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Bachelor Thesis

In the Shadow of International Remittances:

Domestic Remittances in the Rural Dominican Republic



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1 Introduction

International migration in an ever more globalizing world has doubled over the past 50 years to about 215 million international migrants worldwide (World Bank, 2012, p. 2). The increasing migratory dynamics equally entailed an amplification of transfers of remittances, despite the current financial crisis (Mohapatra, Ratha, & Silwal, 2011, p. 3). Until 2014 the World Bank anticipates an incessant increase in international remittances to about 467 billion US Dollars (World Bank, 2012, p. 3). The macroeconomic impact of remittances, comprising up to 10 % of the Gross Domestic Product in many developing countries, is considerable (ibid). Recorded remittances in 2009 were almost three times the total amount of official development assistance (ODA) and almost as large as foreign direct investment (FDI) flows (ibid). Considering these facts it is not surprising that the debates among development scholars and economists primarily revolve around international migration, international remittances and their impact on the economies in the countries of the South.

But there is another phenomenon linked to migration playing an important role especially on the household level of the poorest in developing countries, which hardly receives any academic attention: Domestic remittances. In the heavily impoverished rural areas of the political south, international migration can simply not be afforded by the majority of households. As a consequence they are also excluded from possible benefits through international remittances. However, many rural households benefit from intra-national¹ migration and domestic remittances. The blatant contrast between the lack of labour opportunities in these rural areas and the urban areas engender a massive rural-out migration to the urban centres in many developing countries. The rural regions, with economies based on volatile agricultural production, lag behind the comparatively richer urban areas that undergo significant changes with economies increasingly based on commerce, service and construction and attract workforce from rural regions. Hence, as in the case of international migration, many of these “national migrants” remit money and goods back home to their relatives left behind.² Even though significantly lower than international remittances in absolute terms, domestic remittances³ do in fact play a crucial role for the rural households as this paper argues.

My field study in the rural Dominican Republic has been conducted around this little investigated field of remittances, aiming at highlighting the relevance of domestic

¹ Intra-national and internal migration are used interchangeably.

² In this analysis the most pertinent definition of remittances shall be an inclusive one that comprises any kinds of consumer or investment goods as well as money and cash transfers as coined by Adams (1991).

³ Domestic remittances and internal remittances are used interchangeably.

remittances as compared to international remittances for rural regions in developing countries. The ensuing case study is especially interesting since the Dominican Republic is among the developing countries yielding the highest emigration rate and receiving the largest sums of international remittances in relation with its gross domestic product (GDP) in the world (IMF, 2005, p. 4) which could imply a universal importance of international remittances across the country. At the same time rural-out migration has been drastically increasing in recent years (ONE, 2009, p. 2). I will shed light upon internal migration and domestic remittances as a small scale alternative to international migration for a vast majority of rural households seeking to improve their socio-economic situation. The present paper is based on empirical data, gathered within the framework of a study commissioned by the German Development Cooperation GIZ GmbH, carried out in the municipality of Pedro Santana in the Dominican Republic. In particular, hypotheses revolving around the following research questions shall be tested based on empirical data; both quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews.

- *Are domestic remittances more relevant than international remittances in the rural Dominican Republic and if so, to which extent?*
- *What are the typical characteristics of migrants?*
- *What are the reasons fuelling migration and what motivates migrants to remit?*
- *How are remittance transfers organized in the rural Dominican Republic?*
- *Who benefits primarily from remittances and how are they spent?*

The found results are analysed in tune with an outline of characteristics of both migrant and beneficiating households from existing literature. Moreover, the general logic behind domestic remittances with reference to international remittances in rural areas shall be illuminated in the scope of the data. Without entering profoundly into the general debate of development and the question whether remittances can contribute to the latter, the paper intends to identify some migrants' and remittance spending characteristics as an indicator to the underlying development potential. Before elaborating on my specific findings, basic theoretical concepts on the subject and introductory information on the Dominican Republic will be provided in order to adequately situate the results in its broader context.

1.1 Theoretical Considerations

Migration and Remittances

Research findings depart from differential angles, based on either macro- or microeconomic surveys that do not easily compare. In the following I will roughly outline the phenomenon of international and domestic migration as well as remittances with particular regard to general migrant profiles. Additionally, theoretical concepts as to the motivations to migrate and to remit as well as the use of remittances are also considered. International remittances are much better investigated while data on domestic remittances are hard to come by. However, numerous aspects of international migration and remittances can be applied on national migrants and domestic remittances. For instance one can assume that motivations to migrate and remit, whether from abroad or within the country, are similar. Due to the scarce information on the workings behind domestic remittances, I refer to international remittances in large parts in order to make inferences.

Migration and Remittances are two inextricably intertwined phenomena. Migration and more specifically labour migration constitutes a means for many individuals to gain access to new labour opportunities when the given conditions do not suffice or better ones are being strived for - be it on a national or an international level (INSTRAW & UNDP, 2010). The vast majority of developing countries comprise highly heterogeneous societies that are marked by tremendous levels of inequality. Emerging industries and rising prosperity oftentimes merely concern urban or touristic economic centres (Interamerican Development Bank, 2006, p. 6). Therefore, especially people originating from regions that offer comparatively little advantageous labour market conditions, opt for labour migration to economically more attractive regions or countries. An astonishing majority of those who leave their place of origin stay within their country (UNDP, 2009, p. 13). Internal migrants amount to approximately 740 million, being four times as many as those who actually leave for another country (ibid, p. 10).

International remittance flows are the best recorded aspects of the migration due to the macroeconomic importance for migrant sending and thus remittance receiving countries (Adams & Page, 2005, p. 3). Data on intra-regional national cash and good flows, on the other hand, hardly exist. Domestic and international remittance can be transferred via formal channels for instance banks, money transmission companies, postal services (Maphosa, 2007, p. 5) or via informal channels such as personal transfer

by the sender or a third party (Orozco, 2000, p. 11). The means, through which money and goods are remitted, heavily depend on the financial infrastructure, the efficiency of delivery systems and of the recipients' and the senders' educational level as well as income status (ibid). International remittance senders increasingly use formal channels (Interamerican Development Bank, 2006, p. 14).

Regarding domestic remittance senders no such trend can be observed. Especially the poor living in remote rural areas lack access to formal transfer channels (Sahu & Das, 2009, p. 3). The latter constitute a costly endeavour with infrastructural obstacles and transaction costs that are neither efficient nor reliable in these areas. Therefore domestic remittances are largely delivered through informal channels (ibid).

Migrants' Profiles

Migration entails costs and risks. The costs on the micro-level vary greatly, ranging from financial costs as well as social and psychological costs (Russell, 1986, p. 678). Benefits on the micro-level are most notably the improved economic conditions, the immediate increase in the individuals' standard of living and possibly better access to welfare assets (ibid.). The costs and risks are particularly high in the case of international migration. In line with this, many scholars maintain that migrants tend to originate from households at the upper-middle or top end of the sending-area's income distribution (Lipton, 1980; Stark et al., 1986; Taylor et al., 2005), while the often dramatically impoverished remote rural areas are largely excluded from international migration as hardly anyone can afford the expenses associated with international migration (Taylor, Adams, & Lopez-Feldman, 2005, p. 6). Consequently, individuals from the poor rural households rather opt for internal migration to urban centres when striving for socio-economic improvements instead of going abroad (ibid, p. 7).

In demographic terms Latin American migrants' median age has been decreasing in the last decade from 54% of the senders being younger than 35 in 2006 as compared to 48% in 2001 (Interamerican Development Bank, 2006, p. 10). Equally striking, especially in Latin America, is the feminization of migration (INSTRAW & UNDP, 2010, p. 3). The share of migrant women of the world's migrant population has reached 50% for the first time ever in migration history in the past years (Orozco, 2012, p. 5). An explanation might be the increasing demand for a skilled female workforce (ibid).

Motivation and Determinants of Migration

The neoclassical model of labour mobility on the micro level assumes that the rational economic individual outweighs the net economic advantages of migration against the associated costs, having perfect information and acting based on free choice (de Haas, 2008, p. 5). On the macro level the neoclassical economic theory explains labour mobility by the geographically differing supply of and demand for labour (Stanton Russel, 1995, p. 4). In terms of rural-urban migration in developing countries, neoclassical theory views the latter as a consequence of a labour surplus in rural sectors based on agriculture as compared to the urban industrializing centres (Todaro, 1969, p. 139). However, this model faces strong criticism as it ignores market imperfections, limited information provisions and influences exerted by migration politics as well as social or cultural factors (de Haas, 2008, p. 10).

So-called *push and pull factors* influence the decision to migrate and are primarily of economic, environmental or demographic nature (World Bank, 2006b, p. 61). A recurrent dynamic of pushing a growing rural population competing for Allmende goods⁴ out of marginal rural parts can be observed all over the world (ibid). *Push-factors* are hence based on negative experiences, i.e. forced migration due to insufficient living or working conditions and distress while *pull factors* are based on positive expectations (Ramamurthy, 2003, p. 11) such as perceived luring income opportunities. Stark (1991) considers the family rather than merely the individual as the decision-making unit. Hence, risk diversion and imperfect capital markets in developing countries are included in the assumptions leading to the interpretation of migration as a household strategy (Stark, 1991). This approach has come to be labelled New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM). Parts of a household place their labour assets in different national or international labour markets while sharing both costs and benefits across the entire family involved in this decision (Stark, 1991, p. 26).

Social networks are essential for lowering material and psychological barriers to migration (de Haas, 2008, p. 9). Globalization and the increasing access to communication channels facilitate the contact between the migrant diaspora and relatives in the households of origin and enhance the creation of migrant networks (Orozco, 2012, p. 12). As a consequence, further migration is promoted and migrants from the same family or community of origin often settle in the same city and/or country (Todaro & Smith, 2006, p. 345).

⁴ Public, exhaustible goods: i.e. limited natural and agricultural resources.

Motivations to remit

Lucas and Stark (1985) coined the terminology of the motivations for remitting, situated between the following two extreme forms: The positive interpretation is *pure altruism* as a driver for remittance transfers, with an individual aiming at caring for family members left behind. *Pure self-interest*, on the other hand, is considered as individual's motivation intending to control, influence or pay family members for service they deliver as their agents at home (Lucas & Stark, 1985, p. 902). In line with this, the family is considered a business entity, acting as agents for goods, family members, investments (Chami, Fullenkamp, & Jahjah, 2003, p. 7) or as banks (Ilahi & Jafarey, 1999, p. 501). This becomes particularly apparent when the migrant plans to return at some point or hopes to inherit (Lucas & Stark, 1985, p. 902). Fulfilling preceding agreements are actions ensured by moral feelings and could again be seen as altruistic feelings (ibid). The two terms are not mutually exclusive and oftentimes motivations are classified in between as *tempered altruism* and *enlightened self-interest* (ibid.).

Particularly in terms of rural to urban migration Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki (1986) also point to income risk diversification, alleviation of credit constraints and risk sharing as motivations to migrate and to remit (Stark, Taylor, & Yitzhaki, 1986, p. 722). Sending remittance based on family economics, be it motivated by altruism or self-interest, still heavily depend on family bonds that possibly weaken over time (Orozco, 2012, p. 12). In this regard the diaspora and communication channels help maintain close family ties, which also impacts on remittance transfers. Moreover the diaspora play an important part as private donors for philanthropic projects especially in Latin America (ibid, p. 7)

General Considerations of the Impact of Remittances on Development

I will undertake another brief excursus into some general considerations on the impact of both domestic and international remittances on development. This aspect does not form part of the central analysis focus of this paper. Nevertheless, a basic introduction is considered apt as it allows the reader to situate the findings in its broader context and gain an understanding of the magnitude of this field of investigation.

