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Unwanted Reality: The Role of Social, Human, and Psychological Capital in the  
Labor Market Reintegration of Dominican Deportees

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# **Unwanted Reality: The Role of Social, Human, and Psychological Capital in the Labor Market Reintegration of Dominican Deportees**

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## **Abstract**

Through 60 in-depth interviews with deportees, this article examines the role of social, human, and psychological capital of Dominican deportees and their (re)integration into the labor market after deportation. Scholars emphasize that in many Latin American countries deportees face difficulties reintegrating into society and the labor market due to stigmatization as they are viewed as criminals. This raises the questions, what is the role of social, human and psychological capital in deportees' labor reintegration? What are other contextual factors that interfere with the labor insertion of deportees in the Dominican Republic? What is the specific role of the psychological capital of the Dominican deportees, how is this capital related to their life experiences? The results show that deportees' social and human capital is limited and therefore, the labor insertions of the deportees is reduced to precarious or informal work. The results also show that these precarious labor insertions are crossed by concrete contextual elements such as the limitation that their criminal records represent for them. Other findings also show how despite all the threats that deportation implies, many deportees resort to their positive psychological capital (resilience, optimism, self-efficacy and hope) to continue with their lives and survive all the adverse situations that deportation entails.

## **INTRODUCTION**

*As I told you, I cannot go to a regular place or a company to look for a job because they are going to check my criminal record, and that is the other thing: my record is in the USA, but it follows me here, it still hurts me, you understand. (Mike, 43 years old, Santo Domingo, June, 2016)*

Stories like Mike's are common among deportees. This testimony expresses the complications deportees face when they want to enter the labor market upon their return to the Dominican Republic (DR). Many deportees migrated to the United States at an early age; others migrated as adults but lived in the USA for many years and lived as permanent residents prior to deportation (Golash-Boza 2015). Therefore, once in the DR, many deportees consider the DR a foreign and strange place as a result of reverse culture shock (Dingenman-Cerda and Coutin, 2012).

For Coutin (2012) many deportees consider their removal not a return but a departure (2010), thus their reintegration is difficult because they find themselves uprooted from their home (USA) and second, due the high stigmatization as they are perceived as criminals (Belliard and Wooding 2011, Brotherton and Barrios

2011, DeCesare 1998, Golash-Boza 2016, Hagan 2008, Headley 2006, Martin 2013, Sanchez 2013, Siulc 2009, Peña 2015, Precil 1999). In this sense, Brotherton and Barrios (2011) point out that even deportees that possess useful skills like knowledge of English or some human capital can be penalized due their status, Golash-Boza (2016) uses the concept of “negative credentials” to explain how deportees’ individual characteristics may work against them (329).

Some scholars have identified labor market reintegration as a fundamental step in social reintegration for deportees (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Sánchez 2013). However, scholars who have considered deportees’ access to the workforce have paid little attention to the role that various forms of capital can play in their labor market reintegration and the peripheral and informal nature of their work, particularly for Dominican deportees.

The Dominican labor market context is shaped by neoliberal reforms connected to globalization and capitalism, specifically “neoliberal policymaking in the global south [which involved] dismantling large parts of the public sector and implementing economic reforms and austerity measures” (Almeida, 2014:13). These policies included “free trade, labor flexibility laws, pensions reforms, wage freezes and mass layoffs in the public sector” (Almeida, 2014:15), forcing thousands of people to emigrate, due to the precarious conditions in their countries (Almeida 2014, Golash-Boza 2015a).

Golash-Boza (2015a) explains that deportees are placed in what she defines as a “neoliberal cycle,” characterized by the interconnections of various aspects of deportees’ lives, and these neoliberal reforms like “outsourcing; economic restructuring; cutbacks in social services; the enhancement of the police, the military, and immigration enforcement; and the privatization of public services” (18). As a result, Dominican deportees become immigrants due to neoliberal policies in their countries. In the United States, they are forced to do informal or low-paid jobs, especially when they are undocumented (Golash-Boza, 2015a). At the same time, there is a greater police presence in the neighborhoods where they live in the United States, leading to an increase in deportations (De Genova, 2002).

Stigmatization suffered by immigrants in the United States follows them when they return as deportees to their countries; in the case of Dominican deportees, they experience not only social stigmatization back home but they are going to experience labor reintegration difficulties as they are going to have a criminal records that prevent to access less precarious jobs (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Golash-Boza 2015a, Macias-Rojas 2016). Consequently, this study explores how Dominican deportees’ psychological, social and human capital allows them to reintegrate into the labor market?

