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Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

**“The Migration Process of Dominican Women to Austria.
Case Study: 1980s-2017. Some Strategies to Enter and
Stay in Europe”**

verfasst von / submitted by

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To my beloved mum, *in absentia*.

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Abstract (English)

This Master Thesis attempts to analyse the migration process of a group of Dominican women to Austria (1980s – 2017). The presence of Dominicans is widely known to be in the US where more than one million live and Puerto Rico – 57.891 residing legally -. Some Western European countries such as Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy and Austria have also been chosen by this community to migrate due to their development and work possibilities. Of all these countries, as of 2017, Spain has more than 152.000 Dominicans while Austria 3124.

Since the 1980s, the Dominican Republic has characterized itself as an emigration country owing to its economic and political instability which has pushed many of its citizens to look for a living elsewhere. Austria was a destination selected by a trafficking network in charge of bringing migrants to Europe. In this way, a group of women, who would devote themselves to sex work, arrived in this German-speaking country in the 1980s. Their arrival coincided, in part, with the implementation of neoliberal policies at a worldwide level that expelled them from the poor South to the rich North.

In this context, I started to study the path these women chose to come to Austria, the political and economic conditions in the Dominican Republic since the Late 19th century and their connection with migration, the social networks formed to bring their relatives and friends to this European country as well as the strategies employed to stay in Europe.

Zusammenfassung (German)

Die vorliegende Masterarbeit versucht, den Migrationsverlauf einer Gruppe dominikanischer Frauen in Österreich (1980er Jahre-2017) zu analysieren. Die Präsenz der DominikanerInnen in den USA, wo mehr als eine Million lebt, ist wohlbekannt, ebenso in Puerto Rico, wo sich heute 507891 legal aufhalten. Einige westeuropäische Länder wie Spanien, Belgien, die Niederlande, Großbritannien, Frankreich, die Schweiz, Deutschland, Italien und Österreich sind ebenfalls Zielländer, wohin diese Personen wegen der Entwicklungs- und Arbeitsmöglichkeiten wandern. Unter diesen Ländern beherbergte im Jahre 2017 Spanien mehr als 152.000 DominikanerInnen, Österreich 3124. Seit den 1980er Jahren zeigt sich die Dominikanische Republik wegen wirtschaftlicher und politischer Instabilität, die viele ihrer BürgerInnen zwingt, ihren Lebensunterhalt anderswo zu suchen, als Auswanderungsland. Österreich war das Zielland eines Frauenhandelsnetzwerks, das Migrantinnen nach Europa brachte. Auf diesem Weg kam in der 1980er Jahren auch eine Gruppe von Frauen, die sich der Sexarbeit zuwenden sollte, in das deutschsprachige Österreich. Ihre Ankunft fiel in die Zeit neoliberaler Politik weltweit, die sie aus dem armen Süden in den reichen Norden vertrieb. In diesem Umfeld begann ich mit der Untersuchung, welchen Weg diese Frauen wählten, um nach Österreich zu kommen, der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse in der Dominikanischen Republik seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert und ihre Verbindung zu Migration, der sozialen Netzwerke, mit deren Hilfe Verwandte und Freunde ebenfalls nach Österreich kamen, und schließlich ihrer Strategien, um in Europa bleiben zu können.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

This thesis attempts to study the migration process of a group of Dominican women to Austria (1980s – 2017). Dominicans started to migrate massively in the 1980s, in part, due to the implementation of neoliberal policies in the Dominican Republic which pushed many people to find a living elsewhere. The most important destination was the US where, at present, more than one million live and Puerto Rico where 57.891 reside legally. In addition, some Western European countries were also selected. Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Switzerland, Germany, Italy and Austria are some of the countries where Dominicans have settled permanently.

Since the 1980s, the Dominican Republic has characterized itself as an emigration country owing to its economic and political instability.¹ Besides, inequality seems to be an important issue since this factor prevents social mobility for an important sector of its citizens. In fact, more than 13 % of its population lives outside its borders out of a population of almost eleven million.²

Austria was a destination selected by a trafficking network in charge of bringing migrants to Europe. In this way, a group of women, who would devote themselves to sex work, arrived in this German-speaking country in the 1980s.³

¹ In 1978, the president in office, Joaquín Balaguer attempted to stay in power illegally and this was repudiated by the people. Antonio Guzmán won the elections in that year instead but corruption did not diminish but it even increased. In addition, the economic situation of the country worsened due to the mismanagement of the previous and Guzmán's governments. Frank Moya Pons. 1998. *The Dominican Republic. A National History*. Princeton. Markus Wiener Publishers, p. 406.

² Eddy Tejeda. 2016. "La emigración dominicana: Cifras y Tendencias" en: Petrozziello, A. (ed.). *Estado de las migraciones que atañen a la República Dominicana 2015*. OBMICA. Santo Domingo. Editora Búo, p. 67.

³ The information of women working in sex trade has been obtained through the women themselves since there is difficulty to get official data in the Consulates, Ministry of Interior or the Foreign Police. Most of them come from Perú and the Dominican Republic, also from Bolivia, Ecuador and Cuba. Very few come to work here without contacts or relationships. The ones who choose Austria do it because they have relatives, friends or acquaintances. However, some come because they were cheated by travel agencies or with promises of faked jobs, with attractive contracts as dancers or with the prospect of getting married to an Austrian man. In all cases, dependency is the common denominator. Another case are women married to Austrian men who they meet in their countries of origin through the sex tourism. These men promise these women a paradise with money and no problems. Also, these men promise those women with children to bring them in the short term. However, when these women arrive in Austria, they are obliged to work in the sex trade. María Cristina Boidi. 1995. Austria ¿Y Entonces por qué vienen? En: *América Latina en movimiento*. <http://www.alainet.org/es/active/1023>. 01.07.1995. María Cristina Boidi has been the coordinator and cofounder of LEFÖ since 1985. In fact, "LEFÖ is an association by and for migrant women founded in 1985 by Latin American women living in exile in Austria. LEFÖ has made an exerted effort to respond to migrant women's diversified and complex needs due to the migration movements over the past 25 years. LEFÖ has been a pioneer in Austria in working with migrant women in sex work and with women affected by trafficking. Today, LEFÖ is still the only organization in Austria that provides a broad spectrum of counseling and support

The main objective of this work is to study the path these women chose to come to Austria, the political and economic conditions in the Dominican Republic since the Late 19th century and their connection with migration, the social networks formed to bring their relatives and friends to this European country as well as the strategies employed to stay in Europe.

1.2 Research Questions and Hypothesis

In this thesis, I will study the migration process of some Dominican women who moved to Austria⁴ between thirty and thirty-three years ago, in the 1980s.⁵ There were no men migrating to Austria during the first phase of this migration process. These first migrants were not qualified workers but instead they were considered low-skilled labour. In effect, they had no education (only primary school) or particular abilities when they arrived in this country. They were predominantly women who worked in sex trade when they came to Austria. In fact, “the Dominican Republic has the fourth highest number in the world of women working overseas in the sex trade after Thailand, Brazil and the Philippines”.⁶ It is estimated that more than 50.000 women are sex workers and “the main concentrations of these women are to be found in Austria, Curaçao, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Italy, The Netherlands, Panama, Puerto Rico, Spain, Switzerland, Venezuela and the West Indies”.⁷

With the passing of years, after approximately six or eight years of living in Austria,⁸ they improved their status and started to work mainly in the service sector: restaurants, catering, bakeries, cleaning at hotels, domestic service, taking care of

for migrant women and advocates for their rights”. http://www.lefow.at/index.php/About_LEFÖ.html. 2010.

⁴ The migration process of these first women has been very difficult to trace and follow. Some died and some went back to the Dominican Republic. The ones who still remain in Vienna are reluctant to talk to a stranger like me about this migration experience. However, these first women were the ones who initiated this migration process and enabled the arrival of relatives, friends and acquaintances after they settled in Austria. From that moment onwards, a succession of Dominicans, men and women started to come to this German-speaking country. In fact, the only reliable sources for the first phase of this process are people who met some of these women and were able to speak about it. Interviews with Pedro and Ivelize. Appendix.

⁵ Information obtained through interviews with Dominican women who have been living in Austria since 1984.

⁶ *Trafficking in Women from the Dominican Republic for Sexual Exploitation*. International Organization for Migration (IOM). 5.1996.

<http://www.oas.org/atip/country%20specific/TIP%20DR%20IOM%20REPORT.pdf>. 6.1996.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ These women worked in the sex trade for their husbands between six or eight years. After this period, they settled in the country and could divorce continuing with their lives. Interview with Pedro, a person who has a thorough knowledge of the migration process of Dominican women to Austria. Appendix.

children and old people, masseuses, nurses and hairdressers.⁹ Therefore, the questions are the following:

- .- Why did these Dominican women start to leave their home country in the 1980s?;
- .- Did these Dominican women really select Austria or did the trafficking network choose it according to the demand of labour of these Dominican women?;
- .- What strategies have Dominicans used in order to enter and stay in Europe?

In order to answer these questions, I will provide an overview of neo-liberal policies at a worldwide level and their implementation in the Dominican Republic through the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) because these measures acted as a push factor for this migration process. Also, I will outline the socio-economic-conditions of the Dominican Republic thirty-three years ago to look for a connection with this migration. In sum, the hypothesis of this work is that some Dominican women migrated to Austria due to drastic poverty and inadequate living conditions in their home country approximately thirty-three years ago. However, Austria was chosen by a trafficking network in charge of bringing migrant women to different European countries. In the 1980s, there was demand of Dominican women who were considered *exotic* by the Austrian sex market.¹⁰ As these women were determined to improve their personal status at all costs, they came to Austria.¹¹ That is, they made this decision based on a critical economic and social situation in their nation and they did not take into account other factors such as language difficulties or cultural differences. As a matter of fact, some of these women knew they were coming to Austria while some others did not.¹²

This Master Thesis is organized as follows: Part 2 deals with methodological issues describing the approach adopted as well as the sources employed. Part 3 describes the implementation of neoliberal policies at a worldwide level and their effects on the Dominican Republic through the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZ). In addition, in this section, the reasons these women had for leaving their own country, some migration strategies and the way these women arrived in Austria are also discussed. Part 4 analyses the results of

⁹ Information obtained through the interviews with Dominican women in Vienna. Appendix.

¹⁰ Louise Shelley. *Human Smuggling and Trafficking to Europe. A Comparative Perspective*. Migration Policy Institute. 02.2014, p. 5.
<http://www.oas.org/atip/country%20specific/TIP%20DR%20IOM%20REPORT.pdf>. 1996.

¹¹ Information obtained through the interviews with Dominican women in Vienna. Appendix.

¹² Interview with Pedro. Appendix.

the interviews, describes them and tackles the degree of integration of these women in Austria. Throughout the thesis, the strategies these women have used to enter Austria are explained as well. And, finally, in Part 5, the conclusions are drawn.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Overview

In order to gain a valid insight into the migration process of a group of Dominican women to Austria, the scope of this thesis has been limited in terms of geographical location and research subject group. The focus of this thesis lies on the strategies used by this community with the purpose of entering Austria as well as the reasons these women had for leaving their home country. To fulfil this purpose, an explorative and empirical approach based on fieldwork was employed. Malinowski, the father of Social Anthropology advocated to go “into the field” instead of doing the job from the comfort of an armchair. That is, the idea of this concept lies on interacting with the members of the people you are studying as closely as possible so that you can have a broad picture of your research object.¹³

Following this perspective, I shared meaningful moments with some members of the Dominican community who live in Vienna. First, I made contact with two of them in particular, Ivelize and Albania, and explained the purpose of my work to them. Once they knew I was writing about their migratory experience, they invited me to several family reunions and one birthday party where only Dominicans attended in Vienna. During all these meetings, I acted as an observant, attempting to register the most memorable details that could help me with my research work. Basically, I was able to capture their eating habits, family life, interaction within their families, friends and acquaintances and preferences for tropical music. Overall, I was present in sixteen reunions with different Dominican women from January to June, 2017. I also traced their migration trajectory through interviews with twenty-five women who moved to Austria between ten and thirty-three years ago, which is the main topic of this work.

Interviews are a useful resource in Oral History which deals with the recollections of living people over their past.¹⁴ This discipline uses interviews as part of its methodology to collect information about their study objects. In this particular case, I designed an interview to find out facts about the migration of these women to Austria. The interview contained closed questions but also open ones which encouraged these women to speak about their migration experience. During this

¹³ Bronislaw Malinowski. 1986. *Los argonautas del Pacífico Occidental*. Barcelona. Planeta-De Agostini, pp. 24-25.

¹⁴ Thad Sitton, George Mehaffy y O.L. Davis. 1989. *Historia oral. Una guía para profesores (y otras personas)*. México. Fondo de Cultura Económica, p. 12

process, some women spoke very little while some others revealed an important part of their lives.

The interviews consisted of simple questions that emphasized the arrival of this group in the country as well as the difficulties in adapting to the foreign nation. Besides, the interviews of this community were complementary of the numerous articles and reports consulted on the migration of these Dominicans to Austria. They were not conducted in a strict order since on many occasions, the interviewed had indirectly answered some of the questions and in some other cases, the questions were not applicable to the person being interviewed. This is why it may be said that they were flexible.

2.2 Data collection

The research to support this thesis relies on both qualitative and quantitative sources, however is predominantly based on the former. The research method is an analysis of documents that can be divided into three separate categories. The first category of sources, used throughout all chapters of the thesis, is that of scholarly articles on migration found in books, academic journals and official reports. Secondly, the thesis draws on the professional analysis of several international non-profit organizations specialising in migration at a worldwide level, in particular, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Migration Policy Institute. Similarly, several websites have been consulted. Thirdly, the interviews with these women which are primary sources. The interviews aimed at tracing the trajectory these women followed in their migration process. In addition to factual questions, the most important one was the reason they had for making such a decision and the way they started this journey.

Part of the quantitative information of this thesis, in the shape of statistics and graphs, is taken from official institutions such as the Austrian Statistics Agency and reports by the World Bank.

3. Globalization, Neoliberalism and their Connection with Migration

The current globalization paradigm emerged in the context of neoliberal strategies that started in the 1980s. Their most noticeable representatives were Ronald Reagan in the US and Margaret Thatcher in the UK. The objective of these neoliberal policies was to reverse the welfare states and diminish government intervention in labour and capital markets. In fact, globalization may be defined as “the widening, deepening and speeding up of a worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life”.¹⁵ In addition, a crucial indicator of globalization is the quick increase in “*cross-border flows* of all sorts, starting with finance and trade, but also including democratic values, cultural and media products – and most important in our context – people”.¹⁶ Besides, the opening of markets and the transfer of industrial production to low-wage economies weakened the political left and trade unions in industrial countries and reinforced authoritarian regimes in the South.¹⁷ As a consequence, “an emerging North-South divide, institutionalized through unequal terms of trade that favoured the industrialized and powerful North, continued earlier forms of more direct exploitation and guaranteed continued migrations”.¹⁸

Globalization is then seen as an ideology about how the world should be reorganized. These rules are included in the Washington consensus which dictates the principles on fiscal austerity, privatization and market liberalization.¹⁹ Additionally, international institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) “are seen as key instruments to impose this new neoliberal economic world order, for instance through “structural adjustment programmes”.²⁰

Nevertheless, globalization has uneven effects. On the one hand, it includes particular regions and social groups and on the other, it excludes others. As a matter of fact, “penetration of poor, weak economies by northern investments and

¹⁵ Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas and Mark J. Miller. 2014 (Fifth Edition). *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 33.

¹⁶ *Ibíd.*, p. 33.

¹⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 33.

¹⁸ Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder with Donna Gabaccia. 2009. *What is Migration History?* Cambridge. Polity Press. p. 46.

¹⁹ Joseph E. Stiglitz. 2002. *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York. WW Norton & Company, p. 53.

²⁰ Stephen Castles, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

multinational corporations leads to economic restructuring".²¹ Through this restructuring, some groups of workers and producers are included in the new economy while other groups find their means of support and workplaces destroyed and their qualifications diminished.²²

The globalization period was characterized by: changes in global investment patterns where increased capital export from developed countries in the 1970s and the 1980s led to the establishments of manufacturing industries in some less developed areas. In the 1990s and the 2000s new centres of economic dynamism appeared in the Middle East (Gulf oil states and more recently Turkey) and parts of Asia (first South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, later also Thailand, Malaysia, China and India) and Latin America (Brazil, Chile).²³

In addition, the micro-electronic revolution has reduced the need for manual workers in manufacturing together with an erosion of traditional skilled occupations in highly developed countries. This has brought up the expansion of the service sector, with demand for both highly skilled and low-skilled workers as well as growing informal sectors in the economies of wealthy countries, new forms of flexible labour, insecure legal status, variable duration and new gender roles as a consequence of neoliberal economic policies.²⁴

All these changes have had intense effects in Africa, Asia and Latin America, that is, in the least developed regions of the world. In some places, rapid industrialization and social change have taken place. However, in some other places, some development strategies have totally failed bringing about population growth, rapid urbanization, political instability, falling living standards and persistent poverty. The result has been an increase in inequality within and between regions.²⁵

As far as the effects of neoliberal policies in the Dominican Republic are concerned, the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in the country in the 1980s might be the clearest example of the implementation of some of these policies with contradicting consequences for the majority of the population.

²¹ Ibid., p. 34.

²² Joseph E. Stiglitz, op. cit. pp. 56-57.

²³ Stephen Castles, op. cit., p. 111.

²⁴ Anna Triandafyllidou, Ruby Gropas and Dita Vogel. 2007. "Introduction" in: Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas. *European Immigration. A Sourcebook*. Hampshire. Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 1-2.

²⁵ Joseph E. Stiglitz, op. cit. p. 67.

Over the last 30 years the Dominican Republic underwent a structural transformation from a basically agricultural country – with sugar production as its main crop - with some commodities to a more diversified space, with the US being its main preferential market.²⁶ By the 1980s, “the country’s economic focus had shifted to mining, tourism and manufacturing”.²⁷ In addition, during the 1980s and the 1990s, consecutive governments helped build up the country’s manufacturing sector by creating Special Economic Zones (SEZ) which offered tariff exemptions and a series of tax concessions to foreign companies.²⁸ These economic zones were mainly focused on garment assembly for export to the US under the Multi-Fiber Agreement (MFA).²⁹ However, in spite of these SEZ, a question still remains: Are SEZ developing activities with added value and encouraging connections with local industries?³⁰

Unfortunately, the answer to the previous question is negative since, most of the SEZ industries which were established on the island in the 1980s, were primarily *maquiladoras*.³¹ These industries required low-skilled labour and exported products of low domestic added value.³²

In the 1990s, the US assigned a specific quota of clothing and textile to the Dominican Republic which, in turn, made the sector expand in a considerable extent, producing more *maquilas* under the Multi-Fiber Agreement. However, low-skilled labour was required to perform these jobs and these positions were filled, for the most part, with women who earned very low wages.³³ In other words, of all the workers of these SEZ, 60% were women and 40% were men which totalled 91% of the staff. The remaining 9% were technicians among which there were more men (65%) than women (35%).³⁴ Therefore, the benefits obtained were static since they

²⁶ *Special Economic Zones in the Dominican Republic: Policy Considerations for a more Competitive and Inclusive Sector*. 2016. Washington, D.C. World Bank Group. 112878-REVISED-PUBLIC-GVC-and-SEZ-in-DR-P152202-output-final-clean-new-title, p. 12.

²⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 12.

²⁸ Eugenia Georges. 1990. *The Making of a Transnational Community*. New York. Columbia University Press, p. 30.

²⁹ *Special Economic Zones*, op. cit., p. 12.

³⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 4.

³¹ The term *maquiladora* is of Arab origin and it refers to the portion of grain, flour or oil that corresponds to the miller for the milling. Therefore, it is the payment done to a person for a specific job who is not the owner of the raw materials used in the production process. Nowadays, the name refers to a production process that is carried out in countries where there is cheap labour. Rudolf M. Buitellar, Ramón Padilla y Ruth Urrutia. 1999. *Centroamérica, México y República Dominicana: Maquila y Transformación Productiva*. Naciones Unidas. Santiago de Chile, p. 16.

³² *Special Economic Zones*, op. cit., p. 4.

³³ *Ibíd.*, p. 5.

