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A Study of Primary Schools in the Elias Piña Province on the Dominican Haitian Border: Immigrant Haitian Access to Education in the Dominican Republic in the 2010 Post-Earthquake Era

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A study of primary schools in the Elias Piña province on the Dominican Haitian border: Immigrant Haitian access to education in the Dominican Republic in the 2010 post-earthquake era

By

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Abstract

A study of primary schools in the Elias Piña province on the Dominican Haitian border:

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The research question of the study asked "In the post 2010 earthquake, what are the

conditions faced by Haitian immigrants in accessing primary public education in the

Dominican Republic"? Within the context of primary education, the study takes place in the

town of Comendador, the capital of the Elías Piña province in the Dominican Republic.

Using a mixed methods approach, incorporating ethnographic methods and database analysis,

the study documents the voices of Haitian and Dominican parents, Dominican school

personnel, non-governmental organization (NGO) officials and community stakeholders.

Within the construct of access, there are six areas of focus: educational policy, curriculum

and instruction, professional development and resources, parent involvement, intercultural

communications, and praxis. Data collection tools included field notes, participant

observation, semi-structured interviews, analysis of the Latin American Opinion Project (LAPOP), and analysis of a household composition database.

The findings of the study indicate six themes: (1) educational policy, Dominican law provides Haitian children with school registration, yet school officials are allowed the flexibility of adherence; (2) curriculum and instruction, using a national curriculum, teachers are not providing a comprehensible education to Haitian students; (3) professional development and resources, teachers recognized the need to make instruction meaningful for Haitian students; (4) parent involvement, undocumented Haitian parents did not feel safe at school sites; (5) intercultural communications (ICC), educators' behaviors towards Haitian immigrant children and parents demonstrated empathy, yet lacked more advanced levels of ICC and, (6) praxis, there was an absence of advocates for Haitian.

In the case of stakeholders and educators in Elías Piña the study suggests that, for the most part, few had the experience and background to understand the complexity of Haitian immigrant students and families who expressed living in fear of the authorities, suspicion of who to trust, and despair with regards to living day to day. While education for their children was seen as a positive need for survival in the Dominican Republic, Haitians' lack of understanding of the Dominican educational system leads to the perception that Haitian immigrant parents were not engaged in the education of their children.

Dedication

  This dissertation is dedicated to Tess. Her commitment to seeing a better Hispaniola through a compassionate lens and intellectual rigor accompanied me from inception to end. Her dedication to me, as a wife and fellow researcher, has brought me through the darkest of hours to a place of hope. The magnitude of her contribution is greater than I could ever return.

  In memory of Papa Turner, Papa Kaye and Tweedie White – I wish that each of you had the opportunity to see me complete this work.

Acknowledgements

The research presented on these pages is the culmination of collaboration amongst many scholars, idealists, citizens, activists, friends and family. Each individual played a unique role that made this work complete. The dedication each offered inspired me as I traveled the long and arduous road that led to "crossing the Rubicon."

Sincerest gratitude is extended to Professor Ochoa for his support, guidance and intellect that he has given freely and unselfishly. Professor Ochoa's mentorship is a model for me to carry throughout my career. I am very fortunate to have been advised and guided by him during my doctoral studies. As co-chair of the dissertation, Professor Ochoa provided intellectual insight and an academic divining rod that allowed me to reach farther and deeper into the canyons of data that overwhelmed the individual abilities of this researcher. *¡Mil gracias y hasta la luz!*

I am duly grateful to Dr. Gerald Murray who initiated the idea of the study. Dr. Murray's expertise and commitment to the anthropology of Hispaniola paved many roads I needed to travel.

Without question or denial, the trust and commitment of the dissertation committee, Professor Ochoa, Professor Pérez, Professor Kaplan-Cadiero and Professor Luschei, had in my research and ability to come through in the end will always be held closely. I keenly appreciate the role and contributions of each.

The multi-faceted support of Ms. DonnaMarie Fekete is worth more than I can adequately express. From beginning to end, DonnaMarie's intellect, wisdom and insight was the muse I needed. Her keen eye in reviewing my writings is a testament to her

talent and adaptability. On many fronts, she is more deserving than she will ever be recognized.

Many thanks to my family for believing that this degree had an end and that the end could be reached. My family's support over the years, and during my time along the Haitian Dominican border, demonstrates the endurance of love and how it guides us to reaching points of accomplishment that are beyond the reach of a single hand.

During the final leg, the support I gained from my friends and fellow potters in Gainesville, Florida were central to me passing through the finish line. Their unselfish willingness to listen to my lived experience and believe in my abilities to move forward was invaluable.

There are many anonymous individuals in Elías Piña, both Haitian and Dominican, to whom are deserving of significant acknowledgement. Their commitment to the research question and my well-being is a light of hope in a place where many feel despair.

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Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

Equal access to education has been, and continues to be a topic of interest in the research circles of the United States. Spanning the legal, linguistic, racial, gender, sexual and philosophical domains, educational equal access is a subject well researched in the United States' educational system from different philosophical and social perspectives (Espinoza, 2007). However, a review of the literature suggests that the depth of published research on equal access to education in the international context is significantly less. There is an even greater void in regards to post disaster refugee and immigrant access to education. Such is the case on Hispaniola where the January 12, 2010 earthquake caused massive migration flows to the Dominican Republic. Within the context of Hispaniola, both international and Dominican education policy provide a legal path for Haitian children to have absolute access to primary education in the Dominican Republic (Mariner & Strumpen-Darrie, 2002; Wooding & Moosley-Williams, 2004). The analysis of educational policy implementation is a research question that is central to this study.

Statement of the Problem

This study addresses Haitian immigrant and refugee access to public primary education in the Dominican Republic in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake in Port-a-Prince, Haiti. Specifically, it examines the conditions of acceptance and denial of Haitian students in Dominican primary schools on the Haitian Dominican border. Furthermore, the study examines how the Dominican educational system incorporates Haitian students

and families into the school-community. The research incorporates a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis that yields an ethnographic case study.

According to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (UCRC), set-forth by UNICEF, and signed by the Dominican Republic, all children have a right to equal access to education (United Nations Centre for Human Rights., & UNICEF, 1990). Furthermore, Article 28 of the UCRC clearly states that primary education should be "compulsory and available free to all." In lieu of the Convention, there has been limited research published that reflects specific focus on Haitian children's access to education in the Dominican Republic. Furthermore, there are no publications, to date, that focus on the aftermath of the January 2010 Haiti earthquake as it relates to equal access to education for Haitian immigrants and refugees.