### **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: Social, Human and Positive Psychological Capital**

Human, social, and psychological capital are concepts help us to understand how human capacities allow individuals to access information about different kind of opportunities (social capital), how people overcome different kind of circumstances (psychological capital) and how different skills and knowledges

allow people to access to the labor market and achieve social mobility (human capital) (Bourdieu 1986, Coleman 1994, Becker 2002, Gendron 2004, Goldin 2016, Luthans et al. 2007, Gendron, 2004c).

Social capital is understood as networks, relationships, and information. These relations are originated in the family or institutions. Therefore, family has a fundamental role in the development of social capital, and ultimately in people's human capital, as family connect and expose children to different relations and institutions like school. (Bourdieu 1992, Coleman 1994). Traditionally, the study of the social capital has been focused on the role of social capital in access to the labor market; it is how people with good networks and contacts can access better job opportunities than people who are poorly connected to social networks and contacts. In terms of negative social capital (Xue 2008, Montgomery 1991, Garip 2008, Fukuyama 1997).

Human capital is understood as education, training, health, ideas, information, and knowledge that allow a person to be productive or access a job (Becker 2002, Gendron 2004, Goldin 2014). In the development or amount of human capital possessed by people, the family also has a significant role as "low education, welfare dependence, early pregnancy and marital instability pass from parents to children" (Becker, 1993:21). Other paths of the study of human capital show how remittances can have an effect on people's human capital, as remittances receivers can send children to school or improve health and education conditions (Contreras 2013, Coutin 2007, Levitt 2001, Smith 2005).

Positive psychology emerges as the study of the optimum functioning of human beings, this perspective tries to focus on the potential of people, their positive emotions, and personality, from this perspective, psychological capital is composed by dimensions like self-efficacy, optimism, hope and resilience (Gendron 2004c, Luthans et al. 2007, Simon 2009, Seligman 2013). From this perspective and in terms of the study with deportees, some researchers have referred to the resilience dimension in deportees, however, this category has not been yet analyzed as part of the positive psychological capital approach. These studies showed deportees' capacity of resilience, mostly because in spite of all the adverse circumstances, they manage to overcome challenges and continue their lives (Boehm 2016, Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Dingenman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Negy et al. 2014). The particular contribution of positive psychological capital is that this perspective "goes beyond human and social capital" (Luthans et al. 2007:20), as it tries to focus on emotions, personality and potential of people. Finally, psychological capital helps us to understand the role of resilience, positivity, hope and self-efficacy. When subjects have limited human and social capital, psychological capital can become an engine for improving other capitals, since subjects' mental health allows them to visualize future plans and be creative in terms of job possibilities.

The discussion of the different forms of capital show that there are links between social and human capital, human capital and psychological capital as well as between social capital and psychological capital (Bourdieu 1986, Halpern 2005, Becker 1993). These approaches and connections will allow us to comprehend

deportees' forms of capital, and thus determine the role they play in labor market integration.

### **Deportees and Labor Market Reintegration**

Studies on deportees' social reintegration have found that this process is challenging as deportees are highly stigmatized, particularly because they are viewed as criminals. Therefore, after their forced removal and once they are sent back to their "home countries", a context of stigmatization awaits them. In the case of Dominican deportees this stigmatization has an effect not only on their social reintegration but also on their labor market reintegration, since employers review the criminal records and they decide whether or not to employ this person. (Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Martin 2013, Siulc 2009, Belliard and Wooding 2011, Golash-Boza 2016a, Golash-Boza and Ceciliano 2016c, Headley 2006, DeCesare 1998, Hagan 2008, Sanchez 2013, Peña 2015, Precil 1999).

Other studies show the emotional and psychological impact of deportation, as deportees feel they have been uprooted from their former country of residence (USA), separated from their family/communities, and placed in a country that is often unfamiliar, all of which undermines their potential of harmonious reintegration. All this leads that some deportees suffer from drug addiction, alcoholism, and/or depression when they return to the DR (Martin 2013, Fernandez et al. 2014, Brouwer et al. 2009; Dingenman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Kubrin et al. 2012, Ojeda et al. 2011, Rangel et al. 2012). Additional studies found that deportees experience feelings of alienation in their "new country", and therefore, a desperate need to recover family ties, the old lifestyle or identity, situations that motivate deportees to immigrate again (Brabeck et al. 2014, Brabeck 2010, Bohem 2016, Dingenman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Drotbohm 2015, Hagan et al. 2008, Hagan et al. 2015, Kubrin et al. 2012, Koball et al. 2015, Robertson et al. 2012, Schuster and Majidi 2013).

Labor market reintegration studies have found that Dominican deportees are able to survive by securing informal jobs (Golash-Boza and Ceciliano, 2016). In the case of Guatemalan deportees, most deportees access job in call centers. Therefore, the Guatemalan deportees' labor market integration is completely different for those who have no access to a job in a call center. The mastery of the English language enables them to be integrated into a very stratified labor market (Golash-Boza, 2016a).

