and precarious. Rodkey (2016) explains how many Dominican deportees are currently employed in call centers and that. ~~However, Rodkey shows how this ‘forced transnationalism’, threatens the integration process for these young deportees, since they are rewarded for their ‘Americanization’ but at the same time, the continuous exposure to this ‘American culture’ impedes their reintegration process. Likewise, Rodkey (2016) points out how~~ this employment is precarious, since they call centers hire deportees and then suspend them for periods of 90 days, and then they are re-hired, which prevents them from enjoying basic labor benefits.

In countries like Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala, deportees with visible tattoos are perceived as criminals or gang members, which shapes their ability to access formal jobs, and therefore their social re-integration (Dingeman and Rumbaut 2009, Coutin 2013, Golash-Boza 2016, Dingeman-Cerda 2017, Menjivar et al. 2017).

These studies render it clear that deportees face challenges in their quest to secure employment to survive, to find a sense of community, and to regain a sense of self (Sánchez 2013, Boodram 2018). This raises the question of what factors help or hinder deportees’ labor market access and overall reintegration pathways. We draw from literature on social, human and positive psychological capital to explore this question.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: Social, human, and positive psychological capital

We will focus on three forms of capital: social (who you know), human (what you know), and psychological (who you are). These forms of capital help us to understand how deportees rely on them 1) to get information about job opportunities (social capital); 2) to fit into certain types of jobs (human capital); and 3) to adapt and overcome the negative circumstances they face after deportation (psychological capital) (Bourdieu 1986, [Coleman 1994](#), Becker 2002, Gendron 2004, Luthans et al. 2007, Goldin 2016).

Social capital

Social capital are the benefits obtained through networks and relationships (Bourdieu 1985, Coleman 1994). Part of these benefits can be “information, influence, control, and social solidarity” (Sandefur and Laumann 1998:1). For Woolcock and Narayan (2000), social capital entails the basic idea that “a person's family, friends, and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called on in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and leveraged for material gain” (225).

For Bourdieu ~~and Wacquant (-1990) and Wacquant (-1992)~~, and Coleman (1994), the family’s role is central, since it connects and exposes children to

different relationships and institutions such as school and church. ~~According to Bourdieu (1980), "families facilitate children's access to education and transmit a set of values and outlooks" (3).~~

The study of social capital has focused on how social capital helps people access the labor market, since people with good networks and contacts can access more information about job opportunities than those without these networks. (Montgomery 1991, Fukuyama 1997, Garip 2008, ~~Xue 2008~~). The absence of social capital is disadvantageous (Woolcock and Narayan 2000). And, social capital can also be negative, since one's networks, contacts and information can be detrimental (Portes and Landolt 1996).

The role of social capital in migrant communities and migratory processes has been studied extensively (Aguilera 2003, Li 2004, Tillie 2004). These studies point to the importance of social capital for immigrants' job access and success (Bates 1994, Portes 1998, Kao 2004, Portes and Vickstrom 2011).

Human capital

Human capital (HC) includes education, qualifications, habits, training, work experience, health, ideas, information, and knowledge that allow a person to be productive or secure employment (Becker 2002, Gendron 2004, Goldin 2016). For Nafuko, Hairston and Brooks (2004) "the fundamental principle underpinning Human Capital Theory is the belief that people's learning capacities are of comparable value to other resources involved in the production of goods and services" (546). In this sense, the equation to understand how human capital works is easy; the more skills, education, and training you have, the more likely you are to secure employment (Becker 2002, [Gendron 2004](#)).

Human and social capital are also interdependent as you can put your human capital to better use if you have more social capital. ~~Family background also plays a significant role in HC, since "low education, welfare dependence, early pregnancy and marital instability pass from parents to children" (Becker, 1993:21).~~

Studies of immigration include a consideration of human and social capital. Scholars suggest that in some immigrant communities' human capital can have a less important role than social capital, since these networks play a more essential role than people's education (Portes 1998). These findings about immigrants raise questions about deportees - who often have weak ties in their country of birth.