Though there is limited published data showing Haitian children's attendance in Dominican schools, in Elías Piña a province in the Dominican Republic, there is no question that Haitian children are in attendance. In general, it is known that Haitian children are provided entry into the Dominican primary school. Though, it is the explicit policy of the Dominican Secretary of Education to permit local school directors (principals) to be empowered as the gatekeepers that allow entrance of Haitian students (Wooding & Moosley-Williams, 2004). Though this policy flouts both international and Dominican laws, it is the current reality throughout the Dominican Republic, especially in the socially, politically and economically tense region of the Haitian Dominican border. However, the description and documentation of the educational experience of these children, and the extent to which Haitian children do and do not attend school is scarce and limited in scope.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to an initial purview into the current status of access to education for Haitian immigrant children in the Dominican Republic. With such a lacuna of research in this area of study, the proposed dissertation study has the potential to assist non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and governmental organizations (GOs), i.e. Dominican Ministry of Education, UNICEF and United States Agency for International Development (USAID), in setting policy and program implementation that comports with the Convention of the Rights of the Child (United Nations Centre for Human Rights., & UNICEF, 1990). This research also contributes to the field of immigrant children and education by synthesizing the findings in a way that leads toward equitable educational opportunities within the scope of Dominican public education. Also, the study is geared to provide valuable information on students displaced from natural disasters and the social and educational response that incurs.

Conceptual Framework

An inequality in the context of educational opportunities materializes in systemic actions within the academic schema (Darling-Hammond, 1995). Within the scope of critical theory, educational frameworks in a capitalist paradigm play a role in the production of class groups (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Furthermore, it is education that creates the social relationships within the capitalist society (Espinoza, 2007). Keeping these constructs close and intetigrating where appropriate, the conceptual framework developed for this study focuses on the investigation of two theoretical dimensions— the first relates to programmatic educational components, and the second relates to intercultural communication competency.

The educational programmatic dimensions examine the explicit and implicit activities that hinder or promote educational access to immigrant Haitian children in the Dominican Republic since the 2010 earthquake. The four areas of focus surface from the Center for Applied Linguistic (CAL) with regards to accessing education for ethno-linguistic students– policy implementation, parent involvement, curriculum and instruction, teacher resources and training (Howard, et. al., 2005).

The intercultural communications competency dimension draws from the work of Arasaratnam (2009) that incorporates the theoretical constructs of *praxis* and *intercultural communication (ICC) competency* and expressed through five variables that make up ICC competency: empathy, experience, listening (interaction involvement), attitude towards other cultures, and motivation. Through the lens of ICC the study explores the socio-psychological motivations of policy implementation. The five ICC competency variables of intercultural communication are used to examine the *praxis* of policy implementation. Freire (1986) defined *praxis* as a "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (p. 36). In using *praxis* as a construct integrated into the conceptual framework, it is possible to explore and reveal the implicit and explicit nature of actions taken that ultimately lead to access or denial to education for Haitian immigrants in the Dominican Republic. The conceptual framework presented under Figure 1 is designed in order to answer the research question – "In the Post 2010 earthquake, do Haitian immigrants have access to primary public education in the Dominican Republic"? In drawing from two theoretical dimensions (programmatic and intercultural) the conceptual framework examines explicit and implicit tensions in the right to equal access to education.

Additive

Access to Education

Implicit & Explicit Actions

| Parent Involvement | Teacher Resources & Training | Policy Implementation | Curriculum & Instruction |

Praxis and Inter-cultural Communications Competency

| Parent Involvement | Teacher Resources & Training | Policy Implementation | Curriculum & Instruction |

Implicit & Explicit Actions

Denied Access to Education

Subtractive

Figure 1. The conceptual framework guides the study. Within the four constructs studied, an analysis is made as to whether findings lead to access to education (additive) or denial of educational opportunities (subtractive). An analysis is made as to whether the nature of the findings is implicit or explicit in nature.

The incorporation of the ICC construct into the study assists by providing a vehicle in which to reveal possible barriers or circumstances of success that Haitian parents and students have encountered. Arasaratnam's (2009) definition states that ICC is "a person who is competent in one intercultural exchange possesses something within himself/herself that enables him/her to engage a different intercultural exchange competently as well" (Development of a New Instrument section, para 1). Arasaratnam (2009) delineated ICC into five variables, namely, empathy, intercultural experience/training, motivation, global attitude, and ability to listen well in conversation, it is possible to develop ethnographic interview questions that focus on specific qualities, thus, provide data points that are directly associated with ICC. The ultimate intention of using Arasaratnam's (2009) construct of ICC is to show a direct connection between the sensitivity provided to Haitian students' access to education in the Dominican Republic and the four areas of focus (policy implementation, parent involvement, curriculum and instruction, teacher resources and training). This connection allows for analysis that reflects Focoult's (1979) assertion of the construct of gaze as means of knowledge and power over the powerless.

Research Questions

The study is guided by an over-arching research question (RQ), "In the post 2010 earthquake, what are the conditions faced by Haitian immigrants in accessing primary public education in the Dominican Republic"? From this fundamental research question, there are six sub-research questions (SRQs) that serve to respond to the main research question of the study:

SRQ1: How does educational policy support or limit access to education for Haitian students?

SRQ2: How does curriculum and instruction materialize in primary schools as a means of supporting or limiting access to education for Haitian students?

SRQ3: How does teacher resources and teacher training support access to education for Haitian students?

SRQ4: How does parent involvement surface as a means to access education for Haitian students?

SRQ5: What are the explicit and implicit intercultural communication actions that positively or negatively impact the access of educational services for Haitians in the Dominican Republic?

SRQ6: Given more than one year after the post 2010 earthquake in Haiti, what has been the praxis, reflection and action to assist Haitians in accessing primary public education in the Dominican Republic"?

Context of Study

The study takes place in the Elías Piña province in the Dominican Republic. Elías Piña is geographically located on the western most end of the Dominican Republic, bordering Haiti. It is approximately the center point between the northern and southern points of the Haitian Dominican border. See Figure 2.

Figure 2. The map of the Island of Hispaniola provides visual context and location of the study. Cuba is located northwest in the figure. Located along the Haitian-Dominican border, the star indicates Elías Piña, the location of the study.