Major interest on remittances among experts lies on its impact on poverty, equality and development. Despite the prevalence of numerous studies and ample records of remittance flows, there is little common ground in the literature concerning the impact of international migration. An optimistic view is that migration alleviates poverty by

shifting groups of people from low- income rural areas to higher-income urban areas or respectively to foreign economies (Taylor, Adams, & Lopez-Feldman, 2005, p. 4). Even though an economy merely fuelled by remittances offers a conducive contribution to development and is of relevance at least on the household level, provided it is complemented by sustainable economic mechanisms (Adams & Page, 2005, p. 1647). If remittances are of significant volume they may reduce rural poverty (ibid). The Interamerican Development Bank even speaks of remittances as “one of the broadest and most effective poverty alleviation programs in the world” (Interamerican Development Bank, 2006, p. 2) reaching approximately 20 million households in Latin America and the Caribbean alone (ibid.). Stark, Taylor and Yitzhaki (1986) maintain that welfare gains are unequivocally associated to both internal and international migration, however with differing impacts on income distribution (Stark, Taylor, & Yitzhaki, 1986, p. 736). The effect of remittances on inequalities depends critically upon how migration-facilitating information spreads within a village (ibid). Their findings suggest that in a village where many households send internal migrants but few international ones, remittances increase the inequality of the income distribution, while domestic remittances mitigate inequality. Conversely, international remittances bear favourably on the income distribution in villages with a long history of migration abroad (ibid, p. 736).

Moreover, the analysis of the use of remittances is particularly important when seeking to evaluate the impact and its sustainability (Stark, Taylor, & Yitzhaki, 1986, p. 737). Especially the long term effects of remittances depend on the way remittances are allocated between productive and non-productive ends (ibid). In the case of consumptive use of remittances, the impact depends on what kind of consumptive goods are being bought (Stark, Taylor, & Yitzhaki, 1986, p. 736). Whether locally produced or not influences at least in the short run the impact on economies for the spending of remittances entail second and third circle effects on the local economy (Orozco, 2004, p. 13). Adams (2006) finds that households receiving international remittances tend to spend less on consumption goods (such as food) but instead invest in education and housing, entrepreneurial activities or save the margins (Adams R. H., 2006, p. 422). This spending pattern would imply a higher impact on development, entailing successive employment (Maphosa, 2007, p. 27).

The more pessimistic scenario is that the poor households only have limited access to migrant labour markets due to a lack of liquidity, risk and other constraints, which are likely to impede international migration (Taylor, Adams, & Lopez-Feldman, 2005, p.

5). Moreover, this critical approach to the impact of remittances links remittances merely spent on consumptive goods such as daily expenses, housing or the purchase of land (International Organization for Migration, 2012). From this perspective remittances are viewed to increase the respective households' consumption patterns, creating a demand without increasing the necessary production capacity (Orozco & Lindley, 2007, p. 3). These scenarios refer to international remittances but can be assumed to be analogical in terms of domestic remittances concerning rural economies. Chami, Fullenkamp and Jahjah (2003) also underline moral hazards and asymmetric information between the remitter and the recipients as a constraint to remittance induced development (Chami, Fullenkamp, & Jahjah, 2003, p. 6). According to their findings, decreasing labour activity was manifested while people rely on money sent from relatives, which impedes the transformation of remittances into a significant source of capital with development potential (ibid). Lipton (1980) argues that rural-out migration is likely to lead to deteriorate the income distribution and incurring a loss of rural welfare as it generates externalities due to the migrant workers' departure such as less workforce or contributions to income generating activities (Lipton, 1980, p. 3). In his view remittances send by the migrants, moreover, do not compensate for the loss of human capital and workforce as in net terms since the remittances are rather small and likely to go to better-off households (Lipton, 1980, p. 4).

1.2 The Dominican Context

Socio-economic Background of the Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic has a total population of about 9.5 million, of which approximately 3 million citizens live in rural areas (Interamerican Development Bank, 2009, p. 4). The Dominican Republic forms part of the island Hispaniola, sharing the territory with the sovereign state of Haiti. The Dominican Republic has turned from an economy primarily based on agro-exports and import substitutions into a service economy (CEML, 2010, p. 6). In the World Bank terminology the Dominican economy is classified an upper middle economy⁵. According to the most recent release of the Human Development Index (HDI), the Dominican Republic is classified among the medium human development countries ranked 98th globally.⁶ The country's per capita GDP based on purchase power parity (PPP) amounts to US\$ 9,286.724 in 2011 (ibid),

⁵ World Bank, 2012: Country and Lending Groups

⁶ UNDP, 2011: Human Development Report 2011

while displaying a high Gini-Index of 47.2 %.⁷ Despite rapid economic growth since 1970, poverty and inequality remain important issues in the Dominican Republic with 34% of the population below the poverty line⁸ in 2010.⁹ Differences in the poverty level between the rural and urban parts are especially dramatic and the society evolved from a rural to a rather urban one (UNDP, 2005, p. 121). To this day imperfect forms of a representative democracy prevail, marked by a high level of corruption and continuous conflicts both internal as well as external; notably with Haiti (Centro Bono, 2010, p. 4).

Migration and Remittances in the Dominican Republic

Globalization strongly impacts the Dominican Republic, its economy and migration flows. The Dominican Republic went from a phase of relative isolation marked by reduced emigration to a regulated selective and seasonal immigration (UNDP, 2005). Today the Dominican Republic is considered a country of transition, being simultaneously sender and recipient of migrants (Alfonso, 2010, p. 45). Stark differences prevail between the Dominican Republic and Haiti, fuelling Haitian immigration towards the Dominican Republic. Haiti is the poorest country in Latin America (UNDP, 2011) and has been afflicted with various natural disasters and a continuous history of political instability and corruption. Legal and illegal Haitian labour migrants constitute a major part of the workforce needed to sustain the steady economic growth in the richer Dominican Republic (Alfonso, 2010, p. 35). The relationship between the two countries however is marked by tensions and racism, exacerbated by insufficient migratory governance (Centro Bono, 2010, p. 2).

On the macroeconomic level, the Dominican economy increasingly depends on money transfers from Dominicans living abroad (Duany, 2010, p. 16). As mentioned above the Dominican Republic is the sixth largest remittance receiver in the Caribbean, with an average percentage of remittances as high as 11.8% of the GDP in 2007 (CEML, 2010, p. 8). According to the Central Bank of the Dominican Republic, the influx of remittances in balance of payments rose from US\$ 1,689 in 2000 to US\$ 3,111 in 2008. Remittances constitute the largest source of currency after tourism, amounting to a share of 74.5% of currency in relation to tourism revenues and as much as 107.8% of FDI. Official figures vary between a percentage of 10.2%¹⁰ and even 38%¹¹ of all the households being recipients of regular transfers of funds from countries such as the US,

⁷ World Bank, 2012: GINI Index

⁸ World Bank Definition, 2008

⁹ World Bank, 2012: Dominican Republic

¹⁰ ONE, 2010: IX Censo Nacional - informe sobre los datos preliminares

¹¹ Bendixen and Associates, 2006

Puerto Rico or Spain. At the same time in 2006 for instance an estimated US\$ 33 million were sent back to Haiti from the Dominican Republic (Duany, 2010). The recipients of international remittances are not equally distributed across the country (Diario Libre, 2011). While the north western part of the country and the capital Santo Domingo received about 85% of the total of international remittances in 2010, only 5% reached the south. In 2002 per migrant capita, the average amount of yearly remitted was US\$ 289 (OECD, 2006). Moreover, return migration or expatriate tourism is also an important aspect for the Dominican economy. About 500.000 Dominican expatriates, constituting 20% of the total tourists to the Dominican Republic, return annually and spend about US\$ 650 per visit (Orozco, 2004, p. 14).

As mentioned before, also intra-national migration is marked by a high level of mobility. Since the early 60's a striking urbanisation of population has taken place (Kimhi, 2010, p. 2). According to official estimates the percentage of the urban population in the Dominican Republic was 68.6% in 2010, while the rest of the population continues to live highly dispersed in the rural parts of the country (Carrasco, 2010, p. 4). Having said this, the share of very old and very young citizens is shifted to the detriment of the middle-aged population in rural parts (ONE, 2009, p. 2). This results particularly from the young adults' propensity to migrate towards urban centres for labour purposes. Notably Santo Domingo and Santiago de los Caballeros have a long history of attracting labour migrants from rural parts (Ortiz, 1997, p. 2). Most of them venture in the service sector or commit themselves to trade and little micro-enterprises that are omnipresent in the larger cities (Cañedo-Argüelles, 2008, p. 18). A survey from 1997 found that 58.4% of the owners of micro-enterprises came from rural parts (Ortiz, 1997, p. 2). While accurate figures are not available, remittance transfers are nevertheless stated to be on the rise in the Dominican Republic (Orozco, 2012, p. 2).

While international remittances account for approximately 6% of the per capita income, domestic remittances only account for 1% (Kimhi, 2010, p. 4). However, the magnitude of domestic remittances hidden by these technical figures is considerable for rural Dominican Republic and largely underestimated as will be analysed in the following.

Dominican Migrant Profile

Consistent with Taylor (2005) international Dominican migrants do normally not originate from poorer rural households but are rather to be found among the more advantaged households (UNDP, 2005, p. 21). Moreover, these international migrants

are neither more likely to be unemployed prior to migrating nor low-skilled in the Dominican context (ibid). International migration for people pertaining to very poor households does not constitute a viable option to improve living conditions (Kimhi, 2010, p. 4). These households, therefore, predominantly opt for internal migration to urban centres in the country (ibid). In general, 63.8% of the Dominican migrants who went abroad originate from urban areas, as opposed to 36.2% from rural areas (ONE, 2009). A Census of the Dominican population carried out in 2002 by the National Institute of Statistics of the Dominican Republic (ONE) states that predominantly the Dominican youth migrates.¹² Moreover, a general feminization of Dominican migrants despite the patriarchal societal patterns in the country can be observed (INSTRAW & UNDP, 2010, p. 5). Oftentimes they even constitute the only source of income for their families (ibid).

Determinants of Migration and Remittances of Dominicans

According to research from 1997, rural-urban migration of owners of micro-enterprises was mainly motivated by labour (47.1%) or family unifications (42.6%), 10.6% leaving in the hope to find better living conditions or having problems with the residence (Ortiz, 1997, p. 5). Differentiating between the gender, women were more likely to leave the rural parts for family reasons (57.5%) than men (26.7%). Even though recent research indicates a much higher proportion of women leaving their rural communities of origin for labour or study purposes, many rural households are merely headed by female Dominican parents while the husband leave in the quest for alternative income opportunities (INSTRAW & UNDP, 2010, p. 4). An increased omnipresence of social networks and communication channels as well as enlarged family structures enable husbands to continue to exert influence and control over their household of origin. This possibly enhances the migrants' propensity to leave the family behind as social losses are mitigated via facilitated contact (ibid, 5). While various authors imply a risk-diversification strategy according to the New Economics of Labour Migration (de Haas, 2008), Massey and Sana (2005)¹³ observe that migrating and sending remittances among Dominicans is determined by lack of alternatives to migration rather than a rationally driven strategy of risk diversification (Sana & Massey, 2005).

¹² ONE, 2009: Efecto del Envejecimiento sobre la Estructura de la Poblacion e Impacto de la Migración en estos Cambios

¹³ Research based on survey data collected between 1999 and 2002. Massey and Sana (2005) compared households in Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica as to how remittances vary by household composition, family members abroad, and in the community context.

A striking level of solidarity on the part of Dominican migrants with regard to their families and country can be observed (UNDP, 2005, p. 25). Surveys of the Multilateral Investment Fund of the Interamerican Development Bank find that the commitment to family values among Caribbean migrants is the major driving force of the remittance flows (Interamerican Development Bank, 2006, p. 2). This reciprocity hypothesis suggests that the likelihood of sending remittances decrease as kinship ties between migrants and their families decline over time (Duany, 2010, p. 216). This also points to the altruism hypothesis in terms of remittance motivation for national migrants rather than self-interest. However, many Dominican migrants do not merely transfer money as an additional source of income for their households of origin, but rather send remittances for specific purposes and linked to imposed conditions (Brière, 2002, p. 327). Whether this is out of self-interest, motivated by the desire to exert influence or stemming from mistrust concerning a meaningful use of money transfers, is not further established.

