Migration in the Early 20th Century Caribbean: Evidence from Dominican Residency Permits

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Abstract

This project sheds light on immigration to less developed countries by introducing a uniquely large and detailed microdata set compiled by digitizing all residency permit applications submitted to the Dominican Republic from 1940 to 1954. In contrast to the primary receiving countries in the Americas, the Dominican Republic attracted immigrants predominately from neighboring Haiti and nearby islands in the Caribbean rather than from Europe. The foreign-born population of the Dominican Republic at mid-century closely matches that of the rest of the Spanish circum-Caribbean in terms of volume, share of the total population, and percentages coming from the Americas and bordering countries, respectively. In this sense, studying immigration to the Dominican Republic contributes to our understanding of immigration to the region more generally. The applications include detailed demographic and economic data, as well as place of departure and date and port of entry. We will track occupational and geographic mobility over time by linking to renewal applications to study policies that restricted the entry and mobility of Haitians. In this preliminary draft, we establish some of the basic facts of the migration with summary statistics and discuss ongoing research.

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1 Introduction

Immigration played an important role in the economic development of the Americas. A large literature in economic history studies immigration to the primary receiving countries, such as the United States (e.g., Abramitzky & Boustan, 2017) and Argentina (e.g., Pérez, 2017), but immigration to less developed countries is effectively absent from research in economics. Although historically the volume of immigration to less developed countries was comparatively small, the impact of immigration there may have been large (Marshall, 1982). Additionally, nearly half of international migration in the present occurs between developing countries, and historical context enriches our understanding of these flows (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). A lack of data inhibits research on immigration to less developed countries, historical or modern (Böhme & Kups, 2017). Much of the information about historical migration within Latin America, specifically, is limited to "newspaper accounts and random guesses about their numbers, characteristics, and impacts" (Kritz & Gurak, 1979, p. 412).

In this project, we shed light on immigration to less developed countries by introducing a uniquely large and detailed microdata set compiled by digitizing the universe of residency permit applications submitted to the Dominican Republic from 1940 to 1954. In contrast to the primary receiving countries, the Dominican Republic attracted immigrants predominately from neighboring Haiti and nearby islands in the Caribbean rather than from Europe. As shown in Table 1, the foreign-born population of the Dominican Republic at mid-century closely matches that of the rest of the Spanish circum-Caribbean in terms of volume, share of the total population, and percentages coming from the Americas and bordering countries, respectively. In this sense, studying immigration to the Dominican Republic contributes to our understanding of immigration to the region more generally, helping to generate a new economic history of migration to and within the Caribbean.

A 1939 law required all foreigners in the Dominican Republic to apply for residency or temporary permits and to renew them annually. Collectively, the permit applications constitute a census of immigrants at mid-century, providing information on around 60,000

individuals from more than 400,000 applications, and have not been used previously in economics research or extensively in academic research in general. The records provide much more information than other microdata currently available; notably, country of birth and year of immigration are not available in IPUMS censuses until 1981. The permits include applicants' name, age, sex, country of origin, nationality, race, place of departure, date of entry, port of entry, physical features (e.g., height, weight, and skin color), occupation, residence within the Dominican Republic, and application fee, which varied by economic status and class of worker. Many documents contain values of the applicants' real estate, business investment, cash holdings, stocks, bonds, and income. Illiteracy may be inferred by fingerprints in place of signatures. Applications usually report the individual's unique identification number, and renewal applications include the document number of the permit that they are renewing, allowing for near-perfect linking to renewal applications and, therefore, the tracking of changes in occupation and residency over time. We are extracting data and provide preliminary findings in this draft.

Several features of the data will allow for an unprecedented look at Caribbean migration. Annual net migration rates (aggregate and by nationality) can be computed and analyzed to assess the "push" (i.e., source country) and "pull" (i.e., receiving country) factors that determine migration. Changing patterns in migration self-selection over time and by nationality can be assessed using height and date of arrival in relation to existing sources of anthropometric data (e.g., Kosack & Ward, 2014). Information on residence within the Dominican Republic can be used to illustrate the growth over time of ethnic enclaves, or areas with concentrated populations of the same nationality, which may affect both self-selection and assimilation (Borjas, 2000; Edin et al., 2003; McKenzie & Rapoport, 2010). Data on Haitian immigrants' origins within Haiti offer a rare opportunity to observe the development of migration networks. Eventually, the self-selection and economic success of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and others can be compared to data on immigrants from the same source country but that instead migrated to New York, Miami, and elsewhere, allowing for an understanding

of who chose to go where and why and how these choices affected economic success.

The project provides historical context for modern debates surrounding the Dominican Republic's policies to discourage Haitian immigration, including the 2013 annulment of birthright citizenship for the children of noncitizens born after 1929, tens of thousands of deportations in recent years, the refusal of refugees during the 2022 Haitian political crisis, and a border wall under construction—the second largest in the Western Hemisphere. Dominican immigration law in the early 20th century existed principally to restrict Haitian immigration, and the period that we study overlaps with the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo, one of the most notoriously violent and racist regimes in Latin American history. Trujillo emphasized the Hispanic roots of the Dominican Republic, in contrast to the African roots of Haiti, to foment anti-Haitianism and justify the whitening of the population (Lilón, 1999). The Dominican government tried to restrict Haitian labor to the sugar industry to ensure a cheap labor supply (Martinez, 1999). Tracking immigrants across renewal applications over time will allow for an analysis of occupational and geographic mobility, as in Long & Ferrie (2013) and Lee (2008), to better understand whether efforts to restrict Haitians' employment opportunities were successful and how these affected later outcomes.

In addition, these records will constitute by far the largest set of historical microdata on Haitians. Before its independence, Haiti was one of the richest economies in the world; today, Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, with a GDP per capita around $1,800 USD. Therefore, Haiti's reversal of fortune ought to attract the attention of economic historians and development economists. Unfortunately, economic data are sparse between independence in 1804 and the US occupation in 1915, limiting our understanding of Haiti's decline (Bulmer-Thomas, 2012). Haiti did not even conduct its first official census until 1950, and the first GDP estimates are for 1945. Height data (used with date of arrival to determine residence during childhood) will provide a glimpse into health and nutrition in Haiti dating back to the late 19th century, when older immigrants were born. These data can be combined with data on Haitian slaves in the 18th century and modern data to provide

a long-run assessment of living conditions in Haiti. Assets, wages, and occupations can be used to summarize the living standards of Haitian migrants.

Finally, the data include the first complete set of records on Jewish refugees to the Dominican Republic during the Holocaust. In 1938, 32 countries convened in Évian, France to resolve the crisis of Jewish refugees in Central Europe; the Dominican Republic was the only country to accept more refugees. Our data include all refugees to the agricultural settlement of Sosúa in the northern Dominican Republic, as well as any who may have gone elsewhere. We combine data from the residency permit applications with vital statistics collected by a Jewish aid organization to better understand who came, how they fared, why they stayed or left, and where they went.

2 Immigration and Law 95 of 1939

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the newly independent countries of Latin America opened their borders to populate their territory and/or to prevent labor shortages during harvest times (Sánchez-Alonso, 2019). Policies varied across countries but favored Europeans, who were expected to contribute to economic and social progress. The Dominican Republic tried to achieve both goals, attracting Europeans to occupy and cultivate the land while ensuring a supply of cheap labor for the burgeoning sugar industry (Capdevila, 2004). These goals were often in conflict because laborers on sugar plantations were generally black, coming first from the British West Indies and later from Haiti.

The principal reason for immigration to the Dominican Republic in this period was to work on sugar plantations. The sugar industry began to grow in the second half of the 19th century with the arrival of Spanish and Italian immigrants during the Spanish reoccupation of 1861-65 and of Cuban planters during the Ten Years' War of 1868-78 in Cuba (Ayala, 1999). However, the industry remained small because it lacked a cheap, abundant labor force: the Dominican Republic had the lowest population density in the Caribbean as of the

1870s. Furthermore, the availability of land for subsistence farming provided a viable outside option to working on sugar plantations for Dominican laborers, requiring planters to pay high wages that proved to be cost prohibitive. Around the turn of the century, Dominican sugar plantations began to rely on imported labor, mostly from the British Caribbean.

Sugar production in the Dominican Republic increased dramatically during the US military occupation from 1916 to 1924 and the price boom of World War I, lasting from 1917 to 1920. The uncertain state of land titles and the conversion of communal land into private property allowed foreign, mostly US, corporations to acquire vast estates (Ayala, 1999). The number of tons produced increased from 86,734 in 1913 to 371,419 in 1926. During the US occupation, Haitians increasingly sought employment on Dominican sugar plantations; by the late 1920s, West Indian immigration diminished significantly, discouraged by falling real wages in the sugar industry (Martinez, 1999).[1] Consequently, Haitians constituted the main source of labor for Dominican sugar producers as early as 1920.

While sugar corporations recruited black labor, Dominican leaders sensed that the country was lagging developmentally within Latin America and, thus, were concerned with attracting white immigrants from Europe, the United States, and the Spanish Caribbean (Capdevila, 2004). Between 1870 and 1930, 90 percent of European emigrants to Latin America went to Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, and Uruguay (Sánchez-Alonso, 2019). In contrast, the Dominican Republic had not succeeded in attracting many Europeans. In 1920, the first census reported a total population of just 894,665, of whom only 49,520, or 5.5 percent, were foreign-born. Fifty-seven percent of all foreigners came from Haiti, and another 17 percent came from the West Indies excluding Puerto Rico and Cuba.

Dominican immigration policy in the early 20th century reflected these competing interests: the law allowed for essentially unrestricted immigration of whites while maintaining strict control over the importation of a temporary black workforce with limited rights, the flow of which would be determined by the immediate needs of the sugar industry. The

[1]There is disagreement about whether the United States, which occupied both Haiti and the Dominican Republic in this period, encouraged Haitian emigration (Franco Pichardo, 1996; Gerlus, 1992; Perusek, 1984).

first major discriminatory law, passed in 1912, required prior permission to immigrate for individuals from Asia, Africa, Oceania, and most of the Americas, as well as non-Caucasian laborers, while creating agencies to promote immigration from Europe, the United States, Cuba, and Puerto Rico (Capdevila, 2004). In 1919, the US military government restricted the entry of non-Caucasian laborers to those with permits and only through prescribed entry points. The establishment of the Dominican National Guard under US occupation made the enforcement of immigration laws a practical possibility for the first time (Martinez, 1999). Once again, Dominican immigration laws were discriminatory against blacks, to serve the elite's goal of exclusively white immigration, while carving out exceptions to ensure that sugar plantations had access to cheap labor (Capdevila, 2004).

The dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo (1930-61), infamous for its violence and brutality, did not radically alter but merely perpetuated such discriminatory policies. Trujillo's goals for immigration included growing and "whitening" the population and promoting agricultural development (Pou, 1993). In 1932, the Trujillo government imposed prohibitively high entry and residency taxes on non-whites but exempted workers who came under contract (Capdevila, 2004). Likewise, in 1933, a new law required that all Dominicans must comprise at least 70 percent of the work force of all businesses in the country but allowed the president to grant exemptions, thereby guaranteeing sugar plantations their labor supply while publicly appearing to protect Dominican workers from Haitian competition. Then, in 1937, Trujillo, with no clear political objective, ordered the mass killing of Haitians residing in the border region. The exact number of deaths is unknown, and estimates vary widely; the most reasonable estimates count between 12,000 (Vega, 1998) and 15,000 (Heinl et al., 1996, p. 482; Smith, 2009, p. 31) deaths over a few days. Killings were concentrated near the border, sparing those employed on sugar estates (Martinez, 1999). Remarkably, immigration resumed shortly after the massacre, suggesting that conditions in Haiti were dire (Perusek, 1984).

Immigration Law Number 95 of 1939 established a new system of immigration control, headed by the General Directorate of Migration, and would remain in force with amendments

until 2004. All foreigners were thereafter classified as either immigrants or non-immigrants; the law permitted immigrants to reside in the Dominican Republic indefinitely but granted only temporary admission to non-immigrants. Both groups were required to apply for residency permits and renew them annually, and these applications for permits and renewals are the source of our data in this paper. Temporary workers were only to be admitted by the request of the employers for whom they would work and under the conditions prescribed by the Secretary of State for the Interior and Police, which would monitor their admission, temporary stay, and return to the country from which they came. To prevent Haitians from coming independently or staying after the harvest, the law imposed a fee of $500 for residency permits and of no more than $4 for for temporary permits (Capdevila, 2004).