According to a 2008 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report, the Elías Piña province ranks last in the Dominican Republic in literacy rates among fifteen year olds and older and overall education level of the population. Furthermore, this report identifies Elías Piña as the poorest province in the Dominican Republic, with an annual, median salary of US$1,113.40. This is less than half the median salary for the country, which is US$2888 (UNDP, 2008).

The province of Elías Piña is representative to the Dominican Republic in two areas: public education and the economy. Like all provinces in the Dominican Republic, public education is the primary means of educating students. Though, private schooling has become a source for educational opportunity for those who can afford it.

Economically secure families, i.e. middle class and upwards, send their children to private schools called "Colegios" (Murray, 2005). Given that the province of Elías Piña is ranked as the poorest, it has a high level of public school participation and attendance.

Within the context of the economy, Elías Piña has a strong base in agriculture. According to a UNDP (2008) report, Elías Piña has 58.3% of its population working in agriculture. This statistic demonstrates that Elías Piña, much like all provinces in the Dominican Republic, is based on the production of agricultural goods.

In looking at the context of Haitian immigration and influence, Elías Piña is uniquely situated both geographically and economically. Located equally distant from the north and south limits of the Haitian Dominican border, Elías Piña is influenced by Haitians immigrating from multiple directions. As a border province, Elías Piña deals with immigration issues much like that of other border provinces. Economically, the international market in Elías Piña plays a key role in Haitian Dominican relations. Goods from Haiti are received in the Dominican Republic, and vice versa. Dominicans are represented from most parts of the Dominican Republic as buyers and sellers in the Elías Piña market. Goods bought and sold at the market normally fall into three categories: agricultural products, used goods and new goods. Agricultural products ebb and flow with the seasons. Avocados, mangos, rice, plantains, papayas and beans are prevalent during their respective seasons. Used clothing is one of the largest commodities traded. Used clothes are compressed into 100lbs rectangular blocks. These are referred to as "*pacas*." According to Dominican law, used clothing must enter the Dominican Republic via Haiti. Thus, it is common to see truckloads of *pacas* arrive from a port in the Dominican Republic such as Haina, travel across the international border to Haiti or to

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the Dominican customs office, then back through Elías Piña as it returns to Haina or any other part of the Dominican Republic. The *paca* must have a certified stamp declaring that it entered in the Dominican Republic through the Dominican Haitian border. With this certification, the used clothes can be sold legally in the Dominican Republic. New goods bought and sold at the market include goods imported from China into Haiti. These goods tend to be cheap pots and pans as well as individually packaged clothing items such as toddler outfits and women's tee shirts. Shoes are also ever present at the market. The majority are used, though many venders sell new shoes. Miscellaneous contraband items can be purchased such as Haitian matches, pirated DVD's and specific agricultural products. Dominican law bans the sale of U.S. imported rice. Haiti has received a lot of food aid since the 2010 earthquake. Rice, as well as other donated items, is brought to the market to be sold.

Ethnographic Approach

Using an ethnographic model as the basis for the methodology, the study includes a full description of the location of the study, including the historical points of significance, socio-political norms and culture (Spradley, 1979). Following the work of Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba (1991) the study explores the nature of power and process of empowerment and disempowerment within the school-community of Elías Piña. Critical ethnography asserts that society is structured by race, ethnicity, class, status, sexual orientation and gender, thus, it is relevant to keep these constructs in mind within the scope of data collection and analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Gilmore and Smith (1982) provide a model of social interaction that guided the researcher in doing the research. According to their work, the researcher should 1) be a respectful learner and 2)

return the product of the collaboration to the research participant. Thus, a summary of this study will be provided in Haitian Kreyol and Spanish.

While public policy research and quantitative data analysis are included, this study is heavily weighted on the participant observations and interviews. Ethnographic data collection tools will include observation and interviews. Utilizing Trueba's (1999) framework of critical ethnography, the study will (a) document the nature of social empowerment and/or oppression, (b) provide analysis that brings awareness to existing asymmetrical power relationships, (c) present the findings to the academy in order to bring awareness of the reality faced by the participants of the study, and, (d) provide a discourse that reveals a better understanding of the neglect of human rights.

Participants

Participants in the study are members of the Elías Piña region. The participants were divided into four categories. The first category is exclusive to current primary school directors, teachers and parents (Haitian and Dominican). The second category includes current district administrators, retired teachers and community leaders. The third category incorporates the voices of adult Haitians who were former students in the Dominican Republic. The fourth category involves government officials responsible for the Elías Piña region. Table 1 provides a summary of the six research questions, their respective theorectical underpinnngs, the data collection approach, and the research participants involved.

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Table 1

Approach to Data Collection

Research Sub-question	Construct	Conceptual focus	Supporting source	Data Collection Approach	Role Groups involved
1	Educational Policy of DR	Access to Equal participation	UNICEF (1990)	Government & National & International Documents	Government Officials Quantitative Data & Demographics
2	Curriculum & Instruction	Cultural & Academic Relevancy (Policy implementation, parent involvement, curriculum and instruction, teacher resources and training	Howard, et al (2007), Center For Applied Linguistics	Interviews Focus Groups Observations Field Notes	Primary School Directors, Teachers, Parents
3	Teacher Resources & Training	Teacher Training & Support on Immigrant children	Darling-Hammond (1995)	Interviews, Focus Groups, Observations, Field Notes	Primary School Directors, Teachers,
4	Parent Involvement	Parent Inclusion & Voice & Engagement	Valencia, R. (1997)	Interviews, Focus Groups, Observations, Field Notes	Parents & Community Leaders
5	Intercultural Communication & Competency	Empathy, Experiences, Listening, Attitude Towards Others, Motivation	Arasaratran (2009)	Intercultural Questionnaire, Interviews Focus Groups Observations Field Notes	Primary School Directors, Teachers, Parents, Community Leaders
6	Praxis	Reflection & Action to Transform Context and Access	Freire (1986)	Government & National Reports, Interviews, Observations, Field Notes	Primary School Directors, Teachers, Parents, Community Leaders

Consent to Participate

Participants of the research were identified using a criterion selection approach. Participants from the Elías Piña region of the Dominican Republic were identified with one or more of the following categories:

1. Parent or guardian of primary school-age child.

2. Dominican public school teacher from public primary school.

3. Community leader.

Adult participants who self-identified in any of the three criteria were requested to participate in the research. The participant was asked if he or she was interested in participating in the research by providing a confidential individual interview. Once the participant agreed to the confidential individual interview, she or he was read the informed consent. The participant was given a copy of the informed consent in the language of her or his choosing: Haitian Creole or Spanish. The participants were requested to give verbal consent. Given the Dominican and Haitian cultural aversion to signing documents due to historical and political distrust issues, the study utilized verbal consent. In the case where the participant was only able to communicate in Haitian Creole, a translator was utilized. The translator was trained in the protocol of the research, particularly in the necessity of confidentiality and the informed consent. Also, the translator signed a confidentiality agreement to ensure the integrity of the research protocol. The confidentiality agreement was by the researcher (Matthew Kaye) in a secure location.