Deportees are stigmatized and discriminated by laws, media, and popular opinion; these conditions accompany them as they return to the DR, resulting in a social and labor market integration process marked by high stigmatization, which impacts deportees psychologically, socially and in their job placement. However, the studies on deportations have not yet considered the role of the conjunction of different forms of capital in the deportees' labor reintegration.

This raises the question how various forms of capital help or hinder deportees' reintegration into the labor market in the DR. In relation to that, I argue that studies of deportations must consider not only how different forms of capital are useful but also the limitations of individual-level factors in the context of macro-

level forces. From the outcomes in labor market integration of deportees (precarious and subsistence self-employment) and based on my qualitative field research, I argue that the combinations of different forms of capital play a limited role in the deportees' labor integration as these forms of capital are linked to other macroeconomic and global factors. These different forms of capital help deportees to reintegrate, but at the same time, structural factors limit their ability to reintegrate, no matter how many other forms of capital they possess.

## **BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY**

### **Background**

The United States (USA) and the Dominican Republic (DR) have a long history of migration and other political and economic relations, therefore immigration and deportation must be situated and understood as a result of broader social histories (Guarnizo 1994, 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, there was an increase in deportations from the United States to different countries around the world, including the Dominican Republic (DR). Among countries experiencing high rates of deportations from the USA, the Dominican Republic ranks in the top ten, with 8,299 individuals, most of them males, deported from the USA to the DR between 2005 and 2006 (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.

### **Research Methodology**

This study is based on 60 interviews conducted with male deportees in the Dominican Republic. Tanya Golash-Boza conducted 49 in January 2010 and Yajaira Ceciliano 11 in June 2016. To locate the deportees, the snowball method was used. This method allows recruiting the participants through an acquaintance. This technique is particularly useful with deportees because, due to the stigmatization, many deportees hide their deportee status, and it is therefore difficult to contact them. The interviews were conducted in English or Spanish, depending on the deportees' preference. The interviews focused broadly on the experiences of the deportees. They also developed an understanding of different aspects linked to these forms of capital (social, human and psychological).

Each of the deportees signed an informed consent before each interview. Each interview lasted about one to two hours. Each interview was recorded with the interviewees' consent. Once the interviews were completed, they were transcribed. Each interview transcript was revised and then coded, according to the previously established categories of social, human and psychological capital.

To analyze the data, a coding method was used as a process that allowed us to mark sections, fragments of words of the interview with the purpose to look for categories that will be analyzed later (Dey 1993, Miles et al. 1994, Moran 2004). After coding, the data was organized into themes, which Saldaña (2015) defines as an “outcome of coding, categorization and analytic reflection” (13). The coding process implies a descriptive as well as an analytic and interpretive approach (Dey 1993, Miles et al. 1994, Moran 2004). This analytic and interpretive approach will allow me to describe not only the labor situation of deportees and the different forms of capital they own but also to understand these outcomes within the context of macro and global perspectives (globalization and neoliberalism).

In this study, the data (interviews) was coded according to categories (social, human and psychological capital), after coding, the interviews were organized into the following themes: 1) Deportees’ social capital and job integration; 2) Deportees’ human capital and job integration, 3) Deportees’ psychological capital and job integration, and 5) re-immigration and neoliberal cycle. Each category will describe the different forms of capital deportees possess and how it serves them as an advantage or disadvantage with regards to labor reintegration once they are in the Dominican Republic. Each section will also describe the kind of jobs that deportees hold, e.g. employed, unemployed, precarious jobs or if they engage in subsistence self-employment activities.

### **Deportees’ demographic profile**

Respondents interviewed in this study were born between 1938 and 1979 and immigrated to the USA between 1960 and 2002. Of the 60 respondents, 57 were deported for criminal offenses — in most cases for possession or sale of drugs — and the remaining 3 individuals were deported for immigration offenses. On average, deportees had lived in the United States for 16.6 years prior to deportation. The age of arrival in the United States ranged from 1 - 37 years, and the average age of arrival was 21 years. More than half of the deportees (n = 35/60) arrived in the United States after the age of 21. The interviews were conducted in 2010 and 2016, and deportees’ length of time living in the Dominican Republic since deportation and reported age reflect their age at the time of the interview.

### **FINDINGS: Forms of capital and labor reintegration**

The results show that deportees’ social and human capital of is limited (fractured social networks and little human capital) and therefore, the labor insertions of the deportees is reduced to precarious or informal work. The results also show that these precarious labor insertions are also crossed by concrete contextual elements such as the limitation that their criminal records represent for

them. Other findings also show how despite all the threats that deportation implies, in terms of separation from the family, high stigmatization and criminalization by the Dominican government and the limited job opportunities, many deportees resort to their positive psychological capital (resilience, optimism, self-efficacy and hope) to continue with their lives and survive all the adverse situations that deportation entails.