Two other groups of immigrants, and the corresponding policies, are worth mentioning because these groups were sizable for short periods and are of special historical interest. The first group is Jewish refugees from Central Europe during the Holocaust. In 1938, US President Franklin Roosevelt called a conference in Évian, France to resolve the rapidly developing refugee crisis in Europe—importantly, without accepting more refugees to the United States. Trujillo's image abroad has suffered considerably from his massacre of Haitians in 1937; opening the Dominican Republic to Jewish refugees would help to regain the favor of the US government while also adding to the country's stock of white Europeans. Consequently, the Dominican Republic was the only country out of 32 in attendance to accept more refugees, offering to take up to 100,000 Jews. In response to the offer, the Dominican Republic Resettlement Association (DORSA) was formed as a special arm of the American Jewish Distribution Corporation, which would provide start-up funds for the project (Symanski & Burley, 1973). In January 1940, DORSA and the Dominican government signed an agreement admitting 500 families and waiving their $500 entry fee usually required from those of the "Semitic race" (Wells, 2009). The refugees were to settle on 26,000 acres donated personally by Trujillo in the town of Sosúa on the north coast, which had been a banana plantation owned by the United Fruit Company until 1916.

The second group is Spanish refugees, mostly Republicans, fleeing the rule of Francisco Franco at the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939. The Dominican legations in Paris and Madrid provided asylum for Republicans, even though Trujillo sympathized with Franco, and offered visas to emigrate to the Dominican Republic (Lilón, 1999). The professed motivation for promoting Spanish immigration was to foster development, especially in agriculture, but Spaniards were also sought after to whiten the population and preserve Hispanic culture. The Servicio de Emigración para Republicanos Españoles (SERE) paid for transportation by ship to the Dominican Republic and gave $50 to each person to cover initial expenses.

3 Residency Permit Applications

We are digitizing all applications for residency and temporary stay permits submitted between 1940 and 1954 to the Dominican Republic, which are available as photocopies on the websites of the *Archivo General de la Nacón* of the Dominican Republic and FamilySearch, respectively. Examples of the records appear in Figures 1, 2, and 3. Applications were made in compliance with Law 95 of 1939, discussed directly above. The collection includes more than 400,000 records, of which we estimate more than 70% are renewal applications, and contains information on more than 60,000 foreign-born persons living in the Dominican Republic in this period. For reference, the 1950 Dominican census counts 34,654 foreigners, and our dataset includes more people because circular and return migrants might not be counted in the census. Collectively, the records constitute a census of legal immigrants at mid-century and, to our knowledge, have not been previously used in economics research or, to the best of our knowledge, used extensively in academic research in general. The dataset likely captures most immigrants given the Dominican military's practice of intercepting undocumented entrants at the Haitian border and transshipping them to to sugar estates, thereby bringing them into the formal immigration system (Martinez, 1999).

The applications include detailed demographic and economic information. We recently

obtained the following applicant characteristics from FamilySearch: name, age, sex, birthplace, nationality, place of departure (*arrondissement*, or district, of Haiti for most Haitians), date of entry, port of entry, and document year. We made a rough first attempt to extract height and to determine whether applicants are employed in one of the following three categories: *braceros*, farmers, or domestic workers. Once we acquire digital copies of all applications, we will extract the following characteristics: height, weight, race, occupation, residence within the Dominican Republic, marital status, mode of transport, and application fee.[2] We will also extract values for the following economic variables from applications that ask for such information: real estate, business investment, cash holdings, stocks, bonds, income or wages, and other income. We eventually plan to infer illiteracy by marking whether applicants signed their own applications, made a mark, or only applied a fingerprint. These data provide much more information than any other microdata currently available. Notably, country of birth and year of immigration are not available on IPUMS until 1981.

We are linking renewals to their original applications to track individuals over time. Renewal applications include the document number of the permit that they are renewing, allowing for near-perfect matching. Name similarity and unique ID numbers are also used in cases of repeated document numbers. Linking allows for analysis of occupational and geographic mobility by observing changes in occupation and residency. By searching for prolonged periods without a renewal, we can also infer which immigrants drop out of the sample, either through return migration or death. Anecdotally, the overwhelming majority of individuals will appear in our data more than once. A very crude first attempt generated links for 40% of documents and 25% of individuals; initial observations are that unlinked documents are false negatives that will be easily matched with revised coding and once the rest of the documents are available to fill in missing links in renewal chains.

[2]For those employed in the sugar industry, residence is generally reported as the name of the plantation.

4 Some Basic Facts from the Applications

Our information on nationality, year of entry, height, and occupation is based on a sample of 220,790 documents—around half all documents—scraped from the Dominican archive's website. These documents cover most applications submitted between 1940 and 1946 but only a tiny share of applications submitted between 1947 and 1954. Our other information comes from the full sample acquired from FamilySearch but that does not yet allow us to distinguish between original and renewal applications. Hence, we present aggregate statistics (e.g., the height distribution for all applications) rather than statistics for individuals (e.g., the height distribution for all applicants). These statistics may differ considerably depending on whether there is significant variation in the number of renewal applications per person. There are approximately 28,000 applications per year between 1940 and 1954, although two-sided applications currently are counted twice (see Figure 4).

Immigrants in our dataset entered the Dominican Republic from the late 19th century through the mid-1950s, with most applicants arriving after 1920 (see Figure 5). There is evidence of heaping on multiples of five (e.g., 1915, 1920, etc.) for year of entry for those who entered before 1940, when residency permit applications were first processed. Some immigrants were born as early as the 1850s, although the overwhelming majority were born in the early 1900s, with the median being 1907 (see Figure 6). The majority of immigrants (62%) come from Haiti, which shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic (see Figure 7). This pattern is consistent with Ratha & Shaw (2007), who estimate that almost 80% of South-South migration takes place between countries with contiguous borders. The second largest comes from other islands in the Caribbean, especially the Lesser Antilles and the British Caribbean in specific. Following the convention in this literature, we refer to these immigrants as West Indian, and they constitute 16.8% of the sample. Because we have not yet digitized country of origin, as opposed to nationality, this group includes all British, French, Dutch, and Danish nationals; we assume the number of migrants from the corresponding metropoles is *de minimis*. In Figure 8—which displays annual entrants on a

logarithmic scale for ease of exposition—West Indian entrants outnumber Haitians each year until just before 1920, after which the number of Haitians grows considerably. Of course, the precise number of entrants per year is not captured by our data due to return and circular migration, as well as death, but the displacement of West Indians by Haitians as the primary source of foreign labor follows historical accounts of migration patterns in this period. Figure 9 indicates that West Indians were on average 3 centimeters taller than Haitians, suggesting that West Indians had a higher "biological standard of living," although the results should be viewed with caution since we cannot yet control for age and sex (Steckel, 1995).

Figure 10 displays the ratio of the number of permit applications to the number of people in the 1950 Dominican national census for select groups. The ratios are rough estimates given the current limitations of the application data, as well as a lack of granularity in the census report. Also, only one percent of permit applicants were younger than 16, the legal cutoff for the permit requirement, so the true ratio of immigrants to 1950 residents must be higher. Nonetheless, the figure reveals striking differences in the number of people reported to be living in the Dominican Republic in 1950 and the number of immigrants who lived there at any time between 1940 and 1954. Jews—for now proxied by Germans, Austrians, and Poles—are by far the most overrepresented (more than four to one) in the permit applications, consistent with many refugees briefly using the Dominican Republic to escape Europe before landing in a preferred destination, particularly New York or Palestine (Wells, 2009). Spaniards are overrepresented by a factor of 2.5, once again suggesting that many refugees used the Dominican Republic as a bridge to other lands (González Tejera, 2007). The other two groups that are severely overrepresented are West Indians and Haitians, the primary source of labor for the sugar industry. This evidence suggests that such workers likely came only temporarily or seasonally such that many did not appear in the 1950 census.

Most applicants are working-age adults (see Figure 11). Those under the age of 16 were not required to apply for residency permits, and only one percent of applications come from that age group. The median age among all applications is 39. The age distributions for

male and females are nearly identical, although there is slightly higher share of women in their mid-20s or younger. Figure 12 reports the mean and standard deviation among all applications, excluding applicants younger than 16, for selected groups. Differences in ages across groups may not reflect differences in the age at the time of immigration but rather differences over time in when groups tended to migrate. For instance, the oldest group comes from the Middle East, which sent a steady stream of newcomers since the turn of the century. Likewise, Haitians were on average almost eight years younger than West Indians, since Haitians only began to replace West Indians as the principal source of labor in sugar around 1920 (see Figure 13). Variation in age is somewhat lower among Haitians and West Indians, who principally were young men coming to work physically demanding jobs, while variation is higher among the Jewish and Spanish refugees (see Figure 14).

Permit applications from males outnumber those from females by a ratio of 3 to 1. Remarkably, sex ratios (men per 100 women) are skewed towards males across all nationalities and groups (see Figure 15). Asians are almost exclusively male, consistent with Álvarez López & Bu-Larancuent (2022), with a sex ratio of nearly 4000. The next highest sex ratio is more than 400 for West Indians, whose migration was typically seasonal and, therefore, male-dominated. However, many decided to settle down upon finding higher living standards than in their home countries (Inoa, 2018). Haitians have a comparable, though slightly lower, sex ratio. Interestingly, Spaniards rank among the highest sex ratios, which González Tejera (2007) attributes to the greater urgency for enemy combatants—mostly men—to flee. Jews, likewise, have a high sex ratio, about 2.5:1. The Dominican government preferred young Jewish males who would, in theory, intermarry with Dominican women (Wells, 2009). Jewish women were also less likely to be found in European refugee camps, where DORSA recruited settlers, because they were more reluctant to leave Germany and Austria or instead found work as domestic servants in England. Figure 16 reveals that the sex ratio in Sosúa, the primary area of Jewish settlement in the Dominican Republic, was persistently high—and increasingly so for adult singles. The high sex ratio may be partly to blame for the rapid

decline of Sosúa's Jewish population, especially singles (see Figure 17).

The sex ratios found in the permit applications are higher than the sex ratios from the 1950 national census across the board (see Figure 15). Still, the sex ratios in the census are all male-skewed, and the pattern across major immigrant groups is similar, with Asians, West Indians, and Haitians among the most skewed. The higher sex ratio among permit applicants has a couple explanations. First, permit applicants largely exclude children, half of whom presumably would have been female. Second, the census may miss some seasonal, mostly male agricultural migrants as well as return migrants, who in the US case were more likely to be male than immigrants in general (Biavaschi, 2013). In any case, the sex ratio of immigrants was markedly male-skewed in this period, with a sex ratio of 330 in the permit applications and 214 in the census, compared to 228 for immigrants and 131 for foreign-born residents in the United States at the turn of the century (Klein, 1983).

The majority of West Indian and Haitian men were employed as *braceros*, mainly on sugar estates. As depicted in Figure 19, the share of *braceros* by year of entry is broadly similar for Haitians and West Indians, which is surprising since Martinez (1999) highlights that, unlike Haitians, West Indians had developed employment niches outside of cane-cutting as dockers in the port of San Pedro de Macorís and as operatives in the sugar mills. Interestingly, the share of Haitians employed as *braceros* declines throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, when the volume of Haitian immigration expands significantly. In the early 1940s, the share of Haitians employed as *braceros* is nearly 100%, which may reflect survivorship bias in years preceding 1940 or, alternatively, that Haitians were drawn to the relative safety of sugar estates after the 1937 Trujillo Massacre. The share of West Indian *braceros* also jumps up in 1940—consistent with survivorship bias in earlier years—but falls precipitously thereafter; the change is difficult to interpret because there are few West Indian arrivals after 1942.

Figures 18, 20, and 21 reveal a stark hierarchy in employment by nationality.[3] *Braceros* consist almost exclusively of Haitians and West Indians; more than half of Haitians and

[3]These figures are imprecise and should be viewed as lower bound estimates.