The researcher selected participants for the study using the "snowball" sampling strategy. Community leaders were contacted first for participation. Subsequently, the

community leaders were asked to identify individuals who had children enrolled in primary schools within the Elías Piña region. In turn, these initial referrals from this group were asked to refer others who met the same criteria, thus creating the snowball effect. The recruitment of parents with primary school-aged children was not done based on nationality, rather the only criteria used to select was whether or not they had childfren in primary schools. The rationale for this selection strategy was to recruit without specifically identifying Haitians as a participatory group. In order to seek Haitian parent/guardian participation, the researcher recruited participants from neighborhoods where Haitians tended to live and contacted community leaders with ties to the Haitian populations in Elías Piña.

Parents / guardians were recruited using a recruitment script. Initially, the researcher depended on community leaders, teachers and school officials to give referrals in order to acquire participants. Also, the researcher was introduced by a community leader in a public place, e.g. church, park, community meeting, of the potential subject. Dominican school officials and non-government organization representatives were approached by the researcher through a professional contact or by setting up a meeting time and place. Community leaders were identified by the researcher, and approached at the place of their leadership activities.

Data Collection

The face-to-face interview, also known as the "one-on-one interview", is a common interview method that involves the interviewer asking the interviewee questions. An interview schedule was used to guide the process. A digital recording device was used to document the interviews, as well as copious notes were taken as the interviewee

responded to the selected questions. Due to the sensitivity of the research, the interviews
were held in confidential settings and the recording of interviews was not always
permissible. Furthermore, data collection included observing parent meetings, known in
the Dominican Republic as *Padres y Amigos de la Escuela*. The researcher's attendance
at this meeting qualified as participant observation (Spradley, 1980). Record keeping of
the discourse at these meetings was organized by community and school.

Documentation Review

Official and informal policy and educational documents that provided insight into the
research questions were reviewed. These documents included classroom curriculum,
teacher training materials, parent-school correspondence, policy reports and academic
resources. The findings are categorized in respect to the research questions of the study.
Documents were reviewed following the general outline presented in *Table 2*.

Table 2

Document Review Template

	Question
Who	is the author?
	is mentioned in the document?
	was intended audience of the document?
What	is the written document?
	event or action is being described?
When	was the document written?
	did the event being described take place?
Where	did the event being described take place?
Why	did the event take place?
	is it significant?
	was the document written?
How	does this document influence your understanding of the event?

Observations

The advantages of observation methods include first-hand information,

verification of data from other sources, and that contextual information is provided. The

following types of observations approaches recommended by Hills (1992) were

incorporated into the data collection process. See Table 3.

Table 3

Observation Guiding Template

Type	Definition	Behavior
Time Sampling	Determines the degree to which a behavior occurs by observing and recording the incidence of the behavior at specific time intervals.	Incidences of frequent behavior (e.g., hand flapping, self-injurious behavior, vocalizing).
Event Sampling	Observation of an event that has been defined in advance and what occurs before and following the event.	Used to record person-social interactions.
Anecdotal Record	A descriptive narrative recorded after the behavior occurs.	Used to fully detail a certain event or behavior.
Journal	A recording of brief details of behavior that occurs.	Used to describe the status and progress over time.
Running Record	A sequential record recorded while the behavior is occurring.	Used to document what participants are doing in the particular situation.

Quantitative Data

This research also incorporates quantitative data from a variety of sources.

Quantitative research was conducted in the Elías Piña province by the United Nations

Development Programme (UNDP). Though this data covers educational profiles from a

macro perspective, it does not specifically focus on Haitian access to education. In

collaboration, the University of Florida, the Dominican First Lady's Office and the U.S.

Peace Corps worked in creating a household survey that explored the relationships among

household members, attitudes toward education, experiences with educational

opportunities, and living conditions. A database derived from the household survey,

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created after the earthquake in 2010, was utilized to ascertain information that shed light on each of the six sub-research questions of the study.

Assumptions of the Study

The study began with no presupposed prejudice or egalitarian postulations on the part of the researcher. Data to determine the level of Haitian access to education was gathered, analyzed and presented to solely determine patterns of services to Haitian immigrants in the Dominican Republic in the Elías Piña region.

The complexity of the socio-political interactions of over a hundred of years of history between the Dominican Republic and Haiti is evident in daily life along the Haitian-Dominican border. For instance, Martínez (2003) reveals an important perspective that must be kept within arm's reach, "one and the same person [Dominican] may express both negative feelings about Haitian immigration generally, and positive feelings about the Haitians who live next door or down the street or alleyway" (p. 11). It is important for this study to maintain the perspective that contemporary Dominican-Haitian relations are a web of intricate nuances that are revealed in many colors and shades. Although Wucker (1999) presents an antagonistic perspective of Haitian-Dominican relations in her book *Why the Cocks Fight.* Martínez (2003) refutes Wucker's (1999) stating "the more I study the Dominican-Haitian relationship, the more I become aware of how many unanswered questions surround it, especially concerning Dominicans' varied attitudes toward Haiti, Haitians, and blackness" (p. 5). Thus, this study respects the many, ambiguous findings that are possible from the research.

Limitations of the Study

Due to cost, safety and resource limitations, this study was restricted in its sample size to the town of Comendador, and its surround communities. As the capital of the Elías Piña province, Comendador is well known for being a hub for mercantile exchange between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. However, the cholera outbreak in Haiti, and subsequently in the Dominican Republic, led to increased tensions between Haitians and Dominicans. These tensions surfaced after the Dominican authorities closed the border, thus keeping Haitians from participating in the open market held twice a week in Commendador. Due to increased military presence along dirt roads that connect both countries, safety concerns rose, in turn, resulting in diminutive access to rural schools. This safety concern was warranted, as individuals posing as military were known to rob pedestrians in rural settings.