Use of Remittances in the Dominican Republic

The use of remittances is especially important when seeking to analyse the implications for development in the recipient country or community.¹⁴ This section therefore sheds light upon data and trends on the use of the remittances in the Dominican Republic.

In both urban and rural areas in the Dominican Republic, remittance recipient households spend a large majority of the remittances on living necessities, everyday expenses and consumption (Orozco, 2004, p. 5). A report based on data from the Dominican Central National Bank (Diario Libre, 2011) indicates that 60% of the remittances are primarily spent on goods of basic need, amounting to about US\$ 2,040 million per year. Roughly 17% are spent on education (US\$ 578 million) as well as approximately US\$ 204 million (6%) on luxury goods. In sum, about 6% of the national consumption is due to the money inflow of remittances to the country (Diario Libre, 2011). However, there is also a growing interest on the part of the Dominican diaspora to invest in the home country, especially in housing. (Interamerican Development Bank, 2006, p. 13). There is no equivalent set of data on the use of national remittances as the sums they are hardly remitted via formal channels and thus not recorded (Fajnzylber & Lopez, 2008, p. 5). Since they are significantly smaller and predominantly reach the poorer households, one can assume the share of domestic remittances spent on basic needs to be even higher.

¹⁴ I will elaborate briefly on the links between use of remittances and development aspects in my concluding discussion

2 Methodology

In a first step, in a brief outline I will examine some of the most important aspects and particularities of conducting research in developing countries. I will go on to present specific research context as well as the methodological approach adopted to gather the data for this paper. Quantitative data from the survey form the descriptive part of the analysis and serve to test the hypotheses with statistical methods. Qualitative data was leveraged in order to explore the reasons of migrating, remitting and the general patterns, underlying the migratory and remittance dynamics in the investigated area. The study focusses on the remittance receiving and simultaneously migrant sending households. Interviews with remittance sending households would have been desirable but were beyond the scope of the survey.

2.1 Preliminary Remarks on Research in Developing Countries

Prior to initiating any form of investigative interaction with the research participants, the researcher has to establish the “informed consent” with the interviewee as part of ethical codes and principles that normatively apply to experimentation (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002, p. 281). The participants should be informed about the aim as well as the intended outcome of the research and agree voluntarily to participate (Potter & Desai, 2006, p. 26). Anonymity has to be guaranteed especially when seeking to obtain sensitive data or information on sensitive issues of the study population. This is especially vital for research in developing countries, where harm could be inflicted upon the participants living in different cultural and political contexts through the provision of certain information, used to the detriment of the interviewee or a third party (ibid, 26). After having implemented an in-depth preparation on the country- and community-specific cultural and social context, the interviewer has to make sure he or she takes up a value neutral, empathetic and unbiased role, avoiding suggestive questions or gestures that might influence or offend the interviewee (Potter & Desai, 2006, p. 164). Knowledge of the language and familiarity with local use of expressions as the communication tool is central in order to generate the intended data, ruling out misinterpretation (Smith, 1996, p. 164). When working with an assistant, appropriate training to ensure full knowledge of the methodology and the intention of the questions is imperative to derive valid information. In case that the assistant is a local, there are

essential implications to be considered: Familiarity with the research population can be an asset as it may help facilitate access to and cooperation with the local households. But, conversely, this also bears potential bias problems as the interviewee might be reluctant to provide certain information to someone he or she knows or the assistant modifies answers due to the individual relationship he or she has with the respective interviewee (Potter & Desai, 2006, p. 165). Especially in the case of small projects or surveys, the personal conducting of all interviews maximises the consistency of the interpretation and familiarity with the whole sample (ibid, 165). Moreover, pilot testing as well as prior discussing with local key informants is a prerequisite in order to adequately adapt the questions to the field context and create a survey aptly designed in order to yield the intended information (ibid: 169).

2.2 Regional Context and the Artibonito Project

Hispaniola and the Project Region



(Source: Google Maps with the author's indications)

The region studied in the scope of the survey, conducted from October 2011 to January 2012, forms part of the southern province Elias Piña in the region El Valle. The western delimitation is the border with Haiti. Elias Piña has a total surface of 1,396.89 km².¹⁵ In 2010 the province of Elias Piña counted with 72.748 inhabitants according to official records and as compared to 68.358 in 2002 the population has slightly increased.¹⁶ Especially the capital of the province, Comendador, displays an enhanced commercial activity with Haiti, as shown by the steady expansion of the bi-national markets and the

¹⁵ ONE, 2010: IX Censo Nacional - informe sobre los datos preliminares

¹⁶ ONU, 2012: Republica Dominicana- Población estimada y proyectada por año y sexo, según región, provincia y municipio

influx of Dominicans from other parts of the region (Alfonso, 2010, p. 97). This urbanisation within the border region is mainly triggered by mostly illegal Haitian migrants as well as Dominican migrants and unfolds in a rather anarchic manner creating precarious conditions for those living in the centres of agglomerations (Alfonso, 2010, p. 170). Hence, consistent with national trends seen above, labour migration of Dominicans largely takes place towards the country's most important economic centres Santo Domingo and Santiago de los Caballeros as well as the tourist centres (GIZ, 2011, p. 13). As the rest of the country, the province of Elías Piña is also undergoing profound socio-demographic changes in the past decades, characterized by a gradual fragmentation of the traditional rural society and an increasingly urbanized society (Alfonso, 2010, p. 151). Moreover, there is a continual migration of young adults towards the urban areas primarily striving for tertiary education and work (Plamondon, 2007, p. 21). According to the census carried out in 2002, between 1997-2002 the percentage of net migration for the province Elías Piña was -15,63% with 5.449 Dominicans leaving and only 1.296 coming (ONE, 2010, p. 17). The main economic activity in the province Elías Piña is agriculture and commercial border trade (Alfonso, 2010, p. 95). The lack of workforce incurred by the rural-out migration is compensated for by the large number of Haitian migrants, who comprise about 75% of the unqualified manpower in the border region (Plamondon, 2007, p. 21).

Elías Piña belongs to the three poorest regions of the country. In 2010 58.2% of the population of El Valle were afflicted with the highest percentage of poverty¹⁷ as compared to other regions (ONE, 2010). Also, Elías Piña is among the provinces in the border region displaying the highest percentage of poverty¹⁸. 82% of the population is considered poor and 48% extremely poor according to official statistics (ibid). Regarding distribution of wealth in the region, the Gini-coefficient¹⁹ is with 0.48 on national level (Alfonso, 2010, p. 153). As stated before, the southern region of El Valle only receives 5% of the total international remittances in the country.

*The Artibonito Project*²⁰

My case analysis is based on data gathered within the scope of a study commanded by the Artibonito Project, in which I interned for eight months. The official title of the bi-national project in the border region of Haiti and the Dominican Republic is “*Poverty*

¹⁷ Definition poverty ONE, 2012

¹⁸ World bank definition, 2012: monetary poverty of the individual disposing of two dollars a day

¹⁹ The Gini-coefficient indicates social inequality in terms of the income distribution of a country

²⁰ German Development Cooperation (GIZ),2012: <http://www.giz.de/themen/de/12046.htm>

reduction by means of sustainable use of natural resources in the bordering region of the Artibonite River basin". The project is commissioned by the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and carried out by the German development agency *Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GIZ GmbH*. It started in 2003 and will be operated until the end of the year 2012. The project region surrounds the Artibonite river which divides the Dominican Republic and Haiti and virtually constitutes the border. The target communities on the Dominican side are situated in the municipalities of Pedro Santana and Bánica. On the Haitian side the participating communities form part of the province Plateau Central. The river is essential for both countries in terms of energy generation, drinking water provision and also serves as a watershed for subsistence farming.

Dramatic degradation of the natural resources such as deforestation and soil erosion are severely affecting the area. This mainly stems from the high pressure on land use as well as the lack of ecological and economically sustainable income alternatives for the local population. Moreover, the dearth of social and technical infrastructure further aggravates the living conditions. Conflicts on the national and local level between Haiti and the Dominican Republic have been exacerbated by uncontrolled migration. The Artibonite Project supports programmes aiming at the sustainable recovery and use of the natural resources in the area by means of infrastructural provisions, technical assistance and trainings as well as consultancy adopting a multi-level approach²¹. The greater mission of the project is poverty alleviation and the support of long term solution to the various issues in the region.

²¹ Interventions at government level, intermediate levels of society and grassroots level through institutions such as NGOs

2.3 The Area of Research

The Project Communities of the Study



(Source: Google Maps with the author's indications)

The Artibonito Project is home to the municipality of Pedro Santana on the Dominican side. According to the Census 2010, the municipality of Pedro Santana had a population of 8.854 inhabitants.²² Demographic data suggest that migrants from the municipality of Pedro Santana are primarily young adults aged between 17 and 30 years.²³

Qualitative and quantitative data has been gathered in Pedro Santana and the following three communities²⁴:

1. Arroyo Grande

The community Arroyo Grande (AG) is situated bordering the riverbed of the river Río Tocino, one of the feeder rivers of the Río Artibonito River in the mountain chain *La Cordillera Central*. In 2010, a total of 123 inhabitants lived in the community, respectively 26 households. The majority earn their living through agricultural production. However, peasants face difficulties as the area is afflicted with heavy droughts which entail dramatic ramifications due to the lack of irrigation systems that could ensure more reliable production patterns. The geographic remoteness, a very deficient road system and a lack of proper means of transportation hinder the adequate commercialization of the peasants' agricultural production. The majority has no choice but to accept low intermediary traders' prices for otherwise they cannot sell their

²² <https://portal.onu.org.do/republica-dominicana>

²³ ONE 2012: <http://www.one.gob.do/index.php?module=articles&func=view&catid=76>

²⁴ GIZ 2010, Plan Uso de Suelo Arroyo Grande, El Morro, Sabana Mula; qualitative interviews with key informants

products at all. Schooling only covers primary school, but commuting to Pedro Santana in order to attend secondary school is possible. The community does not dispose of proper medical care and the area is heavily affected by cattle theft. Outward emigration towards other communities and the urban centres occurs for various reasons, such as tertiary education, family unification or work.

1. *El Morro*

El Morro is also situated in the highlands of the mountain chain *La Cordillera Central*. 34 households with a total of 179 inhabitants form the community. The majority of households live of agricultural production which has comparatively high yields for geographic conditions are rather favourable. A market place and a recently built road have spurred commercial activities. Various national and international projects operate in the community, contributing to a slightly improved standard of living. A medical centre and mobile communication have been facilitated in recent years. The area is strongly affected by cholera during rainy season. Local schooling only covers primary school and there is no opportunity for the pupils to commute to neighbouring high schools.

2. *Sabana Mula*

Sabana Mula formally belongs to the municipality of Bánica, right next to Pedro Santana. The community encompasses 288 households with a total of 1.537 inhabitants. The main income sources are generated by agricultural as well as animal production. Public provisions such as education until secondary school and a hospital are present. A large number of communitarians can count on an additional low salary. The community is very well connected to a main road and markets in the region which creates favourable conditions for commercial activities but also comes with illegal transactions such as human as well as drug traffic. There is coverage for mobile communication in the entire community. The majority of the inhabitants of the three communities adhere to various associations, founded to foster activities for the community's benefit. Micro credit funds are operated by the members, providing mutual support in particular agricultural activities, investments or family matters such as funerals or weddings financially. Family links between the communities are very strong and an unconditional solidarity can be observed even among extended family.