British West Indians are employed as *braceros*, and these numbers do not yet exclude women from the denominator.[4] There are some, but few, Puerto Rican and Cuban *braceros*. Puerto Ricans were recruited to work in the sugar industry, but apparently those who came worked higher up the occupational ladder, which may reflect discrimination in hiring and promotion and/or self-selection of Puerto Rican immigrants. For instance, the South Porto Rico Sugar Company, operating in the Dominican Republic, preferred Puerto Ricans to Dominicans for factory jobs because of their familiarity with the work, company ways, and their knowledge of English (García Muñíz, 2010). Comparisons to Puerto Rican migrants to the much more developed mainland United States, will make for an interesting study of migration and self-selection patterns from a developing economy in the absence of entry restrictions. Austrians and Germans—who, for now, we assume are mostly Jewish refugees—include no *braceros* but are the nationalities with the highest share working as (presumably independent) farmers, reflecting the Dominican Republic's objective of establishing self-contained agricultural settlements, even with refugees with no background in farming (Wells, 2009).[5] Few Spaniards worked in agriculture, even though Trujillo recruited Republicans ostensibly to promote agricultural development; the evidence here reflects the fact that most refugees were professionals from urban areas and that, in reality, the true motivation for welcoming Spaniards was to whiten the populace (Lilón, 1999; Pou, 1993). The small share of Chinese immigrants employed as *braceros* is consistent with Álvarez López & Bu-Larancuent (2022), one of the few other studies using these same data. Few Arabs are employed in these professions, either, as they tended instead to find work as merchants (Inoa, 2018). There is nothing striking about differences in the share of immigrants employed as domestic workers.

A few other patterns in the data are worth mentioning if only to highlight groups of special interest moving forward. In Figure 22, the number of Haitian entrants is low in the years

[4] *Braceros* includes anyone who reported their occupation as *bracero* or *jornalero*.

[5] We will eventually be able to distinguish between Jews and Gentiles, as Jews' race is listed as either "semítica" or "blanca (s)", with "s" signifying Semitic.

immediately following the massacre but was similarly low in the year of the massacre, which occurred in October. In Figure 23, the number of Germans, Austrians, and Poles begins to increase in 1938, the year of the Évian Conference; peaks in 1940 and 1941, following the signing of the contract in January 1940 between the Dominican government and Dominican Republic Settlement Association that established the Sosúa colony; and falls precipitously after 1941, following Germany's prohibition of emigration from German-controlled territory. Jews who arrived in 1942 likely came from transit countries, which we will be able document. All together, there were 1,520 German, Austrian, and Polish entrants between 1938 and 1942. This figure is higher than 1,000, the number of refugees proposed by Symanski & Burley (1973), which means that some of these entrants were non-Jews and/or some Jews came before or after the designated Sosúa colonization. Either way, we are confident that we will supply the first detailed census of Jewish refugees to the Dominican Republic. Finally, Figure 24 reveals a steady stream of immigrants from the Dominican Republic's mother country, Spain, that suddenly spikes in 1939 and 1940, following the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War in April 1939. The total number of Spanish arrivals during this surge is 2,440—less than 3,000, the figure offered by Gardiner (1979) and others, which is based on passenger lists for ships and may not account for those who departed immediately thereafter.

5 Conclusion

This draft is intended to summarize the preliminary findings from our ongoing digitization of all residency permit applications submitted to the Dominican Republic from 1940 to 1954. Our initial findings are in line with previous historical research, helping to validate the quality of the data. Our data, however, will provide more detailed information than is currently available and will allow us to explore topics related to the determinants of annual migration flows, self-selection, the development of migration networks and ethnic enclaves, living standards, and occupational and geographic mobility.

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A Tables

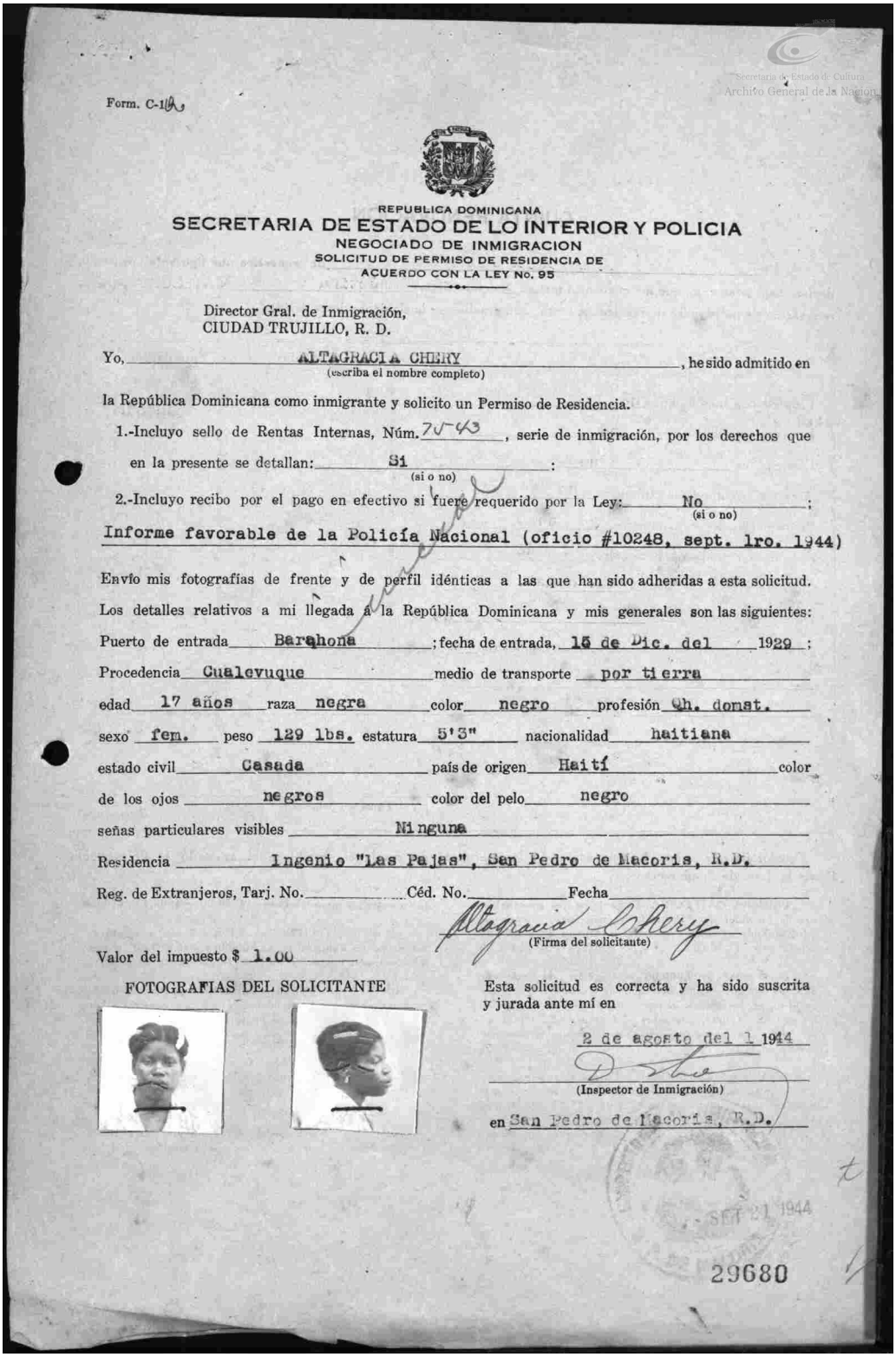
Table 1: Immigration in the circum-Caribbean circa 1950

	Population	**Foreign Pop.**	**Foreign**	**% of foreign-born from:**	
Country	**(1000s)**	**(1000s)**	**(%)**	**Americas**	**bordering**
Colombia	11,548	45	0.4	53	39
Costa Rica	801	35	4.3	90	54
Cuba	5,829	152	2.6	22	-
Dominican Rep.	2,101	35	1.6	81	54
El Salvador	2,511	35	1.4	89	77
Guatemala	2,791	30	1.1	84	75
Honduras	1,885	51	2.7	91	90
Nicaragua	1,536	14	0.9	-	57
Panama	805	50	6.2	84	28
Puerto Rico†	2,211	23	1.0	$\geq$58	-
Venezuela	5,035	194	3.9	33	24

Sources: Kritz & Gurak (1979), Wilkie & Guadalupe Ortega (1997), and population censuses.
†Foreign-born population of Puerto Rico includes all US nationals born outside of Puerto Rico.

B Figures

Figure 1: Application for a residency permit (front)



Form. C-1

REPUBLICA DOMINICANA
SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DE LO INTERIOR Y POLICIA
NEGOCIADO DE INMIGRACION
SOLICITUD DE PERMISO DE RESIDENCIA DE
ACUERDO CON LA LEY No. 95

Director Gral. de Inmigración,
CIUDAD TRUJILLO, R. D.

Yo, ALTAGRACIA CHERY (escriba el nombre completo), he sido admitido en la República Dominicana como inmigrante y solicito un Permiso de Residencia.

1.-Incluyo sello de Rentas Internas, Núm. 75-43, serie de inmigración, por los derechos que en la presente se detallan: Si (si o no):

2.-Incluyo recibo por el pago en efectivo si fuere requerido por la Ley: No (si o no);

Informe favorable de la Policía Nacional (oficio #10248, sept. 1ro. 1944)

Envío mis fotografías de frente y de perfil idénticas a las que han sido adheridas a esta solicitud.

Los detalles relativos a mi llegada a la República Dominicana y mis generales son las siguientes:

Puerto de entrada Barahona; fecha de entrada, 15 de Dic. del 1929;
Procedencia Cualeyuque medio de transporte por tierra
edad 17 años raza negra color negro profesión Qh. donst.
sexo fem. peso 129 lbs. estatura 5'3" nacionalidad haitiana
estado civil Casada país de origen Haití color
de los ojos negros color del pelo negro
señas particulares visibles Ninguna
Residencia Ingenio "Las Pajas", San Pedro de Macoris, R.D.
Reg. de Extranjeros, Tarj. No. Céd. No. Fecha

Altagracia Chery
(Firma del solicitante)

Valor del impuesto $ 1.00

FOTOGRAFIAS DEL SOLICITANTE

Esta solicitud es correcta y ha sido suscrita y jurada ante mí en

2 de agosto del 1944

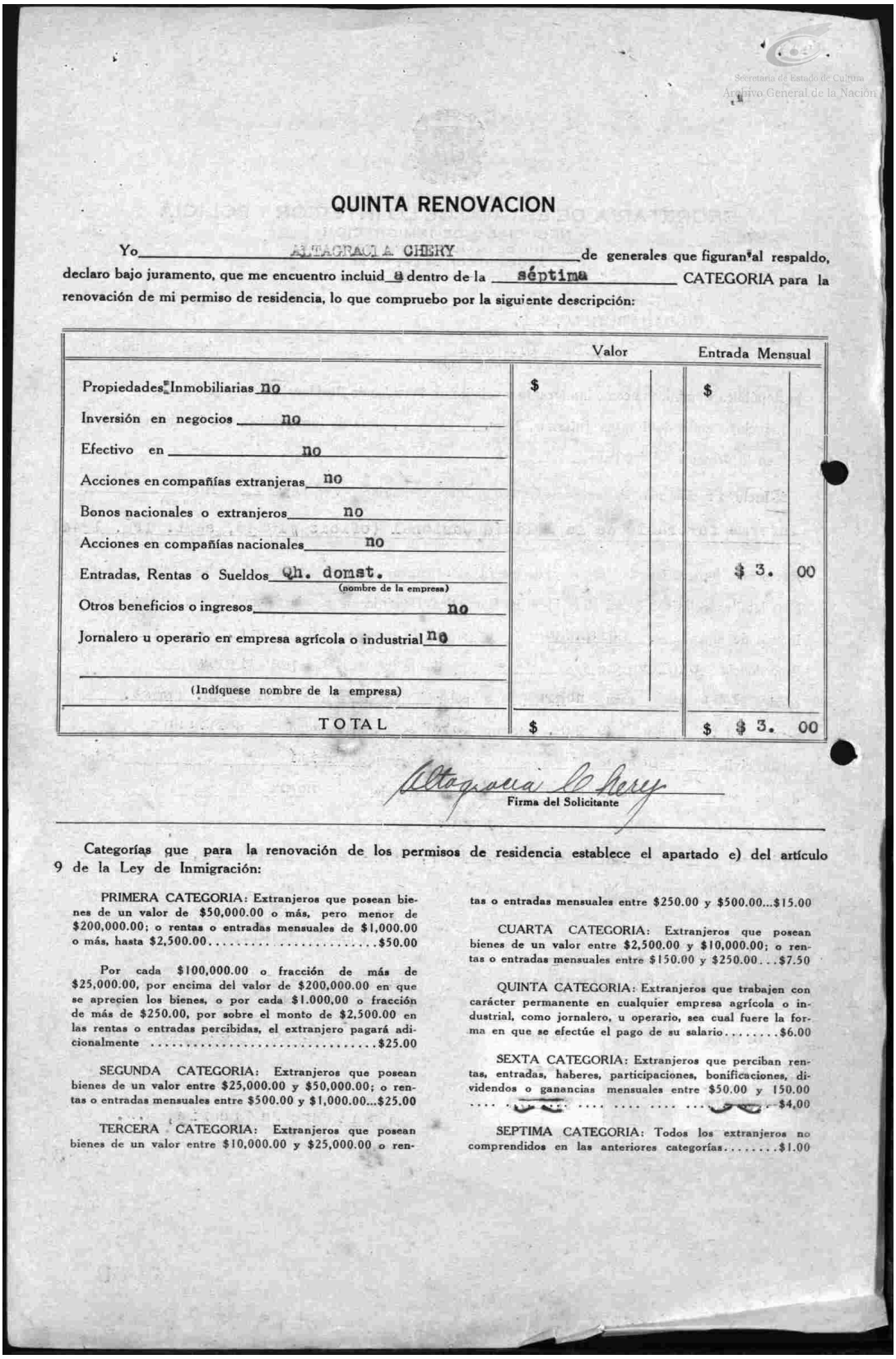
(Inspector de Inmigración)

en San Pedro de Macoris, R.D.