Comendador is a town where transient Haitians pass through, permanent Haitians have settled, and displaced Haitians are in transition. Haitian immigrant status is often ambiguous as some Haitians are deported without question and others enjoy permanent residence. Given this uncertainty and fear, I found that some Haitians were reserved in speaking to me, while others were very open and willing to be interviewed. There is no doubt that immigration status impacted the type of data collected, though the study did not collect information about legal status of Haitian immigrants.

Operational Definitions

Operational definitions are offered here to assist the reader in contextualizing the key terms as each relates to the study. By providing these definitions, it is hoped that the reader has a full understanding of the findings and analysis of data presented.

Equal access –Conceptually "equity" is related to "fairness or justices in the provision of education and or other benefits and it takes individual circumstances in consideration, while "equality" usually connotes sameness in treatment by asserting the fundamental or natural equality of all persons" (Espinoza, 2007, p. 129).

Equality of opportunity - within the concept of "equal access" lies the construct of "equality of opportunity." Salomone (1983) states that "equality of opportunity" is affected by three factors: interpersonal favoritism, institutional discrimination, and differential access to resources (Espinoza, 2007).

Educational policy - is the laws and regulations, whether formal or informal, that guide and control students' educational opportunities.

Curriculum and instruction – are traditionally viewed as what a student learned of what school teaches (curriculum) and how they learn it (instruction). Sizer (1999) points out that this definition is limited, and that curriculum is a much deeper concept that is reflected in the whole student.

Teacher training – also referred to as professional development, is the continuing education and skill development of teachers in specialized areas.

Parent involvement / engagement – is defined by Chistenson and Sheridan (2001) as the academic supportive behavior by parents within the context of the home and the school.

Intercultural communication competency – is derived from Arasaratnam's (2009) definition that states, "a person who is competent in one intercultural exchange possesses something within himself/herself that enables him/her to engage a different intercultural exchange competently as well" (Development of a New Instrument section, para 1).

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Praxis – is the construct Freire (1986) defines as, "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it."

Organization of the Study

This dissertation is comprised of five chapters, including an appendix and reference section. Chapter one, the Introduction, provides a summary of the research. Furthermore, the Introduction provides the reader with an overview of the significance of the study, conceptual framework, the research questions, methodology, the limitations of the study, and definition of terms. Chapter two, the Literature Review, presents a survey of research and scholarly writings on the major themes of the dissertation. The areas presented in the Literature Review include education as a right, language as a right, post-disaster access to education, Haiti and education, parent involvement / engagement, access to education, access to curriculum and instruction, funds of knowledge, intercultural communications, social capital and community networks, and critical ethnography. Chapter three, Methods, provides a concise account of the methodology used in this study. The Methods chapter includes a description of the participants, the school and community context, the interview questionnaire, the focus group prompts, and the observational approach. In Chapter four, the Contextual Background of the Study, a comprehensive presentation of Elías Piña as the research site is provided. Chapter five, the Findings, presents a case study report that addresses the six sub-questions of the research. Finally, chapter six, the Conclusion, provides a summary of the findings and presents a policy analysis on the main research question. Furthermore, reflections, lessons learned, recommendations for future research are presented in order to bring a close to the study.

Chapter Two: LITERATURE REVIEW

It is the goal of this chapter to offer an examination of the many facets of

scholarly subject matter that the researcher incorporates into the development of the

implementation of the study. Lee (1998) provides insight into the importance of

educational access:

> Education plays an important role not only in economic development but also in
> improving social equity. In many ways, the two are inseparable, as improved
> education enhances the overall quality of human resources within an economy.
> Education can play a direct role in poverty reduction by enhancing the marketable
> skills of the economically disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and by expanding
> their ability to take advantage of income generation possibilities and available
> social services. (p.667)

Presented in this review of the literature are the numerous historical viewpoints,

theoretical positions, and research findings that encompass the broad areas of educational

access, international education and ethnographic research. Within these three over-

arching themes more specific areas of scholarship are reviewed.

Historically, there have been many efforts, both philosophically and legally, to

establish that access to education is a human right. From the international context, the

Convention Against Discrimination in Education (1960), the International Covenant on

the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the Hamburg Declaration (1997) are

significant measures taken to provide all humans a right to education (Haddad, 2006). In

Paulo Freire's (1986) influential book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* he states that

education is an obligatory endeavor that is fundamental to the human existence, whereas

denial of education is a denial of conscientiousness of one's liberty and freedom.

Multiple legal measures have been created in support of education as a right. Many years

prior to Freire's publication, the United Nations adopted the Universal Declarations of

Human Rights (1948). Article 26 specifically calls for basic education to be free and accessible to all. In 1960, the United Nations created the Convention against Discrimination in Education. This document specifically states that the access to education given to nationals must be given to foreign nationals (Convention Against Discrimination in Education, 1960). The United Nations' efforts to support the "right of every individual to education is recognized as inalienable" (*UNESCO*) were presented in 1989 when the United Nations ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

The Dominican Republic signed on to CRC in 1991 (*UNICEF Dominican Republic - policy advocacy and partnerships for Children´s rights - the convention on the rights of the child in the Dominican Republic*). In 2003, law 136-03 affirmed the Dominican State's legal commitment to CRC (*Ley136_06*). Updated in 2006, Dominican law 136-06 (*Ley136_06)* guaranties the following:

a.   Access to basic education beginning at three years of age / *El acceso a educación inicial a partir de los tres años*;

b.   Basic education is obligatory and free */ La enseñaza básica obligatoria y gratuita*;

c.   The adoption of measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and reduce dropout rates / *La adopción de medidas para fomentar la asistencia regular a las escuelas y reducir las tasas de deserción escolar*;

d.   Secondary education, including technical (professional) education is for all youth. / *La enseñanza secundaria, incluida la enseñanza profesional para todos los y las adolescentes*;

e.   Information and orientation concerning professional and vocational development

is for all children and youth */ Información y orientación sobre formación

profesional y vocacional para todos los niños, niñas y adolescentes*.