### **Dominican Deportees and the Search for Employment**

Those Dominican deportees who found employment often found only precarious<sup>3</sup> and self-subsistence employment.<sup>4</sup> Five (8.33%) of the 60 deportees had precarious jobs (8.33%), while 45 (76.66%) had located subsistence self-employment, 9 deportees (15%) reported that they were not working, and one did not answer the question. These categories not only correspond to their limited social and human capital but also to labor market factors resulting from neoliberal policies, globalization and capitalism (Golash-Boza 2015a, Itzigsohn 2010, Lewis et al. 2015). Deportees are transnational subjects, frequently conceptualized as “disposable labor,” (Golash-Boza 2015a) but they also have to deal with a labor market context marked by informality, high social stigmatization and the potential impediment of needing to provide references from former employers to access a job (Belliard and Wooding 2011, Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Golash-Boza 2015a). Although a large proportion of people in Latin America is destined to be placed in the informal market, deportees’ condition of stigmatization plus the fact to have a criminal record in the USA that follows them to the DR, makes them more vulnerable.

This research focused on how Dominican deportees’ social, human, and psychological capital allowed them to reintegrate into the labor market.

### **Deportees’ Social Capital and labor market insertion**

The next section will describe deportees’ social capital and its role in their labor placement. Social capital is understood as the networks, families, friends, acquaintances or information that people have and allow them to access

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<sup>3</sup> Precarious job is characterized by insecurity, Standing (2011) argues that this term has been used to describe people “doing casual labor and with low incomes” or “temporary workers, also the jobless who have no hope of social integration” (9). Five of the 60 deportees worked in state or private enterprises, but did not have any kind of security or benefits and also they expressed uncertainty about how long they will be employed in that job.

<sup>4</sup> Subsistence self-employment is a category that arises in the informal sector that is also a kind of informal employment characterized by “low capital and skills requirement, street vending, domestic service, minor household repairs, custodian duties and many similar activities can be performed by almost anyone without special training or significant resources” (Portes 1983: 154). “Chiripeando” is a colloquial term used in the DR to describe informal activities or subsistence self-employment jobs.

information about different kinds of opportunities, like job, housing and others. (Bourdieu 1986, Turner 2013).

For Dominican deportees, family and friends in the USA and in the DR are their social capital, it permits them first to access to housing or a place to stay once they are back in the DR and second, then through family and friends they can have information about job opportunities. However, as social capital is determined by relationships and connections that people have and which depend on maintenance strategies, it is necessary to consider “time” as a variable that shape deportees’ social capital. In this sense, 42 of the deportees lived over 10 years in the United States, and the 60 deportees lived there on average for 16.6 years, which means that some deportees have a social capital that it is fractured.

### **Family and labor reintegration**

Family and relatives in the Dominican Republic allow deportees to have a place to restart their life. Specifically, deportees’ relatives in the Dominican Republic offer them a house or a room to start their new lives. When a deportee has a place to live, the process of social and labor integration is facilitated, as the satisfaction of basic needs is a premise for positive social and labor reintegration. The story of Pedro, who is 46 years old and lived in the USA for ten years, illustrates not only the stigmatization deportees suffer but he also describes how his social capital, his relations with family allow him to integrate back in the Dominican Republic.

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

*Pedro: here, I was a long time without working, here you, after you are send from there it is very difficult to get a job, they are fear of you, they believe that you are a monster*

*TGB: You could not get a job and what you did to live?*

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

*TGB: And now what do you do for a living?*

*Pedro: I sell chicharrones<sup>5</sup>.*

*TGB: Is it enough to live? And how did you get into that business? Who helped you to buy it?*

*Pedro: My mom and my brother...*

*(Pedro, 46 years old, Santo Domingo, January, 2010)*

The subsistence self-employment activity of Pedro must be understood in the broader context of capitalism and unequal labor market (Valdez, 2011). However, selling food in the street, even if it is a small business, is still much more precarious and informal than a small restaurant, which is regulated by law. Food sales of this type such as the one Pedro has, lack any type of regulation and depend on his own means, like be able to buy meat and have a food cart.

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<sup>5</sup> Pork Crackling

Transnational practices have a fundamental role in the labor market integration of Dominican deportees (Golash-Boza 2014, Levitt, 2001). Deportees with families in the United States can receive material resources from these networks like remittances that may serve them to buy materials to start subsistence self-employment. Like Jay's story, he is 48 years old and he lived in the United States for 29 years. Jay has a small call center that he established with money from his sister in the United States *"Kate, myself, and my sister went on an adventure and put some money together because ever since I got the job, I told you, when I got here 22 days later, 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 our own place."* Jay migrated to the United States when he was 6 years old, so he has a good command of the English language, which allowed him access to a self-employment job in a call center. In this particular case, we can see a positive result of the combination of social and human capital.