2.4 Quantitative Data

The quantitative data was gathered between October 2011 and January 2012. The purpose of the overall study was to assess the impact of the Artibonito Project activities and to establish a baseline on the project population. To this end, a comprehensive set of data was levied covering the age composition of the households, income sources, agricultural activity, project participation, land and animal possessions as well as access to communication and mobility. Gender aspects were considered in particular. The basic structure of the study has been conceived in large parts by a free-lance consultant contracted by the Artibonito Project. I was in charge of the pre-tests in order to adapt the survey to the given context. The initial version of the study only considered international remittances. Due to our field observations, however, I grew aware of the prevalence of domestic remittances as a much more important factor in the area.

The participating communities in the surroundings of Pedro Santana were Arroyo Grande (17 households), El Morro (28 households) and Sabana Mula (22 households) as well as five additional households in the village of Pedro Santana. The total population of the study encompasses 501 households. Sampling was not random, as households were chosen on accessibility during working hours. A survey team in charge of holding the surveys visited each of the households in order to interview one of the adult household members. Irrespective of whether head of household or not, the five different parts of the survey were quantified in Excel tables. The design for the research purpose of this paper is classified as a theory-based evaluation (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002, p. 501). The major part of my quantitative findings is of descriptive nature, as the data does not allow for an extensive correlation analysis. A few hypotheses based on the earlier established theoretical framework shall nevertheless be tested using statistical methods such as correlation analysis and mean comparisons.

The Deployed Variables

The age composition of each household was established by means of age categorization, differentiating between genders. Close family members abroad and in Dominican urban centres were documented after gender, country and city.

The total net income calculation is composed of agricultural production, animal production, wages and salaries, remittances and the *tarjeta de solidaridad*²⁵, as well as other additional income sources. Gauging an approximate estimate of the households' agricultural activities in order to establish the net income through agricultural production is a rather complicated task. I did not include inputs such as labour and capital in the imputation of the values, because prices are volatile and exact data difficult to generate. The net income via animal and plant production was calculated as the gross value of the sold production of all household members (using investigated local prices) minus major financial inputs such as wages for preparation, maintenance and harvest of the crop production for example. This method yielded net incomes from crop production which were very low or negative in some cases. The income estimated via animal production only includes sales of animals and animal products and not the entire stock of cattle. I did not subtract costs for feeding as mostly the cattle graze on the open field or live off household leftovers, nor did I consider expenditures for medicine etc. Both crop and animal production are rough estimates for the entire year 2011. Agricultural production is extremely vulnerable to uncontrollable factors such as rain falls and droughts. Possible remedy via adequate irrigation systems is largely non-existent. Animals are vulnerable to diseases and theft which are major problems especially in the border region. Salary and wage income was summed across household members. Migrant remittances were summed across all remitters. Transfers from abroad were stated in the local currency, the Dominican Peso (RD\$)²⁶. The aim was not to establish the total value a household generates but rather monetary income. Agricultural production destined for home consumption and animal production were not included. However, it is important to bear in mind that low income can be compensated to large parts by a high level of self-sufficient production. Trading of goods and services also circumvents formal monetary transactions to sustain living expenses. Many rural households function on such a self-sufficient basis. Moreover many peasants possess a

²⁵ Key informants information: The *Tarjeta de solidaridad* forms part of the public solidarity program (Programa Solidaridad), which was inaugurated in 2005 in the Dominican Republic. In order to be entitled to receive this financial support of between RD\$ 700 and RD\$ 1,400 (14 EUR-28 EUR) the monthly income of the household must not exceed RD\$ 8,000. Moreover the head of household has to hold Dominican citizenship and the household has to abide with a number of obligations such as regular health examination of the household members and the children have to regularly attend school.

²⁶ 1 EUR = 52 DOP as of November 2012

high number of cattle that can be considered a kind of saving account, sold in case of urgent need for cash. Furthermore, the communal and family ties are vital support for many households. Goods, harvests, meals and services are often shared among the communitarians who all belong to a few enlarged families.

The empiric data on remittances, my primary subject of investigation, has been gathered as in the total amount of transfers, the frequency of transfers as well as information on the sender's gender, age and place of residence. As there are mostly several family members who migrated, separate conclusions concerning the amounts of money transfers from each sender could not be made. Even though the majority of families are very poor, many households possess very large amounts of land which might be an incentive to remit out of an ulterior motive driven by self-interest given possible inheritance options. Therefore land possession and remittances sums were also tested in a statistical correlation analysis.

2.5 Qualitative Data

In order to adequately situate the quantitative data in the respective communal context, a general characterization of the community and its population was established by means of semi-structured interviews with key informants. Apart from the local project staff, up to three leaders of the local associations per community were asked to provide information on the community's idiosyncrasies. The selection was made on the basis of personal impression of key informants' capacity to provide an overall understanding of the community. Moreover, public provisions and infrastructure as well as ongoing issues and obstacles were explored that way. The qualitative data on migration and remittance experiences in the respective household has been gathered during the implementation of the survey. An extra field "observation" allowed the survey team to levy additional information he or she considered pertinent or interesting for the study purpose and beyond. Even though the initial purpose of investigation did not particularly focus on the investigation of remittances, a considerable amount of information on the logic and background of remittances beyond the survey questions could be gathered. Another important share of qualitative data on remittances, migrant profiles, transfer channels and remittance use could be made thanks to the authors long term stay in the community. Living among and closely connected to the villagers, much information could be derived via observations and informal interviews.

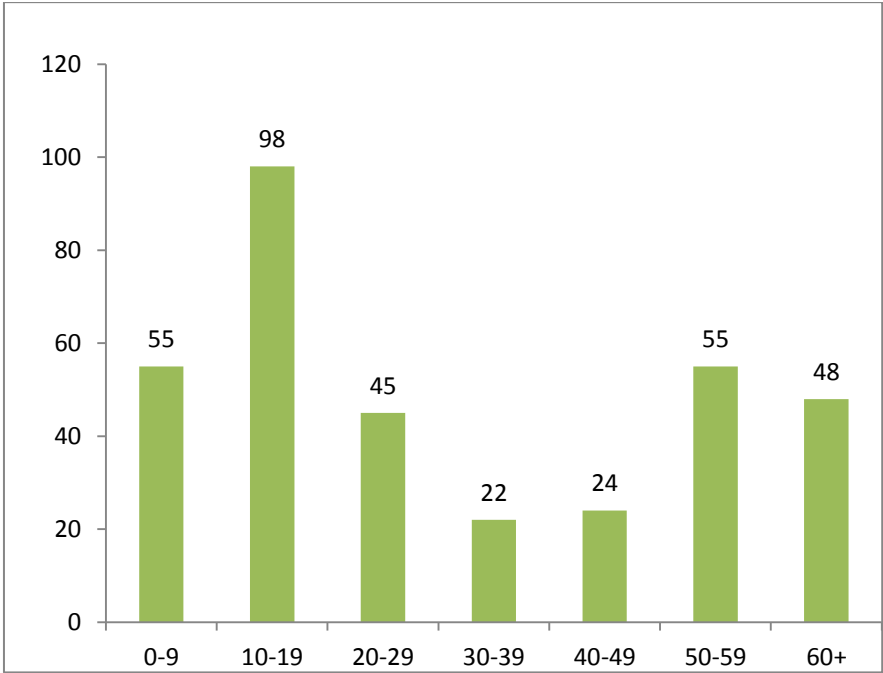
3 Findings

In this part I will present the empiric data on the subject this paper, derived from both the quantitative and qualitative research in the Dominican border region.

3.1 The Magnitude of Domestic Remittances

According to our data, the average household size varies between 4 - 7 members. The age composition of the interviewed households shows that the majority of household members are either young or rather old. 44% are 19 years old or younger and 30% are older than 49 years (see table 3.1).

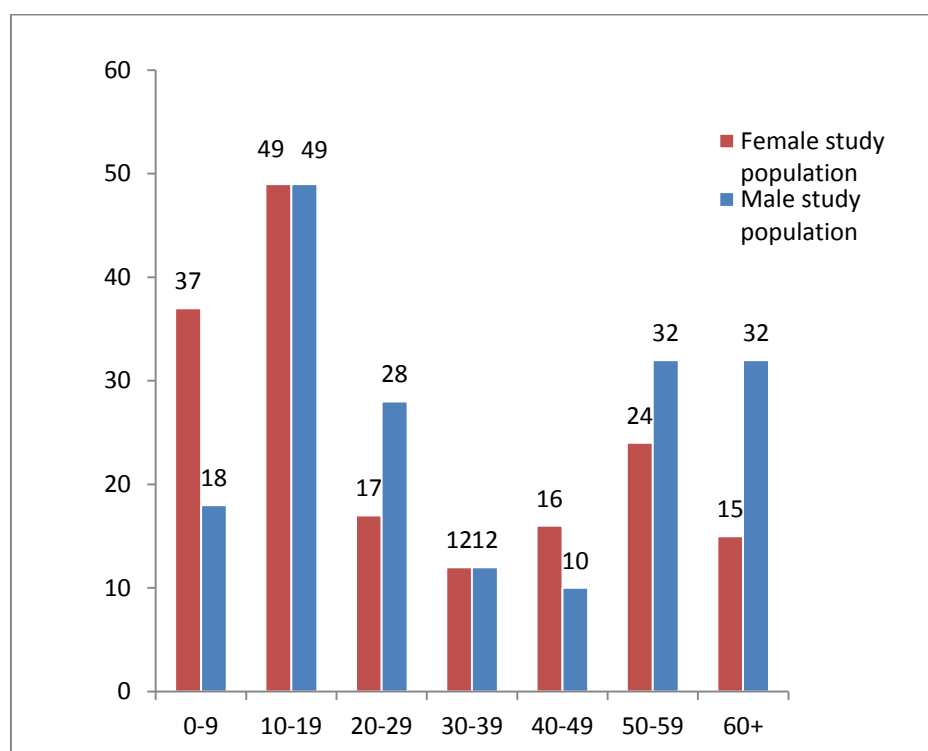
3.1 Age Distribution of the Research Population



(Source: own research)

In gender terms, I considered the share of women and men separately from the age of 30 onwards, assuming that at this age when they are sure to run their own households. The share of women above 29 years is 19% as compared to a share of 24% of men above 29 years (see table 3.1).

3.2 Age Distribution of the Research Population by Gender



(Source: own research)

The households, especially in the remote communities, primarily earn their living by agricultural production and are marked by extreme poverty. The average sum of total monthly income of the households is RD\$ 9,263 (which is roughly 185 Euros), ranging from a minimum of RD\$ 650 (13 Euros) and RD\$ 51,363 (1,027 Euros) (see table 3.3).

3.3 Descriptive Statistics of Average Monthly Income

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Average Monthly Income (total)	73	650,00	51263,33	9263,4361	11079,19110
Valid N (listwise)	73				

(Source: own research)

10.9% of the households interviewed have family members abroad. Only 2.7% have close relatives in the United States of America, 2.7% in Spain and roughly 5.5% in other parts of Latin America.

68.5% of the interviewed households do have close family members in urban centres of the Dominican Republic, out of which 94% live in Santo Domingo and Santiago de los Caballeros.

83% of the households, having children who have migrated, state that their offspring left the region between the age of 19 and 22. The exact age depends on when they finish school according to the information provided.

Separately analysed by gender, about 47% of the households' close family members in urban centres are male, while 53% are female national migrants. In the case of international migrants, the absolute number of women and men abroad is equal. However, there are too few cases to make a general statement.

There were only two cases of households that received remittance transfers from abroad of monthly RD\$ 1,000 – 1,500 (roughly 20 Euros, 30 Euros).