SEP 21 1944

29680

Figure 2: Application for a residency permit (back)



QUINTA RENOVACION

Yo ALTAGRACIA CHERY de generales que figuran al respaldo, declaro bajo juramento, que me encuentro incluid a dentro de la séptima CATEGORIA para la renovación de mi permiso de residencia, lo que compruebo por la siguiente descripción:

	Valor	Entrada Mensual
Propiedades Inmobiliarias no	$	$
Inversión en negocios no		
Efectivo en no		
Acciones en compañías extranjeras no		
Bonos nacionales o extranjeros no		
Acciones en compañías nacionales no		
Entradas, Rentas o Sueldos Qh. domst. (nombre de la empresa)		$ 3. 00
Otros beneficios o ingresos no		
Jornalero u operario en empresa agrícola o industrial no		
(Indíquese nombre de la empresa)		
TOTAL	$	$ $ 3. 00

Altagracia Chery
Firma del Solicitante

Categorías que para la renovación de los permisos de residencia establece el apartado e) del artículo 9 de la Ley de Inmigración:

PRIMERA CATEGORIA: Extranjeros que posean bienes de un valor de $50,000.00 o más, pero menor de $200,000.00; o rentas o entradas mensuales de $1,000.00 o más, hasta $2,500.00.....$50.00

Por cada $100,000.00 o fracción de más de $25,000.00, por encima del valor de $200,000.00 en que se aprecien los bienes, o por cada $1.000,00 o fracción de más de $250.00, por sobre el monto de $2,500.00 en las rentas o entradas percibidas, el extranjero pagará adicionalmente $25.00

SEGUNDA CATEGORIA: Extranjeros que posean bienes de un valor entre $25,000.00 y $50,000.00; o rentas o entradas mensuales entre $500.00 y $1,000.00...$25.00

TERCERA CATEGORIA: Extranjeros que posean bienes de un valor entre $10,000.00 y $25,000.00 o rentas o entradas mensuales entre $250.00 y $500.00...$15.00

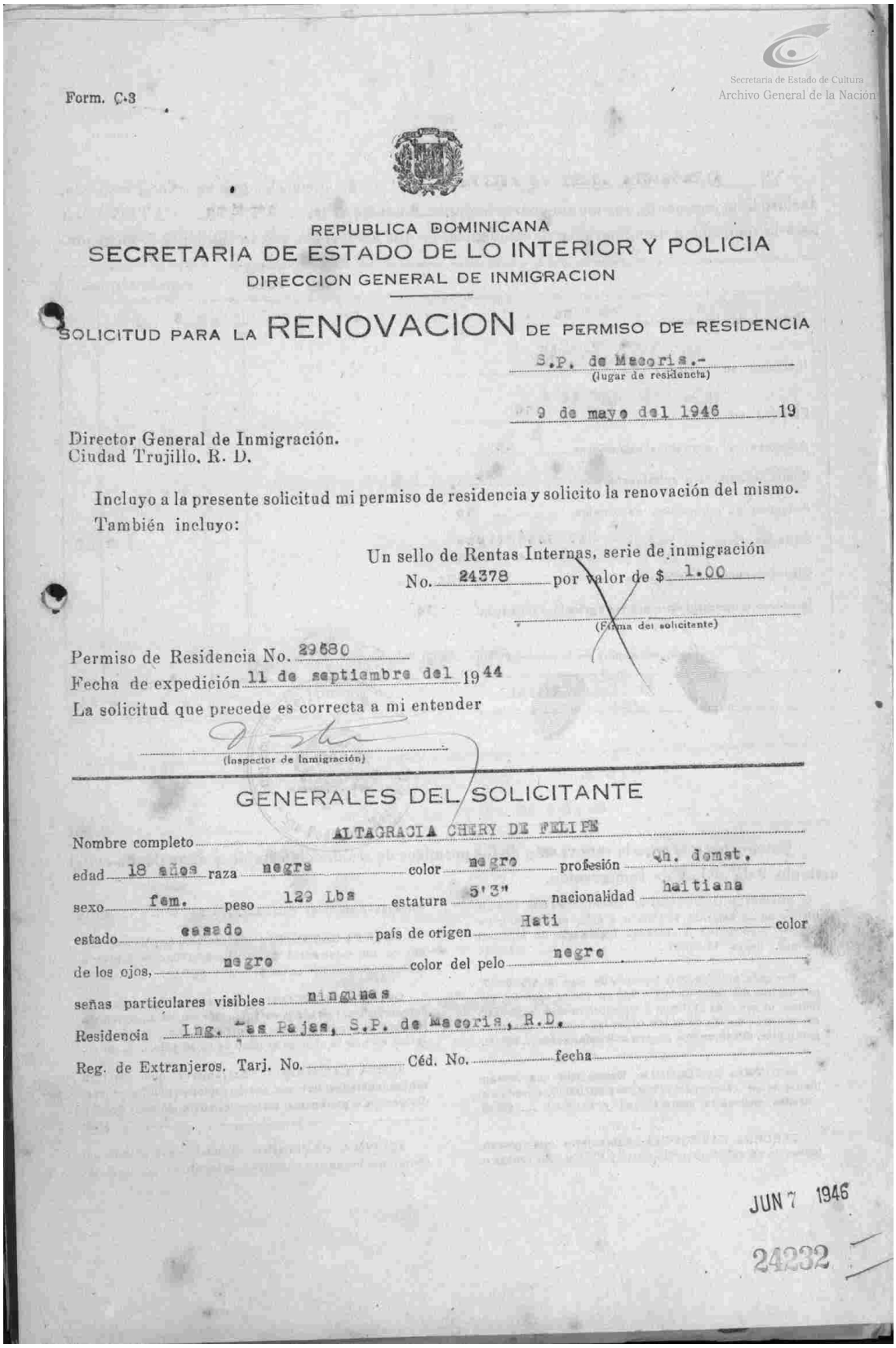
CUARTA CATEGORIA: Extranjeros que posean bienes de un valor entre $2,500.00 y $10,000.00; o rentas o entradas mensuales entre $150.00 y $250.00...$7.50

QUINTA CATEGORIA: Extranjeros que trabajen con carácter permanente en cualquier empresa agrícola o industrial, como jornalero, u operario, sea cual fuere la forma en que se efectúe el pago de su salario.....$6.00

SEXTA CATEGORIA: Extranjeros que perciban rentas, entradas, haberes, participaciones, bonificaciones, dividendos o ganancias mensuales entre $50.00 y 150.00 .....$4.00

SEPTIMA CATEGORIA: Todos los extranjeros no comprendidos en las anteriores categorías.....$1.00

Figure 3: Application to renew a residency permit



Form. C-3

REPUBLICA DOMINICANA
SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DE LO INTERIOR Y POLICIA
DIRECCION GENERAL DE INMIGRACION

SOLICITUD PARA LA RENOVACION DE PERMISO DE RESIDENCIA

S.P. de Macoris.-
(lugar de residencia)

9 de mayo del 1946 19

Director General de Inmigración.
Ciudad Trujillo, R. D.

Incluyo a la presente solicitud mi permiso de residencia y solicito la renovación del mismo.
También incluyo:

Un sello de Rentas Internas, serie de inmigración
No. 24378 por valor de $ 1.00

(Firma del solicitante)

Permiso de Residencia No. 29680
Fecha de expedición 11 de septiembre del 1944
La solicitud que precede es correcta a mi entender

(Inspector de Inmigración)

GENERALES DEL SOLICITANTE

Nombre completo ALTAGRACIA CHERY DE FELIPE
edad 18 años raza negra color negro profesión qh. domst.
sexo fem. peso 129 Lbs estatura 5'3" nacionalidad haitiana
estado casado país de origen Hati color
de los ojos, negro color del pelo negro
señas particulares visibles ninguna
Residencia Ing. Las Pajas, S.P. de Macoris, R.D.
Reg. de Extranjeros. Tarj. No. Céd. No. fecha