### **Friends and labor reintegration**

Deportees' relationships with friends, contacts, acquaintances and ex-colleagues in the Dominican Republic facilitate access to work, mainly because the deportees ask these contacts for jobs once they have returned to the DR. In the study of social capital, Bourdieu (1986) states that "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 in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected" (51). That is, deportees can know people, have some relationships, but sometimes the relation with these people is not robust enough to assure them the possibility to stay or to continue in a job, as these networks and relations are fragile. Edison story express this conditions. He is 56 years old and has lived in the United States for 5 years. Thanks to a friend, he was able to get a job. However, his social capital turned weak as his work was linked directly to his friend, later this friend died, and therefore he lost his job.

*TGB: And when did you arrive, what did you do for a living?*

*Edison: Here, I started working with the government.*

*TGB: ...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*

*TGB: And how much did you work for the government?*

*Edison: 6 years, my friend died, he died of AIDS*

*TGB: So, you worked 6 years and what happened?*

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

*(Edison, 56 years old, Santo Domingo, January, 2010)*

Edison's social capital was initially positive, but his networks and contacts were limited, which was the reason why his work became also precarious, because although he was working for the government, his work was uncertain, and the uncertainty is one of the major characteristics of the labor precariousness, and at the same time, as his network was not strong enough, he lost his job. According to Standing (2011), there are different forms of labor security under industrial citizenship. In the case of Edison, his job falls in the category of employment insecurity, and therefore it is considered precarious labor as there is no "protection against arbitrary dismissal, regulations on hiring and firing" (10). His situation also coincides with a condition pointed out in other studies by Brotherton and Barrios (2011) who point out that the work context in the Dominican Republic is characterized by patronage and clientelism, which makes access to jobs very difficult for deportees. Deportees own some social capital in terms of friends or people they know. Yet, in terms of their networks, when considering the strength, density, transitivity, and reciprocity, their networks are weak, which of course has an impact on their labor reintegration (Turner, 2013).

And finally, in the most extreme case, we can find deportees which social capital not only is weak but non-existent, like Oscar, who is 54 years old. He is one of the deportees that illustrates a significant absence of social, human, and psychological capital. Oscar migrated to the United States when he was 7 years old, and when he returned to the Dominican Republic he did not know anyone. He also had no relatives living in the Dominican Republic. Oscar lives in an indigent condition; on the beach in Santo Domingo. Oscar says that he eats once a day, thanks to a church that has a project to provide lunch to homeless people. Although his cognitive faculties are somewhat impaired by ongoing drug use, Oscar refers to the importance of knowing people and having contacts that help him to find work. As he said, "*it was difficult because you know, you have to have people who talk for you to find a job*". 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 is at a serious disadvantage since he is disconnected from people who could give him information about labor opportunities.

*In conclusion, social capital* is a decisive factor in a deportees' chances of returning to the labor market. Deportees' family and friends, both in the Dominican Republic and in the USA, become their main support after deportation. In the Dominican Republic, families provide the deported with a place to sleep and eat. This allows deportees to develop a sense of belonging again. Deportees gradually accept the idea of deportation and start a new life. They start by finding a job that allows them to survive and be independent. Without these basic necessities, the situation becomes very challenging. Money loans from family in the Dominican Republic or family in the United States (their transnational relations) allow them to integrate into the labor force, as deportees can buy materials to sell on, as clothing, or they can buy a vehicle to start their work as an informal taxi driver, or in some cases friends help deportees to return to their previous jobs (Levitt, 2001).

Deportees' social capital is entwined in these neoliberal cycles. In the Dominican Republic they are immersed in poverty conditions that forced them to immigrate, and therefore breaking family ties in the Dominican Republic. Due racialization in the USA, they are forced to live high criminalized and stigmatized neighborhoods and communities (Brotherton and Barrios 2011). Therefore, some deportees return to the Dominican Republic with an absent social capital; they do not know anyone, which in extreme cases leads some deportees to live isolated and in indigence conditions.

### **Deportees' Human Capital and labor market insertion**

The next section will describe deportees' human capital and its role in their labor placement. Human capital is understood as formal education, training and work experience as well as informal learning that allow people to access jobs and be productive (Goldin 2014, Becker 2002, Gendron 2004). In general terms, deportees' human capital is limited.

Some deportees attended the primary education, though not all have completed it, and in very few cases have any graduated from high school, which automatically make that deportees cannot access the expected social mobility as they have limited formal education.