Positive psychological capital

Positive psychological capital helps us to understand how some people achieve their maximum human potential. Positive psychological capital includes self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience (Gendron 2004,

Luthans et al. 2007, Seligman 2007, Simon 2009). Although psychological capital has mostly been used in the field of human resources, this approach also allows to consider how people use psychological capital to cope with traumatic events. This approach focuses “on strengths rather than weaknesses, health and vitality rather than illness and pathology” (Luthans et al 2004: 46). As Luthans, ~~Vogelgesang and Lester et al.~~ (2006) affirm, positive psychological capital “differentiates from both human capital (i.e., what you know, e.g., knowledge, skills, abilities, and experience) and social capital (i.e., who you know, e.g., the network of relationships), to “who you are” (Luthans et al., 2004)) and “what you can become” ”(26).

Most studies of deportations have focused on the negative aspects associated with deportation such as isolation, suffering, and alienation (Dingeman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Kubrin et al. 2012, Martín [2013](#)). And although some studies have indicated the presence of resilience in deportees (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Dingeman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Negy et al. 2014, Boehm 2016, [Turnbull 2018](#)), few investigations have shown which other elements of positive psychological capital allow deportees to cope with the deportation event. Also, there are not studies that take into consideration different forms of capitals to determine which of these has a more active role in deportees’ reintegration.

In this study we show how resilience in conjunction with other dimensions of positive psychological capital such as optimism, self-efficacy, and hope play a role in deportees’ labor market re-integration. Positive psychological capital can become an engine for improving other forms of capital. A healthy and positive mental state allows individuals to have better relationships, and also allows subjects to visualize survival options in adverse contexts. Dominican deportees have been stripped of everything that gave meaning to their lives, but still they have the necessary resilience to maintain their ties in the United States and improve their relations in the Dominican Republic. Positive psychological capital allows them to see a future for themselves.

Interconnection of different forms of capital

These forms of capital are interrelated. In this study we will see not only how all these forms of capital are connected but also, how deportees depend on them to adapt and survive after deportation. For example, deportees with less economic stress have more positive psychological capital. Additionally, parents’ human capital shapes not only their child’s human capital but also their social capital (contacts, networks, connections). Positive psychological capital is shaped by human capital, since skills and people’s learnings help them to improve their whole well-being and life conditions through accessing jobs that respond to their motivations. These connections allow us to understand how different forms of capital play a role in labor market re-integration. Our results reveal that deportees’ successful labor market re-

integration was not due to the isolated role of any of these forms of capital, but a combination.

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Background

The Dominican Republic ranks among the top ten countries receiving deportees from the United States (DHS, 2017). The overall number of individuals who were deported from the U.S. to the DR increased after 1996 legislation expanded the criteria for which non-citizens (including permanent residents) could be deported. It eliminated most grounds for appeal and implemented an expedited removal process (Kanstroom 2007, Golash-Boza and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2013). Between 2005 and 2012, about 3,000 individuals, nearly all of them male, were deported each year from the U.S. to the Dominican Republic. In recent years, as the overall number of deportations from the United States have has declined, this number has decreased to about 2,000 per year (DHS, 2017). Figure 1 shows how removals increased steadily between 1996 and 2013 before beginning a slow decline.

<<Insert Figure 1 here>>

Research methodology

This study is based on 60 interviews conducted with male deportees in the Dominican Republic. The second author conducted 49 interviews between December 2009 and February 2010, and the first author conducted 11 in June 2016. To locate the deportees, we used the snowball method: recruiting participants through an acquaintance. This technique is particularly effective with deportees because, due to stigmatization, many hide their deportee status and are therefore difficult to contact. This work is interview-based, and the vast majority of interviews are the only time there was contact between the researcher and the interviewee. We thus worked to establish trust in the space of the interview by explaining our interest in the topic and assuring confidentiality.

The interviews were conducted in English or Spanish, depending on the deportee's preference and they focused broadly on various aspects of social, human, and positive psychological capital. The interviewees are identified by a pseudonym except in those cases when they asked for us to use their actual name. This study was approved by the University Institutional Review Board. Each deportee signed an informed consent form before the interview.

The interview guide contained questions related to their arrival in the Dominican Republic, their process of adaptation to this new environment, the separation from their families in the U.S., and the general process of starting a new life in the DR. Deportees' interviews reveal aspects of life related to emotions, education, job access, and work experience, as well as

their job search and recent employment activities. After transcribing the interviews, we coded them according to these themes. The coding process used a descriptive as well as analytic and interpretive approach (Dey 1993, Miles and Huberman 1994, Moran 2004).