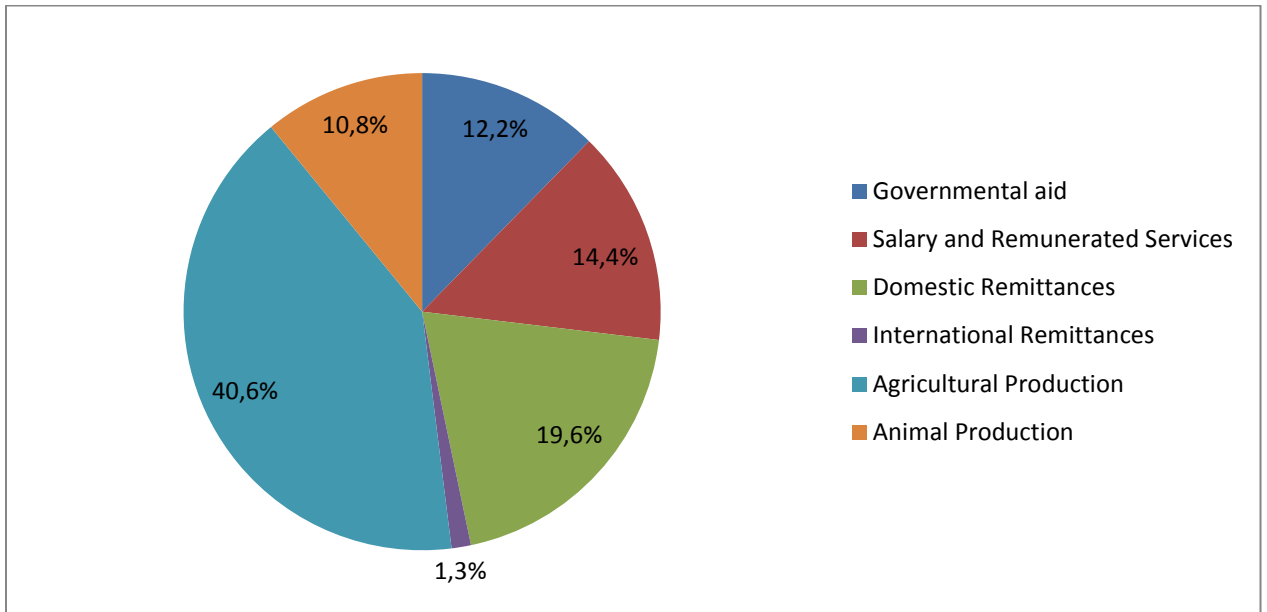
One can determine a high share of families receiving support from relatives having migrated to urban parts of the Dominican Republic, especially Santo Domingo and Santiago de los Caballeros: 35% of the interviewed households receive domestic remittances transfers from relatives in the two cities.

The monthly remitted amounts vary between RD\$ 500 and RD\$ 2.000. The mean is RD\$ 1.700 with a standard deviation of RD\$ 950. Considering the fact that monthly stable salaries vary between RD\$ 5.000 and RD\$ 7.000, the transfers constitute an important source of stable income.

11% of the households of the research population receive domestic remittances on a regular basis (by the research team's definition being once a month or every two months). 24.7% of the total households receive the payments from urban centres 3-4 times a year. 19.2% of the households have close family members in urban centres, but do not receive any monetary support. In relation to those households who do have close migrant relatives in urban centres within the Dominican Republic, this means that 20% receive regular payments and even as much as 45% several times a year.

When looking at the average income composition (see table 3.4) the relative contribution of domestic remittances as compared to international remittances is quite well mirrored. International remittances represent a minor share. Internal remittances can make up to 20% of the net income when adopting mean comparisons as opposed to about 1% of international remittances. National remittances generate more monetary liquidity than animal production for example. As the average income distribution shows, the main income source is agricultural production (crops, vegetables, fruits etc.) with a share of 40.6%.

3.4 Average Income Composition of Households



(Source: own research)

When analysing the mean incomes of the households in correlation with whether they also have close relatives abroad or rather in the main urban centres, a large income difference can be observed. The average monthly income of those who have relatives abroad is RD\$ 18.277 as compared to those merely having close relatives in major Dominican cities (RD\$ 8.334) and those who do not have any close migrant relatives (RD\$ 8.447). However, the ANOVA correlation test does not confirm any statistically significance (P-value: 0,151). Neither do correlation tests for low income households' tendency to receive domestic remittances yield statistically significant results. The average income is slightly higher in Sabana Mula than in El Morro and Arroyo Grande, which is mainly due to higher agricultural production in more favourable geographic and better access to commercialisation. However, there are no significant differences between the communities either.

A strikingly high percentage of interviewed households are in the possession of at least one or more cell phones (75.3%). Controlling for cell phone possession as an indicator to enhanced communication access and the receipt of remittances in the households does not yield statistically significant outcomes. Differentiating between the communities, 84% of the households in Sabana Mula have at least one cell phone in their households, as compared to 65% in El Morro and 58% in Arroyo Grande. Nevertheless, no difference in correlation to the receipt of remittances between the communities can be identified.

Lastly, controlling for the level of remittances and land possession, as an indicator of inheritance aspirations as a possible motivation to remit, did not yield any significant result either.

3.2 Additional Qualitative Findings

This part covers the empiric qualitative data, derived from semi-structured interviews, additional information provided during the surveys as well as observations during my field work.

Internal Migration and Domestic Remittances

According to the narratives of the interviewees, a large majority of children leave the households for the capital Santo Domingo or the Santiago de los Caballeros right after having completed secondary school. There are no exact figures available, due to shortcomings in the data collection methods, but quantitative data on the age of the migrating youth is consistent with the narratives. Many household heads mentioned that their children left in the quest of better income opportunities, but plan on coming back home to retire and continue to run their parents' agricultural activities. An astonishing high number of young Dominicans leave in order to study, according to the interviews. The majority moves to Santo Domingo, the Capital, or Santiago de los Caballeros, which is the country's second largest urban centre and also home to many universities and companies. The levied information on the whereabouts of close relatives within the countries is also consistent with this finding.

When still at university, the children do not send money back to their households of origin. At the same time they do not receive any financial support from their parents either, since the latter struggle to maintain the remaining family members with agriculture and small business activities that yield no margin to support their children in their ventures outside the community. In general, those actively adhering to the governing party receive considerable additional remunerations for oftentimes rather opaque supportive activities for the party.

Dominican women tend to start having children at a young age as compared to European standards. Nevertheless they also increasingly pursue remunerated work activities, in tune with national trends as we have seen before. In the research population, many households consist of grandparents raising their grandchildren and

even nephews and nieces while the young parents, both male and female, work in Santo Domingo or Santiago de los Caballeros. As reasons for doing so, narratives state the non-feasibility to properly look after their children by virtue of extensive work schedules as well as a hostile and dangerous environment in the large cities. Demographic data on the household composition support these narratives, displaying a high share of children and older adults (see table 3.1). Moreover, interviewees report receiving domestic remittances explicitly for school fees, uniforms and contributions to maintenance expenses for their children. This is especially true for domestic remittances sent by parents who assume a share of the costs for school, university and everyday life necessities. In some cases, the remitting relatives carry out the necessary transaction or buy the needed goods in person. Whether this stems from a dearth of trust or simply for practical reasons could not be established unambiguously. However, since the receiving party rather than the sending party was primarily subject to investigation, extensive knowledge of both sides on determinants and motivations is missing.

The quantitative data and narratives also suggest that family members who migrate join other family members who have already settled elsewhere. The majority of households have their close relatives in one city (and country).

Transfer Channels

In the studied region there is neither access to formal banking systems, nor does postal service reach Pedro Santana and the surrounding communities. Moreover, as Pedro Santana and the communities of Arroyo Grande, El Morro, Sabana Mula are situated in a very remote part of the island and travelling back home is a very costly endeavour which impedes frequent returns of the internal migrants. As a consequence, if money or goods are not transmitted personally by the relatives who travel home, they are being sent with third persons. These persons of trust commonly belong to the close family or form part of strongly intertwined communal structures. The most frequent way of transferring money or goods especially when time is pressing are the *Guaguas*. *Guaguas* are privately run vehicles that cover any itinerary charging fixed prices. On the inter-city corridors *Guaguas* are even more formally organized mini-buses with fixed schedules, places of departure and places of arrival. Only four drivers are in charge of the daily seven-hour rides between the capital and Pedro Santana. As they originate from the community as well, there is a personal trustful relationship between villagers, the diaspora in the capital and the drivers. Hence, the *Guaguas* substitute formal postal systems and are trusted with deliveries in exchange for some extra pocket

money. Communication via mobile phones facilitates such transaction between the sender, the *Guagua* couriers and the recipients. By virtue of the general default of public or formal delivery infrastructure, any transaction throughout the country – and notably remittance transfers- are organised via such informal channels.

The final transfer of international remittances to remote areas in the Dominican Republic functions the same way, since international transfer agents are non-existent outside the urban centres. The money is picked up mostly by close relatives in the capital or major cities from the official money transfer agents such as Western Union or Money Gram. In order to deliver them to the destined recipients in the rural parts, relatives send or deliver the money by means of the common informal transfer channels as described above.

There is a similar infrastructural pattern on the national as well as regional level. In the heavily centralized Dominican Republic, Santo Domingo is the main transit point for intra-regional connection in logistical terms, meaning that all the main highways lead to and from Santo Domingo. The central role of the capital is also reflected in social terms as almost everybody has close relatives there. The same logic applies for Pedro Santana as the main and only transit point for the rural surrounding communities. As a consequence, any transaction between the communities and the capital are realized via Pedro Santana, especially in those parts that do not have mobile communication. This is most notably the case for the remitted money or goods from the Capital to the communities, which all first reach Pedro Santana via relatives, friends or *Guaguas*, where they are eventually picked up by the final recipient.

Types of Remittances

In the quantitative part of the study, merely information on monetary transfers as remittances was gathered. According to the deployed definition by Adams (1991), goods shall also be considered in the analysis. Narratives suggest that a high number of remittances apart from the money transfers are sent or delivered by relatives first and foremost from the capital. As access to medical care and consumptive goods apart from everyday life items is very limited and costly, many relatives also remit medicine, technical items, electricity converters, household equipment, school material and products for commercialization among the fellow villagers. Basically the migrants send the goods that are not available or too expensive in the region at their family's request. Moreover, the interviews suggest that the majority of greater investments such as gas

stoves, vehicles or reparations and maintenance of the house are financed or subsidized by family members, often adult children working in the urban centres.

Networks and Domestic Diaspora

Community ties and communication via cell phones are quite ample as the empiric data confirms. A more institutionalized way to maintain family bonds is via migrant networks with the diaspora in the main cities. The club “Pedro Santañeros ausentes” (absent inhabitants of Pedro Santana) in Santo Domingo frequently organize transportation back home to Pedro Santana on various occasions for instance Christmas and Easter holidays, village festivities, elections etc. The well-off members also initiate projects for the community’s benefit.

According to many narratives, the migrants plan to move back to the countryside once having abandoned the remunerated work in the city in order to continue to look after the house and land and once their parents retire. However, only few reported of family members that have actually already returned.

International Migration and Remittances

In the quantitative data, there are only few households having relatives abroad and merely two that remit money. According to key informants there are more households in the village of Pedro Santana that have close relatives abroad (see quantitative data). However, sufficient data on Pedro Santana has not been levied to underline a clear tendency. Key informants state that a number of households in the village receive international remittance transfers that vary between US\$ 50-100 per month, mostly from the United States of America. About the same amount in Euros are sent from Europe, mostly from Spain. Some interviewees even report that relatives previously living in Spain decided to move to Germany in the face of the crisis in Southern Europe, depriving them of the primarily low-skilled work opportunities.

The transfers are made via the multiple financial institutions existing in the Dominican Republic.²⁷ According to the interviewees and key informants, the majority of international remittances are sent with a specific purpose, such as supporting relatives with their studies in the urban centres. At the same time there are reports of larger sums being remitted used for consumption goods such as vehicles and major investments such as contributions to improvements in housing or little enterprises. Whether these

²⁷ Suki, 2004

purchases or investments take place with the remittance senders consent could not be established unequivocally.