³⁴ Rudolf M. Buitellar, et. al. op. cit., p. 79.

contributed to the economic activity.³⁵ However, that growth was not always evenly distributed among all the sectors of the society affecting the weakest groups of the population.³⁶

During the following decades, 2000s and 2010s, other products such as medical equipments and pharmaceuticals were produced. Nevertheless, most of the inputs had to be imported and there had been very few supply arrangements with domestic suppliers, not connecting the activity of the SEZ with local industries. In addition, more skilled workers were needed and higher wages paid but this meant that fewer employees were hired as well.³⁷

As it may be observed, a vicious cycle has existed in the Dominican Republic during the period 1980-2017 because several multinational industries provided dynamism to the economic activity but the benefits have not impacted on the economy as it was expected. Most of these factories were *maquilas* which contributed to the development of these receptor countries only through low wages and to a lesser degree, with the income of foreign currency.³⁸ During 1996, exports increased to 2.851 million dollars. There were 36 parks, 434 companies and 164.639 jobs created. The main activity of these factories was the textile industry whose exports represented 63% of the total. In fact, the Dominican Republic was the second largest Latin American exporter of textiles to the US after Mexico.³⁹ While in 1985-1991 the investment participation of these SEZ was 17% of the Domestic Gross Product (DGP), during 1992-1996 the percentage lowered to 2,7%. This decrease might be attributed, in part, to the enforcement of the NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement between the United States, Canada and Mexico) which increased the competitiveness of Mexico against the Dominican Republic.⁴⁰

In addition, these factories are isolated geographically and economically⁴¹ since products produced within SEZ are more technologically sophisticated than the

³⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 17.

³⁶ Francisco Galvão Carneiro and Sophie Sirtaine (eds.). 2017. *When Growth is not Enough: Explaining the Rigidity of Poverty in the Dominican Republic*. Washington, D.C. World Bank, p. 1.

³⁷ *Special Economic Zones*, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

³⁸ Rudolf M. Buitellar, et. al. op. cit., p. 17.

³⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 74.

⁴⁰ *Ibíd.*, pp. 75-76

⁴¹ "SEZ are geographically bounded areas in which customs, tax and investment regulations are more liberal than in the rest of the country. These zones are normally established with the goal of attracting foreign direct investment (FDI), serving as pressure valves to alleviate large-scale unemployment, promote exports and support wider economic reforms aimed at diversifying production. However, SEZ are pervasive across the developing world and their performance record is uneven given the different regulatory distortions they introduce in the market". *Special Economic Zones*, op. cit., p. 7.

ones manufactured under the national tax regimen which are mostly resource-based goods.⁴² Furthermore, firms based in SEZ are different from their peers outside the zones in terms of their export and import transactions, number of traded products and number of destinations.⁴³ The table below clearly shows these differences.

**Table 1: Export and Import Outcomes at the Firm-Level
(2006-2014)**

		Special Economic Zones		National Regime	
		Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports
Transaction					
Value/firm	Mean	44.98	54.05	5.62	3.32
	Median	0.27	4.99	0.05	0.04
Products/firm	Mean	6.38	46.32	4.03	9.91
	Median	1	20	1	2
Destinations/origins	Mean	2.58	4.82	1.61	1.47
/firm	Median	1	2	1	1

Note: Export and import transaction values are denominated in hundreds of thousands US Dollars. Figures are averaged across the period 2006-2014.

Source: authors' calculations using customs data.

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In sum, the implementation of neoliberal policies in the Dominican Republic through the installation of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in the 1980s affected it adversarially and that factor contributed to a greater impoverishment of the nation which at the same time encouraged migration to the US, Puerto Rico and Europe. In fact, “in Latin America, growth has not been accompanied by a reduction in inequality or even a reduction in poverty. In some cases, poverty has actually increased”.⁴⁵ However, the main difficulty of the Dominican Republic seems to be *structural poverty*, a topic which will be dealt with in the next section.

3.1 Political and Economic Conditions in the Dominican Republic since the late 19th Century and their Linkage with Emigration

The causes of international migration from the Dominican Republic may be traced to its incorporation into the world economy in the Late nineteenth century and to its increasing dependence on the United States since then.⁴⁶

⁴² Ibid., p. 10.

⁴³ Francisco Galvão Carneiro and Sophie Sirtaine, op. cit. p. 6.

⁴⁴ *Special Economic Zones*, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴⁵ Joseph Stiglitz, op. cit. p. 79.

⁴⁶ Eugenia Georges, op. cit., p. 25.

During the second part of the nineteenth century, the Dominican Republic had relatively little movement. In 1871, the estimated population of 150,000 to 200,000 lived in the countryside and there was abundance of land, private and communal with very few conflicts. In fact, “social and economic differences between people appear to have been minimal. The number of large landholders was small and much of the national territory lay uncultivated”.⁴⁷

However, this period of isolation and stagnation finished suddenly during the 1880s when the Dominican Republic started a period of quick social and economic change. Economic growth began with the foreign investment in large-scale sugar production for the world market and led to a hegemonic position within a few decades.⁴⁸ In effect, the first investors were Cubans who were fleeing the Cuban war of independence (1868-1878). They brought skills and capital and they settled in the south and east of this neighbouring island. In addition, investors from the USA, Europe and Puerto Rico came as well. The impact of these investments was immediately felt in the south because landowners sold their properties at very low prices. Many landowners were attracted by the salaries earned in the sugar plantations which were much higher than their earnings from their farms. Besides, peasants were displaced from their former jobs and they filled part of the needed labour together with foreign migrant labour.⁴⁹ In this way, these workers would be totally dependent on the sugar industry.

This profitable business of the sugarcane produced a new local elite composed partly of Dominicans, immigrant planters and merchants. These, in turn, invested its growing sugar profits in the cultivation of other crops such as coffee, cacao, and cattle ranching. Demand for land increased very quickly producing a rise in value and the appearance of a proletarianized labour force depending on the sugar cultivation. Work was only assured during the harvest period. “The rest of the time they would be left in misery and indebtedness”.⁵⁰

This process of consolidation of landholdings was further accomplished by the U.S. military occupation of Santo Domingo in 1916-1924. Debts acquired by former administrations had led the country close to bankruptcy with the U.S. and the

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁸ Harry Hoetink. 2000. “The Dominican Republic in the Twentieth Century: Notes on Mobility and Stratification” in: *New West Indian Guide*. Vol. 74, N 3 & 4, p. 210.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 210.

⁵⁰ Frank Moya Pons, op. cit., p. 262.

American desire to ensure repayment and to gain influence in the Caribbean prompted this action. Furthermore, this American interference in internal affairs in the Dominican Republic intensified the American expansion in this country.⁵¹

One of the most important consequences of this occupation government was the Land Registration Act of 1920 through which the expansion of the U.S. owned sugar plantations was reinforced. Nevertheless, there was local opposition and a guerrilla war against the American presence that finally ended with this occupation in 1924. Still, "sugar companies controlled nearly a quarter of all agricultural land, 80 per cent of which was owned by U.S. interests".⁵² Simultaneously, restrictions on foreign investment, particularly, German one were imposed by the Americans. In this way, the European influence diminished considerably strengthening the dependence on the United States.⁵³

Another important consequence of the American occupation was the Tariff Act of 1920 which favoured US exporters. Through this, the US became the main source of industrial and food imports to the Dominican Republic, damaging local producers.⁵⁴ During this period, local industries were obstructed and therefore, this factor retarded Dominican industrialization by twenty years, increasing American dominance even more.⁵⁵

In spite of these measures that prevented the Dominican economy from developing, there was one positive change brought about by the American occupation: public works were undertaken to connect remote regions of the countryside for the first time. Consequently, schools, roads, bridges and hospitals were constructed.⁵⁶ These roads linked the capital with the three major regions of the country and for the first time, "a rapid migratory movement was noted among the previously isolated *campesinos*⁵⁷ who now moved along the borders of these new roads".⁵⁸ In the following years, the highways would facilitate internal migration contributing to enlarge the rapid growth of Santo Domingo, whose population had grown very slowly in the past.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Eugenia Georges op. cit., pp. 26-27.

⁵² *Ibíd.*, p. 27.

⁵³ *Ibíd.*, p. 27.

⁵⁴ Frank Moya Pons, op. cit., pp. 324-325.

⁵⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 337.

⁵⁶ *Ibíd.*, p. 323.

⁵⁷ Peasants would be the English equivalent.

⁵⁸ Frank Moya Pons, op. cit. p. 336.

⁵⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 336.

This unification through infrastructure diminished the power of the political leaders called *caudillos* and led to the centralization of the country. Among all these reforms, the Dominican National Guard was created. This force would replace the armed forces comprising the Republican Guard and the old navy and the main objective of this body was to control revolutionary movements once the marines had left. In fact, “the guard’s leaders and commanders were chosen among the U.S. marine officers so that recruits would be trained according to the rules of the U.S. Marine Corps and thus be an extension of that body”.⁶⁰ Thus, the implementation of the Dominican National Guard contributed to this centralization after the Americans had left the country ensuring that the country’s government would rest on the hands of those who would be receptive to the US interests.⁶¹

After the U.S. withdrawal in 1924, there were orderly and free presidential elections which Horacio Vásquez won. However, in spite of the fact that the country was under the administration of its own citizens, it stayed in the juridical position of a protectorate. In effect, “the U.S. still reserved the rights to administer the customs houses, to intervene when it deemed necessary, and to authorize any increases in the public debt which the Dominican Republic wished to make”.⁶² In this way, the Dominicans had learned that the centre of political power in the Caribbean was in Washington and that the country was in the orbit of U.S. interests. Therefore, “the exercise of sovereignty would be understood by Dominican leaders as always conditioned by U.S. foreign policy”.⁶³

To some extent, the government of Horacio Vásquez was an extension of the U.S. military occupation.⁶⁴ He continued public works projects, sanitation services, education and agriculture. He also “initiated new irrigation programmes and the colonization of unused lands to make the country self-sufficient in certain basic stuffs”.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, the subsequent president, Rafael Trujillo, came to power through intrigues and intimidation and he managed to institutionalize a totalitarian political system without parallel in any other country in Latin America.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 323.

⁶¹ Eugenia Georges, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁶² Frank Moya Pons, *op. cit.* p. 339.

⁶³ *Ibíd.*, p. 339.

⁶⁴ Eugenia Georges, *op. cit.* p. 27.

⁶⁵ Frank Moya Pons, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

⁶⁶ *Ibíd.*, 361.

Following American predictions, in 1930, Rafael Trujillo became president of the Dominican Republic. Trujillo was one of the many former members of the Dominican Navy who had joined the Dominican National Guard to start a military career.⁶⁷ He ruled the republic for the successive thirty-one years until he was assassinated, in 1961. Trujillo introduced many changes in the economy. “His drive toward industrialization created a manufacturing sector which, using primarily indigenous raw materials, supplied the internal market and reduced exports”.⁶⁸ He also concentrated the land in his own hands. In fact, he acquired control over two-thirds of the republic’s assets, including half of all agricultural land.⁶⁹ During his government, the republic was transformed from an agrarian economy on a subsistence basis and the production of a few commodities to an industrializing nation based on capitalist relations of production and, in this phase, the support of the US was crucial.⁷⁰

Trujillo wanted to increase the population for economic and geopolitical reasons and therefore, he encouraged pronatalist and pro immigration policies which resulted in an increase from 1.5 to 3 million people between 1935 and 1960.⁷¹ In addition, emigration was restricted as well. The idea behind the implementation of restricting emigration was to ensure “the supply of skilled workers to the burgeoning import-substitution industries of Santo Domingo, as well as of agricultural producers on whom the cultivation of traditional export and food crops hinged”.⁷²

However, by the late 1950s the dependent development of the Dominican industry started to suffer the effects of worldwide recession. “Export prices fell, the national debt grew and the economy stagnated”.⁷³ In spite of the effort of Trujillo towards industrialization, the Dominican economy depended exclusively on the export of sugar to the US. In addition, Trujillo’s low-wage policies limited effective demand for the goods produced in his import-substitution industries, a contradiction that persists up to the present.⁷⁴ As a consequence, there were high rates of unemployment and underemployment, restrictions on international population movements continued and emigration remained at low levels.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ Eugenia Georges, op. cit., p. 28.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁹ Frank Moya Pons, op. cit., p. 351.

⁷⁰ Eugenia Georges, op. cit. pp. 28-29.

⁷¹ Harry Hoetink, op. cit. p. 210.

⁷² Eugenia Georges, op. cit., p. 29.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷⁵ Harry Hoetink, op. cit., pp. 218-219.

Trujillo's policies toward emigration were restrictive but between 1950 and 1960, around 9,800 people emigrated to the United States as legal residents. These people had financial means so as to obtain the necessary documents to travel and the appropriate political connections needed to leave the country. That is to say, they were privileged since it was not easy to undertake such an enterprise in those years.⁷⁶ In addition to people with money and connections, there were some political exiles who managed to flee the island. "While some settled in New York, others went to Europe, Puerto Rico and Venezuela".⁷⁷

Internal opposition to Trujillo led to his assassination in 1961. There were several conspiracies against the dictator. In one of them, some Dominican exiles together with some Cuban military commanders of Castro's Sierra Maestra guerrilla attempted to overthrow Trujillo's government but they failed. In another one, a group of men encouraged by former General Juan Tomás Díaz, a friend of Trujillo who had lost his rank and had fallen in disgrace plotted against Trujillo until Díaz shot Trujillo dead.⁷⁸ After this event, many of his possessions passed into the hands of the state. Therefore, the struggle was over the control of the state apparatus. The following years were full of tension, instability and conflict which resulted in another US intervention in 1965. Elections promoted by the United States installed Joaquín Balaguer, a former presidential secretary to Trujillo, from 1966 to 1978.⁷⁹

After Trujillo's death, restrictions on population movement were eliminated. The newly elected president, Joaquín Balaguer, wanted to differentiate himself from his predecessor and he eliminated Trujillo's restrictions on emigration.⁸⁰ In addition, the country had undergone substantial demographic changes (more than three million inhabitants) that posed several problems for the government. In fact, the agricultural sector was unable to absorb this increase and a rural exodus was triggered leading to a dramatic growth of the larger cities. Also, international migration increased dramatically and immediately, in particular to the United States.⁸¹ From 1960 to 1962, the U.S. migration increased six-fold.⁸² And, "between 1966 and 1981, the number of legal residents admitted to the United States

⁷⁶ Eugenia Georges, op. cit., p. 37.

⁷⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 37.

⁷⁸ Frank Moya Pons, op. cit., p. 373.

⁷⁹ Eugenia Georges, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

⁸⁰ Harry Hoetink, op. cit., p. 210.

⁸¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 210.

⁸² Eugenia Georges, op. cit., p. 37.

averaged about 14,000 per year”.⁸³ In effect, Dominicans constituted the third largest Latin-American immigrant group after Mexicans and Cubans in the US. After 1960, the dominant classes viewed emigration as a positive aspect since it was a partial solution to the increasing unemployment in the cities.⁸⁴

As far as Balaguer’s economic policies were concerned, he forged an alliance with the different factions of the industrial, commercial and financial bourgeoisie and basically, he facilitated the introduction of foreign investment, especially, US multinational corporations which resulted in the expansion of manufacturing, extractive industries, and a few other sectors.⁸⁵ In addition, “a number of exceedingly low-wage, free-trade export zones called Special Economic Zones (SEZ) were created which fell outside of the purview of legislation intended to protect labour”.⁸⁶ By the late 1970s, around 19,000 workers assembled garments, electronic equipment and other products.⁸⁷ The majority of these workers were women as it happened in so many other countries.

Furthermore, Balaguer also encouraged public spending through construction.⁸⁸ To accomplish this, he requested foreign loans and in this way the foreign debt more than tripled between 1970 and 1978.⁸⁹ The bourgeoisie close to Balaguer benefitted from this money which, in turn, invested in all areas of the economy.

There was another group which benefitted from this public sector spending as well. It was a heterogeneous middle class which was composed mainly of petty government and private bureaucrats to well-paid managers working in finance, commerce and administration. In addition, professionals very well connected with Balaguer’s administration profited from lucrative contracts from the public sector. There was a quick expansion of universities, many of which followed the American model. The Dominican professionals and technicians needed to fill the growing demand for skilled labour by the modernization process attended these

⁸³ *Ibíd.*, p. 38.

⁸⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 38.

⁸⁵ Frank Moya Pons, *op. cit.* p. 400.

⁸⁶ Eugenia Georges, *op. cit.* p. 30.

⁸⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 30.

⁸⁸ Frank Moya Pons, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

⁸⁹ *Ibíd.*, p. 400.

universities.⁹⁰ “Indeed, the number of university graduates increased nearly 800% between 1970 and 1977”.⁹¹

Between 1966 and 1973, there was an important economic growth stimulated by the high prices of sugar (the major export), coffee, gold and other export commodities. Besides, there was financial aid from the U.S.,⁹² high levels of investment and government spending. These years were known as the *Dominican miracle* and they witnessed “phenomenal GDP growth rates averaging over 11 per cent between 1969 and 1974”.⁹³ However, this increase in GDP did not mean more jobs. On the contrary, “the overall rate of unemployment remained unchanged between 1970 and 1983”.⁹⁴

Overall, this rate of growth did not imply an improvement in the real income of Dominican workers. On the contrary, in spite of the *Dominican miracle*, between 1968 and 1975, there was high inflation and stagnant wages, factors which to some degree, penalized the rural sector where about half the labour force was found in the early 1970s.⁹⁵ Balaguer’s policies clearly favoured the urban sector since he imposed price controls on agricultural products, dependence on the bourgeoisie for credit and marketing and support for terms of exchange which favoured urban importers and industrialists. All these measures hurt farmers and exacerbated existing income inequalities between city and countryside.⁹⁶ As a result, between 1965 and 1978, the proportion of GDP on agriculture reduced from 26 per cent to 12 per cent.⁹⁷ By the early 1980s, modern sugar production began to suffer a decline after dominating the economy for almost a century. In addition, manufacturing and the service industry, in particular tourism began to develop rapidly. During this process, the participation of women in the labour market was significant.⁹⁸

As a consequence of the implementation of these policies towards agriculture, the country started to suffer the shortage of basic food staples and food

⁹⁰ Eugenia Georges, op. cit., p. 31.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 31.

⁹² “The amount of money the United States poured into the Dominican Republic between 1966 and 1973 was enormous in proportion to the small size of the country’s economy”. Frank Moya Pons, op. cit., p. 397. In fact, the Dominican Republic received \$122 million between 1965 and 1966. From 1967 until 1969, the aid increased to \$133 million a year and from 1960 to 1973 the aid fell to 78 million a year. Ibid., p. 397.

⁹³ Eugenia Georges, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 32.

⁹⁵ Harry Hoetink, op. cit., p. 210.

⁹⁶ Eugenia Georges, op. cit. pp. 32-33.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

⁹⁸ Harry Hoetink, op. cit., p. 210.

imports were needed, increasing their prices. Therefore, “massive food imports from the United States had a further adverse effect on the production of many staples”.⁹⁹ To make matters worse, the accumulation of land in the hands of a few increased. This process had begun at the end of the 19th century and continued during the Trujillo era. A similar story took place under Balaguer’s presidency since multinational corporations were able to accumulate vast extensions of agricultural land. As a matter of fact, “the conditions granted by the Dominican government to foreign investments were always extremely generous”.¹⁰⁰

Technological innovations in agriculture were minimal, especially on land producing food crops. In 1971, only just 5 % of all farms used mechanized production and just another 5 % used a combination of animal and mechanical means. In addition, “only about one fifth of agricultural land was fertilized”.¹⁰¹

In an attempt to reverse this critical situation in agriculture productivity, Balaguer introduced an agrarian reform in 1972 which was received favourably by all peasants. However, the slow pace of the reform, coupled with the small size of the pieces of land distributed, insured the decline of the agrarian sector contributing to the pauperization of large segments of the rural population.¹⁰²

As a result, there was another massive migration from the countryside to Santo Domingo. By the 1970s, over half of the population in the capital of the country was composed of internal migrants and due to the lack of jobs, the great majority started working in the tertiary or informal sector of the urban economy. These jobs included small, commercial and crafts activities of very low productivity and insufficient pay.¹⁰³ In addition, there were many women who earned their money as what is euphemistically called *bailarinas* but in fact, it is a cover term to refer to sex work.¹⁰⁴

This large-scale rural exodus to Santo Domingo produced a gap in the production of the most important crop: the sugar industry, which prompted the importation of low wage Haitian labour. In fact, Haitian workers had already come to the Dominican Republic at the beginning of the twentieth century and employers

⁹⁹ Eugenia Georges, op. cit., p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Frank Moya Pons, op. cit. p. 400.