The application and enforcement of CRC and Law/*Ley* 136-06 falls on the

Dominican Ministry of Education. Similar to other regions of the world where

educational institutions in contemporary society are faced with a heterogeneous school

population that includes minority groups (Luke, Green, & Kelly, 2010). Specifically,

Haitian children are attending Dominican schools (Murray, 2010). Though legal

guarantees have been established to ensure that Haitians have access to educational

resources, Haddad (2006) points out that inequality materializes through society's

behaviors rather than through legalese.

Language as a Right

Education as a human right is strongly argued in the international community.

Though this is the case, linguistic human rights do not garner the same support (Skutnabb

Kangas, 2000). As English becomes the overwhelming dominant language in the world

and where minority languages are increasingly becoming endangered, linguistic human

rights is receiving increased attention (Hornberger, 1998). It is important to note that

there are no binding international covenants that directly address linguistic rights

(Skutnabb Kangas, 2000). In 1996, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organization (UNESCO) signed the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights.

Section II, Article 23.4 specifically addresses linguistic rights within the context of

education. It is held that "[e]ducation must help to maintain and develop the language

spoken by the language community of the territory where it is provided" support

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(Skutnabb Kangas, 2000, p. 547). Skutnabb Kangas (2000) takes the ideological position that States should support children of linguistic minorities in becoming "(minimally) bilingual" (p. 501). Furthermore, the author states that bilingualism and multilingualism is "necessary for reasons of democracy" (p. 501). The conceptual idea of linguistic human rights is based on this, that is, it is founded in the position that education must be the vehicle for students to reach advanced levels of "bi- or multilingualism" (p. 569). Linguistic human rights, as a conceptual idea, is critiqued as being "a tempting and facile conceptualization for advocacy purposes, but it holds little explanatory power and may ultimately backfire in that its claims are too strong and therefore more easily dismissed" (Paulston, 1997, p. 79).

Hornberger (1997) states that linguistic human rights should be approached with the guiding principles that include "tolerance and promotion, individual and communal freedoms, freedom from discrimination and for use, and claims-to and claims-against – for the mutual protection of all" (p. 101). According to Hamel (1997a), linguistic rights have not been considered fundamental human rights. And in order to gain rights, access, and the resources to protect one's rights, there is often a threat to the *status quo* of the hegemony. Hamel (1997b) asserts that linguistic human rights should be understood through the lens of sociolinguistic analysis, language policies, and planning. Hamel (1997a) states the following:

> The core rights are the rights of individuals to learn their mother tongue, to enjoy education through the medium of that language, to use it in socially significant official contexts, and to learn at least one of the official languages in one's country of residence. (p. 1)

Language ideology is the "cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships and their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1998:52).

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Language ideologies are important because they are not just about language; rather, they "envision and enact ties of language to ... identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, p. 55-56). One of the most prevalent language ideologies is that there is--or should be--a link between a given language and a people. But this "nationalist ideology of language" is a European convention, which has become globally hegemonic through colonization (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, p. 60). And it has been government that has co-opted curriculum in order to promote its ideology of language (Echeverria, 2003). Thus, indigenous languages around the world are threatened because they are not being passed on to the next generation of language learners. Furthermore, social, political, economic pressures placed on immigrants are causing language loss (Hornberger, 1998). Referencing apartheid in South Africa, Pluddleman (1999) asserts that colonial languages such as Dutch and English have held a high level of prestige at the expense of indigenous languages.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) states that when ethno-linguistic identity is threatened with the decline of the mother tongue, there is an adoption towards multilingual education in order to create linguistic survival. Furthermore, these types of educational programs maintain an emphasis on culture and ethnic identity within the curriculum, as well as providing a link between ethnicity and language for students. The Language Planning Task Group (1996) in South Africa was explicit in addressing language equity within the scope of the public arena. This task group asked critical questions that provided guidance in seeking linguistic human rights. Most importantly, the task group identifies policies and operations by the government that disenfranchises non-English speakers within the educational framework of the country and within the context of

democratic participation. Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) provides three aspects of a solid educational program that keeps language and identity within its context:

1.   High levels of multilingualism.

2.   A fair chance of achieving academically at school.

3.   Strong, positive multilingual and multicultural identity and positive attitudes toward self and others. (p. 42)

In schools, minority languages are often penalized. And in society, minority languages are often relegated to folk festivals and household use in order to survive (Safran, 1999). Research from Eriks-Brophy and Crago (2003) demonstrated that teachers who restricted native language (L1) classroom engagement and communication created a negative learning environment for students.

The official language of the Dominican Republic is Spanish (*CIA - the world factbook*). Though mostly a monolingual country, there are approximately 500,000 Haitian immigrants residing there (Wooding, 2004; Corten, 1995). Of which, Haitian Creole is the primary language. Despite the strong presence of Haitians and Haitian Creole in the Dominican Republic, bilingual education is not an instructional pedagogy supported by the Dominican Ministry of Education (Epstein & Limage, 2008).

Post-disaster Access to Education

Though not a novel idea, putting the needs of children as a priority after a natural disaster was declared by UNICEF in 1990 and Save the Children in 1923. In legally binding agreements, such as the Convention on Children's Rights, this priority has been evaded because of legal and cultural limitations (Murray, 1994).   When relief does arrive for children following a natural disaster or conflict, international agencies tend to adopt a

universal model that assumes that all children have the same basic needs that warrant a standardized response (Boyden, 1994). Given the vulnerability of children from the effects of disaster situations, it is important to recognize that consequences from such events can span a spectrum of symptoms from emotional reactions to psychopathology (Pfefferbaum, et al., 2008; Norris, et al, 2002). More often than not, the conceptual framework for providing interventions is based on western constructs of childhood. Responses to children after traumatic events tend to manifest western interventions through "sponsorship or custodial care in institutional villages" (Boyden, 1994, p. 255). As an example, separating children from families can be well intended, and rationalized as meeting the needs of the child. However, this knee-jerk reaction is not supported by evidence. On the contrary, evidence shows that children are better off remaining with their parents and families (Bonnerjea, 1994). Boyden (1994) states that "interventions that are founded on assumption rather than on sound, verified fact can be highly inappropriate and even prejudicial to children" (pg. 256). For example, the issues and dilemmas faced during the Cuban revolution in reuniting Cuban children with their parents are similar to those faced by unaccompanied children crossing international borders (Ressler, 1988). The disruption of social networks that provide resources and support after a disaster can have serious negative consequences for children that are both physical and emotional (Ressler, 1993). Unfortunately, the response to the needs of children after a disaster has been historically based on expert opinion rather than on research. Thus, the effects of the interventions tend not to be assessed or measured, leading to a lack of understanding of the impact, whether negative or positive (Morris, et al., 2007).