FINDINGS: Forms of capital and labor market re-integration

Deportees’ socio-economic background and experiences of immigration shape their social, human, and psychological capital. Due to the early migration, many deportees see their social relationships fractured, but also their education and training opportunities truncated. Later in life, their positive psychological capital is threatened by the pain caused by deportation. Even when human capital is limited and social capital is ~~somewhat broken~~fractured, positive psychological capital can play an essential role, since ~~this capital~~ allows deportees to imagine different scenarios in which they can survive after deportation.

The way deportees rely on these forms of capital to reintegrate can be identified in their ~~different~~ experiences. For example, deportees can have human capital (skills for a job) but due to the fragility of their social capital, they can lose their job. In other cases, deported people can speak English (a highly desired ability to work in a call centre). However, working in a call centre is not the ideal job for many of them. This is why personality (agency) can play ~~an~~ ~~more~~ ~~important~~ ~~role~~ ~~role~~ ~~than~~ ~~human~~ ~~capital~~ ~~as~~ ~~well~~. Some deportees prefer to dedicate themselves to more informal jobs such as street sales or as taxi drivers (jobs that fit better to their motivations) than for example work in a call centre. This demonstrates how in deportees’ integration experiences there is a constant interaction of these forms of capital. Positive psychological capital helps to understand how deportees are able to visualize job opportunities, which helps them ~~not~~ only to recover their identity as men and fathers, but also allows them to re-claim their emotional stability, which contributes to their social re-integration.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND LABOR MARKET RE-INTEGRATION

Dominican deportees’ social capital includes their family, friends, acquaintances both in the USA and the DR. Time lived in the United States, and whether or not they maintain contact with their relatives in the USA and DR shapes their access to social capital. Table 1 shows the averages for these factors in our sample.

Table 1: Deportees’ social capital (N=60)

Criteria	Value
Average time lived in USA	16.4 years (Range 1-43)
Number lived more than 10 years in USA	41 out of 60 (68%)
Number with children and grandchildren in USA	40 out of 60 (66%)

Family and labor market re-integration

~~What role does family play in deportees' labor market re-integration?~~ When deportees arrive in the Dominican Republic, ~~relatives~~ a relative must sign for their release from the local jail where they are held. These relatives were sometimes uncles, aunts, grandparents who they had not seen for years. Of the 60 interviewees, only two were not received or picked up by relatives upon arrival in the DR.

Family is thus often the first resource deportees can count on. For example, Pedro was 46 years old and had lived in the U.S. for 10 years when he was deported. His mother received him when he arrived in the DR, and he now lives with her. His brother and mother provided him with the necessary resources to start a small business. Pedro explained he had difficulty finding a job in the formal labor market due to his background as a deportee.

Interviewer: And when you came here what was the first job you got?

Pedro: I was a long time without working; here, after you are sent from there, it is very difficult to get a job. They are scared of you²; they believe that you are a monster.

Interviewer: You could not get a job, and what did you do to live?

Pedro: I have a brother who is a dentist; he was always giving me money.

Interviewer: And now what do you do for a living?

Pedro: I sell chicharrones².

Interviewer: How did you get into that business? Who helped you to buy it?

Pedro: My mom and my brother...

(Pedro, 46 years old, lived 10 years in the U.S.)

Pedro's job can be described as subsistence self-employment because this kind of small business is very precarious and informal; its functioning depends on his ability to purchase meat and a food cart. Despite the precariousness of this type of employment, it allows him to subsist and be independent. Pedro's mother in the Dominican Republic provided him with housing and his brother who lived in the United States gave him the financial means to set up a small business. His family served as a key source of social and financial capital.

Most deportees who receive financial assistance receive it from abroad. Money from relatives allows them buy materials to start a business and engage in subsistence self-employment. For example, Jay was 48 years

² Pork crackling

old and had lived in the United States for 29 years before he was deported. After having lived in the United States for so long, one of the first things Jay did was try to return to the United States; that did not work out. Jay found work in different call centers in the Dominican Republic, which later helped him start his own call center business. He explained:

“Jane, myself, and my sister ... put some money together ... I’d been working in the call center industry as a supervisor, manager, operations, and stuff like that, and working with agents all around in different institutions. Finally, a few years ago, we put some money together and we put up our own place.” (Jay, 48 years old, 29 years in the U.S.).