JUN 7 1946

24232

Figure 4: Applications by year

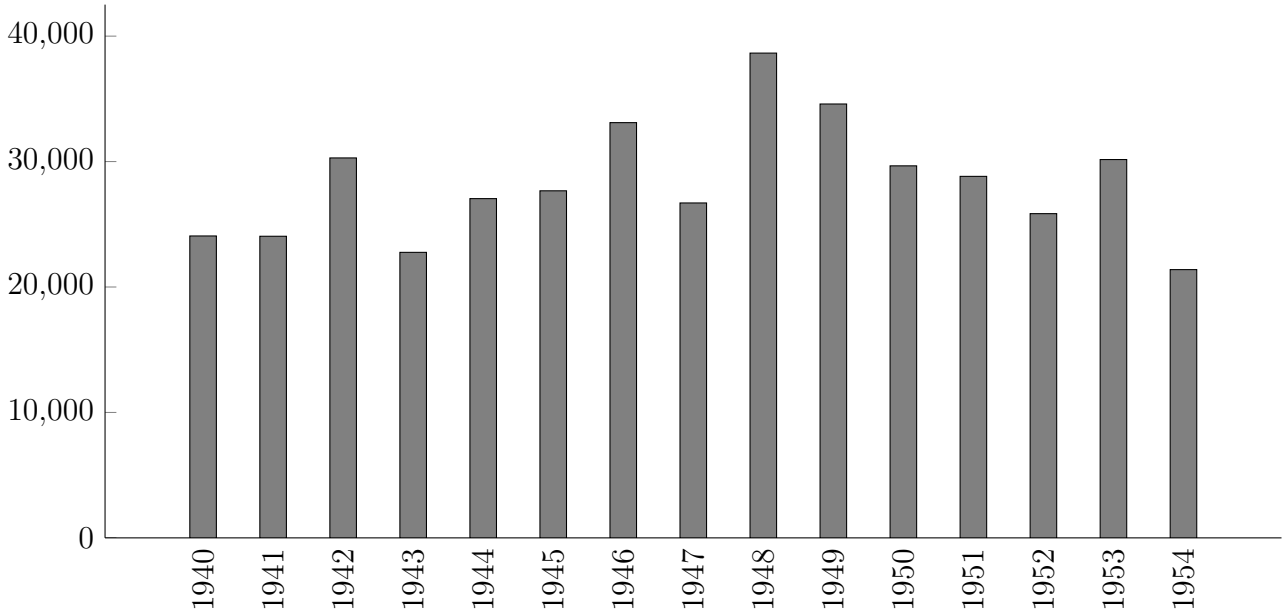


Figure 5: Immigrants by year of entry

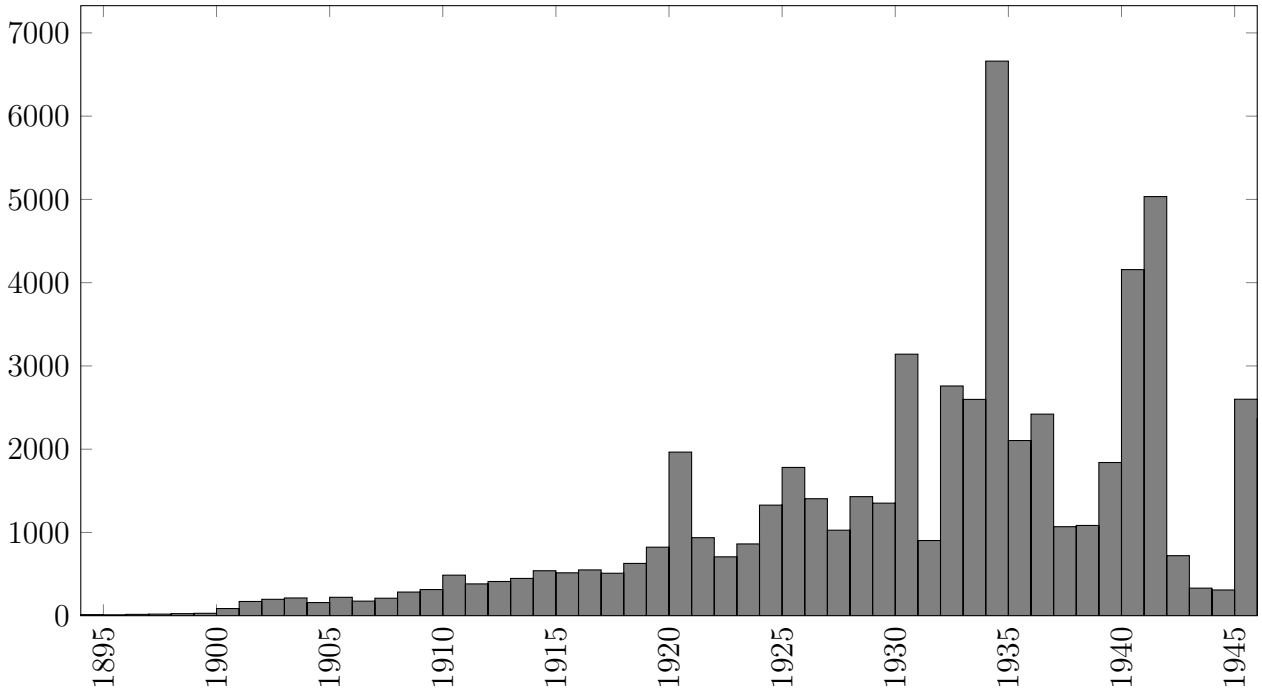


Figure 6: Immigrants by year of birth (estimated)

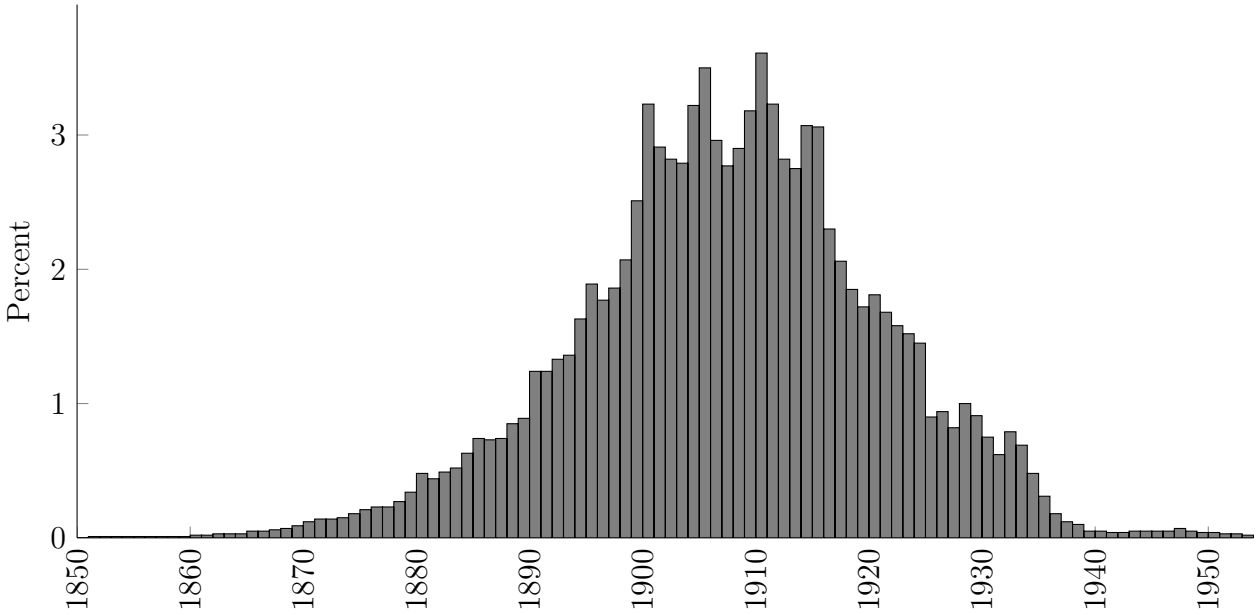
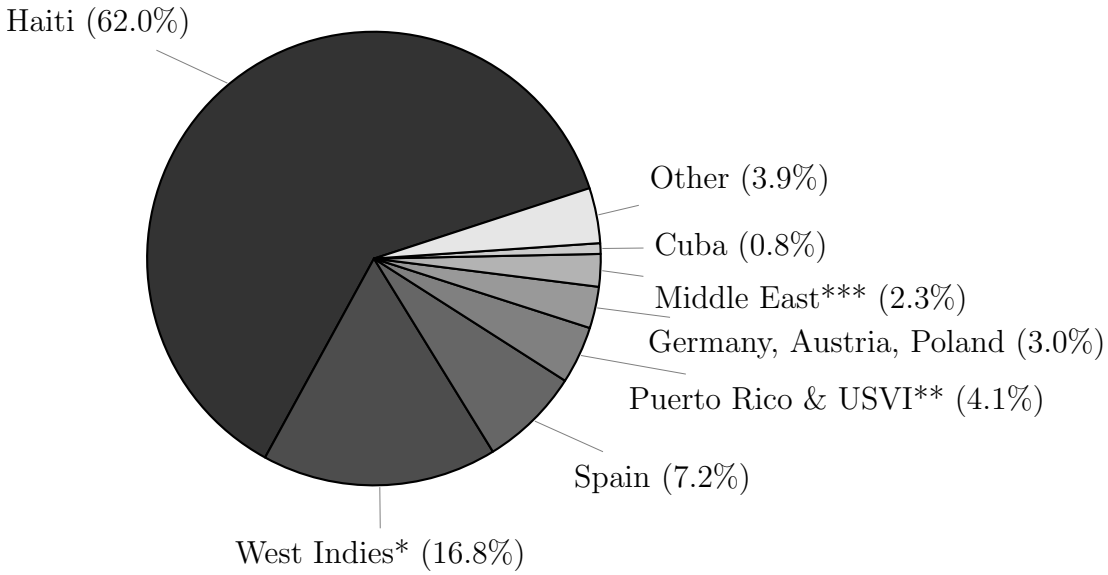


Figure 7: Immigrants by nationality



*includes all UK, French, Dutch, & Danish nationals
**includes US nationals
***includes Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Transjordan, and Turkey

Figure 8: Haitian and West Indian immigrants by year of entry (log scale)