Ramifications of Migration in the Studied Area

The loss of workforce in the agricultural production and households induced by the rural-out migration of the young adults is largely substituted by cheap seasonal migrant workers from Haiti. Young male Haitian migrant workers are often hired for the agricultural work, while Haitian girls and women tend to work in the households, carrying out menial jobs. They have mostly immigrated illegally, bribing the Dominican military who condones the seasonal working migration and simultaneously takes advantage of human trafficking. The Haitians are dramatically underpaid and in fact often exploited, but due to their weak position in the labour market and their illegal status largely impotent to their situation. As we have seen in the introductory part, this phenomenon is true for the entire country and especially ubiquitous in the border region.

A last interesting aspect, consistent with national tendencies (Orozco 2004, see introductory part) is the contribution of international Dominican migrants to the country's economy via tourism. Various narratives from Pedro Santana report that relatives do not necessarily remit money but return annually to the Dominican Republic. During these visits they spend all their savings on travels within the Dominican Republic and gifts or support relatives with small investments. According to the interviewees, the respective relatives stay approximately one month and the total amount spent during these stays ranges from 800 Euros to 1.500 Euros. Moreover, narratives report that many of the international migrants are planning on staying abroad and save until they can afford their own housing or other major investments in the Dominican Republic.

4 Discussion

This concluding chapter places the empirical findings in the border region of the Dominican Republic in a broader context with respect to prior research and its potential for generalisations. Moreover, the limitations of the research as well as possible implications for development policies and further investigations are going to be outlined.

4.1 The Findings in Light of the Theoretical Considerations

International Migration and Remittances

Despite the high international migration and remittance rates in the Dominican Republic on the national level, the studied rural area is basically excluded from international migration and its benefits. Even though general literature (Taylor et al., 2005; Adams, 2006) and specific secondary data on the Dominican Republic from official statistical entities already implied a small percentage of international migrants originating from such rural areas (36.2%, ONE, 2009), the data of this paper yield an unexpectedly small share of international migrants from the studied rural region. Also consistent with prior research (Lipton, 1980; Stark et al., 1986; Taylor et al., 2005), those households who do have family abroad are situated at the higher income distribution end of the migrants' sending area as mean income comparisons of the study population underline. Moreover, either the (male) head of household pertains to the military or political elite or is affiliated with an international project which places the family in an economically advantageous position. Correct information on additional income due to such affiliations was seldom provided however. At any rate, the apparently better-off economic status of these households further supports the hypothesis, that international migrants rather originate from richer households who can actually afford the costs implicated by migration abroad. This correlation found in the project area is hence in tune with other findings in literature as we have seen in the introductory part (Lipton, 1980; Stark et al., 1986). Moreover, the fact that most of the families, who do actually have close relatives abroad (10.9%), live in the village of Pedro Santana rather than in the rural communities, highlights the differences that prevail even within rural areas. This is an aspect that has not been extensively discussed in prior research. A last interesting finding concerning international remittances is the fact that even the few

families who do have family abroad hardly receive any international remittances or at least far less than expected. In light of their comparatively good economic situation in an area where living costs are very low, these households probably do not depend as much on additional financial boosts. In line with this interpretation qualitative data also suggests that these households are not in pressing need of financial support, but rather international remittances go to other close family members in the urban centres where additional regular monetary transfers are more urgently needed for studies or entrepreneurial activities for instance. This shift from relatively better-off migrant sending families in rural parts to remittance receiving beneficiaries in urban regions is another phenomenon that is not echoed in literature. If the households in area of investigation benefit from international remittances at all, this is first and foremost the case via selective and seldom one-time-only investments for housing and household equipment as well as health care assets.

Expatriate tourism is also an interesting aspect of Dominican migration with economic implications (Orozco, 2004, p. 14) as we have seen beforehand. Narratives confirm this phenomenon and even suggest much larger amounts flowing back into the regions.

National Migration and Domestic Remittances

Even though internal migration and domestic remittances were already assumed to be much more ubiquitous in the research area than international remittances, the found number of households having close relatives in urban centres within the country is strikingly high. Also, the fact that the receipt of money and goods is deeply rooted in the income structures of many households is more prominent than expected. Even though the internal migrants tend to remit small sums in total, the transfers still constitute a vital financial income source for the recipient households with an average share of almost 20% of the total income. Moreover narratives suggest that such domestic remittance transfers ensure a minimum security for these households suffering from otherwise utterly unstable and vulnerable income patterns. The magnitude of domestic remittances in this remote rural area is thus much stronger than prior research in the literature implied.

Migrant Profiles and Gender aspects

Consistent with national trends (ONE 2012) and regional trends (Interamerican Development Bank, 2006, p. 10) many residents of the studied rural area migrate to the urban centres in the Dominican Republic at an early stage. Mostly migration takes place as soon as schooling is completed and thus concerns young adults around the age of 20, mostly motivated by work and studies. Oftentimes the national migrants leave their children behind or bring them back home for the grandparents to raise them, given the insufficient public child care provisions. This is also reflected in the age distribution of the households, displaying a distortedly high share of young children and older family members (see table 3.1). Furthermore, qualitative data suggests that young adults leave in order to find additional income opportunities but intend to return and dedicate themselves to the parents' agricultural production once they retire. A reason for returning is the migrants' own position in the urban labour markets which is weakened as they get older.

In gender terms literature suggests that more Dominican women migrate and often constitute the only source of income for their families (INSTRAW & UNDP, 2010, p. 5). It is quite remarkable how indeed slightly more women migrate than men. This can probably be explained by the fact that men are more likely to find paid work also in rural areas, while in urban centres and abroad women have more chances to get a better paid job. Low-skilled domestic work in the Dominican Republic is largely carried out by the cheaper Haitian workforce. The share of women among the adult household members is lower than that of men (19% female and 24% of men above 29 years, see table 3.1). Findings of prior research suggesting that rural households are merely headed by female Dominican parents while the husband leave for labour reasons (INSTRAW & UNDP, 2010, p. 4) are hence not confirmed by the data. The gender distribution in terms of age could also mean that women in this area are slightly more propitious to migrate. My research data yield a share of 53% of women as close migrant family members in urban centres. A general gender analysis of the households would go beyond the scope of this paper.²⁸ Inductions from these figures are rather problematic as precise empiric data on whether partners have also migrated for example are missing. In terms of international female migrants, migrant women outweigh male ones. Those who migrated to Spain took part in immigration programmes based on bilateral agreements

²⁸ Supplementary gender aspects concerning the households: The general gender analysis of the Artibonito Project suggests that in these communities the daily duties and decisions are undertaken largely on a joint basis between women and men, both being present. This is surprising in light of the very patriarchal Dominican society. In the village of Pedro Santana there are more men pursuing remunerated work in the military for example outside the community, which implies full charge, responsibility and household management mandate for the women managing the household and agriculture.

between the Dominican Republic and Spain which explicitly fostered female migration. However, there are too few cases to infer from for regional rural trends. It would be interesting to follow up on these Dominicans holding Spanish residency during the crisis, given the reports of family members in Spain preparing their migration to Germany. The general regional trend of feminization of labour migration in the Caribbean however (INSTRAW & UNDP, 2010, p. 3) cannot be confirmed unambiguously

Determinants of Migration and Remittances

As we have seen in the introductory part, various authors imply a risk-diversification strategy of migrant sending families according to the New Economics of Labour Migration (de Haas 2008). Massey and Sana (2005), however, state that migrating and sending remittances among Dominicans is rather determined by a lack of alternatives to migration instead of a rationally driven strategy of risk diversification (Sana & Massey, 2005). The empirical findings do not convey a clear picture on this aspect. Domestic remittances can be considered an integral part of the risk diversification strategy of poor rural households in the studied area, since not the entire family migrates but merely single members. Moreover, they remain closely connected to their family and community of origin also via remittance transfers. Insufficient living conditions and hardships inflicted upon the residents in the region via diseases, droughts, scarce natural resources and harvest can be considered *push factors* (Ramamurthy, 2003, p. 11) that enhance rural-out migration from the studied area as a consequence of insufficient living conditions. Migration to urban centres could thus also be viewed as a result from a lack of alternatives rather than an actual strategy of risk diversification. Moreover, good labour opportunities as *pull factors* (ibid) are not a very likely interpretation, given the weak position of low-skilled workers even in the urban labour markets, which is flooded with Haitians and Dominicans accepting to work under dire conditions. The only *pull factor* that could be identified in the frame of the qualitative research are welfare assets such as tertiary education and better access to medical care.

As the literature suggests, social networks and access to communication channels are essential for lowering material and psychological barriers to both intra-national and international migration (de Haas, 2008, p. 9). The quantitative data and narratives also suggest that family members who migrate join other family members who have already settled elsewhere. The majority of households have close relatives in one city (or one country). This migratory behaviour also corresponds to assumptions identified by the

general literature (Todaro & Smith, 2006, p. 345). While an increasing migratory dynamic due to enhanced access to communication was assumed, tests for the migration propensity in correlation with cell phone possession does not yield statistically significant results.

In terms of the motivation to remit, the Dominican migrants' solidarity towards their families and country (UNDP, 2005, p. 25) is also reflected in the empirical findings. Neither statistical correlation analysis with land possession and remittances transfers nor qualitative data imply self-interest as an ulterior motivation to remit. According to the qualitative data, the support of families out of moral feelings and other altruistic motives are driving forces to send remittances rather than mere self-interest. Testing for access to communication in correlation with the receipt of remittances, however, does not confirm the reciprocity hypothesis made by Duany (2010) according to which enhanced contact engenders an elevated level in the receipt of remittances (Duany, 2010, p. 216). As for the self-interest hypothesis, domestic remittances could be considered a compensatory payment for the migrants' parents' service as caregivers for the migrants' children. The amounts, however, are too small to be considered a wage or payment but rather constitute the due share of financial contributions to their children's maintenance costs. In conclusion, the logic behind remittance transfers are embedded in cultural aspects, close family ties and an ensuing moral obligation to support their families. An interesting additional aspect lies in the fact that many Dominican migrants in the studied area do not to remit merely in the sense of providing an additional stable source of income for their households of origin, but rather send remittances for specific purposes. In fact, many interviewees report that they receive remittances explicitly for school fees and uniforms. This corresponds to overall national trends (Brière, 2002, p. 327) as discussed in the introductory part. As implied by various narratives, actual goods rather than money is oftentimes remitted. This sending behaviour could be interpreted as counteracting the threat of moral hazards (Chami, Fullenkamp, & Jahjah, 2003, p. 6). The gathering of more exhaustive information on the explicit reasons for this behaviour, however, would have been beyond the scope of this research project.

4.2 Limitations and Critical Assessment

With a total of 73 households participating in the survey, this field study cannot yield statistically representative results with high statistical power. The research area encompasses three villages in quite a confined and specific area. Therefore, this analysis does not claim to hold over all rural areas in developing countries. Stark, Taylor, & Yitzhaki (1986) demonstrated that the propensity for internal or international migration respectively is very similar within a given village but differs a lot between the villages (Stark, Taylor, & Yitzhaki, 1986, p. 736). As seen before, this is due to social factors as well as facilitated access to information for migration-prone residents and bears on the decision where to migrate to. This has implications for the outreach of the findings of this paper. We can assume that there are more villages displaying a similar migration pattern as the studied region, displaying a high share of domestic migrants. But probably there are also villages where the migratory behaviour is inversed and international migration is much more prevalent. However, as stated before, the extreme poverty prevailing in remote rural areas suggests that internal migration is more likely to occur. Thus, given their relative share, domestic remittances are very likely to impact more considerably in rural areas of developing countries than international ones. It would be interesting to examine how other rural areas displaying similar socio-economic characteristics compare to the present case and whether similar tendencies could be identified in order to make more universal inferences.