¹⁰¹ Eugenia Georges, op. cit., p. 34.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁰⁴ Harry Hoetink, op. cit., p. 219.

continued contracting Haitians for very low wages in agriculture and in construction, leaving the nationals – if these had not already left – without work.¹⁰⁵

This economic crisis in agriculture and the massive migration from the country to the cities marked a period of profound recession in the 1970s. This situation led the Dominican Republic to become a net importer of food supplies from the U.S. in 1973. “By 1973, the United States was the leading supplier of imports to the republic, with 58% of the total for that year; it was also the leading market for exports, absorbing 66 per cent of the Dominican total”.¹⁰⁶ As a matter of fact, the Dominican Republic came to be regarded as “the best market the U.S. has in the Caribbean or Central America”.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, in 1974 the world oil crisis also affected this country initiating a period of sustained economic decline.

These economic difficulties during the 1970s were accompanied by the defeat of Balaguer in the 1978’s presidential elections. The following president, Antonio Guzmán could do little to stop the deteriorated economic situation which was characterized by growing inflation, national debt and deficit in the balance of payment. In order to cope with this critical state of affairs, wages and prices were frozen which increased unemployment and through more hardship for most of the lowest sectors of the Dominican population.¹⁰⁸

In 1982, Jorge Blanco was elected president of the Dominican Republic and despite the promises to correct the past economic distortions, he was unable to carry them out. He was compelled to implement an austerity programme encouraged by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to readjust the economic imbalances and those measures affected the lowest classes once more, in particular women who were the breadwinners.¹⁰⁹ In fact, the Dominican economy

¹⁰⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 229.

¹⁰⁶ Eugenia Georges, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibíd.*, p. 35,

¹⁰⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁹ In the 1980s, two phenomena took place. On the one hand, women started to participate in the labour market in an increasing way through the factories of the Special Economic Zones (SEZ, 60% of women against 40% of men). Rudolf M. Buitellar, *et. al. op. cit.*, p. 79. On the other hand, there was massive migration of women, mainly to the US and Europe. The migration from Latin America to Europe turned into a feminine one and it was basically economic and autonomous. Women embarked on long-distance migrations in conjunction with shorter ones and from the countryside to the urban areas. As a matter of fact, “a study on Dominicans in Madrid states that at the beginning of the 1990s, Dominicans totalled 12.000 out of which 9000 were women. These migrants were young women between 25 and 45 years old. The majority had had a partner and they had been either married, divorced or separated. Most of them were mothers with an average number of three and six children”. Elia Ramirez Bautista. 2000. *Mujeres Latinoamericanas en Europa. Inmigración, Trabajo, Género y*

was undergoing a critical period since “agriculture was at a standstill for lack of incentives, industry was inefficient due to exaggerated protection and public enterprises were on the edge of bankruptcy and the government could not longer afford to subsidize them”.¹¹⁰ Additionally, this economic situation did not improve with the following president: Joaquin Balaguer.

In 1986, Balaguer was elected president for the fourth time and his policies worsened the situation of the poor and the middle class and encouraged the deterioration of income among most of the population. “While in 1984 there were one million Dominicans below the poverty line, in 1989 this figure had duplicated to more than two million. In 1989, 57 per cent of the Dominican households lived under the line of poverty”.¹¹¹

This level of poverty was one of the main factors for people to leave the country and attempt to find a living elsewhere. Dominicans started to depart in the 1960s, after Trujillo’s restrictions for emigration were eliminated. This trend continued in the 1980s in great numbers and it has not stopped since then. In effect, “by 1981, the number of Dominicans in the United States was estimated at between 300.000 and 500.000, virtually all of them having arrived after 1961”.¹¹² Nevertheless, the Dominican Republic has grown considerably in terms of its GDP but that growth has not been distributed evenly between the different sectors of the population, leaving an important portion outside these benefits. As a matter of fact, *structural poverty* has been the main driving force that has pushed so many Dominicans out of their country since the 1980s.

By the end of the 1980s, the CEPAL (Comisión Económica para América Latina) attempted to outline the development strategies for the following decade: the 1990s basing its analysis on the experience of the preceding years.¹¹³ This

Atención. Latin American Women in Europe.

<http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/Lasa2000/RamirezBautista>, pp. 4-5.

¹¹⁰ Frank Moya Pons, op. cit. p. 413.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

¹¹² Harry Hoetink, op. cit., p. 218.

¹¹³ By the 1980s, Latin America’s economies were characterized by external dependence and excessive State intervention. In addition, unequal social structures were a legacy from the past which had not been overcome. These imbalances were adjusted through external borrowing that led to liberalization of domestic financial markets and fiscal deficits. This new economic scenario brought about the 1980s debt crisis in Latin America, in particular in Argentina, Mexico and Venezuela which lacked sturdy mechanisms for controlling capital movements. Luis Bértola and José Antonio Ocampo. 2012. “Latin America’s debt crisis and “lost decade” in: *Learning from Latin America: Debt Crises, debt rescues and when and why they work*. Institute for the Study of the Americas. University of London –

commission came to the conclusion that the increase in productivity and exports would be meaningful only if they incorporated technology. Once these two conditions were fulfilled then, they would become a positive contribution for a sustainable development and for further social equity.¹¹⁴ However, these development strategies were not achieved in the Dominican Republic since there has been no technical progress and therefore no genuine competitiveness.¹¹⁵ In fact, “the key challenge that the Dominican economy faces at this time is to understand the conundrum of rapid growth with limited poverty reduction”.¹¹⁶

The Dominican Republic has enjoyed one of the strongest growth rates in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) over the past 25 years. Indeed, “between 1992 and the year 2000, the Dominican Republic’s economy grew at an average of 6.7 per cent per year, being the top performer in the region”.¹¹⁷ During 2001-2013, growth remained high, at an average of 5.1 per cent, placing the Dominican economy’s performance at fourth in the region (after Argentina, Panamá and Peru).¹¹⁸ However, growth has not been as inclusive as it would have been expected as one in three Dominicans remains below the poverty line.¹¹⁹

Another characteristic of the Dominican economy over the past thirty years has been limited upward economic mobility. That is, under 7 per cent of the population in the Republic moved up in the income ranks (from vulnerable to middle class) in contrast to 41 per cent in the LAC region.¹²⁰ That is, less than 70.000 people changed their social status out of a population of 10.648.612 in 2016.¹²¹

Some of the possible reasons which might be able to explain this phenomenon of high growth rates combined with extreme poverty are: a labour market that has been unable to translate productivity gains into salary increases; a domestic economy with weak intersectoral connections and a public sector that does not invest enough resources to reduce poverty.¹²²

School of Advanced Study. Development Bank of Latin America, pp. 6-9. <http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/6500/1/Bertola%20and%20Ocampo%20paper.2012>.

¹¹⁴ Rudolf M. Buitellar, et. al. op. cit., p. 17.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹¹⁶ Francisco Galvão Carneiro and Sophie Sirtaine, op. cit., p. xi.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Rudolf M. Buitellar, et. al. op. cit., p. 17.

¹²⁰ *Special Economic Zones*, op. cit. p. 11.

¹²¹ Pirámides de población del mundo desde 1950 a 2100.

<https://www.populationpyramid.net/es/república-dominicana/2016/>.

¹²² Francisco Galvão Carneiro and Sophie Sirtaine, op. cit., p. 3.

As an example of what has been stated above, it is worth mentioning that some of the sectors that contributed the most to GDP growth (manufacturing, telecommunications and financial services) have not produced as many jobs and their shares in employment remain low since 2004.¹²³

In addition, some faster expanding sectors such as retail and hotels, bars and restaurants have created mostly unskilled jobs. Since 2002, “the retail and wholesale trade industries have employed, on average, one in five Dominicans, either male or female”.¹²⁴ That is, the unemployment rate remains high in skilled and unskilled labour and that factor continues to be a structural problem when economic variables are dealt with. As far as female unemployment is concerned, the World Bank has gathered the following percentages in this regard: 33.6% in 1991 and 22.2% in 2016.¹²⁵

To make matters worse, workers in the tertiary or informal sector of the urban economy in the Dominican Republic constitute a very diverse and widespread group. Some of these workers are obliged to accept informal contracts and some small business owners do not comply with the law in terms of registering these workers properly since they find it troublesome and expensive.¹²⁶ As a consequence, informality pushes people outside the social security safety nets, strip the state of potential tax resources and limit their participation in organized worker unions.¹²⁷

As it may be observed, the Dominican Republic has attained a considerable progress in economic terms over the last 25 years. However, that growth has not been translated into a quality life for an important sector of its citizens since around 35.7% of its population still live under the poverty line and 16.8% of people are considered extremely poor according to the CEPAL (Comisión Económica para América Latina).¹²⁸ This factor makes the Dominican society a highly unequal one. This is why so many Dominicans have decided to emigrate and have attempted to make a living elsewhere.

¹²³ *Ibíd.*, p. 3.

¹²⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 4.

¹²⁵ Female unemployment in the Dominican Republic. The World Bank. 2017. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.FE.ZS>. 2017.

¹²⁶ Francisco Galvão Carneiro and Sophie Sirtaine, *op. cit.* *Ibíd.*, p. 5.

¹²⁷ Mario Garza, Pablo Morra and Dominique Simard. 2012. “The Fiscal Position: Prospects and Options for Adjustment” in: Marco Pinón, Alejandro López-Mejía, Mario Garza and Fernando L. Delgado (eds.) *Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic: International Monetary Challenges Following the 2008-09 Global Crisis*. International Monetary Fund, p. 123.

¹²⁸ Eddy Tejeda, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

3.2 Migration to Austria

Over the last 70 years, Austria has become a diverse country due to the number and types of immigrants it has received. After WW2, Austria transformed into a country of destination or temporary stay for millions of migrants. In fact, “between 1945 and 1950 about 460.000 ethnic Germans and 140,000 other refugees and displaced persons from Eastern Europe stayed in Austria and were integrated”.¹²⁹

There were three main important waves of people requesting asylum in Austria due to political crises in the communist countries during the Cold War. The first group came from Hungary. In 1956-57, more than 180.000 refugees from Hungary entered Austria. In 1956 a spontaneous student revolt demanding a more democratic political system and freedom from Soviet oppression took place in Budapest. Subsequent repression occurred causing the fleeing of thousands of Hungarians.¹³⁰ Second, in 1968-1969, after the Prague Spring, about 162.000 Czechoslovakians entered Austria but only 12.000 sought asylum. Third, in 1981-1982, the suppression of the Solidarity movement in Poland led between 120.000 and 150,000 Poles to leave Poland for Austria and from this number “only about 33,000 of them later applied for asylum”.¹³¹

In 1991-1992, there was a fourth wave of asylum seekers who came from Yugoslavia, in particular from the war areas of Croatia and Bosnia. In response to this crisis, “about 14,000 victims of the civil war in Croatia were granted temporary residence as *de facto* refugees”.¹³² In addition, in 1991, the number of asylum seekers from Romania (7,506) and Turkey (2,252) remained high.¹³³

In 1992, there were fewer applications (16,238) for asylum in Austria due to more restrictive practices.¹³⁴ Because of this, illegal immigrants and *de facto*

¹²⁹ Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Münz. 1994. “Austria: A Country of Immigration and Emigration” in: Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Münz (eds.) *European Migration in the Late Twentieth Century. Historical Patterns, Actual Trends and Social Implications*. Aldershot. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp. 151-152.

¹³⁰ Eric Hobsbawm. 1994. *Historia del Siglo XX*. Buenos Aires. Crítica, p. 396.

¹³¹ Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Münz, op. cit., p. 152.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 152.

¹³³ Michael Jandl and Albert Kraler. *Austria: A country of immigration?* Migration Policy Institute. Online Journal. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/austria-country-immigration>. 1.03.2003.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

refugees increased. In fact, the majority of refugees came from Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia.¹³⁵

During the 1990s, there was ambivalence as far as migration in relation to asylum policies were concerned in Austria. On the one hand, the Austrian authorities stated that asylum remained a basic principle of Austrian policy but on the other hand, the social climate and political practices changed completely. “Numerous potential asylum seekers and would-be immigrants are turned away or sent back at the borders or at Vienna airport. In many cases this is done before they have a chance to apply for asylum”.¹³⁶ Since 1992, a separate Federal Asylum Office deals with all cases and most applications are rejected in summary proceedings. In fact, “in 1993 only 5000 were able to apply for asylum”.¹³⁷ Austrian restrictive immigration policies are supported by public opinion.

As regards foreign labour in Austria, the recruitment of workers from abroad started in the beginning of the 1960s. This guest workers programme began as a temporary, rotating migration but the system turned into a mixed form of circular and permanent migration.¹³⁸ By this token, Austria signed recruitment agreements with Spain in 1962, with Turkey in 1964 and with Yugoslavia in 1966. “In 1974, the employment of guest workers reached its first peak with 220,000 foreign workers in Austria”.¹³⁹

After 1974, a period of economic stagnation followed because there was a world oil crisis and subsequent recession which affected the economies of Western Europe causing unemployment and low economic growth.¹⁴⁰ This factor led to reductions in the recruitment of guest workers in Austria. “As a consequence, the numbers of foreign employees (and residents) dropped to a point where, by 1985, the employment of Yugoslav and Turkish citizens in Austria was half the level of 1973”. However, in 1992, there was an increase of foreign labour reaching around 261,000 working legally.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Münz, op. cit., p. 155.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 156.

¹³⁸ Albert Kraler and Karin Sohler. 2007. “Austria” in: Anna Triandafyllidou and Ruby Gropas (eds.) *European Immigration. A Sourcebook*. Hampshire. Ashgate Publishing Limited, p. 19.

¹³⁹ Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Münz, op. cit. p. 157.

¹⁴⁰ Michael Jandl and Albert Kraler Albert, op. cit.

¹⁴¹ Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Münz, op. cit, p. 157.

One-third of all guest workers (93,000 in December 1992) who came to Austria on a temporary basis and subsequently stayed, improved their working status since they have been able to obtain full work permits and complete mobility in the labour market.¹⁴² In addition, these guest workers brought their families, increasing in this way the variety and numbers of foreigners in Austria.¹⁴³ “In 2001, 62.8 per cent of the total foreign resident population came from the two recruitment regions, the former Yugoslavia and Turkey”.¹⁴⁴

The 1992 Act concerning the Admission of Foreigners to Austria (Domicile Acts) is the legislation that deals with migration issues other than asylum and the recruitment of foreign labour. This law divides immigrants into three different groups. In the first one, citizens of the European Union are included and they do not require permission to enter Austria or a work permit. In the second one, immigrants from the rest of the world are referred to. There is a maximum number of entry permits on an annual basis and these immigrants should undergo a selection procedure. Immigrants with special qualifications are given priority. In the third group, temporary seasonal workers are considered. If the Austrian market is in need of foreign workers, the Federal Minister for Employment and Social Affairs may grant work permits beyond the immigration quota.¹⁴⁵

By the mid-1990s a series of laws were passed resulting in the 1997 Aliens Act. This Act merged the 1992 Act and the 1993 Residence Act into a single law. It basically promoted the integration of aliens already residing in Austria instead of receiving new immigrants. It was called “integration before immigration” and it became known as “the integration package”.¹⁴⁶ It stated that an immigrant living in Austria for ten years would have a legal status (except in political rights) similar to an Austrian citizen. Nevertheless, new restrictions were imposed, in particular employment rights for those who arrived in Austria as family members. These family members were supposed to wait for eight years before employment would be granted. This eight-year period was later lowered to four years. Later on, a new Naturalization Act was passed in 1998. This Act included the principle of *jus sanguinis* and a waiting period of ten years for naturalization. That is, “the migrant

¹⁴² Michael Jandl and Albert Kraler Albert, *op. cit.*

¹⁴³ Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Münz, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Jandl and Albert Kraler Albert, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁵ Heinz Fassmann and Rainer Münz, *op. cit.* pp. 160-161.

¹⁴⁶ Michael Jandl and Albert Kraler Albert, *op. cit.*

has to prove that she or he is economically self-sufficient, that is, not in need of social assistance, and sufficiently proficient in German".¹⁴⁷

According to the official figures published by the Austrian Statistics Agency,¹⁴⁸ by January 1st, 2017 there were 223.953 Germans, 160.371 Turks and 139.137 Serbians living in Austria. These are the three most numerous groups among the great variety of people who live in this German-speaking country.

Between 1973 and early 1980s, there was a group of migrants to Austria who were asylum seekers from Latin America. They came primarily from Chile and Argentina who were fleeing the military regimes in these South American countries. Between 1973 and 1990, Augusto Pinochet, the Commander in Chief of the Chilean Armed Forces was in charge of ruling Chile. He presided the coup d'état that overthrew the elected democratic president Salvador Allende. Approximately 4394 people are believed to have died or disappeared during this regime although there is no consensus on this figure.¹⁴⁹

A similar political event took place in Argentina, in March 1976, when a military coup d'état presided by Rafael Videla, Commander in Chief of the Argentine Armed Forces overthrew the democratic president María Estela Martínez de Perón. The country was ruled by a military board – Rafael Videla, Admiral Emilio Massera and Brigadier General Orlando Agosti - which called itself *the National Reorganization Process* until 1983. This military regime is believed to have been the most barbaric in Argentine history due to the number of people who disappeared. In fact, estimates are thought to be more than 22.000, although there is disagreement on this matter¹⁵⁰ among some NGOs (Non-governmental organizations) like Madres de Plaza de Mayo and Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo which state the figure is much higher.

These first Chilean and Argentine asylum seekers were mostly activists in left wing parties. In the Argentine case, the illegal detention of political militants had

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Bevölkerung zu Jahresbeginn 2002-2017 nach detailliertem Geburtsland. Austrian Statistics Agency. http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_staatsangehoerigkeit_geburtsland/index.html. 6th Table. 23.05.2017.

¹⁴⁹ *Informe de la Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación*. 1996. Santiago de Chile. Vol. I. Tomo 2, p. 1311. <http://bibliotecadigital.indh.cl/bitstream/handle/123456789/170/tomo1.pdf?sequence=1>.

¹⁵⁰ *Comisión Nacional sobre la Desaparición de Personas*. (CONADEP). 1984. Conclusiones. Buenos Aires. <http://www.desaparecidos.org/arg/conadep/nuncamas/477.html>. 9.1984.

started before 1976 and therefore, in 1973, many political activists began to leave the country due to security reasons.

By the same token, some Brazilian citizens also applied for asylum in Austria during the 1970s due to the dictatorship that took place in Brazil during 1964-1984. As it happened in Argentina and Chile, there was illegal repression against opponents which led to torture, disappearance and killing of internal enemies.¹⁵¹

In 1968, Austria issued its first Asylum Law¹⁵² and through this legal instrument, some Argentine, Chilean and Brazilian citizens who were persecuted in these South-American countries were allowed to apply for this type of residence permit. Therefore, the presence of these Latin Americans in the late 1970s, early 1980s may be explained due to this factor: asylum seekers.

A fourth group of Latin Americans arrived in Austria in the late 1980s but this time from the Caribbean, more specifically the Dominican Republic. On this occasion, the group comprised only women who came to Austria in search of a living. That is to say, these migrants may be considered as economic ones. The Dominican Republic suffered an economic crisis in the 1980s since sugar production, the main agricultural crop, started to decline after having dominated the economy for more than a century. In spite of the expansion of the Dominican economy in manufacturing (in or outside Special Economic Zones) and the service industry (especially international tourism), the country's main income relied mainly on agriculture, a sector that was severely affected.¹⁵³ Therefore, this state of affairs encouraged this group of women to migrate.

Consequently, these Dominicans arrived in Austria approximately thirty-three years ago, in the late 1980s.¹⁵⁴ During this decade, restrictions in Europe were fewer and the access was much easier than in the 1990s when visas and quotas were introduced in several European countries like Spain and Austria. As a matter of fact, in 1993, due to the growing numbers of Dominicans in Spain since 1991, Spain

¹⁵¹ Hernán Ramírez. 2012. "El golpe de estado de 1964 en Brasil desde una perspectiva socio-política" en: *La dictadura en Brasil, nuevos abordajes. PolHis*. Año 5. Número 9. Primer Semestre 2012, p. 265.

¹⁵² *The Organization of Asylum and Migration Policies in Austria*. 2015. Vienna. International Organization for Migration. (IOM). http://www.emn.at/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/organisation-study_AT-EMN-NCP_2016.pdf, p. 19.