When responding to a disaster, the international community and local governments are thought to react by addressing security, infrastructure and public services. However, survivor human rights do not receive as much attention. It is important that recovery be aligned with the human rights of the survivors (Lewis, 2006) including education which has been established as a human right at the international level (Beiter, 2006). Many years after the 2004 tsunami in Indonesia, many survivors remained without access to education (Lewis, 2006). In Guatemala, researchers found that there was an increase in household child labor after natural disasters. In turn, this led to a decrease in access to schooling for the children involved in household labor (Vásquez, et al., 2010). In Haiti, children make up almost half the total population. The call for providing educational opportunities as Haiti began reconstruction was immediate and based on the pre-earthquake realities relating to child protection such as forced child labor, a practice known as *restavèk* (Balsari, 2010).

Haiti and Education

Prior to the 2010 earthquake in Port-au-Prince, education in Haiti was limited and undeniably poor (Epstein & Limage, 2008).   Most Haitians have not attended schools. Those who did have the opportunity to attend only made it to primary school. Ironically, Haitian law mandates education to be free and compulsory through eighth grade. A repercussion of not having access to education is evident in the 60% illiteracy rate. Furthermore, only 65% of children in Haiti who are of primary school age are enrolled. Of these students in rural areas, there is an 80% dropout rate. In urban areas, the dropout rate is 50%. The students who do not dropout, are, on average, three grades behind (Epstein & Limage, 2008). Furthermore, the Haitian adult illiteracy rate in 1997 was

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54.2% as opposed to the 12.8% illiteracy rate of Latin America and the Caribbean. A

1995 USAID report claims that the illiteracy rate was as high as 80%. In terms of

enrollment, only 29% of eligible primary and secondary students were enrolled compared

to the 69% found in Latin America and the Caribbean (Hadjadj, 2000). The consequence

of a lack of education spills over into the household. Unfortunately, Flake and Forste's

(2006) research revealed that a wife with less education than her husband was more likely

to be abused than a couple with an equal level of education. Gordon's (2009) research

showed that increased education for mothers reduced childhood mortality by 20.8%.

Educational reform in Haiti has been mixed. Overall, Haitians value education.

In 1979 the Bernard Reform was enacted, creating the National Department of Education.

In a period of 20 years (1980 – 2000) there were 23 ministers of education, due to the fact

that political instability has directly impacted public education (Hadjadj, 2000). Included

in this reform, the establishment of Creole as the language of instruction for elementary

grades, 1st through 4th, was a shift from the dominant language of the classroom – French.

In 1987, Haitian Creole was given constitutional status, alongside French, as an official

language of the State. Though educational reforms were made between 1979 and 1987,

underfunding and unqualified teachers has kept Haitian children from receiving the

minimal levels of quality education. Compounding this is the general population's

resistance to instruction in Creole. French is perceived as a means of improving one's

socio-economic status, thus, is the choice language of instruction among middle-class

Haitians (Epstein & Limage, 2008).

Educational funding in Haiti is only 1.7% of the gross domestic product (GDP)

(Epstein & Limage, 2008). This equates to roughly $63 million dollars spent on

education for a population of over 9 million. The result of underfunding has led to a shift to privatization of schooling, where tuition is charged to cover all expenses. In turn, the economic pressures placed on families sending children to private schools increases.

Hadjadj (2000) cites the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, stating, "the national plan for education was born of the recognition of the failure of the Haitian education system and of the imperative to make proposals aimed at remedying this situation (Haiti, 1994, p. 15)" (p. 23). From a policy perspective, there are a few notable laws that are worth mentioning. First, it is important to cite that the 1987 Haitian Constitution establishes both Haitian Creole and French as official languages of the country. Article 5 states:

> All Haitians are united by one language: Creole. Creole and French are the official languages of the Republic.

The 1987 Constitution explicitly addressed education stating:

> Primary education is compulsory under penalty of sanctions to be determined by the law. School supplies and teaching aids will be provided by the government for pupils at the primary school level.

Prior to the 1987 Constitution, the launching of the 1979 Bernard Reform attempted to reconstruct the educational paradigm in Haiti (Hadjadj, 2000; Prou, 2009). This overhaul of education was a concerted effort to provide educational access to Haitian children (Hadjadj, 2000). Prou (2009) states that the Bernard Reform had five objectives:

1. School-aged children will be provided basic education by the year 2000;
2. Haitian Creole will be the language of instruction;
3. Elementary and secondary education will be restructured;
4. Instructional practices will be modernized;
5. School curriculum will support the development of the country.

Drawing on documentation from the Haitian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Hadjadj (2000) notes the 1990 World Conference on Education stating "all

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children, all adolescents and all adults should have access to basic education" (p. 14).

Though there have been various attempts to actualize these educational policies, Hadjadj

(2000) cites several barriers that have made implementation difficult. Notable barriers

include: a) lack of resources (financing, schools, books), b) lack of trained teachers, and

c) lack of personnel continuity.

In 1993, the National Plan for Education and Training (PNEF) was created

with ten objectives. Hadjadj (2000) cites the objectives as:

Objective 1: Improvement in the quality of education, notably in basic education.

Objective 2: Promotion of a sound policy for developing learning resources.

Objective 3: Growth and rationalization of the provision of schooling at the basic

education level.

Objective 4: Academic reform and rationalization of the provision of secondary

education services.

Objective 5: Coordination of the mechanisms of support for overall early

childhood development.

Objective 6: Revival of technical and vocational training.

Objective 7: Restructuring of the State University of Haiti and establishment of a

diversified and quality university system open to scientific research.

Objective 8: Rationalization and improvement of the provision of non-formal

education services and programmes of distance education.

Objective 9: Reinforcement of the institutional capacities of the [Ministry of

Education, Youth and Sports / Ministère de l'Education Nationale, de la Jeunesse et des

Sports] MENJS in the domains of administrative and educational management.

Objective 10: Reaffirmation of the teaching profession.

The PNEF defined educational policy for the end of the twentieth century and paves the way for the 21st century (Prou, 2009).