Remittances have not been the priority subject of investigation at the time of the implementation of the study. Nevertheless information on remittances was gathered in an effort to acquire full understanding of the various income sources of the project population. Pre-testing disclosed domestic remittances as an intriguing subject of investigation for the author of this paper. However, with an empiric survey aligned with a different study purpose that was not primarily designed to yield in-depth information on remittances, some interesting hypotheses could not be tested lacking adequate and precise empirical data.

There are shortcomings to be addressed regarding the methodological approach adopted to gather the data. The survey households were not randomly sampled, due to difficult access to the totality of the households that were eligible for the study as well as the limited financial resources. But, as stated in the methodology part (chapter 2.1), research in developing countries generally presents specific obstacles (Potter & Desai, 2006). Remote areas with a weak infrastructure and a restricted research population

often do not allow for random sampling in practice. Another problem was that agricultural activity mostly coincided with the interview periods.

Moreover, participation in the Artibonito Project activities was an important factor for choosing the survey households according to the overall survey purpose that was to evaluate the impact of the Artibonito Project activities. As we have seen before sampling biases associated to the persons and settings may incur threats to the external validity for the generalisation of cause-effect relationships (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002, p. 454). Hence inferences to the total population have to be considered carefully.

The actual implementation of the interviews has to be viewed critically as well. As stated in the methodology part, it is advisable to undertake research of small sample size personally (Potter & Desai, 2006, p. 165). Pilot testing and the exchange with key informants were especially vital for the author of this paper in order to undertake the necessary adaption of the survey and the context in the field. Due to time pressure I carried out half of the interviews with the support of a local assistant. This decreased the comprehensive view on the data, but proved to be vital for efficient time use especially in the utterly remote areas of the mountain chain since the assistant had a good knowledge of the region and the households. Working with the local assistant was in several aspects an asset and did not cause reluctance on the part of the interviewees dealing with someone familiar, contrary to what was implied by Potter and Desai (2006) (Potter & Desai, 2006, p. 165). Rather, the assistant directly gauged whether information provided was roughly correct. This was not always the case and leads to yet another threat to the validity of the found data: A probable bias to the study results lies in the fact that the study has been carried out by a team that was perceived to be directly linked to the Artibonito Project and thus international development agents. Despite the preliminary provision of information on the background of the survey and an informed consent (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002), that aimed at removing doubts with respect to the confidentiality of the data, the interviewees blatantly modified the answers concerning their socio-economic situation. This behaviour became apparent when information about possessions (vehicles, cattle etc.) or salaries and harvest yields were far from accurate in many cases. The local research assistant unveiled such incorrect information when possible. A logic explanation would be that people fear personal consequences and negative repercussions for the community in terms of a reduction of beneficiaries, duration or budget of international development projects. This stems from the underlying analogy made by many inhabitants, that the poorer they seem the more external support they receive. Moreover, a number of households is

directly or indirectly involved in criminal border activities such as trafficking of drugs, goods and Haitian migrant workers. According to key informants revenues derived from such illegal activities are high and also do not appear in the data on income sources. Information about remittance transfers of money or goods could not be verified either. It is likely that the data provided on the amounts of remittance transfers – domestic and international ones alike - are also understated.

Given the particular context of the border region, generalizations for the national level or other rural parts of the world should be made cautiously. Moreover, only the recipients of remittances on the micro-level were subject to the study. It would have been interesting to equally interview the sending parties, especially concerning their motivation to migrate and remit. Most of the information derived on the migrants stems from third party's narratives that are prone biased interpretations. The fact that no statistically valid correlations could be determined has to be viewed in its methodological context and scope of research.

4.3 Concluding Comments and Outlook

In light of the overall development potential of domestic remittances we have seen that the volume and use are of vital importance. According to Adams and Page (2005), remittances, provided they are of significant volume, may reduce rural poverty (Adams & Page, 2005, p. 1647). Given the small absolute amounts that are commonly remitted it is questionable to what extent the domestic remittances in the studied area can intrinsically spur sustainable development. Moreover, as qualitative data suggest, domestic remittance transfers in the studied area are primarily spent on consumptive goods of basic necessity which implies little sustainability as we have seen in the introductory part (International Organization for Migration, 2012). As the small sums and the tight household budgets hardly leave any margin for enhanced productive consumption or investment, development potential derived from national remittances is to be assumed rather small. However, productive assets such as education also form part of the main investments. Also, the large share of the domestic remittances in relation to the total income patterns as well as the ample spread of remittances transfers in the studied area, are a very interesting phenomenon and a largely ignored dynamic in rural areas. The Interamerican Development Bank sees a high potential for international remittances in economic and financial sectors in particular for micro-finance and rural

credit (Interamerican Development Bank, 2006, p. 13). Even though small in individual sums, it would be interesting to assess whether domestic remittances could be integrated into larger development policies. Micro-finance institutions such as micro-credit, micro-insurance or micro saving connected to domestic remittances could be a viable way to enhance rural development in deprived areas. We have seen in literature that oftentimes the Dominican diaspora is willing to engage in philanthropic projects promoting their region of (Orozco, 2012, p. 12). The national diaspora could support the associations and the micro finance systems present in each of the communities via domestic remittances. This way the small individual amounts of remittances, largely used for consumptive goods for daily needs, could be bundled and invested into larger productive ends possibly and thus promote development. In the present case, pre-existing networks like the “absent villagers of Pedro Santana” (Pedro Santañeros Ausentes) could play a crucial part in enhancing the ties between the communities of origins and their expats in the urban communities and spur remittance transfers for productive ends. Micro-finance projects combined with international remittances already do exist in other countries²⁹ in an effort to commit the diaspora in development matters of their communities of origin, but the potential of domestic remittances as a possible means to tackle poverty has not been considered yet.

As we have seen in this analysis, domestic remittances play a crucial role in the studied rural area, but still tend to be an unduly neglected phenomenon in academic analyses. There are only few research projects to be found in the literature on other developing countries. Due to the limited scope of this research and regional idiosyncrasies of the studied area, it is difficult to estimate the universal validity of the findings of this research. As many parallels can be drawn in terms of socio-economic conditions and cultural habits, it would be interesting to conduct further research in order to explore whether and to which extent such assumptions hold over other regions in rural developing countries.

²⁹ i.e. Benin: <http://www.inafi.org/what-we-do/remittances>

5 Annex

The Survey Questionnaire

Hoja de datos - Fiche technique						1
0,1	Nombre del colector de datos <i>Nom de collecteur de données</i>		0,2	Fecha: (Día/Mes/Año) <i>Date (Jour/ Mois/ Année)</i>		
0,3	Nombre del pueblo/ <i>Nom de village</i>		0,4	Estado/provincia <i>/province</i>	<i>Pays</i>	
0,5	Denominación del punto de GPS/ casa - <i>dénomination du point GPS/maison</i>		0,6	Coordenadas de GPS <i>Coordonnées GPS</i>		
1 Colección de datos: INFORMACIONES GENERALES DEL PUEBLO - INFORMATIONS GÉNÉRALES DE VILLAGE						
1,1	Nombre de la persona entrevistada/ posición - <i>Nom de la personne interviewée/ position:</i>					
1,2	¿Con cuántas asociaciones colabora el proyecto en el pueblo? <i>Le projet collabore avec combien d'associations au village?</i>					
1,3	¿Cuáles asociaciones son? <i>Quelles associations sont-elles?</i>					
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 1					
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 2					
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 3					
1,4	¿Cuántos miembros tiene cada asociación? <i>Combien de membres sont organisés dans les associations?</i>					
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 1	Femenino		Masculino		En total
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 2	Femenino		Masculino		En total
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 3	Femenino		Masculino		En total
1,5	¿Qué actividades se realizaron con las diferentes asociaciones? ¿Qué, cuándo? En una escala de 1 a 5, cómo evalúan Usted la actividad? (1 muy bien/útil, 5 muy mal/inútil) - <i>Quelles activités ont été menées avec les différentes associations? Quoi, quand? Sur une échelle de 1-5, comment évalueriez-vous cette activité? (1 très bon / utile, 5 très mauvais / pas utile)</i>					
			Actividades - <i>Activité</i>	Cuántos miembros participaron? <i>Combien de membres ont participé</i>	Cantidad (p.ej. silos de granos metálicos?) <i>Nombres (p.e silos métalliques.....)</i>	Evaluación de la actividad <i>Evaluation de l'activité</i>
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 1	Femenino				
		Masculino				
		Mixto				
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 2	Femenino				
		Masculino				
		Mixto				
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 3	Femenino				
		Masculino				
		Mixto				
1,6	¿Cuándo des assoziations existen en el pueblo? <i>Combien d'associations est-ce qu' il y a en total dans le village</i>					
1,7	¿Qué partenaires existen en el pueblo también? <i>Quels sont les autres partenaires dans le village?</i>					
1,8	¿Qué actividades se realizan por estas partenaires? <i>Quelles sont les activités menées par les autres partenaires?</i>					
1,9	¿Qué organizaciones (que colaboran con el proyecto) respaldan la asociación? <i>Quels sont les autres partenaires soutiennent l'association (qui travaillent avec le projet)?</i>					
1,10	Si es así, ¿con qué actividad? <i>Si oui, avec lesquelles activités?</i>					
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 1					
	Asociación - <i>Association</i> 2					

Hoja de datos - Fiche technique						2
0,1	Nombre del colector de datos <i>Nom de collecteur de données</i>		0,2	Fecha: (Día/Mes/Año) <i>Date (Jour/ Mois/ Année)</i>		
0,3	Nombre del pueblo/ <i>Nom de village</i>		0,4	Estado/provincia <i>Pays /province</i>		
0,5	denominación del punto de GPS/ casa - <i>dénomination du point GPS</i>		0,6	Coordenadas de GPS <i>Coordonnées GPS</i>		
2 Colección de datos: INFORMACIONES GENERALES DE CASA - INFORMATIONS GÉNÉRALES DE MENAGE						
2,1	Nombre de la persona entrevistada <i>Nom de la personne interviewée/ position:</i>					
2,2	Sexo de la persona entrevistada <i>Sexe de la personne interviewée</i>	Femenino- femelle		Masculino- masculin		Comentarios - Remarques
2,3	Número de personas viviendo en casa (sin miembros trabajando en el extranjero) <i>Nombre de personnes vivant dans le ménage (sans les membres travaillant à l'étranger)</i>	Femenino		Masculino		
2,4	Edad de los miembros de casa <i>Âge des membres du ménage</i>		femeninos	masculinos		
			0-9			
			10-19			
			20-29			
			30-39			
			40-49			
			50-59			
			60-.....			
2,5	¿Quiénes de la familia tienen un sueldo? (por favor apunten el número y si es posible márkuelos en 2,4) <i>Qui de la famille travaillent (S'il vous plaît préciser le nombre, et si possible et marque les personnes en 2,4)</i>	Femenino- femelle		Masculino - masculin		
	En Que?Cuanto gana al mes? Si oui, en quoi? Combien gagne la personne par mois?					
2,6	¿Quiénes de la familia van a la escuela? (por favor apunten el número y dado el caso márkuelos en 2,4) <i>Qui de la famille va à l'école?(S'il vous plaît indiquer le nombre et éventuellement marquer les personnes en 2,4)</i>	Femenino - femelle		Masculino - masculin		
2,7	¿Hasta qué edad los niños van a la escuela? <i>Les enfants vont à l'école jusqu'à quel âge?</i>	Femenino - femelle		Masculino - masculin		
2,8	¿Quién es el amo? (sexo, edad) <i>Qui est le chef de famille? (sexe, âge)</i>					
2,9	¿Quién decide sobre las actividades? (sexo, edad) - <i>Qui décide sur les activités (sexe, âge)</i>					
2,10	¿Quién toma decisiones en cuanto a inversiones y el gasto dinero? (sexo, edad) <i>Qui prend la décision pour les investissements et l'argent de poche (sexe, âge)?</i>					
2,11	¿Quién administra el dinero? (sexo, edad) - <i>Qui gère l'argent? (sexe, âge)</i>					
2,12	¿Cuántos miembros de la familia trabajan en el extranjero o vienen a casa de vez en cuando? (edad) - <i>Combien de membres travaillent à l'étranger et de reviennent à la maison de temps en temps (âge)</i>	antes de 2003	femeninos	masculino		
		2003 - 2007				
		2007 - 2010				
		2011				
	Miembros fuera de la casa (centro urbano en RD)? mandan dinero?					
2,13	¿A partir de qué edad se fueron de la casa? <i>A quel âge travaillent à l'extérieur?</i>	Femenino - femelle		Masculino - masculin		
2,14	¿Mandan dinero a casa? <i>Est-ce qu'il envoie de l'argent?</i>					
2,15	Si es así, ¿cuántas veces? <i>Si oui, à quelle fréquence?</i>	Regularmente - Régulièrement		A veces - Parfois		Nunca - Jamais