¹⁵³ Harry Hoetink, op. cit., p. 210.

¹⁵⁴ Interviews with Dominican women in Vienna. Appendix.

imposed the visa requirement on Dominicans¹⁵⁵ as well as a specific quota. Similarly, Austria also changed its migration policies in 1994 in order to control the incoming of workers to the country. Therefore, in 1995, the Austrian government imposed a visa on Dominicans. Besides, the requirements to enter Austria changed the same year. Since 1995, Dominicans are required to possess a return air ticket, a pre-paid hotel, an invitation legalized by a public attorney to come to Austria, a traveller's insurance and \$ 100 per day to stay in the country.¹⁵⁶

As of 2017, the Dominicans numbered 3124¹⁵⁷ living in Austria. This figure refers to people who were born in the Dominican Republic. This population is distributed in the following way: 84 in Burgenland, 182 in Carinthia, 316 in Lower Austria, 979 in Upper Austria, 125 in Salzburg, 566 in Styria, 168 in Tyrol, 132 in Vorarlberg, and 571 in Vienna. If these figures are analysed closely, it may be observed that the Dominican community is present in every federal state in Austria, to a greater or lesser extent. They represent the second largest Latin American group of foreigners living in Austria after the Brazilians who comprise 5442¹⁵⁸ by the same year.

3.3 Some Migration Strategies

Structural poverty in the Dominican Republic has been the prime mover that acted as a push factor for many citizens of this island, in particular women. In international migration, it is widely acknowledged that women have had an important impact and this phenomenon has been increasing since the 1960s.¹⁵⁹ To some degree, migration was the only alternative for a large portion of this population who is now living abroad.

¹⁵⁵ Juan Manuel Romero Valiente. 2000. "La Migración Dominicana hacia España: Factores, Condicionantes, Evolución y Desarrollo" en: *II Congreso sobre la Inmigración en España: España y las Migraciones Internacionales en el Cambio de Siglo*, p. 3. http://www.upo.es/ghf/giest/documentos/poblacion_y_territorio/Romero2000_lamigraciondominicana.2000.

¹⁵⁶ *Trafficking in Women from the Dominican Republic for Sexual Exploitation*, op.cit

¹⁵⁷ http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_staatsangehoerigkeit_geburtsland/index.html. 6th Table. 23.05.2017.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibíd.*

¹⁵⁹ *Migración Internacional de las Américas*. SICREMI. 2011. Washington. Organización de los Estados Americanos, p. 70. <http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/Documentos/Publicaciones/2011/7629>. 2011.

In effect, migration takes place due to several factors but the economic reason remains to be the most important in the majority of the cases, in particular in the Dominican one, studied here. As a matter of fact,

a person's change of residence is defined as a migration flow. However, there are different types of migration. Depending on whether they involve crossing a border, they are called either internal or international migration movements. International migration includes all changes of residence between foreign countries, thus it is also referred to as external migration.¹⁶⁰

In addition to internal migration such as from the countryside to the city, international migration consists, more often than not, in decisions which are not made in isolation but in the context of families and households. There are considerable risks when migrating and all the members of the family are involved in this enterprise.¹⁶¹ Indeed, some of the previous rural-urban migrants embark on a second migration, looking for a better life by moving to newly industrializing countries in the South or to highly developed countries in the North. In fact, income growth increases people's capabilities to migrate over long distances.¹⁶²

International migrants together with their families exert human agency. They organize their lives not individually but in wider social contexts. In this scenario, migration is seen as a pro-active, deliberate decision to improve livelihoods.¹⁶³

According to Stephen Castles, there are two types of structures involved in any migration movement: macro and micro ones. While the former refer to large-scale institutional factors such as the political economy of the world market (neoliberal policies introduced in the Dominican Republic would be a good example for this purpose), the latter include the practices, family ties and beliefs of the migrants themselves. In between, there is an intermediate level referred to as meso-structures. These comprise family networks, immigrant communities and the migratory industry to mention the ones that are relevant in this work. In fact, "migrant networks explain why migration can become a self-perpetuating process".¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ *Migration*. Austrian Statistics Agency.
http://www.statistik.at/web_en/statistics/PeopleSociety/population/migration/index.html. 23.05.2017

¹⁶¹ Stephen Castles, op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Furthermore, migration network theory explains how migrants create and maintain social ties with other migrants and with family and friends back home and the way this may lead to the emergence of social networks.¹⁶⁵

Migrants make use of different communication networks¹⁶⁶ in order to be in contact with other migrants who are already in the destination nation and who act as *bridgeheads*.¹⁶⁷ That is, the already settled migrants help the new ones finding a job, a place to stay and counselling in connection with the rules of the country they have moved to. In effect, these communication networks are formed through family and friends and are built on close solidarity ties.¹⁶⁸

Networks are of different types and they may be defined as “forms of social interaction, spaces where connectivity and coexistence converge. They are characterized by the dynamic exchanges of the people who form them”.¹⁶⁹ Additionally, networks in migration generally originate due to specific deficiencies which require some kind of solution. As a result, networks constitute open and horizontal systems and draw together people with the same needs and problems.¹⁷⁰ Hence, networks entail a social organization which allows a group of people to satisfy their needs and contribute to the solution of their problems.

Networks have multiple functions. In fact, there are social, family, commercial, academic, ethnic and religious networks among others. However, they may be classified into formal and functional. The former mainly depend upon an institution while the latter originate spontaneously. As for the Dominican networks studied here, I may deduce these were mainly functional more than formal since they were created due to specific needs such as to find out information about the city, temporary places to stay and possible jobs and they did not generally depend upon an institution.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibíd.*, p. 29.

¹⁶⁶ “Los migrantes crean una serie de lazos familiares y de amistad en los países receptores que les permiten establecer un flujo migratorio infinito y sucesivo. Las redes implican una disminución del riesgo en el país extranjero. Además, las redes migratorias están íntimamente conectadas con la migración en cadena que ofrece la ventaja de analizar este fenómeno desde una perspectiva micro y macro”. Roberto Herrera Carassou. 2006. *La perspectiva teórica en el estudio de las migraciones*. México. Siglo XXI Editores, p. 191. “Migrants create a series of family and friend ties in the receptor societies that allow them to establish an endless and successive migratory flow. Networks imply a decrease in risk and a quicker integration of the migrant into the foreign country. In addition, migrant networks are closely connected with chain migration which offers the advantage of analysing this phenomenon from a macro and micro perspective”.

¹⁶⁷ Stephen Castles, op. cit., p. 40

¹⁶⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 40.

¹⁶⁹ Marta Rizzo. *Redes. Una aproximación al concepto*.

http://www.academia.edu/8586418/Rizzo_M_Redres_una_aproximacion_al_concepto, p. 1. [n/d]

¹⁷⁰ *Ibíd.*, p. 1.

In Austria, the Dominican community is present in every federal state as it has been stated in the introduction. They have moved according to the work possibilities available and they have come to know about those job opportunities through the different networks which were created once the first migrants settled in this nation.¹⁷¹ It is not possible to speak of a core area. The concentration of this community is located mainly in Upper-Austria where 979 citizens live and the rest is distributed unevenly within the rest of the Austrian states. In fact, Upper-Austria was a state selected by the trafficking network in the rotation process of women who worked in the sex business in the late 1980s and subsequently these women stayed. Later on, they brought relatives and friends and in this way, the networks continued working bringing more Dominicans to Austria.¹⁷²

The Dominican community characterizes itself for being caring and supportive with the members of the same group especially when they are outside the frontiers of their own country.¹⁷³ In this aspect, solidarity is the prime mover of networks once new people arrive in Austria. So, ethnicity plays an important role since there are strong bonds which motivate this community to help people from their own country once they are in Europe. In other words, the fact of being Dominican is enough to help others who have decided to migrate. In this way, the ethnic connections are enhanced.

The first aid Dominican migrants receive is temporary accommodation from an acquaintance, friend or relative in exchange of some kind of service until the newcomer has found a job. In the meantime, the newcomer is informed about how to familiarize with the city he/she has arrived in, how to use public transport, where to buy affordable items as well as where to find entertainment. It is highly probable that the person who is providing accommodation tries to find a job for the recently arrived migrant, in our particular case, Dominicans.

Some others may be luckier and a job may be awaiting. If this is not the case, the network starts working until a job is found. This mechanism has been reproduced for years in Europe with positive outcomes. Migratory networks play a

¹⁷¹ Stephen Castles, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁷² When I asked Pedro why there were so many Dominicans in Upper-Austria, he said this state was a destination selected by the trafficking network in the rotation system of Dominican women working in the sex trade. Subsequently, these women stayed in that region bringing family and friends. Interview with Pedro. Appendix.

¹⁷³ I could appreciate a particular feature of this community while I spent some time with them in Vienna: fraternity within the members of the group and for outsiders like me who wanted to share some moments with them.

very important role, particularly for Latin American women, in Spain. It is not uncommon for an immigrant woman, once they have arrived in the host society, to have a job that her sister, aunt, cousin, or friend has arranged for her. “Generally, her entrance into domestic service comes about through a network of verbal contacts with other women who are already working in such service or who have done so in the past”.¹⁷⁴ A similar story takes place in Austria since the members of the Dominican community start looking for a job once a new member arrives in the country. It should be noticed that the sex trade was the first step to enter the country. Once these women settled and started to work in hotels and restaurants, for the most part, they initiated this network to bring family and friends so that these other Dominicans might also have the possibility to make progress for themselves and their children.¹⁷⁵

As for the entrance of Dominicans in Austria, there are no detailed figures of this community during the period 1981 – 2001, only total numbers because there were no specific censuses in those years, only the Decennial Population Census according to the Austrian Statistics Agency. The figures included for these 20 years are approximate. More detailed information is obtained beginning in the year 2002 when the entrance of Dominicans and people from each country is registered. The table below shows in a detailed way the numbers from 2002 until 2017.

¹⁷⁴ Carlota Solé and Sònia Parell. 2005. “Immigrant Women in Domestic Service. The Care Crisis in the United States and Spain” in: Holger Henke (ed.) *Crossing Over: Comparing Recent Migration in the United States and Europe*. Landham. Lexington Books, p. 248.

¹⁷⁵ Interviews with Dominican women in Vienna about how they came to Austria and the way networks work. Appendix.

Date	Total Number of Dominicans in Austria	Number of incoming Dominicans in Austria
1.01.1981	300	300
1.01.1991	800	500
1.01.2001	1502	702
1.01.2002	1616	114
1.01.2003	1895	281
1.01.2004	2113	218
1.01.2005	2301	188
1.01.2006	2521	220
1.01.2007	2446	-75
1.01.2008	2548	102
1.01.2009	2623	75
1.01.2010	2683	60
1.01.2011	2734	51
1.01.2012	2815	81
1.01.2013	2852	37
1.01.2014	2942	90
1.01.2015	3031	89
1.01.2016	3058	27
1.01.2017	3121	63

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In addition, if the table is observed carefully, it may be observed that there was an average of 200 Dominicans entering Austria from 2003 and 2006. In 2007, 75 Dominicans left the country¹⁷⁷ and in 2008, 102 came to Austria. From 2009 to 2017, an average of 50 Dominicans came to Austria.

As far as figures are involved and comparing the number of Dominicans who first arrived in Austria in the late 1980s, approximately 300 (1.01.1981 in the table) and the present number, 3121, I am in a position to affirm that these networks have worked very well since the number increased 10 folds in a period of almost 30

¹⁷⁶ Table based on data provided by the Austrian Statistics Agency.
http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_staatsangehoerigkeit_geburtsland/index.html. 6th Table. 23.05.2017.

¹⁷⁷ One possible explanation for these Dominicans leaving Austria was the cultural shock. The Dominican way of interacting with people is totally opposed to the Austrian one (Dominicans are distinguished by being affectionate while Austrians are distant in terms of expressing their feelings) and that difference, among others which are inherent to this country and people, might have played an important role in not adapting to this country. Interview with Pedro. Appendix.

years.¹⁷⁸ That is, from a small number of women who first arrived in the country during the 1980s, approximately 300,¹⁷⁹ it came to have around 1500, 15 years later and that number was doubled in exactly the same amount of years. That means that networks have been fully operative over 30 years.

In effect, networks are essential in any migratory movement and the Dominican case is no exception. However, before migratory networks start to operate the migration industry has already played its role. That is to say, migrants in general may come to a new country on their own or through a network which is in charge of organizing the transfer of people eager to find a living.

The migration industry entails the movement of migrants. It includes travel agents, labour recruiters, brokers, interpreters, housing agents, immigration lawyers, human smugglers (like the “coyotes” who guide Mexican workers across the Rio Grande) and even counterfeiters who falsify official identification documents and passports. Migration agents also comprise shopkeepers, priests, teachers and other community leaders. Others are criminals, out to exploit migrants or asylum seekers by charging them exorbitant fees for often non-existent jobs.¹⁸⁰

The migration industry is in charge of transporting people from one place to another making a real business out of this. Migrants often pay a high amount of money to move to a developed country (most of the times) and earn a living there. What is more, there is a difference between *human smuggling and trafficking*. While the former is a consensual arrangement between unequal partners the latter involves the commerce of human people.¹⁸¹

Human trafficking and smuggling into Europe have grown since the 1980s. Emigrants are attracted by generous welfare support and perceived economic advantages, as well as the demand in Western Europe for “three- d” workers – those willing to take dirty, dangerous and/or degrading jobs that national citizens are unwilling to do.¹⁸²

The case of Dominican women studied in this thesis belongs to the latter: trafficking. These women were generally young and poor who were unable to find job opportunities at home. In fact, “trafficking victims are often from the weakest

¹⁷⁸ According to unofficial information provided by the Dominican Embassy in Vienna, the total amount of Dominicans in Austria would total 4000 taking into account the children who were born in this country. The Embassy was unable to give information about death rates.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Pedro about the number of Dominican women who arrived in Austria in the 1980s.

Appendix.

¹⁸⁰ Stephen Castles, op. cit. p. 235.

¹⁸¹ Louise Shelley, op. cit., p. 3.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 2.

social and economic groups in their countries of origin”.¹⁸³ In addition, these Latin-American women had less access to education than some others who came from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the 1980s and 1990s.¹⁸⁴ The solution seemed to be to work in the sex trade abroad. Local prostitution was an opportunity but it was not accepted by family and friends while international prostitution was considered as a real option for these Dominican women. These women could have worked in the prostitution business in their home country. However, the closeness of relatives and neighbours made their situation more difficult since prostitution was not considered or viewed as an *acceptable job*. On the contrary, to work in the sex trade abroad would be easier since the family at home would receive the money - once these women had settled in the foreign country - but the family would not be able to see how it was obtained.¹⁸⁵

In effect, there were local and international traffickers in the Dominican Republic and in Austria who were available to carry out the transaction of bringing these women to Europe. Arranged marriages for prostitution were also an option, a topic which will be dealt with in the following section.

3.4 Sex Trade, Domestic Service and their Connection with Migration. Spain and Austria as Preferred Destinations in Europe

A large number of Dominican women started their emigration journey in the 1980s. Their first destinations in Europe were Spain and Italy. By 2015, there were 151.369 Dominicans in Spain while Italy had 42.269.¹⁸⁶ Within the German-speaking countries, Germany totalled 11.091 and Switzerland 10.754¹⁸⁷ by 2015 while Austria had 3121¹⁸⁸ by 2017. Austria was also chosen by the Dominican community to migrate although in an indirect way since a trafficking network was in charge of bringing these women to this European nation.

In 1987, a trafficking network brought approximately one hundred Dominican women to Vienna.¹⁸⁹ This network was made up of Dominican and Austrian people. On the one hand, Dominicans recruited young and needy women

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁵ *Trafficking in Women from the Dominican Republic for Sexual Exploitation*, op.cit.

¹⁸⁶ Eddy Tejeda, op. cit., p. 69

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁸⁸

http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_staatsangehoerigkeit_geburtsland/index.html. 6th Table. 23.05.2017.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with Pedro about the first Dominican women who came to Austria. Appendix.

in the Dominican Republic and promised them to find a job as dancers, barmaids, entertainers or in striptease shows in Austria.¹⁹⁰ Most of these women knew they were going to work in the sex business while some others did not.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, some Austrian men were in charge of allocating these women in different cabarets and bars in Vienna for some time and then they were rotated according to the common practice.¹⁹² The working system varies according to the country. They were rotated every week to different cabarets and had one day off per week.¹⁹³ “All of them suffered physical violence by the traffickers and were told not to reject clients”.¹⁹⁴ During the recruitment process, some of these women were informed they were coming to Austria but very often, they did not know their destination.¹⁹⁵

During the 1980s and 1990s, there was demand of these Dominican women who were considered *exotic* by the Austrian sex market.¹⁹⁶ To bring these women from the Dominican Republic was a lucrative business for the trafficking networks and for other actors as well. In fact, there were *marriage agencies* whose main job was to pre-arrange a marriage with a Dominican woman who would devote herself to sex work once she had moved to Austria.¹⁹⁷ By 1994, there were approximately twenty of these marriage agencies in Vienna which devoted themselves to bring Latin American women (Peruvians and Dominicans for the most part, Bolivians, Ecuadorians, Colombians and Cubans as well) to work in the sex trade.¹⁹⁸

These women were supposed to work for their *husbands*¹⁹⁹ for a certain number of years, between five and eight, after which they would obtain their

¹⁹⁰ *Trafficking in Women from the Dominican Republic for Sexual Exploitation*, op. cit.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Pedro used to work in the catering sector and he happened to meet many of these Dominican women in his bar. According to this interview, these women worked from Monday to Saturday and Sunday was free. In this way, he came to know this information interacting with these women as well the rotation system in Austria. Interview with Pedro. Appendix.

¹⁹⁴ *Trafficking in Women from the Dominican Republic for Sexual Exploitation*, op. cit.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ María Cristina Boidi. 1995. Austria ¿Y Entonces por qué vienen? En: *América Latina en movimiento*. <http://www.alainet.org/es/active/1023>. 01.07.1995.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ “In a move to clamp down on “fake marriages”, the application for residence permits of spouses of an Austrian or EEU citizen have been made more difficult. At the same time, state powers increasingly and systematically investigate suspected cases of marriages of convenience. In addition, the permits now have to be applied for from abroad, whereas previously they could be obtained in Austria irrespective of the former (irregular) status of the spouse. In a similar vein, civil registrars have now to report marriages involving a third-country national to the Aliens Police”. Albert Kraler and Karin Sohler, op. cit. pp. 21-22. These procedures started after 1995 when the Immigration policies in Austria changed imposing more restrictions to foreign workers, including Dominicans.

freedom. Once they had obtained the corresponding residence permits they would divorce, not before.²⁰⁰ Additionally, there were *travel agencies* which sold packages which included sexual service, that is, sex tourism in the Dominican Republic.²⁰¹ Annually, the North and South Coast beaches in the Dominican Republic are a real attraction for thousands of tourists, mainly from European countries. In effect, “young girls – attracted by the presence of foreigners - often fall into the hands of traffickers. Many of these tourists are traffickers when offering girls jobs in foreign countries that they will never be able to perform”.²⁰²

In addition to marriage and sex tourism as a form of recruitment, a third way trafficking networks have to find new women for the sex trade was often by means of informal channels – through friends and acquaintances. These friends usually knew a person who organized trips or a foreign impresario who was looking to create a dance troupe to go overseas.²⁰³ Once the contacts were made and the woman was hired as a dancer or barmaid or other she was supposed to pay a fee (usually USD 400 to 1000) to cover initial expenditures, i.e. passport, contract, air ticket, etc. On the one hand, the family of the recruited woman and the trip organizers were in charge of helping the woman with the money needed to travel. It was customary that the family of the recruited woman asked for a loan to cover these initial expenses which would be paid back once the woman started to work. On the other hand, the recruiter took care of obtaining all the documents in order to travel.²⁰⁴ Upon arrival in Austria, their passports were taken away so that these women were entirely dependent on the members of the trafficking network and they could not walk away.²⁰⁵

Spain was the first European country selected by the Dominican community to migrate. The relationship between Spain and the Dominican Republic – in terms of economic, social and cultural aspects – has been a long one since the Dominican Republic had been a Spanish colony. The lack of language barriers has been the main reason for this choice. Moreover, the two countries have signed some

²⁰⁰ Interview with Pedro. Appendix.

²⁰¹ María Cristina Boidi, op. cit.