**Table. 2 Number of years of education of deportees**

Education of deportees	Number of Individuals	Percentage of Participants
Primary education	55	91.66%
High school education	16	26%
College studies	2	3%

In the case of Dominican deportees, their human capital respond not to personal decisions/circumstances but it is linked to their vulnerability condition in which deportees have found themselves since birth and adulthood, many of them inherited these disadvantages from their parents "low education, welfare dependence, early pregnancy and marital instability pass from parents to children" (Becker, 1993:21). Many of the deportees' stories coincide with this description since many of them were left with their grandparents or other family members in the Dominican Republic while their parents migrated to the United States, situations which have a particular effect on deportees' educational attainment (Kasnitz, 2009). Additionally, in the United States, deportees are exposed to racist dynamics, sometimes in schools, or they suffer residential segregation that determine their social and human capital (Fox, 2012).

### **Dominicans deportees job experience and labor reintegration**

As their formal education is limited, deportees resort to their job experience to access the labor market, however, their job experience is restricted to the one acquired in the Dominican Republic (prior to immigration) and the job experience acquired in the United States (after their immigration process). Dominicans' job

experience in the USA is marked as well by exclusion and discriminatory circumstances. Dominicans in the USA use to live in segregated neighborhoods, with few schooling access. Therefore, their social and human capital is not entirely positive, which determinate their job opportunities and has an impact when they are back to the Dominican Republic. As a result, the job experience of deportees may be fractured given their social circumstances. Their human capital, in this sense, is limited to informal job activities, as some “go straight into the drug economy” (Golash-Boza, 2015a:151).

This is one of the reasons why it is easier for deportees to join informal market activities than formal ones. The skills they acquired in the USA differ greatly from the one they need to insert in the Dominican labor market, situation that has been described for the case of Mexico, where immigrants in the USA access jobs that are typically within sectors such as agriculture and construction. When deportees return to Mexico, the jobs they can access are limited to the same sectors, as they do not have the language and technical skills to move into the service sector. In the case of Dominican Deportees and as they don't have the skills (human capital) necessary to work in call centers or resorts, and therefore they resort to subsistence self-employment activities closer to their skills and aspirations (Peña 2015, Sánchez 2013).

Some deportees who return to the Dominican Republic come back to work in the same jobs they did before they migrated. In some cases, they keep the social capital (friends or an acquaintance) that allows them to return to previous jobs. The following cases show this path. Andres, who is 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 began his job as a mechanic.

*YCN: What did you learn in the United States helped you start over here again?*

*Andres: No, because they deported me with nothing.*

*YCN: But what work did you do there?*

*Andres: Cutting grass, interior decorator, baker. From 4 pm in the afternoon to 12 at night.*

*YCN: And your actual job? What you know for a job, where did you learn it?*

*Andres: since I was 8 years old I worked as a mechanic.*

*YCN: And in the United States?*

*Andres: No, I mowed lawns, was a handyman, a baker, and worked in restaurants as a waiter.*

*(Andres, 51 years old, Santo Domingo, June, 2016)*

The capitalization of the English knowledge is other outcome found in deportees, but it depends on the time lived in the United States, which helps them to join the service sector in the DR, like call center or hotels. (Golash-Boza, 2015a).

Back in the DR, English language skills can lead to possible employment in the service sector, either in hotels or in call centers. However, some deportees say this type of work does not correspond with their skills, motivations or job experience.

Edgar's testimony shows this dilemma as well since he mentions the advantages of working on his own rather than in a company. As Edgar said: *"I decided to continue driving my taxi for the following reasons: aside from my comfort schedule that I organize my schedule myself, I do not have a boss, that if I liked him or if I did not like him ... I do not want to work with companies anymore... I want to stay there, work hard to have all my comforts in my house ..."* (Edgar, 45 years old, Santo Domingo, January, 2010)

### **Deportees learnings and labor reintegration**

Deportees' lessons learned during their stay in the United States can be summarized in the moral learnings, the job experience acquired and the learning of the English language. Regarding to their job experience, most of them don't have any certification of any job or training done. Many of them were in prison prior to deportation and had no opportunity to go home, say goodbye, organize their documents (if they have some), or take savings with them that they generated in the United States. None of the deportees attended courses of which they could have certificates.

Concerning moral learnings, deportees said that they learned to be more responsible, educated, less violent, while in terms of acquired skills they reported that learning the English language in some circumstances facilitated entry into the labor market, as we will observe in Ernesto's testimony: *"Things that I learned in the United States, I learned everything; I am a USA product, persistence, patience, discipline"* (Ernesto, 56 years old, lived in the USA for 22 years). Max's<sup>6</sup> response is similar; he says *"yes English, English, the experience to know how to be a person with a broader mind, a person who does not speak bad things..."* (Max, 35 years old, lived in the USA for 20 years).