0,1	Nombre de la persona entrevistada: Nom de la personne interviewée		0,2	Nombre del pueblo: de village	Nom	
3 INFORMACIÓN DE ACTIVIDADES - INFORMATION DES ACTIVITES						
3,1	¿En qué actividades Usted ha participado? (dado el caso A,B,C,...) <i>Quelles sont les activités du projet auxquelles vous avez participé? (Si nécessaire A, B, C,)</i>					
3,2	¿Cuándo se realizaron las actividades? (Año, dado el caso A, B, C) <i>Quand est-ce que vous avez réalisé les activités?</i>					
3,3	¿Qué persona de su casa hizo uso de las actividades del proyecto? <i>Quelle personne de la maison a été responsable pour les activités du projet?</i>	Femenino (edad)		Masculino (edad)		Comentarios- Remarques
3,4	¿Qué persona de su casa realizó las actividades/quien trabajó? (dado el caso A,B,C...) <i>Quelle personne de votre famille a pris soin des activités / travail? (Si A, B, C ...)</i>	Femenino (edad)		Masculino (edad)		
3,5	¿Qué provechos Usted ha tenido por la actividad? (p.ej. provechos económicos, sociales, familiares, personales etc.) <i>Quels sont les avantages que vous avez appris de l'activité (p.e. financières, matérielles, sociales, familiales, des prestations personnelles)?</i>	Femenino		Masculino		Comentarios- Remarques
3,6	(En caso de que tuvo provechos) ¿Los provechos son en largo plazo para el futuro? <i>(Si positif 3,5) Est-ce que les avantages sont pour l'avenir à long terme?</i>	Femenino		Masculino		
3,7	¿Qué beneficio (monetario) Usted ha tenido por la actividad? <i>Quel bénéfice (financièrement) est-ce que vous avez extrait de cette activité?</i>	Femenino		Masculino		Comentarios- Remarques
3,8	¿Cuánto tiempo se necesitó para la realización de la medida? <i>Quelle vacation était associée avec la mise en œuvre de l'action?</i>		Femenino	Masculino		
		1-5 días				
		5-10 días				
		10-20 días				
		Más, ¿Cuánto?				
3,9	¿A qué asociación Usted pertenece? <i>Vous êtes affilié à quelle association?</i>					Comentarios- Remarques
3,10	¿Cuántos miembros tiene la organización? <i>Combien de membres compte cette organisation?</i>	Femenino		Masculino		
3,11	¿La organización da microcréditos? <i>Assigne l'organisation de micro-crédits?</i>					
3,12	Sí es así, ¿Usted ya ha hecho uso de los microcréditos? ¿Para qué? <i>Si oui, vous avez déjà pris un micro-crédit? Pour quel but?</i>	Femenino		Masculino		
3,13	¿Fue eficaz? Por favor evalúe eso en una escala de 1 (muy eficaz) a 10 (ineficaz). <i>Le micro-crédit a été un succès? S'il vous plaît noter ce sur une échelle de 1 - à 10 très réussie - pas d'effet)</i>	Femenino		Masculino		
3,14	¿En su opinión qué microcréditos tienen un gran beneficio, por qué? <i>De votre point de vue quel micro-crédits donnent un grand avantage? Pourquoi?</i>	Femenino		Masculino		
3,15	¿Quién decide sobre concesión de microcréditos? <i>Qui décide de l'octroi de micro-crédit?</i>					
3,16	¿Cómo se decide sobre la concesión de microcréditos? <i>Comment décidez-vous sur l'octroi de micro-crédit?</i>					

Hoja de datos - Fiche technique							4	
1,1	Nombre de la persona entrevistada		1,2	Nombre del pueblo				
4	Colección de datos: PRODUCCIÓN EN 2011							
¿Qué productos Usted recolecta y cuántos y quién vende los productos, cuánto Usted usa para el consumo propio en el año 2011?								
4,1	Fruto del campo	Cantidad cosechada (unidad) Quantité récolté (unités)		Cantidad vendida - Quantité vendu		¿Dónde Usted vende los productos? Où est-ce que vous vendez les produit?	Consumo propio - Autoconsommation Cantidad - Quantité	
		femenino	masculino	femenino	masculino			Precio para la unidad - Prix par l'unité
	maíz							
	plátano							
	guineo							
	Guandule							
	habichuelas - haricots							
	Petit mil/ sorgho							
	Mani _ arachide							
	caña de azúcar - cana de sucre							
	arroz - riz							
	Café/ Café							
	Papas _ pommes de terre							
	batatas- patates douces							
	Auyama _ jaumon							
Yuca - Manioc								
otros - autres								
4,2	Verdura-légumes	Cantidad cosechada (unidad) Quantité récolté (unités)		Cantidad vendida - Quantité vendu		¿Dónde Usted vende los productos? Où est-ce que vous vendez les produit?	Consumo propio - Autoconsommation Cantidad - Quantité	
		femenino	masculino	femenino	masculino			Precio para la unidad - Prix par l'unité
	tomates							
	Cebolla / Oignon							
	poivron / Aji							
	Repollo- choux							

(The survey sheet above is only one part of the gathering of the agricultural production. The data has been exhaustively leveraged on harvest yields of crop, fruit, vegetables as well as animal production. The entire section cannot be displayed entirely.)

Hoja de datos - Fiche technique							5
0,1	Nombre de la persona entrevistada - <i>Nom de la personne interviewée</i>		0,2	Nombre del pueblo <i>Nom de village</i>			
5 COSTOS Y GASTOS en la agricultura y en casa							
5,1	Costos para las materiales de siembra/año por familia en 2007 y 2011 <i>par an et par famille en 2007 et 2011</i>					Les coûts de matériel de semence / Commentaires Remarques	
	Número - <i>Quantité</i>		Precio/Unidad - <i>Prix/ unité</i>		¿Quién compró? <i>Qui organise l'achat?</i>		
	2007	2011	2007	2011	Feminino	Masculino	
	Maíz						
	Habichuela - <i>Haricots</i>						
	Verdura - <i>Légumes</i>						
	Otras semillas - <i>Autres</i>						
5,2	¿Usted tiene gastos mensuales para el transporte de los productos (p.ej. al mercado)? <i>Est-ce que vous avez des coûts pour le transport de marchandises (par exemple au marché)?</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,3	¿Cuánto se gasta en preparación, repasar y cosechar la tierra? <i>Dépenses pour la préparation, le repassage de la terre et la récolte?</i>						
5,3	Si es así, ¿cuánto cada mes? <i>Si oui, combien par mois?</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,4	Gastos de agricultura(preparación, repasar, cruzar, decosechar etc.), <i>dépenses pour la production agricole (préparation de la terre, récolte etc..)</i>		femenino		masculino		
Costos de casa - <i>Les coûts de ménage</i>							
5,5	¿Qué alimentos se compran? <i>Quels aliments est-ce que vous achetez?</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,6	¿Cuánto cuestan los alimentos que se compran? <i>Combien est-ce qu'ils coûtent?</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,7	Costos para la ropa (excepto ropa de escuela) <i>Coûts pour les vêtements (uniformes scolaires exclus)</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,8	Otros costos - <i>Autres coûts</i>		femenino		masculino		
Costos para educación - <i>Les dépenses pour l'éducation scolaire</i>							
5,9	Costos para la escuela - <i>Frais de scolarité</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,10	Costos para la uniforme escolar - <i>Coûts pour les uniformes scolaires</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,11	Otros costos - <i>Autres coûts</i>		femenino		masculino		
Otros costos - <i>Dépenses supplémentaires</i>							
5,12	Costos mensuales para recargar el celular <i>Coût par mois pour le chargement du portable?</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,13	¿Costos para baterías, pilas ...? <i>Coûts pour batteries,?</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,14	Costos mensuales para el gas de casa /mensual <i>Dépenses pour le gaz ménage /mois</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,15	Costos de transporte / mensual <i>Frais de transport /mensuel</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,16	Costos para el mantenimiento y saneamiento de la vivienda <i>Coûts d'entretien et de rénovation du bâtiment</i>		femenino		masculino		
5,17	Otros costos - <i>Autres dépenses</i>		femenino		masculino		

Hoja de datos - Fiche technique						6
0,1	Nombre de la persona entrevistada <i>Nom de la personne interviewée</i>		0,2	Nombre del pueblo <i>Nom de village</i>		
6 Colección de datos: COMUNICACIÓN, INFRAESTRUCTURA Y ABASTECIMIENTO- COMMUNICATION, INFRASTRUCTURE ET APPROVISIONNEMENT						
6,1	¿Quién tiene un celular en la familia? <i>Qui détient un téléphone portable dans la famille?</i>		femenino-femelle	masculino- masculin	Comentarios- <i>Remarques</i>	
		0-9				
		10-19				
		20-29				
		30-39				
		40-49				
		50-59				
60-.....						
6,2	¿Usted tiene un animal o una motocicleta para moverse o para transportar productos? Si es así, ¿quién es el dueño? <i>Avez-vous un animal ou d'un cyclomoteur pour déplacer ou transporter des marchandises? Si oui, qui est le propriétaire?</i>		femenino - femelle	masculino - masculin	juntos - ensemble	
		caballo/bestia -				
		mulo/burro <i>mulet/âne</i>				
		motocicleta <i>cyclomoteur</i>				
		bicicleta <i>bicyclette</i>				
Otros - ¿cuáles? <i>Autre- Lesquels</i>						
6,3	¿Cuándo Usted compró el animal o la motocicleta? <i>Quand est-ce que vous avez acheté l'animal ou d'un cyclomoteur?</i>	antes de 2007 <i>avant 2007</i>		entre 2007 y 2011 <i>entre 2007 et 2011</i>		
6,4	¿Cuánto costó? <i>Combien est-ce que vous avez payé?</i>					
6,5	¿Usted gana dinero con servicios de transporte (p.ej. taxi de motocicleta...)? <i>Avez-vous gagné de l'argent avec l'offre de services de transport (par exemple en taxi mobylette,.....)</i>		Sí - Oui	No - Non		
	Si es así, ¿cuánto al mes y al año? <i>Si oui, combien par mois et par année?</i>					
6,6	¿Quién gana el dinero? <i>Cet argent dans la famille (âge)?</i>	femenino - femelle	masculino - masculin	juntos - ensemble		
6,7	Posee un silo? <i>Possèdent-ils un silo?</i>	Depuis Quand?	Cómo lo financiaron? <i>Financé comment?</i>			
6,8	Posee letrinas? <i>Possèdent-ils des letrines?</i>					
	Fugon mejorado?					
6,9	Possen una estufa de gaz? <i>Possèdent-ils un four?</i>					
6,11	Poseen un panel solar? <i>Possèdent-ils un panel solaire?</i>					
6,12	Reciben la Tarjeta de Solidaridad? <i>Monto?</i>					
6,13	Reciben Bonogas? <i>Cuánto?</i>					

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