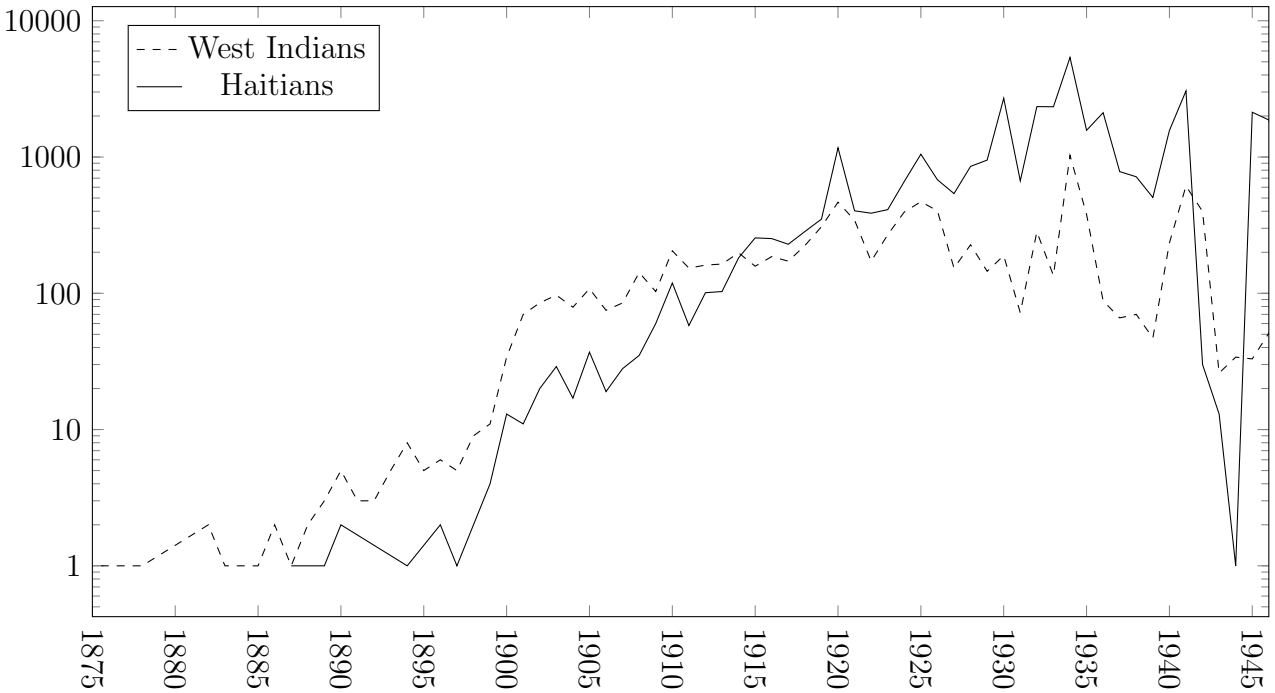


Figure 9: Heights of Haitians and West Indians

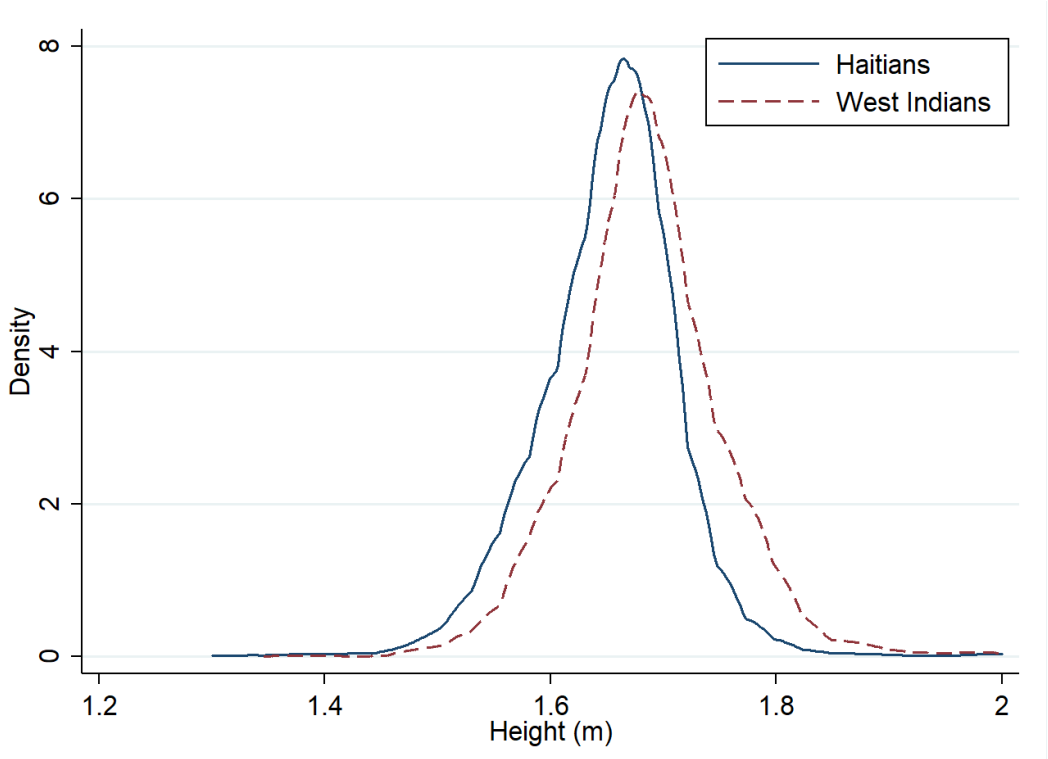


Figure 10: Permit applicants/People in 1950 census

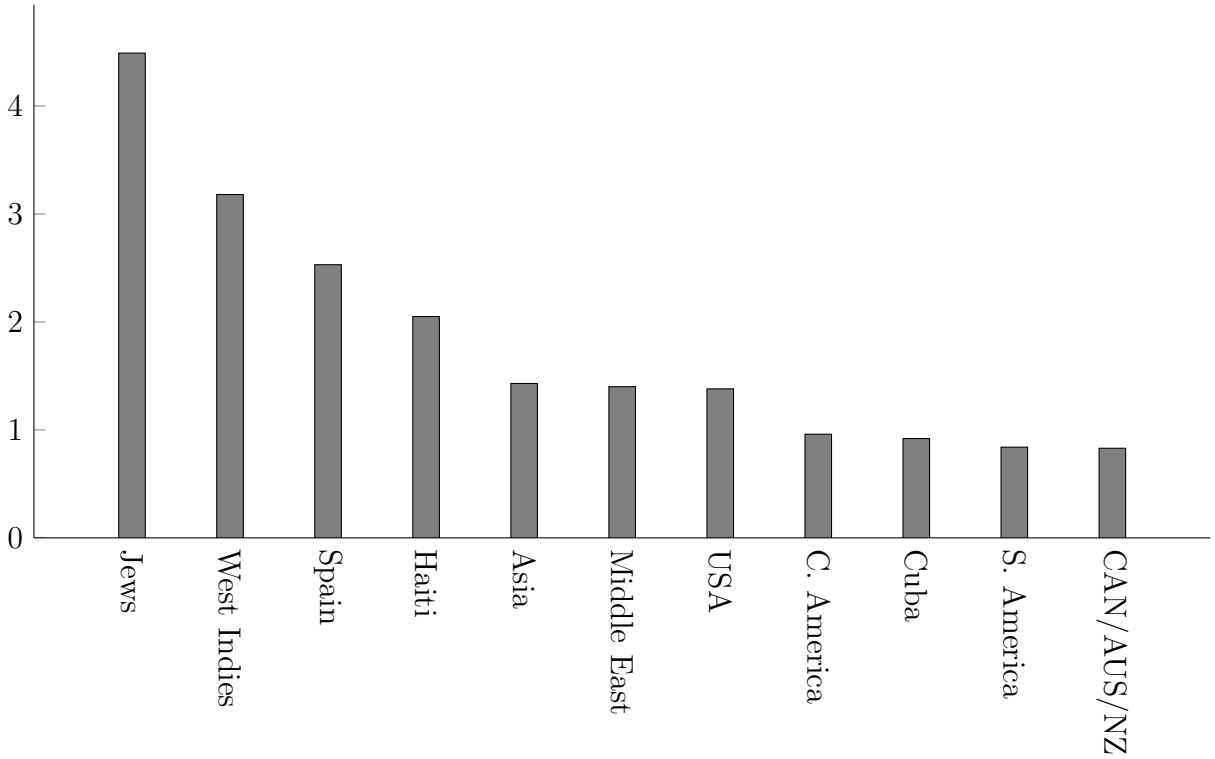


Figure 11: Immigrants by age

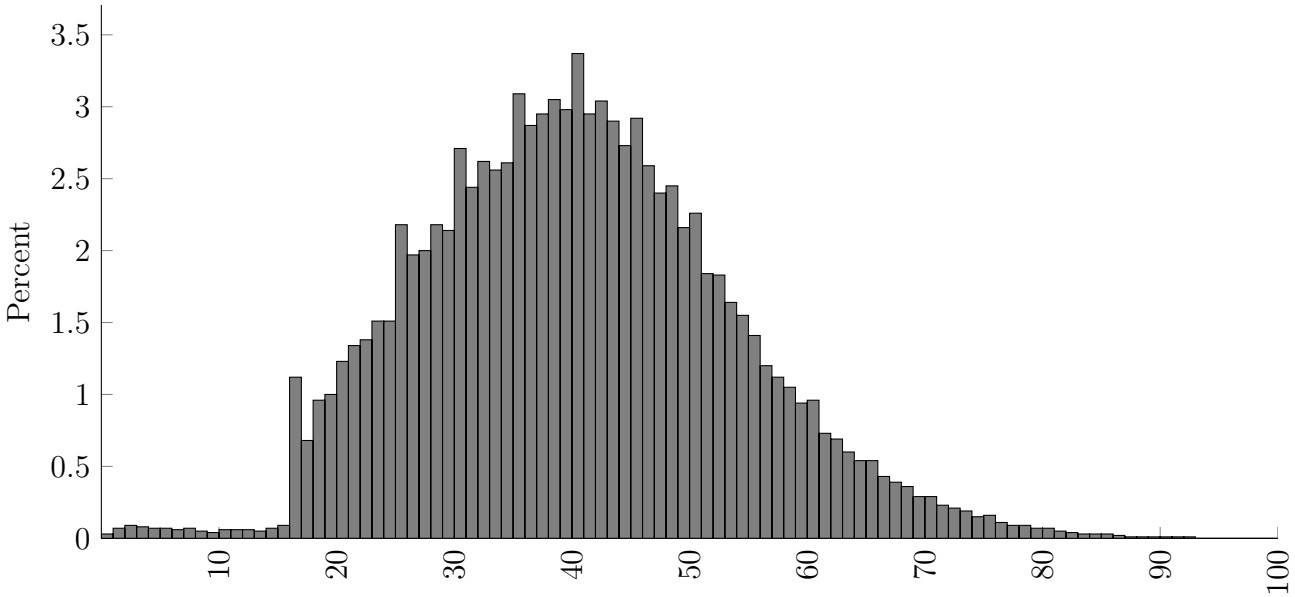


Figure 12: Mean and standard deviation of age (adults only)

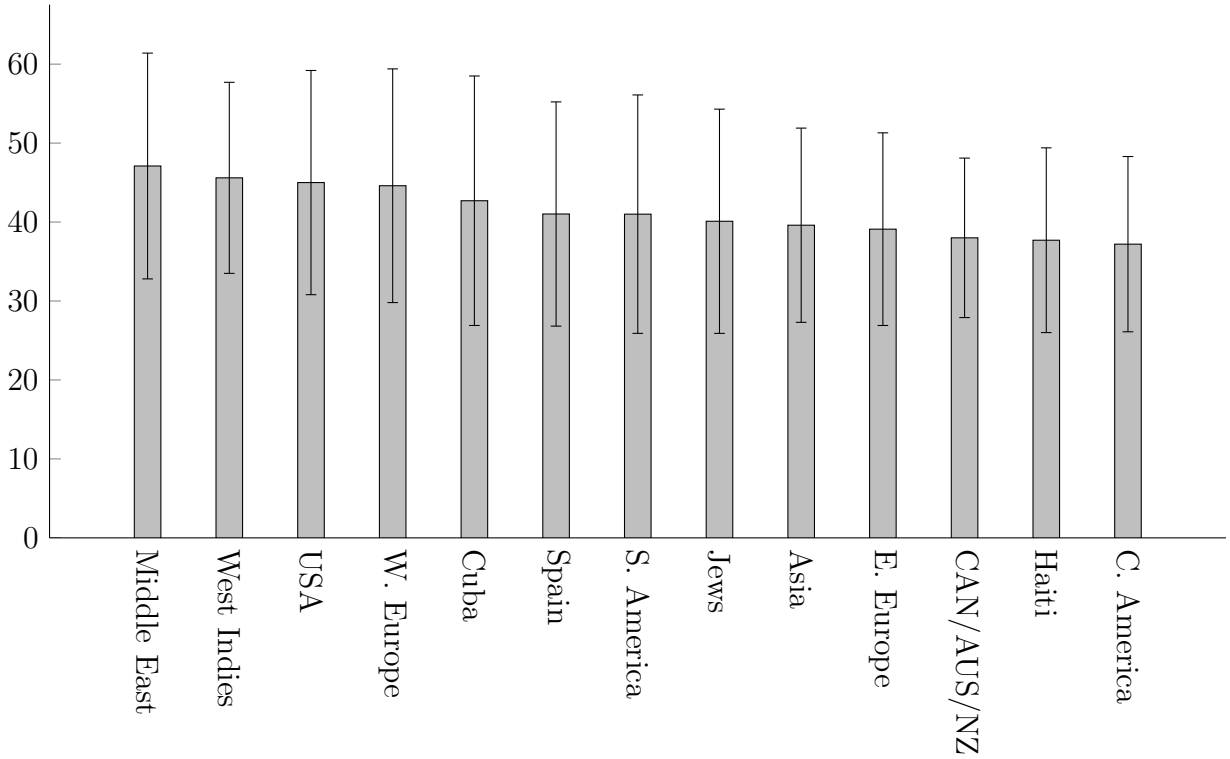


Figure 13: Ages of Haitians and West Indians

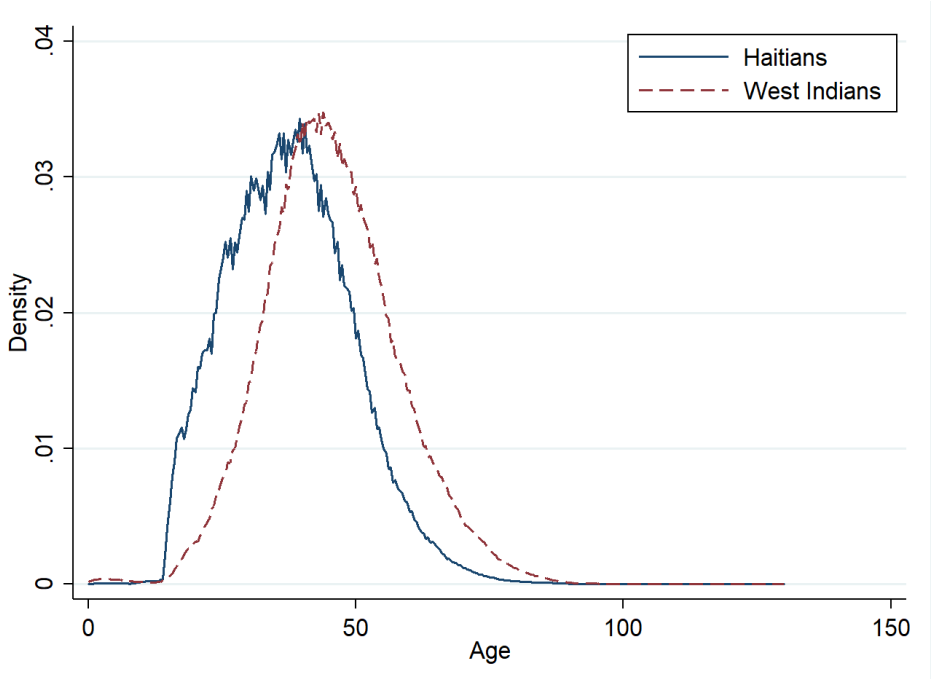


Figure 14: Ages of Jews and Spaniards

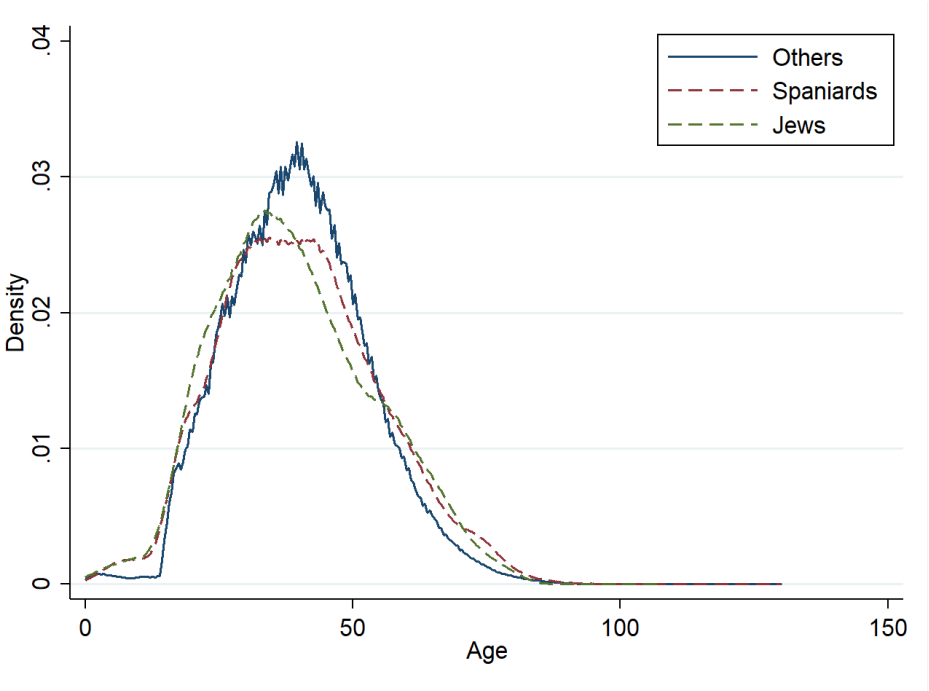


Figure 15: Sex ratio (men per 100 women)