²⁰² *Trafficking in Women from the Dominican Republic for Sexual Exploitation*, op.cit.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Interview with Pedro about the level of freedom these Dominican women had when they arrived in Austria. Appendix.

migration agreements²⁰⁶ to diminish illegal migration on the part of Dominicans to Spain and to fulfill the need of labour this country had.

The migration process of Dominicans to Spain increased in 1986 when the number reached 1258.²⁰⁷ From 1991, this process accelerated reaching 3285 nationals from this country. By the middle of 2000, Dominicans totalled 45000²⁰⁸ while at present there are more than 150.000.²⁰⁹

To some degree, Spain encouraged this migratory wave on jobs that were considered as feminine in both continents. The Spanish women transferred the domestic chores to immigrant ones.²¹⁰ The Dominican women came from rural areas and poor families. They had a very low level of education and therefore they worked in the domestic service, a job which had a low social value and it received lower wages than other services.²¹¹ As an example, from all the work permits granted in Madrid in 1991 to work in domestic service, “between 40 and 60% were given to Dominican women”.²¹²

One of the possible reasons for the employment of Dominican women in the domestic service in Spain was the growing economic opportunities of middle-class women who started to work as paid labour force in the 1980s. This factor generated a sort of crisis which was solved with the hiring of migrant women who would perform the chores.²¹³ In effect, “the arrival of migratory flows from the South to the North, as a consequence of globalization and of increasing inequalities throughout the world, feeds the increasing demand for domestic employees”.²¹⁴ In other words, domestic service was the main activity of migrant women in Spain and the numbers were particularly striking in the case of Latin American women, especially, Dominican ones who comprised 46.2 % of this working force.²¹⁵

²⁰⁶ “Spain has signed an agreement on the regulation and management of migratory flows. Such countries include Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Morocco and Peru” (Carulla, 2004). International Migration Law N 16. Laws for Legal Immigration in the 27 EU Member States. European Parliament. IOM. International Organization for Migration, p. 493. http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iml_16. 2009.

²⁰⁷ Juan Manuel Romero Valiente, op. cit. p. 5.

²⁰⁸ *Ibíd.*, p. 4

²⁰⁹ Eddy Tejeda, op. cit. p. 69

²¹⁰ Elia Ramírez Bautista, op. cit. p. 7.

²¹¹ *Ibíd.*, p. 7.

²¹² *Ibíd.*, p. 7.

²¹³ Carlota Solé and Sònia Parella, op.cit., pp. 249-250.

²¹⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 249.

²¹⁵ This percentage has been taken from the Social Security Office and therefore it is official. However, “the Colectivo Ioé estimates that the real figure is 60 per cent, taking into account the importance of the submerged economy”. *Ibíd.*, p. 245.

These Dominican women who worked in the domestic service shared some common features: they were mainly young and with family responsibilities.²¹⁶ That is, most of these women were either single mothers or divorced women with children and they became the “main economic breadwinners”.²¹⁷ They were responsible for the maintenance of their children²¹⁸ - who were left in the Dominican Republic with grandparents²¹⁹ most of the times - and their parents as well in many cases. This economic burden forced many of them to pursue this migration adventure in order to work and earn money to meet family obligations. Therefore, “domestic service is the “port of entry” *par excellence* for immigrant women in Spain”.²²⁰

As far as wages are concerned, they were low during the 1980s. The way care was organized in middle-class societies created private, informal-sector employment for immigrant workers and private homes constituted the main economic points of entry for these migrant women.

Certainly, the middle class has more access of marginalized women available to do work that many people reject, not only because the salaries tend to be quite low, but also because of the stigma of servitude, the lack of independence, and the direct, face-to-face nature of the relationship with one’s boss.²²¹

However, in spite of the low wages these Dominican women earned working in the domestic service in Spain, it meant a significant income for them since this money allowed them to support themselves in the foreign country and to send money back home. In effect, “salary differentials with the country of origin are the strongest incentive for such women when accepting work in domestic service”.²²²

This differential in wages leads to deal with a sub-topic that has been crucial for the family members of Dominican women who moved to Spain and Austria in the 1980s and for the economy of the Dominican Republic: remittances.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 245.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 245.

²¹⁸ “Immigrant women are often obliged to leave their families in their country of origin, in the care of other people, with families who try to make up for the absence of the mother in any way they can. This phenomenon is known as “transnational motherhood” or the “globalization of maternity”, and points out to the proliferation of new ways of caring for and bringing up children, which differ according to the ethnic group and social class of the women”. Ibid., pp. 251-252.

²¹⁹ Interviews with Dominican women in Vienna. Appendix.

²²⁰ Carlota Solé and Sònia Parella, op.cit., p. 247.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 236.

²²² Ibid., p. 246.

However, it should be observed that the first group of Dominican women who came to Austria and worked in the sex trade, were indebted with the trafficking network. Therefore, they paid back the members of the trafficking network and once they started to earn money they sent it back home as remittances, not before.

Remittances are of great importance for the members of the family in the Dominican Republic. On many occasions, these family members also take care of the children of these women. Therefore, the money received from abroad is essential to support the household.²²³ In effect, remittances are a relatively stable source of income which often help to improve living conditions, health and education.²²⁴

In addition, remittances not only have a real impact on the incomes of these Dominican families but also on the national economy. It is difficult to disaggregate the origin of this money by all the countries where Dominicans live at present but “it is possible to affirm that 80 percent of remittance flows originate in the U.S.”²²⁵ In fact, remittances increased from 3% of GDP in the 1990s to more than 8% of GDP on average during 2000-2007.²²⁶ By 2010, the amount of remittances totalled \$3373 million which represented 7,3% of the GDP.²²⁷ By 2015, the Dominican Republic had received a total of \$5149 million particularly from the U.S. (\$3832), Spain (\$549) among other countries such as Italy (\$142), Switzerland (\$41) and Germany (\$36). This figure of \$ 5149 million accounted for 7.5% of the GDP.²²⁸

Remittances constitute an important contribution to the Dominican economy since it alleviates the degree of inequality this nation undergoes. This money comes through formal and informal mechanisms as far as Austria is concerned.²²⁹ In addition, Austria does not appear in the official statistics in connection with remittances since Austria is a small destination if it is compared with some others such as the U.S., Puerto Rico, Spain or Germany. According to a report by the World Bank, remittances could help considerably to diminish the

²²³ Harry Hoetink, op. cit., p. 219.

²²⁴ Stephen Castles, op. cit., p. 72.

²²⁵ Mario Garza, Pablo Morra and Dominique Simard, op. cit. p. 10.

²²⁶ *Ibíd.*, p. 10.

²²⁷ *Migración Internacional de las Américas*, op. cit. p. 21.

²²⁸ Eddy Tejeda, op. cit. p. 75.

²²⁹ While speaking with some of these Dominican women about the ways they send money home, five of them told me that they do it regularly via Spain while other five use Western Union, although they admitted that it was expensive. Conversations with Dominican women about remittances. March, 2017.

degree of impoverishment²³⁰ of this country. In addition, the same institution seriously contemplates the need for fewer restrictions on the part of wealthy countries as far as migration is concerned so that both parties might be benefitted: poor countries in need of money and rich ones in need of labour force. In this way, the tension that at the moment exists would be mitigated and it would imply a solution for the groups involved.

²³⁰ “Following the 2003-04 banking crisis, the country’s GDP that had grown by 6 per cent in 2002 contracted by 0.3 percent in 2003. Thus, a financial and economic crisis followed, with an estimated 1.7 million persons moving into poverty, and the poverty rate reaching 50 percent of the population in 2004 – up from 33 percent in 2000”. Francisco Galvão Carneiro and Sophie Sirtaine, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

4. Findings and Analysis of the Results

I conducted twenty-five interviews with Dominican women in Vienna. The interview was a simple questionnaire containing the following questions: name and age, occupation, age at which they came to Austria, why they came to this country, reason/s to leave the Dominican Republic, difficulties to learn German if any, if they would return to their home country definitely at some point of their lives and finally what they liked and disliked about Austria. This interview in particular contained open and closed questions. While the former attempted to find out factual data as the number of years spent in Austria and the present jobs they perform in Vienna the latter tried to elicit the migratory journey these women undertook when they moved to Vienna.

The interviews were conducted mostly at Ivelize's and Albania's homes, two Dominican women who invited me to many family reunions where I could carry out my research work about this group during March and April, 2017. All the interviews were recorded and the sample was significant and insightful.

An interview is a way to obtain knowledge through interactions between an interviewer and interviewee and each one can produce different outcomes.²³¹ As Pierre Bourdieu rightly states, an interview is a *social relationship* that generates effects and those effects are transformed into knowledge.²³² In this aspect, I may affirm that some interviews were highly revealing while some others were brief and not too detailed. Moreover, the purpose of these interviews was to understand the reasons why these Dominican women left their home country and embarked on this migration experience. In this respect, I must emphasize that all of them highlighted the same cause: economic reasons and the opportunity to have a better life for themselves and their children.

In addition to interviewing these twenty-five Dominican women, I had the possibility to talk to Pedro, who provided me with invaluable information about the first Dominican women who worked in the sex trade in Vienna in the 1980s. Pedro is a Dominican man who has lived in Vienna for almost twenty-eight years and who worked in the catering service when he first came to this city. In his bar, he met many of these Dominican women who told him part of their experiences while they

²³¹ Pierre Bourdieu. 2002. "Comprender" en: *La Miseria del mundo*. Buenos Aires. Fondo de Cultura Económica, p. 528.

²³² *Ibíd.*, p. 528.

worked in the sex business in Vienna. So far, he has been the only person I have encountered who knows this process in such detail and who frequently visits some of these women. In spite of the fact that he knows several of these women and that he contacted me with one in particular, I was unable to interview her. I guess these women want to move on with their daily lives, leaving aside this specific period of their past and attempting to continue as any other ordinary person.

I divided the interviews according to the results. Fifteen interviews were carried out to women who got married to Austrian men. However, it is possible to make a subdivision within this group. On the one hand, five women got married to Austrian men between twenty-seven and thirty-three years ago in Austria and on the other hand, ten women got married to Austrian men between twelve and twenty-one years ago in the Dominican Republic.²³³ The following ten interviews were conducted to a second generation of Dominican women, daughters of women whose mothers got married to Austrian men in Austria. These Dominican mothers have been living in Austria for thirty-three years. In a second phase, after approximately five and ten years of living in Vienna, they brought their Dominican child or children to this country.²³⁴ It is important to observe that many of these women also had children with their Austrian husbands. Therefore, these women have Dominican and Austrian children.

I evaluated the interviews and I classified them into two broad categories: women who got married to Austrian men and daughters of Dominican women who were brought to Austria once their mothers settled and had all the necessary documents to live in the country. These women had Dominican children and for the most part, their children stayed in the Dominican Republic usually with their grandparents or relatives until their mothers had the possibility to bring their children to Austria.

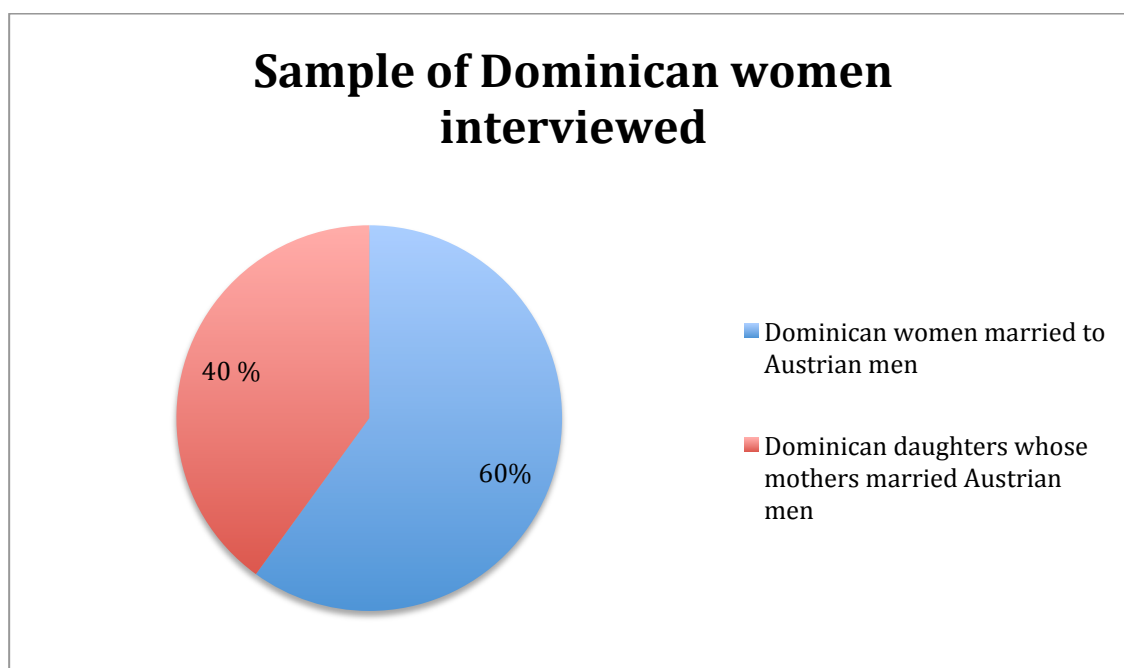
As far as the analysis of the interviews is concerned, I separated them according to their status: Dominican women who married Austrian men and daughters of Dominican women whose mothers married Austrian men, jobs these

²³³ The Dominican women who got married to Austrian men before 1995 did so in Austria but the ones who got married after 1995 had to marry in the Dominican Republic since the Austrian migration policies had changed and there were more restrictions on marrying a third-country partner. Albert Kraller and Karin Sohler, op. cit. pp. 21-22.

²³⁴ Most of these women had Dominican children with Dominican husbands or partners. Interviews with five Dominican women who have been living in Vienna for thirty-three years.

women perform, the language proficiency they have attained throughout the years they have been living in Austria and retirement.

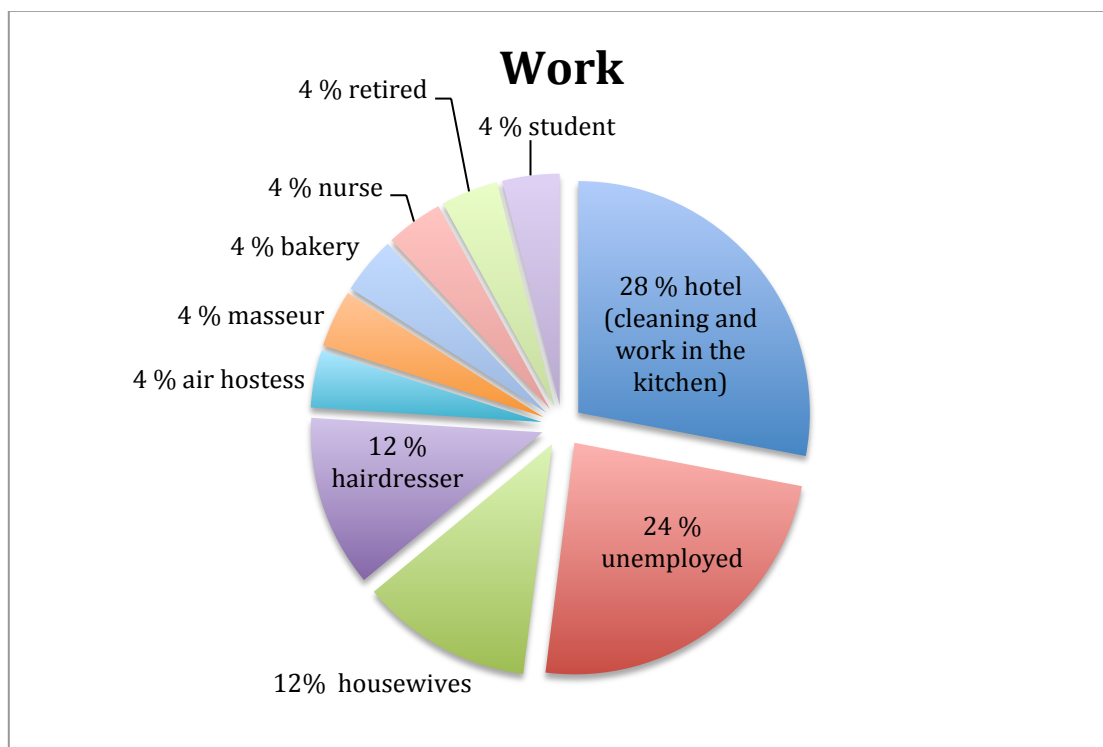
In connection with their status, 60% of these women married Austrian men and 40% are daughters of Dominican women (whose fathers are Dominicans)²³⁵ and whose mothers married Austrian men. The former group got married between ten and thirty-three years ago in the Dominican Republic or Austria. The majority had children (sons and daughters) who were left in the Dominican Republic with their grandparents between five and eleven years until they could bring their children to Vienna. The latter were daughters who were brought to Vienna once their mothers had settled in Austria. These Dominican daughters have lived in Vienna between five and twenty-one years.



As for the jobs involved, most of them work in hotels and as hairdressers. In fact, 56% of these women work in hotels cleaning and in the kitchen, in bakeries, as hairdressers, masseusses, nurses and airhostesses. Only one Dominican girl,

²³⁵ The fathers of these Dominican girls who came to Austria at a very early age are practically absent from their lives. Some of these fathers migrated to the U.S. and some opted not to continue seeing their children since these moved to Austria. In addition, none of them collaborates with the support of their children. When I asked some of these Dominican women about the role of the Dominican fathers in the upbringing of their children, they were pleased that the fathers did not collaborate with money. In that way, the fathers would have no right over the children in the future. Interviews with Dominican women about the role of the fathers in the upbringing of their Dominican children. Appendix.

aged 14, is still a student who is attending secondary school. The rest, that is, 40% are not active workers because one is retired, six are unemployed but want to go back to work as soon as possible and three are housewives who do not work because they have children to take care of.



As regards language proficiency, this first group of Dominican women (55%)²³⁶ who got married to Austrian men between ten and thirty-three years ago had a difficult time with the language. This is why they decided to attend German courses when they settled in Austria. At present, they witness some difficulties but they admit they can handle it. There was an exception, though. One of these women started to study German in the Dominican Republic and she did so for two years.²³⁷ When she finally got married and moved to Vienna, she continued to study

²³⁶ I am not in a position to affirm that this first group of Dominican women who arrived in Austria, between ten and thirty-three years ago, worked in the sex trade or not. When I asked about the way they got to Austria they just said that they had got married to an Austrian man. Interviews with Dominican women in Vienna. Appendix.

²³⁷ When I asked this Dominican woman why she started to study German in the Dominican Republic, she answered that she dated her Austrian husband for three years until she finally got married in the Dominican Republic and moved to Vienna. Interview with lleida. Appendix

for one year and a half more and she admitted not to have difficulties in communicating in German. In addition, the women who make a difference within this group are the ones who work. That is, the fact of being in contact with the public encouraged them to speak and express better. However, the ones who still have problems with the language are the housewives.

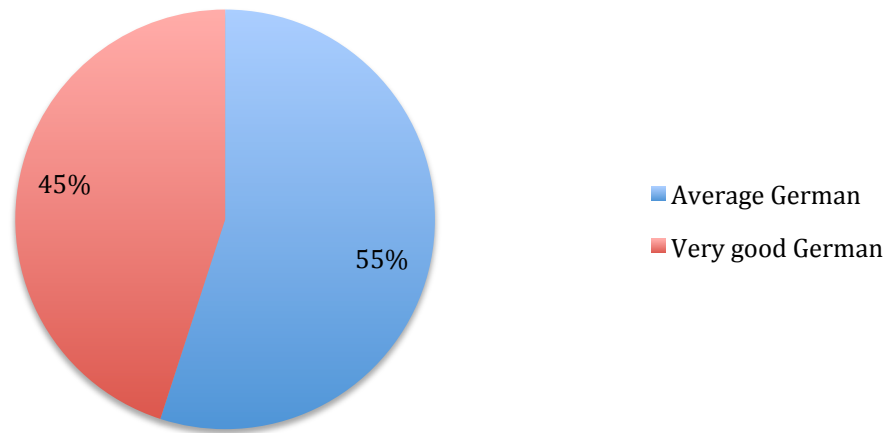
The second generation of Dominican women (45%) who have a very good command of the German language are daughters of Dominican women²³⁸ because of the years they have spent in this country and the age (eleven or fifteen years old) at which they came to Austria. In spite of the fact that at the very beginning these Dominican daughters had some difficulties with the language and the environment, very soon they got accustomed to the country and they integrated very easily, in particular the ones who came at a very early age, nine or ten years old. In fact, one of the daughters of these Dominican women said:

It was very difficult in the beginning and I had a hard time. I used to tell my mother: please send me to the Dominican Republic. I arrived in Vienna and I did not know any German. I just spoke Spanish. I arrived on a Saturday and on Monday I started school. And, I did not know anything. My mum always took me to school, to the first lessons. She used to talk with the teachers and she translated a little to me. I attended *Volkschule* first that is for little children and then *Hauptschule*.²³⁹

²³⁸ Dominican mothers who came to Austria thirty-three years ago. Interviews with Dominican women in Vienna. Appendix.