Life in the United States provides deportees with interpersonal skills, which apparently they did not have before, such as "persistence, patience, discipline", interpersonal skills that eventually increase their human capital. This moral learning becomes the most valuable lesson for the deportees and makes them prefer holding subsistence jobs instead of participating in criminal activities, even police and media constantly stigmatize them as criminals (Menjivar, 2017). As Jose says *"the experience I had there serves me not getting in trouble here, here I see all that crime that there is, and I have not gotten into any because I see that it causes death."* Jose<sup>7</sup> is 54 years old and lived in the United States for 12 years. During his stay in the United States, he was linked to several drug related activities that finally ended with his deportation in 1988.

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<sup>7</sup> Interviews conducted in Santo Domingo in January 2010

Low participation of deportees in criminal activities has been reported by Belliard and Wooding (2011), despite the fact that the government and the media insist on making the deportees responsible for many of the crimes in the Dominican Republic.

*In conclusion, deportees' human capital* is narrow as their educational attainment is restricted to few years of schooling. Nevertheless, deportees have some human capital in terms of job experience acquired prior to immigrating to the United States and it is vital as it allows them to return to the DR and perform the same work they did before they migrated. Conversely, in the case of deportees who migrated at a very young age, it allows deportees to capitalize on their knowledge of the English language, which helps them to access other jobs in the service sector, e.g. in resorts, call centers, as tourist guides or taxi drivers. However, English does not necessarily provide them with access to jobs with greater job security. The human capital that deportees own allows the majority of them only to be employed in subsistence self-employment or precarious jobs.

### **Deportees' psychological capital and labor market insertion**

The next section will describe deportees' psychological capital and its role in their labor placement. Psychological capital implies different dimensions and conditions like self-efficacy, optimism, hope, resilience and positive emotions. This perspective includes the likelihood of having plans for the future and focusing on positive aspects, values and merits (Luthans et al. 2007, Seligman 2013, Simon 2009). Considering how the deportation threat the emotional well-being of deportees, different studies have described how the process of deportation affect emotions and mental health of deportees, leading to depression and therefore to alcohol and drug consumption (Boehm 2016, Brotherton and Barrios 2011, Dingenman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Martin 2013, Miller 2012, Negy et al. 2014).

Social capital is key to understanding the configuration of the deportees' psychological capital, many deportees migrated when they were very young and lived for many years in the United States which had an effect on their relations (social capital) and on their emotional well-being (psychological capital). From the 60 deportees interviewed, 21 deportees traveled to the United States before they were 19 years old. This represents a break in their period of transition from adolescence to adulthood. Deportees' ties could be truncated in some cases due their immigration to the USA and due to a subsequent failed integration process.

Separation from family is one of the biggest pressures on deportees' emotional state. Time lived in the USA is the factor that determine how difficult turns this separation, for example, 51 of the 60 deportees lived for more than 5 years in this country, some even lived there for more than 30 years, which definitely weakened their family relations (social capital) in the Dominican Republic but also generated other types of social capital like family in the USA. Deportees have been separated and detached from everything that gave meaning and identity to their lives: family and a job, therefore some deportees experience deportation as an exile from home, and many of them suffer from psychological homelessness (Boehm 2016, Dingenman-Cerda and Coutin 2012, Negy et al. 2014). 41 of the 60

deportees had children in the United States. Considering these circumstances in mind, how do deportees overcome all these adverse conditions and have plans for their future?

Bearing in mind, psychological capital dimensions, resilience is one of the first dimensions present in deportees, despite the fact that their lives have been marked by adverse situations, each of the deportees expressed their desire to improve their future conditions through finding a job. In this sense, it is easy to find elements of resilience in each of the deportees, however, aspects of social resilience are null. This social resilience understood as “the capacity of groups of people bound together in an organization, class, racial group, community or nation to sustain and advance their well-being in the face of challenges to it” (Lamont, 2013:6). One reason can be high stigmatization of deportees, that forces deportees to hide their status, having implications on the lack of political and comunal participacion of deportees (Menjivar, 2017).

The next testimony of Bienvenido shows how resilience allowed him to overcome the separation with his family. Even though he is already 78 years old, Bienvenido is still working. He likes to stay busy and move forward, which is surprising for someone of his age who is separated from his entire family. Bienvenido got deported 13 years ago and since then he has not seeing his family. Actually he works as a messenger in the attorney's office with a friend. He says, *“I work in a place called the hall of fame in the Ministry of Sports and we grew up together (with the former boss) we played ball together and as a boy and we studied together, 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 to 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.”* Even though he returned to work with a friend, he said, he kept as a secret that he was deported. After 4 years he was feeling confident enough to tell his friend about his situation. Bienvenido considers that hiding his deported status was the most difficult part of this process, as he explained *“to hide to certain people that I was deported. Keep that secret with certain people and it bothered me in my conscience to hide... Because I do not like to be hiding a lie.”*

*(Bienvenido, 78 years old, Santo Domingo, June, 2016)*

Another element of the positive psychological capital present in the deportees is hope (Luthans et al., 2007), which allow deportees to express hope for changes in their future, that is, to find themselves in better conditions in the long term. There are no deportees who express a state of apathy or stagnation, each of them is perceiving themselves in the future in a better life situation. To have a job or improving their job conditions is the way in which deportees consider to overcome their actual conditions and it turns in their expression of hope.