In Jay’s case, a combination of social, [financial](#), and human capital yielded a positive result. Jay’s human capital stemmed from having lived in the U.S. since he was 6 years old and included his work experience, his English fluency, and his ability to communicate with businesses in the United States. His social capital included his connection to his sister, who had the financial means to help him start a business. However, Jay said his small business was affected by different crises. Thus, this type of job can be categorized as a precarious self-employment, since it does not meet minimum conditions of stability, such as labor insurance and a steady stream of income.

Family also provide an important resource for deportees: housing. Some deportees lived with relatives they had never met. They often resented this, yet recognized it was better than homelessness. The deportees we encountered who were homeless indicated that they had no relatives in the Dominican Republic and no relatives in the United States willing to send them funds for housing. Distant relatives were often willing to house deportees, and relatives in the United States were usually willing to send remittances. Homelessness was thus fairly uncommon among the Dominican deportees we interviewed.

Friends and labor market re-integration

The relationships deportees have with friends and colleagues in the DR facilitate access to information about employment opportunities. However, the number of connections deportees have in the DR depends on how often they visited the Dominican Republic, the number of calls they made to the DR, and other tactics they used to stay connected. In addition, as Bourdieu (1986) explains, “the volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic) possessed” (51). That is, deportees can know people and have relationships, but sometimes these connections are not robust enough to ensure that they will find a job. Even if they get a job, it does not mean they are able to

maintain it. For example, Edison was able to find a job thanks to a friend. However, once his friend died, he could not keep his job and he was fired.

Interviewer: And when did arrived, what did you do for a living?

Edison: Here, I started working with the government.

Interviewer: ...but you do not have a high school [diploma], it was not a problem? How did you get the job at INAPA?

Edison: A friend of mine who was from the Reformist Party recommended me with the official, then they gave the job.

Interviewer: And how much did you work for the government?

Edison: Six years, then my friend died of AIDS.

Interviewer: So, you worked six years and what happened?

Edison: ...with the current government I am not working, we were fired, I was working when the Reformist Party was in charge.

(Edison, 56 years old, lived five years in the U.S.)

Edison's social capital was initially positive, but his networks and contacts were not robust, and he lost his job as a result. His situation is an example of a condition pointed out in other studies by [Brotherton and Barrios \(2011\)](#), who state that job conditions in the DR are characterized by patronage and clientelism, which makes access to formal employment difficult. In these kinds of jobs, there is no "protection against arbitrary dismissal, regulations on hiring and firing" (10). Edison's networks (social capital) were weak in terms of strength, density, transitivity, and reciprocity (Turner, 2013).

Non-existent social capital

Finally, in the most extreme cases, social capital can be non-existent. For example, Oscar, was 54 years old and returned to the Dominican Republic after living in the U.S. for 35 years. He did not know anyone, and had no relatives in the DR. When we interviewed him, Oscar was homeless and lived on the beach in Santo Domingo. He also ;he was cognitively damaged by ongoing drug use. Oscar referred to the importance of knowing people and having contacts that help him find work. He said, "it was difficult because you know, you have to have people who talk for you to find a job." Finding a job with no social capital is difficult for anyone (Halpern 2005). (Oscar, 54 years old, lived 35 years in the U.S.). As Halpern (2005) affirms, "this helps to explain the strong positive association that is found between the size of an individual's friendship network and their labor force participation" (45). Oscar Oscar was at a serious disadvantage since he was disconnected from people who could give him information about job opportunities. He likely had also worn his ties to the United States thin due to drug addiction and time spent behind bars.

Social capital is a decisive factor in determining a deportee's chances of re-integrating into the labor market. Family and friends, both in the

Dominican Republic and in the U.S., become their main support after deportation. In the Dominican Republic, families provide deportees a place to stay, which allows them to develop a sense of belonging. This gradually helps them find a job to survive and be independent. Loans from family in the DR or the U.S. help deportees integrate into the labor force, allowing them to buy materials to sell such as clothing, or a vehicle to become a taxi driver.