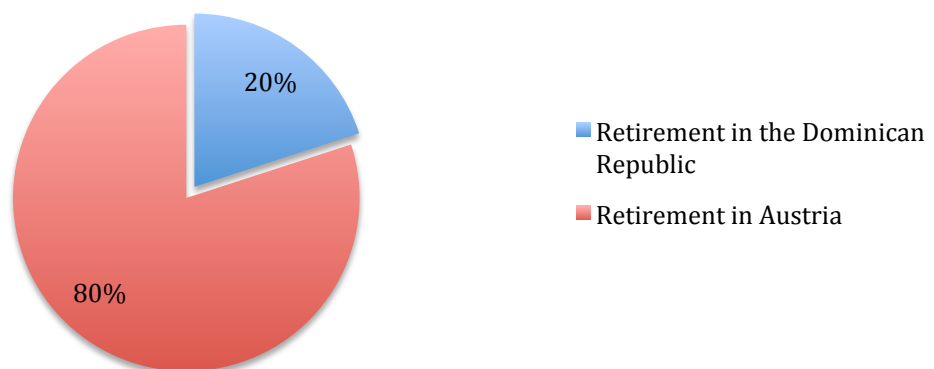
²³⁹ "A ese tiempo, yo me la pasaba muy mal al principio y le decía a mi mama por favor mándame, mándame para Rep. Dominicana porque yo llegué aquí y no sabía alemán y solo hablaba español y yo llegué aquí como un sábado y ya el lunes yo ya estaba inscrita para ir a la escuela. Y, yo no sabía nada y mi mamá siempre me acompañaba a la escuela, a las primeras clases, iba con los profesores, me traducían un poquito. Hice *Hauptschule*, primero *Volkschule* que es para los chiquitos con mi hermano y yo estaba en la primera *Hauptschule*". Interview with Kathy. Appendix.

Language performance



Finally, in connection with retirement, 80% of the women interviewed said they would retire in Austria since they have their families in this country and they want to see their children grow. Only 20% of the sample affirmed that they would like to spend their old age in the Dominican Republic once their children have grown up and settled, not before.

Retirement



4.1 Strategies to Enter and Stay in Europe

In view of what has been presented in this work, I may deduce a clear strategy drawn by these Dominican women in order to enter and stay in Europe: marriage and sex trade. The fact of marrying an Austrian man, which, in the beginning, was just a front cover for the sex business in Austria, was a common path taken by these Dominican women. In subsequent stages, these Dominican women would get married to Austrian men because they met Austrian men they liked.

When reviewing the literature of migration patterns of these Dominican women in other European or Latin American countries, the same plan of action appears as a common denominator of this community. Many of them start working in the sex trade in the country they have moved to and they get married to a national of that country through the trafficking network that took them there. After some years of working for the network they obtain their freedom and they continue with their lives. In some other cases, they get married to a man from the country where they are staying just to obtain the necessary documents. After approximately a year, they get divorced and continue with their lives finding in numerous situations another man but this time, they start a relationship forming a family.

I believe that most of the women I interviewed married Austrian men because they liked these men but I cannot be absolutely certain. As I have shared many moments with two of them in particular, I had the opportunity to observe the quarrels, discussions and conversations of an ordinary family. However, I may not be totally positive about the rest of the women since they just expressed that they came to Austria because they got married. In addition, as they did not provide any further details and I have been unable to be in their homes, I am not in a position to know further about their marriage. Only in one particular case, a Dominican woman admitted to have paid to an Austrian man so that she could obtain the necessary documents to stay in Austria legally. When I interviewed her, she said:

... and then, I met a man who married me so that I could obtain the documents to stay legally in Austria. Of course, he wanted me pay him. I did not have money by that time. Little by little, I paid him. We were married for eight months. After that, I divorced him. I did not meet my present

husband right away. I met him after six months that I was married. But then, I got divorced and I married him because he was the one I wanted.²⁴⁰

In sum, *marriage* and *sex trade* have constituted the survival strategies par excellence through which these women have been able to stay legally in Austria and therefore in Europe. From that moment onwards, they continue with their lives and in permanent contact with the networks which have already been established in order to bring members of their families and friends from the Dominican Republic to Austria.

When I asked one of these women, who has been living in Vienna for thirty-three years, for the reasons for moving to Austria, she said:

I came here due to the poor economic situation in the Dominican Republic. I had divorced my husband and had two children and a house to run. I used to work at a hospital as a nurse and I also cooked dishes to sell. However, I could never make ends meet, no matter how hard I worked. That was the main reason: to try to find a better standard of living abroad.²⁴¹

4.2 Degree of Integration

As far as integration is concerned, it is difficult to say how integrated these Dominican women are in the Austrian society. But, some assumptions can be made. So, it is important to clarify what it is understood by integration.

Integration refers to the sociological mechanism which describes the way in which all people – migrants and non-migrants – find their place in society.²⁴² This explains how “processes of socialization turn people into workers, consumers, voters, soldiers and gendered beings by looking at the school, the workplace, the neighbourhood, the local state, the church, the unions, the army, the family, etc.”²⁴³

²⁴⁰ “Luego, conocí un Sr. que se casó conmigo con papeles. Quería que le pagara. Y, yo no tenía en ese tiempo ese dinero. Y, se lo fui dando poco a poco. E. Quién quería le pagaras? I. Yo tenía que pagarle al Sr. que se casó conmigo. Entonces, vos al principio para quedarte te casaste. I. X tiempo, solo 8 meses. E. Entonces, te casaste para poder quedarte. I. De una vez, no conocí a mi esposo actual así. Lo conocí a los 6 meses, ya estaba casada. Pero luego, me divorcié y me case con él porque era al que yo quería”. Interview with Ivelize. Appendix.

²⁴¹ “Vine por la situación económica. Yo me había divorciado de mi esposo y tenía dos niños que mantener más la casa. Yo trabajaba en un hospital y también cocinaba comida para vender, yo era la que sostenía el hogar y nunca alcanzaba”. Interview with Miguelina, Appendix.

²⁴² Leo Lucassen. 2005. *The Imminent Threat. The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*. Champaign. University of Illinois Press, p. 18.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Furthermore, this concept of integration does not assume that it produces a uniform, unitary and harmonious society but instead, it permits a series of differences according to - class, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientations – and in this way every society is multicultural.²⁴⁴ Additionally, marriage has constituted another way of integrating in the Austrian society. That is, most of the women interviewed in this work married Austrian men and they have lived in Austria between ten and thirty-three years already. Somehow, these Dominican women have assimilated some traits of the Austrian culture not only because they speak German and interact with Austrians but also because there exists some emotional identification with this society which may be called individual assimilation.²⁴⁵

In fact, when I asked one of these Dominican women about her holidays in Santo Domingo, she just said:

It was ok but I wanted to come to Vienna. I missed the food, the quietness, my privacy, my routine. After one week I wanted to return. It is getting more and more difficult to be in my own country. Things are so different over there. I believe I got accustomed to Austria and when I am away I miss it. Of course, I wanted to see my parents who are very old but other than that, I would not return so often. Besides, it is so expensive over there.²⁴⁶

In addition, the nature of the integration of migrants both internally and externally, is that they are already socialized in another society. When they migrate, they are confronted with different social structures.²⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the question is: to what extent are the various domains of a new society new? The answer to this question will depend on the backgrounds of the migrants (their own human capital, value systems, etc.) and these may vary from no differences to a great many. Besides, migrants always integrate to some extent.²⁴⁸ At this point, it is important to mention the degree of social inequality to which these Dominican women were exposed to in their own country and the differences encountered when they moved to Austria. In this respect, there are three characteristics that make Austria different

²⁴⁴ *Ibíd.*, p. 18.

²⁴⁵ Esser Hartmut. 2007. "Does the "New" Immigration Require a "New" Theory of Intergenerational Integration?" in: Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind (eds.) *Rethinking Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. New York. Berghahn Books, p. 312.

²⁴⁶ "Estuvo bien pero me quería venir a Viena. Extrañaba la comida, la tranquilidad, mi privacidad, mi rutina. Después de una semana, me quería volver. Cada vez es más difícil ir a Santo Domingo. Todo es tan diferente. Creo que ya me acostumbré a este país y cuando no estoy aquí lo extraño. Por supuesto que quería ver a mis padres que ya están muy viejitos pero sino fuera por eso no iría tan seguido. Además, todo es tan caro allí". Informal talk with Ivelize about her holidays in Santo Domingo during the first two weeks of July, 2017.

²⁴⁷ Leo Lucassen, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁴⁸ *Ibíd.*, pp. 18-19.

from the Dominican Republic: education, occupation and income.²⁴⁹ As regards education, these women were able to offer their Dominican and Austrian children a proper education in Austria that would have been much more difficult if they were in the Dominican Republic.²⁵⁰ Besides, they were able to obtain jobs working in hotels or at restaurants earning enough to support themselves and their children. This might be considered an achievement that would have been not easily attained in their home country.

Adopting Lucassen's definition of integration, it is possible to say that the Dominican women I interviewed have definitely found their place in the Austrian society since they work and earn their living in this country, shop, vote, go to church, socialize with Austrian families, neighbours, school teachers and staff, etc. The Dominican community is integrated to some extent.

Moreover, integration is a non-linear, long term and an intergenerational process which takes place in many different domains. Within these domains, the speed of the process may differ such as the economic, the social, the cultural, and the political.²⁵¹ Hence, it is possible to speak of a "*structural* integration which can be measured more or less objectively by mapping social mobility, school results, housing patterns"²⁵² and it should be differentiated from "*identificational* integration, which is subjective and refers to the extent to which migrants and their offspring keep on regarding themselves as *primarily* different and viewed as such by the rest of the society".²⁵³

As regards this long term and non-linear integration process of migrants in general, a division can be made within this Dominican community. On the one hand, the women who have experienced a real integration in the Austrian society are the daughters of Dominican women who have practically grown up here together with their Austrian brothers or sisters. On the other hand, their respective Dominican mothers have experienced an important degree of integration in the Austrian society through work and socialization with Austrian counterparts although it is a little more

²⁴⁹ Esser Hartmut, op. cit. p. 313.

²⁵⁰ "From the 1960s on, both the educational and the medical systems were tragically drowning. Government schools and free government clinics deteriorated, giving rise to a large number of private schools and private clinics, all competing with each other and all without external control. Their quality varied greatly, as did their fees. The poorest inhabitants could not afford any of them and remained dependent on increasing deficient government services". Harry Hoetink, op. cit., p. 220.

²⁵¹ Leo Lucassen, op. cit., p. 19.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 19.

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 19.

distant than their Dominican daughters. As these Dominican mothers are older and have lived half of their lives in the Dominican Republic and the other half in Austria, their loyalties are divided. In spite of the fact that they feel integrated in the Austrian society, they still have some reminiscence of their own country, people and customs. This is why this group meets regularly with other Dominicans to celebrate birthdays, anniversaries or whatever occasion they can find in order to be together. As a matter of fact, Pedro stated the following in connection with the integration of Dominicans in the Austrian society:

I believe that there are some cases where there is integration but in the majority of the cases there is not. Dominicans live here as if they were in the Dominican Republic. For most of the Dominicans the language barrier was very tough. I had a really hard time with the language and I went to a private school for six months and with the knowledge acquired together with the every day practice I can now communicate. But, if it was so difficult for me, try to imagine the situation of these women with all the limitations they had.²⁵⁴

In fact, when I asked Kathy about the way she felt about the Austrian and the Dominican society she said that at the very beginning, it was difficult for her to adapt to this German-speaking country. However, very soon she learnt the language, made friends and obtained jobs easily. In effect, she stated the following:

I grew up here. I spent most of my time here. I have my family, friends, my world is here. When I am in the Dominican Republic it is ok but after two weeks I want to return to Vienna because here I have my home. My world is here, my life is here...²⁵⁵

In addition, when I asked her if she would return to the Dominican Republic at some point in her life she said:

I want to stay here, I feel secure here. The Dominican Republic is very nice, the island but you have to have so much money to live there because there is so much corruption and there are so many security issues there. You are in your house and you feel like if you were in jail. If you have anything, you are afraid because you do not know when they will come and steal it. In other words, if I have a nice house but it has to be locked. And, on top of that, you cannot go out!²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ “Yo creo que existen algunos casos donde hay integración pero en la mayoría no. Los dominicanos viven aquí como si estuvieran en República Dominicana. Para la mayoría fue muy duro por el idioma. A mí me costó muchísimo pero fui a la escuela (un instituto privado durante 6 meses) y después con el conocimiento adquirido en ese instituto más la práctica diaria en la calle, pude hablar y comunicarme pero es difícil. Si a mí me costó tanto, imagínese estas mujeres con todas las limitaciones que tenían en ese momento”. Interview with Pedro. Appendix.

²⁵⁵ Interview with Kathy. Appendix.

²⁵⁶ “Sí. Me quiero quedar aquí, aquí me siento más segura. El país es muy bonito (Rep. Dom., muy llamativo (la isla) pero hay que tener dinero para vivir allá, mucho dinero porque hay mucha corrupción y hay que temer allá el tema de la seguridad. Estás en tu casa y estás preso en tu casa. Si tienes algo,

5. Conclusion

The central object of this thesis has been to research the migration process of a group of Dominican women to Austria during the period 1980s-2017. At the beginning of this work, I touched upon globalization, neoliberalism and their connection with migration in the Dominican Republic. The implementation of neoliberal policies influenced to some degree this migratory process although it is not possible to attribute the main cause.

Then, I continued with the political and economic conditions in the Dominican Republic since the late 19th century. At this point, it is possible to elucidate some of the causes that prompted Dominicans in general, women in particular, to migrate to the U.S., Puerto Rico, Austria as well as some other European countries. Furthermore, an account of the different Austrian policies, refugees and temporary workers who have migrated to Austria over the last 70 years has been outlined as well. In addition, some migration strategies which are often employed in this type of journeys have been mentioned. Next, sex trade and domestic service in Austria and Spain were introduced. In fact, this group of Dominican women came to Austria to work in the sex trade. These women were brought by a trafficking network in charge of bringing migrants to Europe and Austria was selected in view of the demand of the Austrian sex market during the late 1980s.

Part four dealt with the findings and analysis of the results attempting to explain the process these women followed after they settled in Austria in terms of occupation, language performance and retirement. Subsequently, the strategies these women pursued to stay in Austria were drawn as well as the degree of integration of the first group of Dominican women who came to Austria as well as their Dominican daughters.

According to the information collected through the interview with Pedro, many of these Dominican women did not know they were coming to this country while some others were informed about it. Besides, their first years in Austria were difficult since they had to work very hard for this trafficking network due to the commitments acquired in order to travel to Austria. With the passing of years, these

tienes que temer que se metan a robar, a quitártelo como dé lugar. O sea, si tengo una casa bonita tengo que tener todo cerrado. Y, encima no se puede salir a la calle". Ibid.

first migrants improved their standard of living and started to work in the service sector. These first women got married with Austrian men (who were members of the trafficking network) because that was the strategy to stay legally in the country. After some years, they got divorced and continued with their lives forming their own families and having children with their second or third Austrian husbands. To some degree, they adapted themselves to the new nation incorporating rules, customs and learning the German language.

The majority values the fact of living in such an organized country where security, order and respect may be found. They are grateful because they live in a developed country which has offered them a place to stay and develop. And they are proud they have found a better standard of living for themselves and they were able to offer a proper education to their children and a different life from the one they had.

However, to some degree, these women witness a dual identity since they are between two worlds. On the one hand, they are Dominicans and they act and feel as such. Nevertheless, some of their children were born in Austria and therefore these children are truly Austrian: they speak perfect German because they have been in contact with the Austrian educational system since they were three or four years old when they started kindergarten and then continued attending school. They interact with Austrian children and therefore, they are in contact with this culture all the time. The Dominican world is present but in a distant way because of the environment they are exposed to. Some of these children do not even speak Spanish but only German. Somehow, these children have totally internalized the Austrian society to the point that they reject their Spanish roots. In spite of the fact that their mothers talk to them in Spanish they only answer in German and they do not accept any aspect connected with the Spanish or the Dominican world.

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Appendix

Interview with Pedro, a Dominican man who has a thorough knowledge of the Dominican women migration to Austria. 13.7.2017.

- 1.- **¿Cuántas dominicanas ingresaron en 1980 aproximadamente? Unas 100 seguro en 1987, ese fue el año en que empezaron a ingresar.**
- 2.- **¿Cómo continuó el proceso? A fines de los ´80 ingresaron otras 200, y después en el 93, 95 y 97.**
- 3.- **¿Cómo Ud. conoció a estas mujeres? Yo trabajaba en gastronomía y ellas venían a mi local los domingos que era el único día que tenían libre y así conocí a estas mujeres y su historia. Ahora trabajo en construcción.**
- 4.- **¿Ellas sabían que venían a Austria? Algunas sí, otras no. Muchas venían engañadas. Después, se quedaron hacienda lo mismo. Dos o tres aún siguen activas y otras se han independizado. Una tiene un studio y tiene mujeres que trabajan para ella.**
- 5.- **¿Cómo llegaron a Austria? ¿Vinieron a través de una red? ¿Lo hicieron directamente? Sí, una red de tráfico de Dominicanas que eran consideradas exóticas en los ´80. Había mucha competencia con mujeres escandinavas pero en esa época las Dominicanas eran preferidas. Había dos austríacos que se encargaban de distribuirlas en Austria. Primero, se quedaban en Viena donde había muchos prostíbulos y estudios donde estas Dominicanas podían trabajar y después comenzaban a rotarlas porque así funciona este mercado. No pueden estar mucho tiempo en un mismo lugar. En República Dominicana la red estaba compuesta por Dominicanos que las reclutan y las traen aquí. Vinieron de manera directa a Viena y de aquí las distribuyen a distintos lugares de Austria.**
- 6.- **¿Es por esta razón que hay tantos Dominicanos en Baja Austria? Exactamente. En Lnz y Graz es donde más Dominicanos hay porque allí los destinaron por medio de la rotación y después se quedaron. En Viena, en los 80s había muchos cabarets y locales nocturnos. Hoy ya no existen más.**
- 7.- **¿Ingresaron legalmente? Si, algunas con visa de turista (en esa época no necesitaban visa para ingresar en Austria y podían regularizar su situación más adelante) y después regularizaron su situación. Otras se casaron con los hombres de la misma red que las trajeron. Obvio que tenían que trabajar para ellos. La red les quitaba los pasaportes, tenían deudas que debían pagar como el pasaje y los costos del viaje más el endeudamiento de la familia para que estas mujeres llegaran aquí. Algunas estaban prácticamente secuestradas. Al cabo de un par de años, una vez que habían regularizado su situación (tenían los documentos necesarios para vivir en Austria), se divorciaban. Pero para ese entonces, ya estaban seguras aquí y podían traer a otros miembros de su familia y a amigos.**
- 8.- **¿Cuánto tiempo trabajaban en el negocio del sexo? Un par de años, 7 u 8 hasta que se estabilizaban y podían hacer otra cosa. En la actualidad, ¿siguen ingresando? No, no como en ese entonces. Las que vienen lo hacen como prostitutas internacionales y vienen por su cuenta y se van desplazando por distintos países.**

9.- ¿Cómo era el dominio del idioma alemán de estas primeras mujeres? **Muy pobre. Hablan alemán indio. No pueden entablar una conversación en alemán, sólo lo básico. Estas mujeres venían principalmente del campo y no tenían educación.**

10. ¿Hay asociaciones dominicanas en Austria? **No, yo intenté crear alguna en muchas oportunidades pero es muy difícil. Hay muchos grupos y muchos intereses diferentes. Ahora abandoné la idea.**

11.- ¿Por qué algunos dominicanos se han vuelto a su país? **El choque cultural es muy fuerte. El calor humano es muy importante. La soledad también es muy fuerte. Hay personas que no lo aguantaron y se volvieron. Otros esperan la pensión para poder volver y vivir su vejez en República Dominicana.**

12.- ¿Se puede hablar de integración de los dominicanos que viven en Austria? **Yo creo que existen algunos casos donde hay integración pero en la mayoría no. Los dominicanos viven aquí como si estuvieran en República Dominicana. Para la mayoría fue muy duro por el idioma. A mí me costó muchísimo pero fui a la escuela (un instituto privado durante 6 meses) y después con el conocimiento adquirido en ese instituto más la práctica diaria en la calle, pude hablar y comunicarme pero es difícil. Si a mí me costó tanto, imagínese estas mujeres con todas las limitaciones que tenían en ese momento.**

13.- ¿Cuál fue la principal razón para dejar República Dominicana? **Para tener un futuro mejor, esa fue la principal razón.**

14.-¿Cuánto tiempo hace que Ud. vive en Austria? **Yo, hace casi 28 años que vivo aquí. Cuando llegué había solo dos dominicanos. Me casé con una austríaca.**

**Interview with Lourdes, a staff member at the Dominican Republic Embassy
14.02.2017**

1.- ¿Cuántos dominicanos viven en Austria y en Viena? **Los dominicanos son la segunda población más grande después de Brasil. Hay 4000 en toda Austria si contamos los hijos de los dominicanos que nacieron aquí. En Viena, viven unos 700 dominicanos.**

2.- ¿De qué año data la migración dominicana? **Y, la migración comenzó hace unos 32 o 33 años más o menos.**

3.- Y, ¿a qué obedece? A qué se debe la elección de este país teniendo en cuenta la dificultad del idioma y lo diferente de las costumbres latinas?