As Juan<sup>8</sup> explained, *“my plans for the future are trying to get a good job, to join the mother of my children, who are here and try to buy a house for my children.”*

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<sup>8</sup> Interview conducted in Santo Domingo in January, 2010

Juan is 60 years old, he lived in the USA for 26 years and had been deported for 18 years, he is sure that he is going to succeed in his future, through work, and this success will allow him to improve the conditions of his family.

For many deportees, and from a perspective of traditional masculinity, having a family and a home are vital elements in the structure of their masculine identity. It is not surprising to observe positive psychological capital associated with future plans, which involving family and improvement of job conditions, as Joselo stated, *"for the future, I would like to leave, and in case I leave and if I come to stay ... (in the USA) I want to have a house or a business here (DR) to bring my son, who wants to be here with me (in the DR) and bring my lady too"* (Joselo, 67 years old, lived for 35 years in the USA and deported for 16 years). For Joselo the future improvement it related to dimensions like family and job.

Dani's case is similar. The separation from his children was very difficult for him, especially because he was in prison. According to Dani, little by little he lost contact with his children. However, Dani says that he cannot hold on to 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 close in a circle because you are going to stay there"* (Dani, 37 years old, Santo Domingo, July, 2016)

The psychological capital of deportees definitively plays a role in their labor and social integration after the deportation. Resilience, faith, optimism and self-efficacy enable them first to have the desire to get a job. Self-efficacy, dimension of psychological capital allows them to follow a series of steps to achieve their job goals. In conclusion, positive psychological capital can be observed in deportees as they have the confidence to achieve goals, such as to improve their work conditions or to find a job. Positive attitudes can be found as they feel confident about succeeding now and in the future, in terms of job placement. Moreover, resilience is found in most of the deportees as they can overcome all the adverse experiences related to immigration, family separation, racism, deportation and stigmatization, without join criminal activities or open signs of depression.

Family, work, masculinity and remittances are linked to one another and have significant implications for deportees' social capital and psychological capital. Family and jobs are key elements of the traditional conceptualization of masculine identity (Rivera and Ceciliano 2003, Golash-Boza, 2014). The establishment of positive psychological capital through a job that allows them to support the family— is fundamental to the identity of Dominican deportees.

However, some deportees present a fissure in this integration process, since many of them still want to re-immigrate, which is understandable given their life circumstances in the Dominican Republic, a country where they don't feel being a part of, and with a state making them more vulnerable through its employment policies and daily stigmatization.

Deportees are involuntarily caught in these neoliberal cycles marked by cheap labor and immigration (Cheng and Bonacich 1984, Sassen 1990), their

trajectories are characterized by uncertainty and lack of real opportunities (Lewis et al. 2015). Under these circumstances, deportees have no choice, they accept their working conditions or they keep the fantasy of a possible later re-immigration.

## CONCLUSIONS

This study shows how deportees' different forms of capital are the result not of personal decision but the outcome of structural and macro conditions in which deportees are embedded since childhood. These conditions shape deportees' social, human, and psychological capital. Therefore, deportees' capitals are limited, fractured, and weak, resulting in that deportees' job integration is limited to precarious jobs or subsistence self-employment activities or *chiripeando*, as colloquially Dominican say.

However, even though most of their forms of capital are limited, these capitals still have an incipient role in deportees' job integration. Social capital formed by family and friends supports them to restart their lives, through helping them to get a job, or offering them the means to buy materials to start a small business. Deportees' human capital is limited, nevertheless, their work experience and knowledge of the English language helps them to access precarious and informal jobs. Deportees' psychological capital, despite the fact that it has been threatened and put under pressure throughout all their life experiences, is characterized by high resilience, however their psychological capital may have fractures or threats, mainly because deportees are separated from their children.

Deportees' labor precariousness permeates every aspect of their daily lives and is so unmanageable, that for some deportees' immigration is the only possibility of escaping from this situation.

This study shows that deportations must be understood in a broader global perspective and that deportees as immigrants are transnational subjects, victims of racist migratory laws, target as scapegoats for local governments, conceived as disposable cheap labor by a neoliberal system, having as a result that back home deportees can just access low unskilled jobs as part of the labor market bifurcation (Kivisto 2010, Golash-Boza 2015a, Lewis et al. 2015, Macias-Rojas 2016).

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