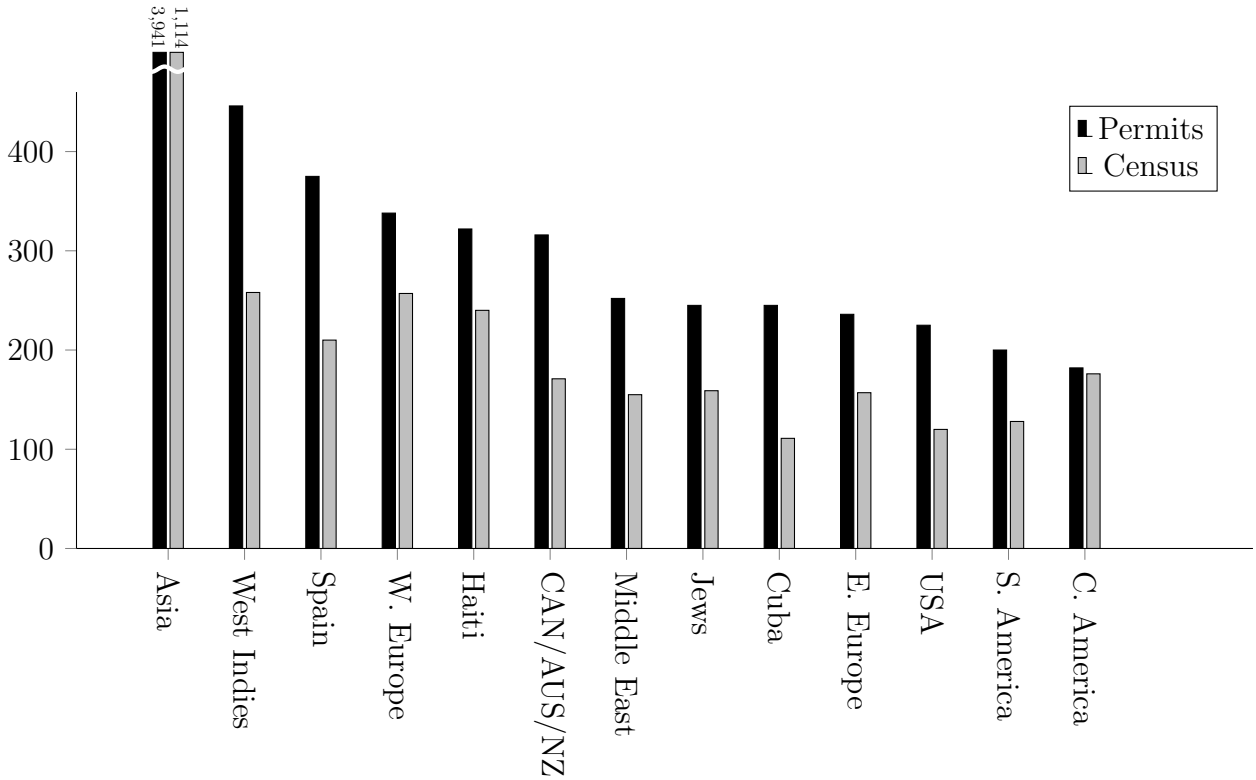


Figure 16: Sex ratio (men per 100 women) in Sosúa

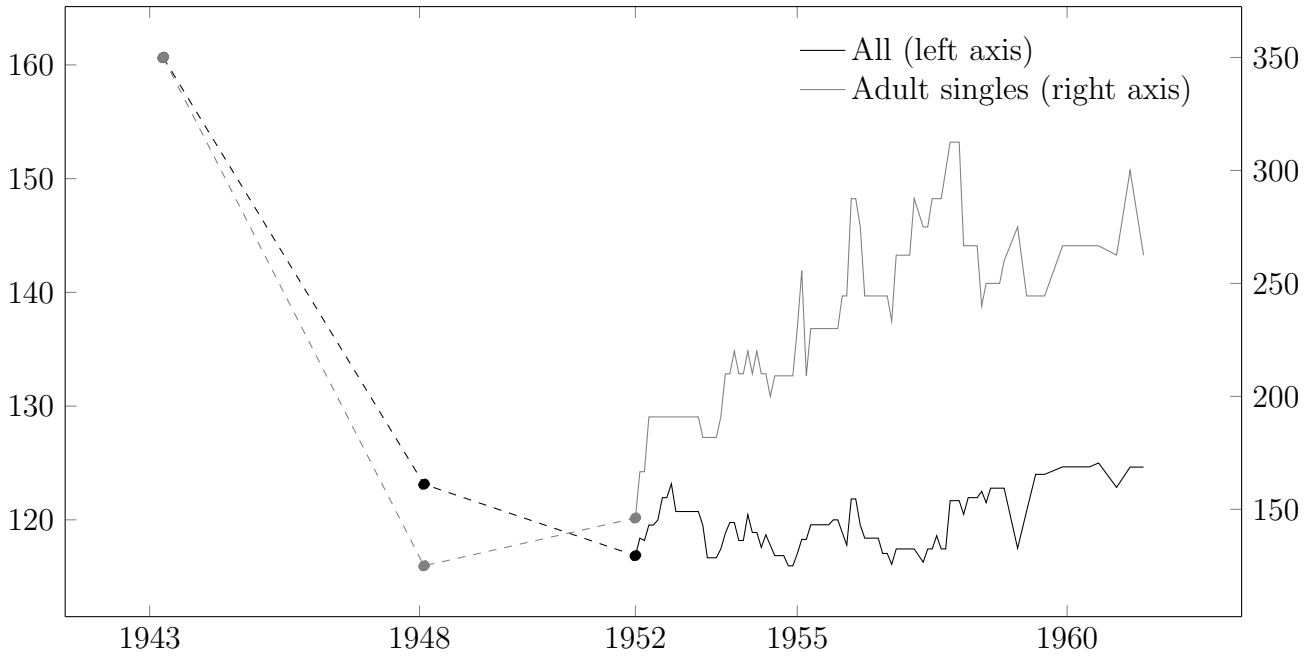


Figure 17: Married and single adults in Sosúa

Figure 18: Share of immigrants employed as *braceros*, by nationality (min. 100 immigrants)

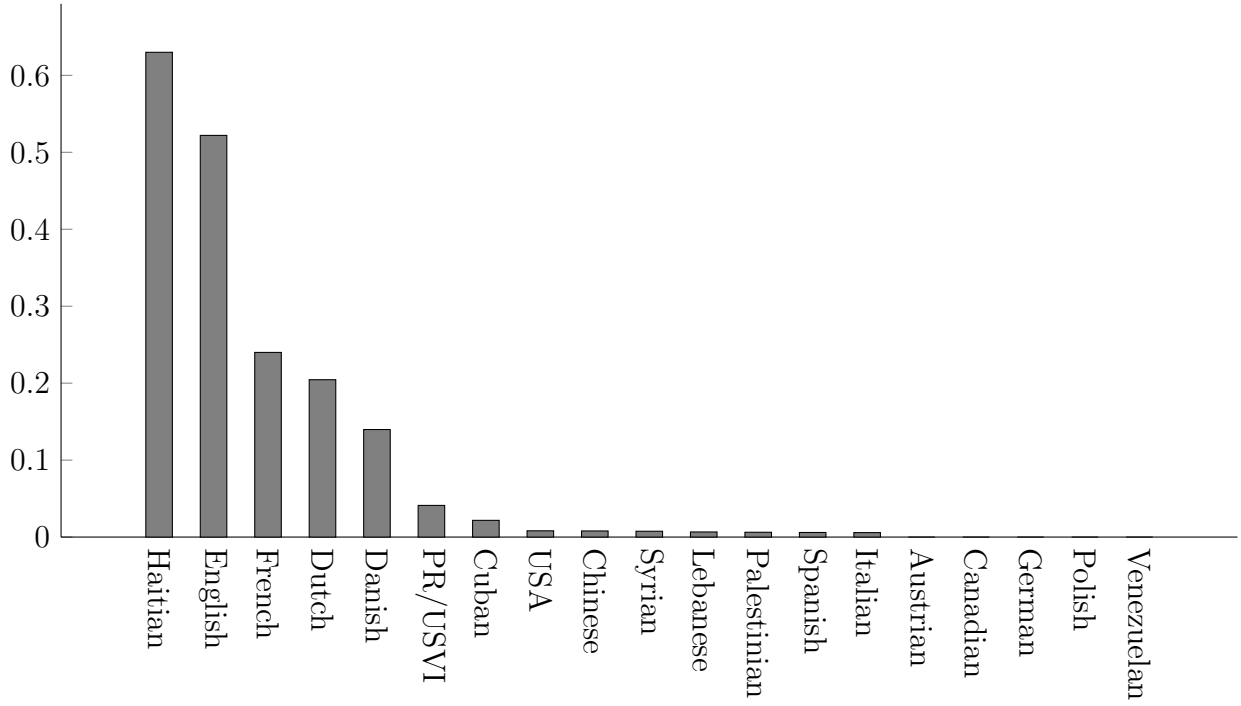


Figure 19: Share of Haitians and West Indians employed as *braceros* by year of entry

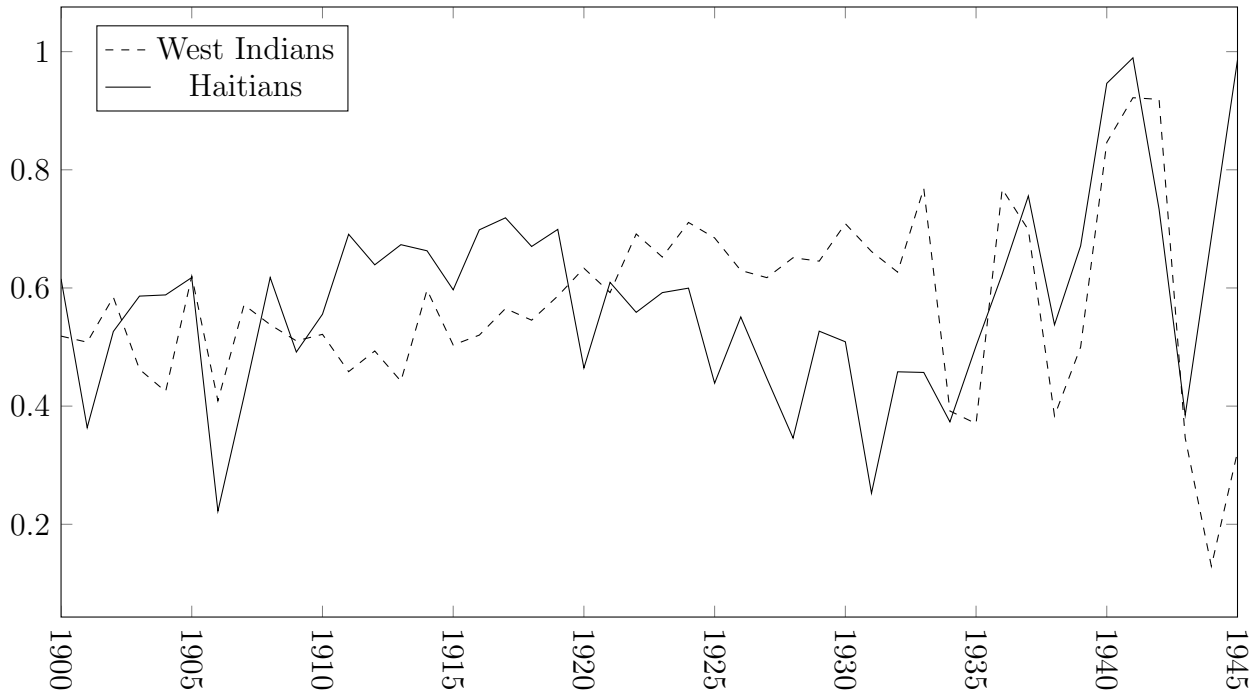


Figure 20: Share of immigrants working as farmers, by nationality (min. 100 immigrants)