HUMAN CAPITAL AND LABOR MARKET RE-INTEGRATION

Deportees’ human capital includes their years of schooling, skills, and work experience. Our data also reveal the interdependence between human and psychological capital. Since, for example, deportees can be fluent in English, and some can find a job in call centres, nevertheless their drive and ambitions (psychological capital) do not always match the skills essential for this job, so they feel they don’t fit and they quit, as happened with Emmanuel - described below.

Educational attainment

Deportees’ low level of formal education is a product of various circumstances. Many of them had to work since they were children to support their families. Their migration also created significant ~~delays-~~ ~~disruptions to~~ their educational trajectories. When their parents migrated to the U.S. and left children in the Dominican Republic in the care of their relatives, many of those children could not continue with their studies. Also, when individuals migrate in their late teenage years, they experience ruptures in their educational trajectory. A similar situation occurs when individuals migrate as children with their families. In the U.S., Dominican immigrants are racialized and often live in highly marginalized and stigmatized communities (Brotherton and Barrios 2011). These experiences explain why deportees’ human capital, in particular schooling, is so limited; ~~few of them have~~ a plurality of our respondents had only completed primary education, and few of them graduated from high school. Table 2 shows the educational levels of our participants.

Table 2: Deportees’ education level (N=60)

Level of education	Number of individuals	Percentage of participants
Primary education	42	70
High school education	16	26.6
Some college	2	3.33

[Darius’ \(72 years old\) testimony exemplifies how all these disruptions in family life, education, as well as discrimination in the USA played a role in his](#)

human capital and, therefore, in his job trajectories. At a very early age, Darius started to work with his father. He also mentions, how his father's conditions as a single parent affected him *"I lived with my dad, my dad was single, he did not pay attention to what I had to do for school, I left school, I was a child, then he used me for his job, I worked with him, he was a merchant, and he did not worry anymore about that[my schooling] ..."*. The absence of other people and networks implied that Darius was alone when he was a child and that no one noticed he was not attending school. During his youth, Darius worked in different private companies in the Dominican Republic. Once he migrated to the United States, he worked for short periods in factories and soon became involved in the sale of drugs. Darius was detained numerous times until he got deported. Since he arrived in the Dominican Republic, he worked temporarily in resorts and small companies. Still, he never was able to have a steady job, and now, even his age, he is working informally by hours in construction. His job trajectories are the result of a life marked by family separation, migration, and social exclusion. Family background and the level of schooling of parents also plays a role in deportees' human capital. For example, Darius describes how at a very early age he had to work with his father. He also mentions how his father's conditions as a single parent affected him *"I lived with my dad, my dad was single, he did not pay attention to what I had to do for school, I left school, I was a child, then he used me for his job, I worked with him, he was a merchant, and he did not worry anymore about that ..."*. The absence of other people and networks implied that Darius was alone when he was a child, and that no one noticed he was not attending school. During his youth, Darius worked in different private companies in the Dominican Republic. Once he migrated to the United States, he worked for short periods in factories and soon became involved in the sale of drugs. Darius was detained numerous times until he got deported. Since he arrived in the Dominican Republic he was not able to have a steady job, he worked temporarily in resorts, small companies. Finally, when Darius was 36 years old, he emigrated to the USA, where he lived for 18 years. He currently lives in the DR where he informally works in construction.

Deportees' skills

To understand how the skills and work experience of ~~the~~ deportees helped them enter the labor market in the Dominican Republic States, it is necessary to know their education and work experience in the United States, and also, the job market context awaiting them in the DR. Many deported people pointed out that in the USA they were linked to illegal activities due to their lack of schooling, job instability, and the social environment in which they settled. Most of them had semi-formal jobs in the United States, but alternated them with illicit activities. Therefore, it is not surprising that of the 60 deportees we interviewed, 57 were deported to the Dominican Republic

after being convicted of criminal charges. Back in the DR and ~~However,~~ ~~evendespite this~~ ~~these~~ negative past **circumstances**, This also explains why the skills they acquired in the U.S. often differed greatly from the ones they needed to re-integrate themselves into the Dominican labor market. ~~Although the media in the and although the Dominican Republic government and media insists on using deportees as scapegoats for much of the nation's crime,~~ official statistics show the null-low ~~that the~~ participation of deportees in criminal activities ~~in the Dominican Republic is almost nil.~~ (Belliard and Wooding 2011). Regarding the job market context, deportees face a very challenging ~~panoram~~panorama since the job-labor market in the Dominican Republic in the Dominican Republic has been characterized for its shows high rates of informality (~~-~~**Abdullaev and Estevao 2013**).