Principalmente obedece a una mejoría económica y social. También hay estudiantes y músicos. De hecho, hay cinco (5) personas destacadas de la ONU. La gente que migró no necesitaba visa en los '80. Un grupo importante de prostitutas o bailarinas vino a Austria. De hecho, el asesinato de una prostituta hace unos 20 años todavía no se esclareció. Ese cadáver era de una dominicana. La prostituta que mataron envió 2 maletas con joyas y \$10.000. Este primer grupo eran MAYORITARIAMENTE MUJERES QUE QUERÍAN AYUDAR A SUS FAMILIAS EN REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA, NO HOMBRES. El 99% de las mujeres que llegaron eran PROSTITUTAS. Después, se crea la red para traer a otros dominicanos.

4.- ¿Por qué estas mujeres se dedican a la prostitución? **Las dominicanas son consideradas exóticas y por lo tanto es una prostitución exótica que era demandada en esos años.**

5. Lourdes, cuénteme su historia. Cómo llegó a Austria? **Bueno, yo vine a estudiar y me casé con un alemán. Debo admitir que me costó mucho todo, el idioma y acostumbrarme al ambiente.**

6. ¿Cómo vive el dominicano promedio en Austria? **No se integra, los dominicanos viven en Austria como si estuvieran en República Dominicana. Algunos dominicanos vuelven porque no se adaptan. Hay muchos que están en las drogas y hay muchos otros que viven de la ayuda del estado.**

7.- ¿A qué otros espacios recurren los dominicanos para su contención en Austria? **La iglesia los contiene. Hay un párroco en San Florian en el distrito 5, es un párroco muy activo que se volvió a Santo Domingo.**

8.- ¿Siguen viniendo los dominicanos a Austria? **Ahora ya no porque no les dan la visa de turismo siquiera. Es mucho más difícil.**

9.- ¿Tiene la Embajada algún registro de dominicanos en Austria? **Sí, la embajada tiene un registro de dominicanos.**

10.- ¿En qué trabajan los dominicanos en Austria? **En cocina, restaurantes, almacenes, etc.**

11.- ¿Dónde se encuentran más dominicanos en Austria? **La concentración más importante está en Linz y Graz. De hecho, hay un barrio en Dominicana que se llama La Vega y podría decirse que La Vega está en Linz y Graz.**

12.- ¿Hay algún lugar en donde viven los dominicanos en Viena? **Están distribuidos por todos lados pero también hay muchos en el distrito 10 que es donde viven la mayoría de los inmigrantes (Favoriten).**

Interview with Dominican Women in Vienna, Austria

- 1) Name and Age:
- 2) Place of work:
How long have you worked there?
- 3) How old were you when you came to Austria? Or, in what year?
- 4) How did you get into this country? Tell me your story.
- 5) Why did you decide to leave Dominican Republic?
What was the main reason?
- 6) Why did you choose Vienna to stay?
- 7) Did you have problems to learn the language? In case the answer was positive,
What were they?
Did you attend any course?
- 8) Would you come back to your country? Or, are you thinking of staying in Austria?
- 9) What is it that you like the most about this country and what is it that you like the least?

Mujeres que se casaron con un austríaco - Hace 11 años

E: Entrevistadora

I: Primera inicial del nombre de la entrevistada

07.03.2017

1) 1) Nombre y Edad: Ivelize 36 años HACE 11 AÑOS QUE ESTÁ EN AUSTRIA

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja?. Ama de casa y realiza trabajos de peluquería en su casa de forma particular

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? 11 años Y, anteriormente? Cuidaba los hijos de su hermana para sobrevivir

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? A los 25 años O, en qué año? 1996

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. Con un invite de mi hermana. Me gustó y me quedé. E. Cómo hiciste con los papeles cuando recién llegaste? Cuando llegué le cuidaba los niños a mi hermana, me daba algo semanal. Luego, conocí un Sr. que se casó conmigo con papeles. Quería que le pagara. Y, yo no tenía en ese tiempo ese dinero. Y, se lo fui dando poco a poco. E. Quién quería le pagaras? I. Yo tenía que pagarle al Sr. que se casó conmigo. Entonces, vos al principio para quedarte te casaste. I. X tiempo, solo 8 meses. E. Entonces, te casaste para poder quedarte. I. De una vez, no conocí a mi esposo actual así. Lo conocí a los 6 meses, ya estaba casada. Pero luego, me divorcié y me case con él porque era al que yo quería.

E. Entonces, vos para poder quedarte acá, primero te casaste pero era como un negocio.

I. Poco a poco le pagué, la mitad porque mi hermana dejó el trabajo.

E. Muchos se casan para poder obtener los papeles.

E. Vos te casaste nada más por una cuestión de obtener los papeles. Una vez que obtuviste los papeles te divorciaste.

I. Si. I. Entonces, te divorciaste y me casé de una vez con el actual.

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? Decepción amorosa.

7) Por qué elegiste Viena para quedarte? I. Porque aquí vivían mis hermanas. E. Cuántas hermanas vivían acá cuando vos llegaste?

E. Y, ellas también usaron esa estrategia?

I. si, si.. Pero la mayor no, la mayor se casó por amor. Y, ahí está con su esposo, 23 años creo.

E. Entonces, la estrategia es primero casarse para poder quedarse sino no tenés forma.

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? I. Hu si todavía no lo sé.

E. Pero cuándo llegaste? I. Difícil. Es difícil, muy difícil. E. Pero tu marido es austríaco. I. Pero hablaba español. Es lógico si yo no sé hablar alemán, cómo íbamos a comunicarnos? Hizo algún curso? I. Si pero eso no te ayuda cuando tu vienes de otro país, con otra lengua, otro idioma. Tu estás en el aire cuando llegas de otro lugar. Quizás me pude aprender lo básico.

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? I. Como que está tan difícil. Yo creo que no. Porque ahí está como una dictadura sabes? Ahora mismo de gobierno. No es bueno. Y, la seguridad. No hay seguridad.

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país? I. La libertad que tienes y la seguridad, que puedes andar a cualquier hora, nada te pasa. En RD no se puede usar una prenda, una cartera porque te la roban. Aquí es muy seguro todo. La seguridad es lo que me gusta más. Y, se vive cómodo. No tengo que estar limpiando tanto. Ahí todos los días hay que echar agua porque el polvo. y lo que menos le gusta? I. Son muy racistas. Como te minorizan donde todos somos seres humanos y todos tenemos derechos y si yo opto por una visa o una nacionalidad sería igualita que ellos. Pero el color no. Si nos quitamos la piel todos somos iguales. El color de la piel es un problema.

12) A qué se dedicaron estas mujeres cuando recién llegaron a Austria? **Y, hicieron lo que tenían que hacer. Estaban solas, no conocían a nadie, no sabían el idioma. No tenían muchas opciones. A veces, hay que hacer algunos sacrificios para estar mejor.**

1) Conocés a María, la señora que vive a unas cuadras de aquí y que vino con estas primeras mujeres? **Si, la conozco. Tiene dos hijas. Cuando la veo, charlamos.**

2) Creés que podría entrevistarla en algún momento? **No sé la verdad, no creo que puedas hacerlo. Es un tema delicado y no les gusta hablar mucho de eso.**

3) Y, qué hay de otras mujeres? Conocés a otras mujeres de este grupo? **En realidad, sé que muchas murieron y otras se volvieron a República Dominicana.**

Mujeres dominicanas que se casaron en Rep. Dominicana

07.04.2017 (se casó en Rep. Dominicana) Hace 15 años

(2) 1) Nombre y Edad: Mary 39 años

2) En qué trabaja?; **M. Ahora mismo no** Dónde trabajabas? **En hotelería. Por eso tuve que parar. E. Y, cómo te lesionaste el hombro? M. Por mucho trabajo. E. Pensás volver a trabajar? M. Si, pienso volver a trabajar pero quizás no lo mismo. E. Vas a cambiar. E. Cuánto tiempo trabajaste en hotelería? M. 3 años. E. Y, antes de estos 3 años en qué trabajabas? M. Trabajaba limpiando pero en una oficina.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **Y, anteriormente?**

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **Hace 15 años** O, en qué año? **1992**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **M. Cómo llegué? Fui casada con un austríaco. E. Pero dónde te casaste? M. En la República Dominicana. E. Cómo lo conociste al austríaco? M. A través de mi hermana, de una de mis hermanas. Y, después me trajo acá con mi niño. E. Y, después te quedaste. M. Si. Pero nos divorciamos.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **M. Porque se casó. Y, porque me interesó conocer otra cosa y ver cómo salir un poco hacia adelante, cuestión de trabajo y cosa.**

E.Cuál fue la principal razón para irse de la Rep. Dominicana? M. Yo ya había estado aquí a los 17 años yo vine de paseo pero decidí irme y entonces regresé ya que estaba casada. Pero por cuestión de trabajo, tu sabes que allá el poco trabajo y el dinero por más que tu trabajos no rinde, no rinde lo suficiente.

E. Por qué decidiste quedarte en Viena? Porque tu marido estaba acá? M. No, mi marido era de Tirol. El primer mes viví en Tirol y luego regresé aquí a Viena.

E. Y, te gustaba Tirol? M. No. E. Porque es la montaña. M. Y, yo estaba recién llegada aquí y al no saber el idioma. No era mi mundo. E. Al mes te viniste a Viena. E. Te viniste con él? M. No. E. Cuánto tiempo estuviste casada? En ese tiempo, duramos un año de casada. Luego nos divorciamos. M. Nos casamos en diciembre y el me trajo hasta acá en agosto del 2002. Y, nos divorciamos en el 2003.

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **M. Con el alemán, el alemán es un poquito complicado. No lo he estudiado pero el alemán mío es el de la calle. Cuando no sé una cosa pues la pregunto, cómo se dice y así sucesivamente.**

E. No hiciste cursos?

M. Nada, nada pero me defiendo gracias a Dios muy bien.

Hizo algún curso?

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? **M. Si, ahora mismo no pero pienso volver allá. Mi vejez no la pienso pasar aquí, no. Demasiado frío. Ya luego que mis hijos estén grandes y sepan defenderse solos y que dependan ya de ellos mismos. Cuando ellos estén ubicados, que yo sepa que estén bien, casados, con su familia**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país? **M. A mi me gusta mucho, la tendencia, la seguridad que tiene, la limpieza, y lo que menos le gusta? M. El frío es lo que menos me gusta, ya me he acostumbrado. E. Te gusta el Caribe. M. Normal como todo. Hasta los mismos austríacos quisieran irse de aquí.**

(3) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Wendy 37 años (Se casó en Rep. Dominicana y vino a Austria) Hace 13 años**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **No trabaja aquí.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **24 años** O, en qué año? **1993**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Me casé en Santo Domingo y de allí vine con mi esposo. El es austriaco y se comunicaban en español porque él hablaba español. Ella trabajaba en un zoológico.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Porque se casó.**

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Porque su esposo vivía aquí.**

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Habla un poco de alemán, todavía le cuesta un poco escribir.**

Hizo algún curso? **Hizo 4 cursos de alemán.**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? **No porque tiene 4 hijos. O piensa quedarse en Austria**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país? **Es bonito y en Rep. Dom. También, de hecho es el número 1 para mí.** y lo que menos le gusta? **A lo primero no me gustaba el frío pero ahora ya me acostumbré.**

(4)1) Nombre y Edad: **Betty - 45 años Hace 21 años. Conoció a su primer marido en Austria y se casó en RD**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **En estos momentos está de licencia por enfermedad pero trabajaba en hotelería limpiando. Compañera de Mary (Hermana de Ivelize) Cuando se mejore, quiere trabajar cuidando niños. Está haciendo un curso para ejercer de niñera (kinderpatrol).**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **24 años** O, en qué año? **1993**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Se casó con un austríaco y tuvo un niño. Después se quedó esperando los papeles para venirse a Austria. Se divorció del 1er marido y se juntó con otro austríaco con quien tuvo 2 niños más. Conoció al 1er marido andando en Donauinsel, Vienna. Luego él fue a Dominicana y se casó allá.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Por una buena vida, por una mejor vida. Todo el mundo quiere algo mejor. Por razones económicas: Sí, también, eso es lo primordial.**

7) Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Cuando recién llegó vivía en un campo y vino a Viena cuando se divorció.**

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Sí, muchísimo. Ya no le cuesta el idioma, después de tantos años de vivir aquí. Ya se defiende sola.**
Hizo algún curso? **Hice un curso sí, A2.**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Claro que sí. Cuándo? Cuando esté en pensión viejita, que mis hijos estén grandes ya. Por ahora piensa quedar en Austria, tiene niños pequeños.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Me gusta la higiene, que las cosas son muy correctas, antes había poca corrupción, poco más. Antes era un país seguro, uno podía vivir tranquilo, sin mucha corrupción. Lo que menos le gusta son los strafe que ponen: multas por no pagar las facturas a tiempo. Para todo te ponen multa. Todo es dinero.**

5) 1) Nombre y Edad: **María – 32 años Hace 12 años Se casó en RD**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Soy masajista y trabajo en un centro para masajes en Viena desde hace 10 años. Antes de venir a Austria también trabajaba de masajista en Santo Domingo. Hace cuánto? Y, anteriormente?**

3) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 20 años** O, en qué año? **2005**

4) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Conocí a un austríaco en Santo Domingo y me casé allá y después vine a Austria. Me separé de ese austríaco pero ya tenía el permiso para estar aquí y luego formé pareja con un húngaro con quien tengo un hijo. Yo ya tenía una hija de un matrimonio anterior en Dominicana a quien traje una vez que se estableció aquí. No tuve hijos de su primer matrimonio.**

5) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Porque me casé pero también para gozar de una mejor calidad de vida.**

6)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse? **Afectiva y económica**

7) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Mi primer marido vivía aquí**

8) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **No muchos. Hablaba Inglés. No sabía nada de alemán. Mi primera suegra la ayudó mucho y miraba mucha televisión y con la práctica diaria de trabajar fue aprendiendo mucho más rápido.**

Hizo algún curso? **A lo último.**

9) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **No, sólo de vacaciones. Pienso quedarme en Austria. Me gusta mucho aquí.**

10) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **La tranquilidad y que no hay delincuencia como en nuestro país. Hay estabilidad económica y seguridad. Lo que menos me gusta es el frío.**

- (6) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Ileida – 42 años – Hace 20 años que vive en Viena**
- 2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **En un hotel sirviendo desayunos, en la cocina.**
- 3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **15 años** Y, anteriormente?
- 4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **22 años** O, en qué año? **1997**
- 5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Me casé con un austríaco en Dominicana, hablaba un poco de español y tuve una niña con el austríaco. Me separé del austríaco. Hace un año que me separé.**
- 6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Me casé con un austríaco**
- 7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?
- 8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?
- 9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Yo estudié dos años alemán en Dominicana. Tuve 3 años de novia y él iba a visitarme. Estudié 1 ½ aquí y aprendí rápido.**
Hizo algún curso?
- 10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? **Cuando esté en pensión volvería a Dominicana y que me manden la pensión allá. Aquí es muy triste ser Viejo. Yo veo a los viejitos que se caen. Mi hija tiene 16 años y pienso quedarme hasta que esté en pensión. O piensa quedarse en Austria? Por ahora sí.**
- 11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **La tranquilidad y la seguridad. Lo que menos me gusta es el frío y la gente que es medio fría. Tengo amigos austríacos.**

- (7) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Yolanda – 37 – Hace 12 años que vive en Viena**
- 2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja: **Trabajo limpiando en un hotel.**
- 3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **Hace 10 años que trabajo en el mismo hotel Y, anteriormente? Ingresé a trabajar en ese hotel y allí me quedé.**
- 4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **Llegó cuando tenía 25 años O, en qué año? Hace 12 años.**
- 5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia: **Vine de vacaciones a visitar a mi hermana que vive en Viena hace más de 16 años y conocí a mi actual marido en una reunión familiar y me casé al poco tiempo pero tuve que volver a Santo Domingo para realizar todo los papeles, no fue algo directo. Ahora hay más restricciones**
- 6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Quería algo mejor para mí. La situación es muy difícil allá. No importa cuánto uno trabaje, nunca alcanza. Aquí es diferente. Si uno trabaja se nota.**
- 7)Cuál fué la principal razón para irse? **La economía**
- 8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Porque aquí vive mi hermana y mis sobrinos y aquí conocí a mi actual marido**
- 9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Algunos al principio pero hice varios cursos y con el trabajo me ayudó a hablar mejor. Ahora no tengo problemas con el alemán.**
Hizo algún curso?
- 10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Voy a Santo Domingo sólo de vacaciones. Creo que me voy a quedar en Austria. Se vive bien aquí.**
- 11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Lo que más me gusta es la seguridad. En Rep. Dominicana todo es muy peligroso. Aquí no, hay mucha tranquilidad y uno puede andar por la calle sin problemas. Lo mismo de noche. Uno realmente se siente seguro aquí. Lo que menos me gusta es el frío. Todavía me cuesta acostumbrarme.**

(8) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Karina – 42 años – 12 años que vive en Viena**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **En estos momentos, trabajo en un hotel haciendo limpieza.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **Hace 2 años que trabajo para una de las familias y 6 meses que trabajo para la segunda.** Y, anteriormente? **No trabajaba, estaba en mi casa pero ahora necesito trabajar porque quiero estar ocupada.**

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **Vine a los 30 años.** O, en qué año? **2005**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Me casé con un austríaco que conocí en Santo Domingo. Vine aquí de vacaciones y después nos volvimos para casarnos y recién ahí me vine definitivamente.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Porque me casé.**

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Mi marido vive y trabaja aquí.**

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Bastantes al principio. Hice varios cursos y aprendí mucho. Todavía me cuesta un poco pero no tanto.** Hizo algún curso?