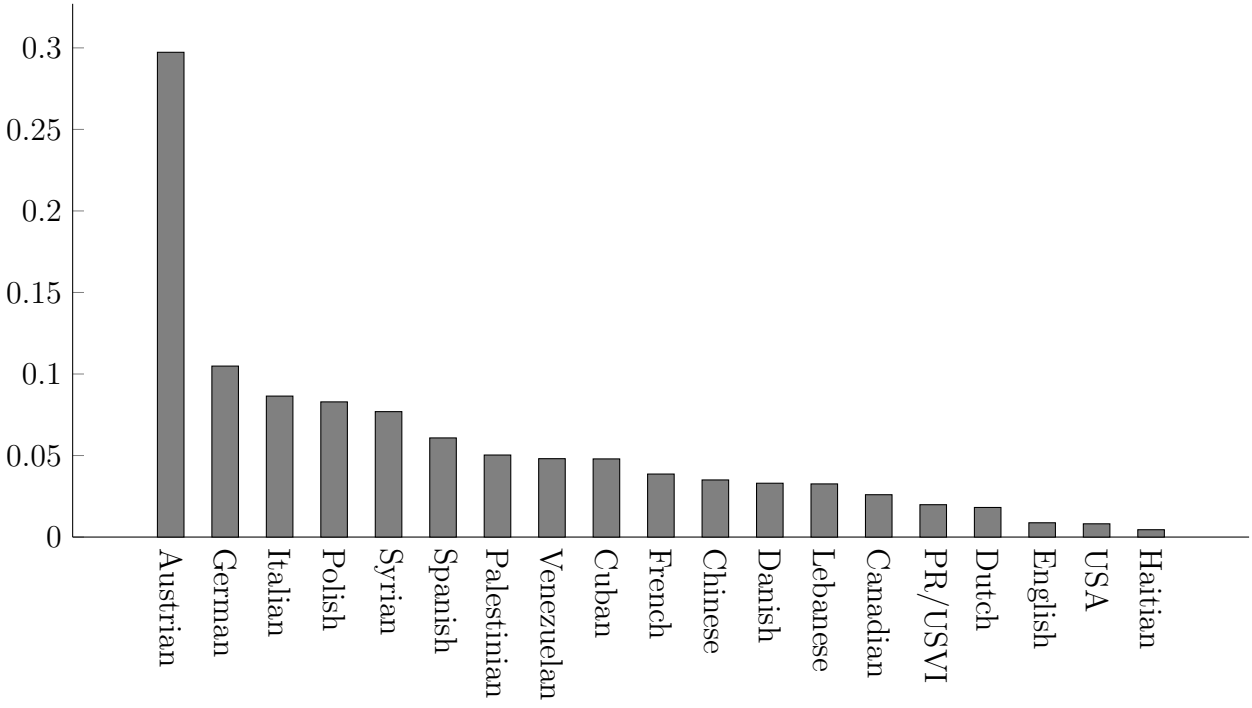


Figure 21: Share of immigrants employed as domestic workers, by nationality (min. 100 immigrants)

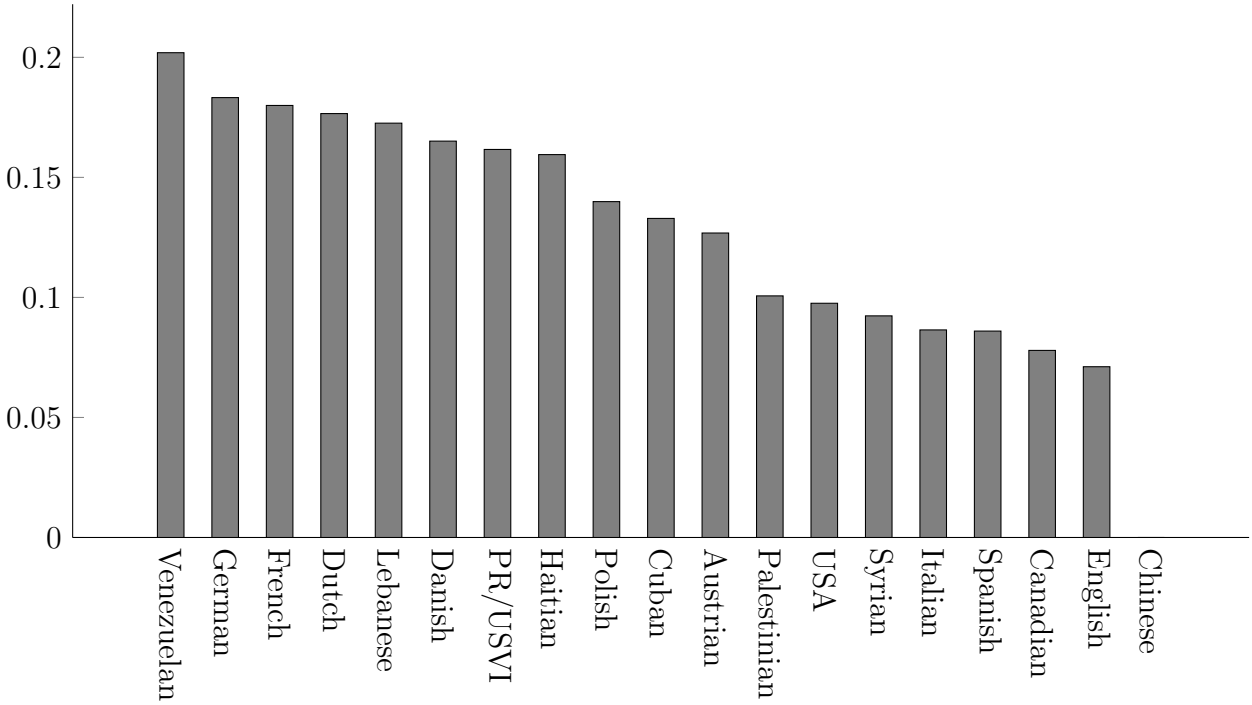


Figure 22: Haitians by year of entry

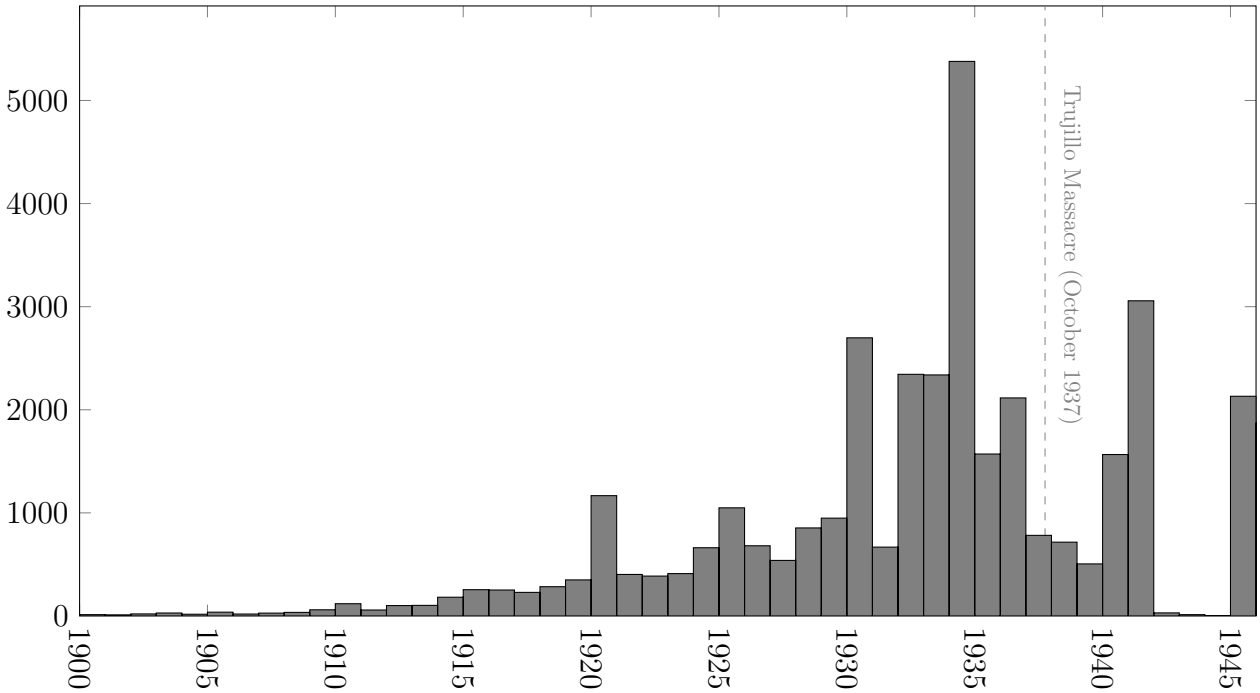


Figure 23: Germans, Austrians, and Poles by year of entry

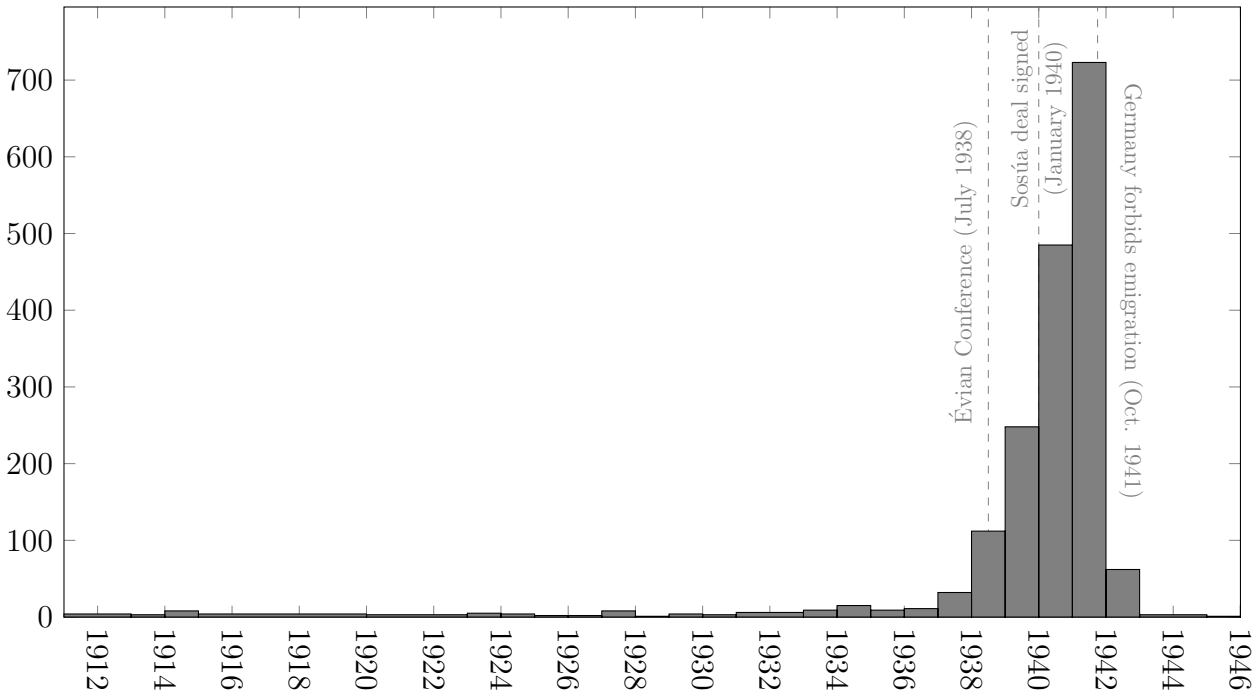


Figure 24: Spaniards by year of entry