Most of the deported people interviewed had low educational levels. However, many had skills and few some of them skills, like the ~~–~~ ~~Nevertheless,~~ mastery of the English language, that has allowed many deportees to find jobs in the service sector in the DR, such as at call ~~centres~~centers, hotels, as taxi drivers, and tourist guides (Golash-Boza 2016, Rodkey 2018). However, the ~~Their~~ success in these types of jobs also depends on motivations, job experience, and age, ~~in addition to mastery of the English language.~~

Emmanuel (60 years old), for example, found a job in a call ~~centrecenter~~center due to his English language skills, but found it difficult to follow the strict rules of the call ~~centrecenter~~center and quit after a few weeks. Ruben (50) also tried to work in a call ~~centrecenter~~center, but he didn't like the surveillance, rigid schedules, and system in general. He decided to start working on his own as a taxi driver. He is able to use his English in this job as he offers transportation services to foreign tourists. Notably, his job as a taxi driver required significant upfront financial capital as he had to purchase a car to become a driver.

When asked about what they learned in the United States that has served them back in the Dominican Republic, some interviewees referred to the English language. However, many others refer to moral learning or ethics. For some deported people, life in the United States provided them with interpersonal skills they did not have before, which increased their human capital. These soft skills are valuable to deportees. An interviewee named Ernesto said: *"Things that I learned in the United States, I learned everything; I am a U.S. product, persistence, patience, discipline"* (Ernesto, 56 years old, lived in the U.S. for 22 years). Max's response is similar. He said, *"yes English, the experience to know how to be a person with a broader mind, a person who does not say bad things..."* (Max, 35 years old, lived in the U.S. for 20 years). Many deportees described learning important things in the United States, although these skills did not always translate into employment in the Dominican Republic. The skills deported people acquired in the U.S. often differ from the ones they need secure jobs in the Dominican

Republic. Thus, they often search for subsistence self-employment activities closer to their skills and aspirations (Peña Muñoz 2015, Sánchez 2013), such as informal taxi drivers or tour guides.

Some deportees who return to the Dominican Republic work in the same jobs they did before they migrated. In some cases, they keep the social capital (friends or acquaintances) that allows them to return to previous jobs. Andres' trajectory shows this path. Andres, who was 51 years old and lived for 9 years in the United States, migrated when he was 20 years old; at that time, he worked as a mechanic in the Dominican Republic. In the United States, he worked in restaurants and as a landscaper. Once he was deported and back in the Dominican Republic, Andres returned to his job as a mechanic.

For deported people, human capital is limited due to their minimal educational attainment and job experience. Nevertheless, deportees who migrated to the U.S. when they were older had job experiences that allowed them to find work when they returned to the DR. Some deportees who migrated at a young age were able to capitalize on their knowledge of the English language and access jobs in the service sector (e.g. in resorts and call centers), or as tourist guides and taxi drivers.

POSITIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL CAPITAL AND LABOR MARKET RE-INTEGRATION

~~Deportation threatens the emotional well-being of deported people, often leading to~~ Although scholars report depression and in some cases alcohol and drug abuse in deported people, which diminishes deportees' possibilities of a fruitful reintegration (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Dingeman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Miller 2012, Martín 2013, Negy et al. 2014, Boehm 2016), we found that deportees also expressed resiliencedominican. deportees' morale was high in general. For deportees, their ~~One of the~~ biggest causes of suffering is the separation from their children and the lack of resources to be able to fulfil fulfil the provider role as a provider. In our sample, this number is quite high, since 40 out of 60 individuals respondents interviewed still have children in the United States, and some have grandchildren. ~~After deportation, many of them~~ Deportation leads to the loss of deportees' lost were not able to perform role their roles as fathers, husbands, and providers. Therefore, From a traditional perspective, family, children, and work are fundamental elements in masculine identity formation. Therefore, for Dominican deportees, the loss of these roles is detrimental, but also recovering recover some of these roles are Their ability to fulfill these roles is them is fundamental for their emotional well-being and thus their re-integration process. As they explain, securitizing securing a job. Consequently, having **ais the** step first number step to one in the process of job becomes a fundamental step to **recovering their identity and value.**