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **No creo. Tal vez cuando esté en pensión pero no sé.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Me gusta que se puede ahorrar cuando trabajo aquí. En Rep. Dominicana es muy difícil, trabajar y ahorrar. El dinero desaparece en las manos, no importa cuánto uno trabaje. Lo que no me gusta es que hace mucho frío pero ya me acostumbré. Ya hace muchos años que vivo aquí.**

- (9) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Solana - 30 – Hace 10 años que vive en Viena**
- 2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Soy peluquera y trabajo en un salón para hombres**
- 3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **Hace 5 años** Y, anteriormente?
- 4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 20 años** O, en qué año? **En el 2007**
- 5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Unos amigos me invitaron y conocí a mi marido en el Donau. Me casé y después volví a Santo Domingo porque los papeles tienen que hacerse allá y aquí estoy.**
- 6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Porque me casé.**
- 7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?
- 8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Mi marido vive aquí**
- 9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Algunos pero mi marido me ayudó mucho. Miraba mucha televisión y la familia de mi marido también me ayudaba un montón. Así aprendí. Después, con el trabajo avancé mucho.**
Hizo algún curso? **Sí. Hice como tres.**
- 10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Sólo para visitar a mi familia pero me gusta vivir aquí.**
- 11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Lo que más me gusta es la estabilidad que tiene en lo económico y también en lo político. Es un país muy tranquilo. Mi país es muy complicado. Hay mucha corrupción. Aquí no o al menos si hay no se ve. Lo que menos me gusta es la gente. Es muy fría. Es muy diferente a los dominicanos. A mi me gusta otro tipo de gente pero bueno, no se puede tener todo.**

(10) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Eugenia – 40 años - 12 años que vive en Viena**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Limpio en un hotel.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente? **Hace ya unos 10 años más o menos**

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **Vine a los 28 años.** O, en qué año? **En el 2005.**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Conocí a un austriaco en Santo Domingo y me propuso matrimonio. Yo trabajaba en una tienda en un hotel y decidí probar suerte en otro lugar. Siempre me gustó la idea de vivir en otro lugar y aquí estoy.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Porque me casé.**

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Porque mi marido vive aquí.**

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Bastantes, me costó mucho y todavía me cuesta un poco. Hice varios cursos así me ayudaba pero el idioma es difícil para mí.**

Hizo algún curso?

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Sólo para visitar a mi familia pero no para vivir. Las cosas están complicada allá y acá se vive mejor. Todo es más estable. Allá no. La economía no está bien y hay mucha inseguridad. Acá es todo lo contrario.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Me gusta que se trabaja y que rinde el trabajo. Uno gana dinero y puede ahorrar e irse de vacaciones. En Santo Domingo uno trabaja todo el tiempo pero el dinero no rinde. Lo que no me gusta mucho es el clima. Me cuesta mucho acostumbrarme todavía pero el resto está muy bien.**

Hijas de Dominicanas que crecieron en Austria Hace 21 años que vive aquí

(11)10.04.2017 (Hija de madre dominicana que se casó con un austríaco)

1) Nombre y edad. **Kathy. 32 años (HACE 21 AÑOS QUE ESTÁ ACÁ)**

2) En qué trabaja?:**Yo soy azafata. E. Para qué compañía: Niki, que es que la coopera con Air Berlín. Dónde trabaja?**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **7 años. Y, anteriormente? En una oficina, como secretaria.**

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **Yo vine a los 11 años O, en qué año? 1996**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Su mama la trajo porque estaba casada con un austríaco. Su madre se había venido cuando ella tenía 6 años. Conoció a este austríaco, la trajo y ella se pudo quedar. E. Vos sos de un matrimonio anterior de tu mama. K. Exactamente. Yo y mi hermano menor. Se crió acá. La mayoría de mi tiempo la pasé acá. Aquí tengo mi familia, amistades, mi mundo. Cuando estoy en Rep. Dominicana sí me gusta pasar el tiempo allá pero después de dos semanas, yo me quiero ir para mi casa. Mi mundo está aquí, mi vida está aquí.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Porque la mama la trajo, no fue una decisión propia. A ese tiempo, yo me la pasaba muy mal al principio y le decía a mi mama por favor mándame, mándame para Rep. Dominicana porque yo llegué aquí y no sabía alemán y solo hablaba español y yo llegué aquí como un sábado y ya el lunes yo ya estaba inscripta para ir a la escuela. Y, yo no sabía nada y mi mama siempre me acompañaba a la escuela, a las primeras clases, iba con los profesores, me traducía un poquito. Hice Haupschule, primero Volkshule que es para los chiquitos con mi hermano y yo estaba en la primera Haupschule.**

7) Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Ella vino a OberOsterreich, en el sur Oeste donde ellos se criaron, fue como un campito. Y, ella se quedó allí hasta que tenía 23 años. Ya hace 9 años que vivo aquí en Viena.**

E. Por qué elegiste Viena? Por ser la capital? Mis amigas se mudaron para acá porque ellas tenían familiares. Mi mejor amiga tenía aquí sus abuelos y decidió venir a trabajar en una compañía de Expedición que se llama Elkebekaker. Y yo siempre la visitaba los fines de semana y después de un tiempo, ella me dijo: Pero no te quieres quedar aquí? Busca trabajo aquí e intenta quedarte. Nos mudamos juntas.

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **No tuve ningún problema porque yo llegué aquí como en abril y después en las vacaciones mi mama nos puso en un Intensive Course. Mi hermanito y yo con una sola profesora todos los días de 8 a las 11 de la mañana y a la tarde a hacer tarea. Ya cuando empezó el Nuevo año escolar ya podía hablar alemán. Habla alemán a la perfección por la edad en la que vino e hizo prácticamente todos los niveles escolares en Austria.**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? **No, lamentablemente no. O piensa quedarse en Austria? Si. Me quiero quedar aquí, aquí me siento más segura. El país es muy bonito (Rep. Dom., muy llamativo (la isla) pero hay que tener dinero para vivir allá, mucho dinero porque hay mucha corrupción y hay que temer allá el tema de la seguridad. Estás en tu casa y estás preso en tu casa. Si tienes algo, tienes que temer que se metan a robar, a quitártelo como dé lugar. O sea, si tengo una casa bonita tengo que tener todo cerrado. Y, encima no se puede salir a la calle.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **El tiempo es lo que menos le gusta, el invierno, el clima que varía tanto y la mayoría del año está frío.**

K. Lo que más le gusta la seguridad social, la seguridad desde todo punto de vista, cuando tu no tienes trabajo, el estado te ayuda, cuando tienes un niño y no tienes esposo, el estado te ayuda. En cualquier situación que estás se te puede ayudar. En Rep. Dom. Nada. El que no tiene trabajo, no come.

(12)1) Nombre y Edad: **Daliza 29 años** (hija de madre dominicana que se casó con un austriaco) **Hace 14 años que está acá.**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Ahora está de licencia por enfermedad porque tiene una operación de rodilla y tiene que esperar. Una vez que se recupere, tiene que buscar trabajo. Trabajaba en Linz, en un campo, empacando productos embutidos y lo hizo por 1 año y medio y en estos momentos está de licencia.**

Hace 6 años que está de licencia desde que estaba embarazada, como si estuviera desempleada. Vivía en Linz y después se mudó a Viena porque aquí vive su familia. Ahora hacen 6 años. Al principio vivía en Viena, después Linz y ahora nuevamente Viena. No le gusta Linz porque es chiquito y aburrido. Viena es más interesante.

Cuando busque trabajo lo hará en gastronomía que es lo que estudió, no sabe si va a seguir con eso o tal vez realice un curso para maquillar y buscar trabajo relacionado con ello.

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 15 años.** O, en qué año? **En 1988.**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Su madre la trajo a Austria, le hizo el pasaporte y la trajo. Vivía con su abuela y la tía en Dominicana.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **La situación es compleja. Es mejor aquí, más seguridad.**

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Toda su familia vive en Viena y es bastante mejor.**

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Ella estudió alemán cuando empezó a estudiar y no tuvo dificultades con el idioma. Se comunica normal con el idioma. Fué a la escuela y allí aprendió alemán. Hizo un politécnico y después hizo un Ausbilder donde se estudia y trabaja. Es como si fuera una Carrera y dura 4 años. Trabajaba en el Piramides, en el Pidermeier Hotel y en Trabajó en varios lugares mientras estudiaba porque había que tener experiencia.**

Hizo algún curso? **Nunca hizo ningún curso formal porque iba a la escuela.**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria?

No se volvería a Rep. Dom. Y piensa quedarse. Su hijo es austriaco y piensa quedarse para asegurar su futuro.

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Lo que más le gusta es la cultura, disciplina, seguridad Y lo que menos le gusta es aburrido, solitario, tranquilo. En Dom. Hay mucho escándalo y no le gusta el frío.**

24.04.2017

(13) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Albania – 36 años** Hace 18 años que está acá.

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **En una panadería (Strok) desde hace 2 años. Antes trabajó en McDonald por 10 años. Quería cambiar y consiguió este trabajo. No es lo que más le gusta pero es lo que hay.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 18 años** O, en qué año? **1999**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Mi madre me trajo a Viena. Está casada con un austríaco. Ella también se casó con un austríaco y tiene dos niños, una niña de 15 años y otro de 9 años. Se casó cuando tenía 20 años.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana?

7) Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Su madre vivía aquí.**

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **No tuvo mayores problemas. Estudió un año en Santo Domingo antes de venir aquí y una vez en Austria hizo los cursos básicos hasta el B1.**

Hizo algún curso?

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria. **Sólo iría a Dominicana de vacaciones pero no a vivir. La situación está muy difícil allá. Piensa quedarse en Austria porque tiene su familia aquí.**

211) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Lo que más le gusta de Austria es su cultura y lo diferente que es comparado con su país. Lo que menos le gusta es la gente, son muy racistas. A veces ha sentido la discriminación. No siempre pero al principio se sintió discriminada por ser diferente.**

(14) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Lerodi – 30 años Hace 12 años que está acá**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Es cocinera y no trabaja porque está de licencia por enfermedad.** Hace cuánto? Y, anteriormente?

3) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 18 años** O, en qué año? **1987**

4) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Su mamá se casó con un austriaco y la trajo a Viena.**

5) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Porque se casó pero también para gozar de una mejor calidad de vida.**

6)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse? **Su madre la trajo.**

7) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse? **Su mamá vive aquí.**

8) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **No, sólo estudió un mes, 3 horas al día. Aprendí a leerlo y escribir perfectamente. Para hablarlo tengo más problemas, siento yo. Los austriacos me dicen que no, que habla bien alemán. Me dá miedo hablar.**

Hizo algún curso?

9) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Sí. Tengo mi familia en Rep. Dominicana. Mi esposo y mis hijos viven aquí. Está entre dos lugares.**

10) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **La tranquilidad, la seguridad, la forma de vida, hay mucha ayuda, mucho apoyo. Lo que menos le gusta es que se ayuda a los inmigrantes innecesariamente. Yo conozco dominicanos que nunca ha trabajado acá y que viven de la Seguridad Social. Yo he trabajado aquí. Hay gente que tienen más ayuda que yo y eso me incomoda. La gente de Siria recibe mucha ayuda, todas las cosas más baratas. Hay mucha delincuencia, hay mucha droga en Praternstern.**

11) Vida social. **Yo soy muy amistosa y muy social. Hablo con los austriacos que quieren hablar. Yo soy cómo me tratan. Se siente integrada. Yo respeto la personalidad de otro. A veces, me llevo mejor con los austriacos que con los dominicanos.**

(15) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Katherine – 32 años Hace 16 años que está acá.**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Trabaja en una peluquería**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **8 años** Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 16 años** O, en qué año? **2001**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Mi mamá me trajo, hace 16 años.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana?

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Sí, al principio pero después de 8 meses ya hablaba alemán. Comenzó la escuela y aprendió allí.**

Hizo algún curso? **Sí.**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Difícil que vuelva a Rep. Dominicana. No volvería. Piensa quedarse en Austria.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Le gusta todo de Austria, el trabajo, los amigos y su familia. Lo que no le gusta es que son muy serios pero no es algo negativo.**

(16) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Yokayra – 33 años Hace 18 años que está acá**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **En un McDonald**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **5 años** Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 15 años** O, en qué año? **1999**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **La trajo su mamá.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana?

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Al principio le costó pero como fue a la escuela allí aprendió y en poco tiempo ya hablaba alemán.**

Hizo algún curso?

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **No, le gusta Austria.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Le gustan las fiestas, no le gusta el frío.**

(17)1) Nombre y Edad: **Berlin - 28 años – Hace 15 años que vive en Viena**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **No trabaja ni estudia, está con Asistente social porque tiene un hijo de soltera. Es complicado cuando se es madre soltera. Tienes que trabajar los fines de semana. Tengo en plan de estudiar a partir de septiembre. Un técnico de vendedora. Estudiaba antes de tener a su niño. No terminé el técnico con el título**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 13 años** O, en qué año? **2002**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Llegué con mi mamá. Para mí fue duro porque no sabía el idioma porque me hablaban y yo no entendía nada. Entonces para mí ese tiempo fue bastante complicado y me sentía muy mal. Estaba triste porque no puedo compartir bien con mis amistades del colegio y le decía a mi mamá que me regresara para Dominicana de nuevo. Fue un cambio inmenso para mí. Lloraba mucho, los días grises y era todo frío. Mi abuela me crió.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana?

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Tuve problemas al principio pero hice toda la escuela. Cuando tenía 16 años conocí al papá de mi hijo. Es dominicano**
Hizo algún curso?

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? **Estoy pensando volver por un tiempo a Dominicana porque extraño mucho. Hace más de 15 años que vivo en Austria pero mi corazón está en Dominicana. O piensa quedarse en Austria? Por ahora sí por la educación de mi hijo.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **A mí me gusta de este país que no hay delincuencia como en Santo Domingo, hay más limpieza y la cultura es diferente. Yo he salido con mi teléfono en la mano y no hay problemas. Lo que menos le gusta el frío y estás siempre atrancada, no tienes contacto con los vecinos. No es como en Dominicana que te dicen “venga para mi casa a tomarse un café”. No tengo amigos austriacos sólo conocidos. Tengo conocidos dominicanos. Me relaciono con mi familia dominicana.**

(18)1) Nombre y Edad: **Adalgilsa – 26 años – Hace 16 años que vive en Viena**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **No trabaja ni estudia. Está buscando trabajo Tiene un hijo de soltera y está con Asistencia social.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **10 años** O, en qué año? **2007**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Mi mamá estaba casada con un austriaco y nos dieron la nacionalidad a mí y a mis hermanos mientras estábamos en Dominicana. Estuve con mis abuelos y mis tíos por 10 años y a los 10 años mi mamá me trajo.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana?

7) Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Antes de salir me dieron un curso de alemán. Antes de salir del país tenés que saber alemán. Y, fui a la escuela. Me costó un poquito pero nos daban un curso extra de alemán.**

Hizo algún curso?

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? **Si pero no por ahora.** O piensa quedarse en Austria?

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Me gustan muchas cosas pero no sé definir las. No hay nada que no me guste.**

- (19)1) Nombre y Edad: **Mariel – 22 años – Hace 12 años que vive en Viena**
- 2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Trabaja en un restaurante**
- 3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente
- 4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **10 años** O, en qué año? **2000**
- 5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **La trajo su mamá porque se casó con un austríaco.**
- 6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana
- 7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse
- 8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse
- 9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán. **Fue difícil pero lo aprendí, después de medio año ya hablaba alemán. Habla muy bien alemán.**
Hizo algún curso?
- 10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? **No ahora no.** O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Piensa quedarse**
- 11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país? **La seguridad** y lo que menos le gusta? **Es más aburrido que en mi país, de lunes a viernes no hay mucha diversión.**

(20)1) Nombre y Edad: **Dinanyiri – 14 años – Hace 5 años que vive en Viena**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **No trabaja, estudia, está en la escuela secundaria**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 9 años** O, en qué año? **2012**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Su mamá la trajo. Mientras tanto, vivía en casa de sus abuelos. Su mamá se casó con un austríaco y esperó cinco años hasta que estuvo en condiciones de traerla a Vienna**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán. **No tuvo problemas ya que vino a Viena a los 9 años. Estudió alemán durante un año y después ingresó en la escuela. Habla alemán perfectamente.**

Hizo algún curso?

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria?

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Lo que más le gusta son las tiendas, lo que menos le gusta es el frío y la nieve.**

Madres que trajeron a sus hijas de República Dominicana

(21) 1) Nombre y Edad: **María – 53 años (madre de Albania) Hace 33 años**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Nunca trabajó porque a su padrastro no le gustaba la idea de que ella trabajara. INTERESANTE: Dejó a sus 2 hijas en Rep. Dom. por 11 años y después las trajo a Austria. Sus hijas tenían 7 años 4 años y las criaron los abuelos.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 20 años** O, en qué año? **1984**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Se casó con un austriaco y vino a este país.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Por razones económicas**

7) Cuál fue la principal razón para irse

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Le costó mucho al principio pero ahora se comunica (aunque no lo habla del todo bien)**
Hizo algún curso? **1 o 2**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Vive la mitad del tiempo en Rep. Dom. y la otra mitad aquí.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Lo que más le gusta es la organización y lo que menos le gusta es la gente**

(22) 1) Nombre y Edad. **Carmen – 47 años (mama de Daliza) Hace 27 años**

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **En un hotel.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **15 años** Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 19 años** O, en qué año? **1989**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Vino y se casó, estuvo un mes con visa de turista y conoció a un austriaco y se casó. Tuvo un hijo con él. Se separó y después conoció a un dominicano.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Por razones económicas**

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Muchos, ahora se defiende pero siempre le costó y todavía le cuesta.**

Hizo algún curso? **Si, los básicos**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Visita Rep. Dominicana 2 veces al año pero cuando esté en pensión piensa volverse a Rep. Dominicana. En 15 o 20 años me vuelvo a Dominicana.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Le gusta la seguridad, la vida, el trabajo y la posibilidad de ganar más dinero que en Dominicana. No le gusta la vida aquí.**

(23) 1) Nombre y Edad. **Miguelina – 53 años (mamá de Katherine)**
Hace 33 años que vive acá

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **No trabaja. Vive en Vienna**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 20 años, hace 23 años** O, en qué año? **1984**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Se casó con un austriaco y se vino a vivir a Viena. Hacía un mes que había llegado a Vienna.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Quería una vida mejor.**

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Se le hizo difícil. Ahora se maneja pero no habla perfectamente.**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Ella dice que sí pero cuando está allá quiere volver. Piensa quedarse en Austria.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **Le gusta mucho Austria. No le gusta el clima.**

(24) 1) Nombre y Edad. **Sonia – 59 años (mama de Kathy)**
Hace 27 años que vive acá

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **En un hospital, es enfermera.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? **Hace 10 años** Y, anteriormente

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? **A los 32 años** O, en qué año? **1980**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **Vino casada con un austríaco. El le mandó una invitación y ella vino, duraron 12 años casados y después se divorciaron.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Por la situación económica, ella trabajaba en un hospital y también cocinaba comida para vender, ella era la que sostenía el hogar y nunca alcanzaba.**

7)Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Tuvo dificultades para aprender pero al cabo de un tiempo se manejaba y con el contacto aprendió el idioma. El trabajo le ayuda mucho también porque está en contacto con mucha gente. Hizo algún curso? Sí, los básicos.**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? O piensa quedarse en Austria? **No, le gusta mucho Austria. No le gusta Rep. Dom. ni tampoco la gente.**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **La seguridad, el sistema social, el tipo de vida. No le gusta el frío. Tiene más amigos austríacos que dominicanos. Se ha integrado muy bien a la sociedad austríaca.**

(25) 1) Nombre y Edad: **Ana – 52 años** **Hermana de Ivelize del campo**
Hace 30 años que vive en Viena

2) En qué trabaja?; Dónde trabaja? **Trabajaba en un supermercado pero comenzó a tener problemas de salud, varias operaciones y se jubiló por discapacidad.**

3) Hace cuánto tiempo que trabaja en ese lugar? Y, anteriormente?

4) A qué edad vino a Austria? O, en qué año? **22 años - 1987**

5) Cómo llegó a este país? Cuénteme su experiencia. **La invitó su Hermana que ya estaba viviendo en Viena. Aquí conoció a su marido austríaco y se casó y aún vive con él. A los pocos años, trajo a sus tres hijos de República Dominicana. No tuvo hijos con su marido austríacos porque se ligó las trompas cuando tuvo su tercer hijo. Es muy común en Rep. Dominicana que esto suceda para que las mujeres no tengan más hijos.**

6) Por qué decidió dejar República Dominicana? **Por la situación económica. Es todo muy difícil allá.**

7) Cuál fue la principal razón para irse?

8) Por qué eligió Viena para quedarse?

9) Qué problemas tuvo para aprender alemán? **Casi ninguno porque mi esposo me enseñó. El habla muy bien español y me enseñó.**
Hizo algún curso? **No.**

10) Se volvería a Rep. Dominicana en algún momento? **Por ahora no, tengo a casi toda mi familia aquí, mi esposo e hijos.** O piensa quedarse en Austria? **Lo más probable que me quede en Austria**

11) Qué es lo que más le gusta de este país y lo que menos le gusta? **La tranquilidad y la seguridad. Lo que menos me gusta es el clima pero ya me acostumbré.**