Bienvenido, who is 78 years old, and lived for nearly 43 years in the USA is an example of this. When he was deported at the age of 65, he did not need to work to survive as he was receiving a pension, but wanted a job so he could feel like his life had meaning. Bienvenido asked a friend in the DR if he could work for him. He even offered to pay his employer. His friend agreed to offer him a job and to pay him a small salary. Bienvenido explained: *"when I came to this country, I went to visit him, I asked him for a job because he has an office, although I told him I can pay him to let me work with him, he said no, and since that time I have worked with him and he says that I am an excellent person, I work as a messenger"*. Bienvenido's desire to feel useful and be busy and not think constantly of the loss of his family allows him to get by. Despite the fact that Bienvenido has been in the DR for more than 13 years, he still cries when he thinks of his family in the USA. When asked about his strategy to overcome the pain of separation, he replied flatly *"I keep busy"*. For deportees like Bienvenido, a job has a therapeutic function because it keeps him distracted from the pain of separation from his family. Bienvenido's positive psychological capital not only lies in his resilience, but also in his attitude and the way he perceives himself in the future. Since in spite his negative circumstances, with no possibilities of family reunification, when he refers to his future he says *"It will improve, if you are alive, you can't lose hope that things will get better, because you are doing better every day."* (Bienvenido, 78 years old, Santo Domingo, June, 2016)

Despite the precariousness in which the Dominican deportees live, some of their stories are characterized by positive psychological capital. This allows them to recreate their lives and move forward each day despite adversity. For example, Dani lived for 10 years in the U.S. and was deported more than 15 years before our interview. The passage of time has made it more difficult for him to keep his ties to his family in the U.S. He explains: *"after 10 months here, I tried to leave (to the U.S.) because my family is in the United States, I am the only who is here, I have 8 brothers who are American, my daughters are American, my ex-wife is American. We were married but we no longer have a relationship, because the distance, and she has a relationship there, and I have a relationship here, then we do not have communication, we simply talk sometimes about how the girls are, just that"*. However, with a knot in his throat Dani says that he ~~cannot hold on to~~ cannot just ruminate on this loss and remain stuck. For Dani, life must continue regardless of adverse circumstances. As he stated in his interview, *"...you have to look for a future, to improve, it's a calculation of progress, you cannot think, fuck, yesterday I had a thousand pesos and I spent it, you have to say good, tomorrow I'm going to get three thousand, you cannot be closed in a circle because you are going to stay stuck."* (Dani, 37 years old, lived 10 years in the U.S.)

There are numerous testimonies of deportees in which the combination of work and family express positive psychological capital, such as resilience, optimism and faith. Their hope for the future is what allows deportees to direct their energy in the search for a better future through a job.

As Juan explained, *"my plans for the future are trying to get a good job, be with the mother of my children, who are here and try to buy a house for my children."* Juan is 60 years old; he lived in the U.S. for 26 years and had been deported for 18 years. He is sure he is going to succeed in his future, through work, and this success will allow him to improve his family conditions.

For Lamar who immigrated to the United States at age 15, and who lived for 26 years in the U.S., job stability is still a challenge. Since he arrived in the Dominican Republic 10 years ago, he has only had temporary jobs. However, for him, having a 'good' job is still the main means of stability, since it will allow him to be able to marry and have a family. He wants to get married: *"I have a little son here, he is a year and a half old, if God helps me with a good job, maybe marry my son's mother"*. Although Lamar was emotionally affected by the separation with his family in the U.S., he currently has a new family in DR that gives him the enthusiasm to think about his plans for the future, like having a good job. For him, this 'good' job would allow him to form a new family, and in this way recover his identity. In this sense, Lamar expresses a tendency revealed

in some Latin American studies, where new masculinities are emerging, leading-making this to men feel opener-more open about expressing love and emotional bonding with their children (Olavarría 2003, Gutmann and Viveros 2007). HoweverHoweverYet, and it is show the Dominicans deportees' narratives still express-showdisplay how the role as a provider is an essential dimension in the the construction-formation of their masculinities. Therefore, Family, work and masculinity are linked to one another and have significant implications for deportees' positive psychological capital. Thus, fFamily and jobs are still key elements of in some traditional narratives of the traditional conceptualization of masculine masculinities identity in Latin America (Rivera and Ceciliano 2004, Golash-Boza 2014).

Deportees' desire to work is not limited to the financial security it brings. Bienvenido is 78 years old and receives a pension which allows him to meet his basic needs. He was deported at age 65, after living 43 years in the United States. Bienvenido works because it gives his life meaning. Bienvenido, who is 78 years old, and lived for nearly 43 years in the USA is an example of this. When he was deported at the age of 65, he did not need to work to survive as he was receiving a pension, but wanted a job so he could feel like his life had meaning. Bienvenido asked a friend in the DR if he could work for him. He even offered to pay his employer. His friend agreed to offer him a job and to pay him a small salary. Bienvenido explained: "when I

came to this country, I went to visit him, I asked him for a job because he has an office, although I told him I can pay him to let me work with him, he said no, and since that time I have worked with him and he says that I am an excellent person, I work as a messenger". Bienvenido's His desire to feel useful and be busy and not think constantly of the loss of his family allows him to get by. Despite the fact that Bievenido has been in the DR for more than 13 years, he still cries when he thinks of his family in the USA. When asked about his strategy to overcome the pain of separation, he replied flatly "I keep busy". For deportees like Bienvenido, a job has a therapeutic function because it keeps him distracted from the pain of separation from his family. Bienvenido's positive psychological capital not only lies in his resilience, but also in his attitude and the way he perceives himself in the future. Despite his negative circumstances, with no possibilities of family reunification, when he refers to his future he says "It will improve, if you are alive, you can't lose hope that things will get better, because you are doing better every day."

Deportees' positive psychological capital (resilience) materializes when, despite the suffering caused by their deportation, ~~these individual~~ they can still visualize themselves in better conditions through a job, ~~which for them is essential to recover their identity as men and providers for their families, which gives them a sense of self-reliance and social connection.~~ Therefore, labor market re-integration is not only an essential step in deportees' social and economic re-integration; ~~it also. - Labor market re-integration~~ contributes to recovery deportees' identity and emotional well-being, which also helps to improve their possibilities of a smoother re-adaptation to their new context. It is useful to think of these resources of hope, optimism, and resilience as ~~(psychological)~~ capital for two reasons: 1) they can be built up but also depleted in the face of adversity; and 2) deported persons are able to draw from these forms of capital to keep going.

CONCLUSION

This study shows how different forms of capital among deportees are the result of structural conditions in which deportees are embedded. Therefore, many deportees have limited, fractured, and weak forms of capital, which limits their re-integration. These limited forms of capital are even more reduced due to the negative context of reception in their country: the government has marked them as criminals, which limits their access to formal jobs. However, while human capital is limited, and social capital is quite fractured, positive psychological capital is an indispensable source of support to reinvent themselves after deportation. Their resilience, optimism, efficiency, and faith permit them to search for jobs, that even when precarious, allow them to subsist and dream of a better future. Without

positive psychological capital, many deportees would be in situations of depression and drug abuse.

This study shows how deportees with positive psychological capital are more likely to be creative and effective, and therefore, visualize job opportunities in a very negative context of reception. This not only helps deportees' social and economic integration, but it also contributes to their emotional stability, which also contributes to their re-integration process.

Deportation is an unpleasant reality for millions of people worldwide. Many people are deported to countries to find that the reasons for which they fled – unemployment, poverty, and violence – not only persist but have gotten worse. The ability to be successful in their country of birth is exacerbated by their prolonged absence. In addition, many have formed strong emotional and family ties to the countries that deported them, which creates feelings of depression, alienation, and isolation. Nevertheless, deportees' experiences are not monolithic. This study thus has focused on what factors allow deportees to survive in these difficult circumstances. We find that deportees need a combination of human, social, financial, and psychological capital to deal with the social, emotional, and financial trauma of deportation.

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