Though these educational reforms were created to provide access to learning for all Haitian school-aged children, Marsicek (2008) notes that the reality in Haiti is that schools are rundown, teachers are untrained and there has been resistance among Haitians for their children to learn in Haitian Creole. Overall, educational reform has had few successes in Haiti over the past thirty years. Funding for education is low, even when comparing to sub-Saharan countries. In the 2006-2007, Haiti only committed $54 per student. This included all students in primary and secondary education, as well as students in public and private schools (World Bank, 2008). External funding and support has been precarious, as external governments such as the United States has withheld significant amounts due to corruption and election fraud (Farmer, Fawzi, & Nevil, 2003). Though the educational policies have had noble intentions, the materialization of an improved public education system has mostly failed. Private schooling is now the prominent means of education. In 1996, 76% of Haitian students attended private schools (Hadjadj, 2000; Dupoux, Hammond, & Ingalls, 2006; Prue, 2009). In terms of language policy, the unwillingness of Haitian teachers, administrators and the middle class sector to embrace Haitian Creole as an instructional language, has caused detrimental failure in creating an efficacious educational system (Rorro, 1994). Though, Prou (2009) contends that the inclusion of Haitian Creole into the public sphere via public education has propelled the language in positive directions. Specifically, Haitian Creole is now an official language because of the Bernard Reform, and that many of the

negative perspectives associated with Haitian Creole have been overcome. Jacobson

(2003) states that the contemporary perspective of Haitian Creole can be interpreted

through a Gramscian lens:

> Haitian ruling class has historically been able to maintain its position both through
> the coercive power of the state (manifested as systemic political violence), and
> through "consent" manufactured by the organization of civil society. The constant
> privileging of French helps Kreyl-speaking monolinguals internalize a
> subordinate role that they come to think of as "natural," and in this way language
> policies keep the working masses in their place just as effectively as a gun. (p. 14)

Beyond language acceptance, Prou (2009) does cite that educational reforms have had a

positive impact on school attendance, albeit, attendance continues to remain the lowest in

the region. Though, by in large, access to education has become a privilege of the upper-

middle and upper classes of Haiti (Marsicek, 2008). The reality faced by students in both

urban and rural settings is miserable and not conducive to learning. According to

UNICEF (1999) only 25% of students have a desk to sit at in public schools.

The 2010 earthquake has left Haiti with an exponentially compounded problem

for education – fewer economic resources coupled with increased needs. The impact of

the earthquake on children and families has been catastrophic (Balsari, et al., 2010).

UNESCO (2010) estimates that 39,000 students and 1,300 school staff, including

teachers, were killed in the 2010 earthquake. The loss of teachers is particularly

devastating as they are critical elements in "sustainable recovery and growth in post-

conflict and emergency situations" (UNESCO, 2010, p. 1). Furthermore, teachers

provide a level of "continuity and reassurance" that is crucial for a society experiencing

the devastation of a natural disaster (UNESCO, 2010, p. 2). Overall, the 2010 earthquake

has severally impacted an already desperate educational situation.

Parent Involvement / Engagement

   Parent involvement in education has been a topic of research and inquiry that has

received a lot of attention. From a theoretical perspective, the importance of parents in

the academic lives of students begins at an early age (Christenson & Thurlow, 2004;

Rimm-Kaufman & Pianta, 2000). Research suggests that there is a relationship between

parent involvement in the education of students and students' academic achievement

(Arnold, et. al., 2008). Also, research has established that parents that have positive

relationships with teachers create a positive affective experience for their children, which

in turn provides for positive social development leading to positive academic outcomes.

It is commonly held that children's parents should be significant partners in their

academics (Cooper, 2005). Also, it is important that schools create opportunities that

provide students with positive engagements with parents and adults that support their

academics (Coiner & Haynes, 1991). Establishing a positive parent – teacher relationship

early in the students' schooling further assists in creating a foundation of positive

educational outcomes (Clements, Reynolds, & Hickey, 2004; Jimerson et al., 1999). It

has been found that when families are offered targeted programing with the goal of

involving them in the education of their children overall academic achievement is

accomplished in language arts and math (Anderson & Minke, 2007; Epstein et al., 1997;

Jordan, Snow, & Porche, 2000; Starkey & Klein, 2000). Even though the relationship

between parent involvement and student achievement has been established, other, more

specific factors have shown that this relationship is complex. Families with a low

socioeconomic status tend to have more economic stresses that lead to lower levels of

parent involvement (Raffaele & Knoff, 1999). Thusly, a counter balance is required in

strengthening the relationship between parents and teachers. Family obligations and

work constraints play a role in limiting parents' involvement with their children's

education (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1995; Lareau, 1989). New methods must be created

to successfully do this (Adams, Womack, Shatzer & Caldarella, 2010).

Though parent involvement has been defined differently by varying scholars

(Epstein, 1986; Fan & Chen, 2001), Chistenson and Sheridan (2001) posit that parent

involvement should be categorized into home involvement and school involvement.

Green et al. (2007) suggest that the Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1995, 1997, 2005)

model is a solid means of understanding factors that influence parent involvement. The

Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler model for parent involvement proposes that parents'

beliefs and personal perception of effectively being involved impacts the amount and

type of involvement that takes place. Furthermore, this model parallels the assertion of

other researchers' assertion that specific invitations from teachers and schools have a

positive influence on parent involvement. Also, parents' perceptions of how involvement

materializes and the available time to actualize their idea of involvement are determining

factors that are tertiary in the Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler model (Green et al, 2007). It

is important to note that Anfara (2008) states that a barrier to parent involvement occurs

when parents and school officials do not have a coordinated conceptualization of what

parent involvement is. Furthermore, Abrams and Gibbs (2000) assert that parents and

school officials often have conflicting ideas of parent involvement. In order to address

this barrier, DeCastro-Ambrosetti and Cho (2005) state that an effective strategy is to:

> …encourage teachers to get to know their student and parent population better by
> going to community events, interviewing community and family members and
> inviting parents to share their "funds of knowledge." This strategy encourages

teacher as ethnographer and is an excellent approach to encouraging family involvement in the school. (p. 46)

Epstein (2008) suggests that parent involvement is represented as (a) parents' desire to have valid and accurate information concerning their children's education; (b) that students are at an advantage when parents are involved; and, (c) that schools develop programs that reach out to parents. Epstein (1997) promotes six types of parent involvement: parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision making, and, collaborating with the community. Though the Epstein and the Hoover-Demsey and Sandler models provide insight into activities for positive parent involvement, these models do not properly present, with accuracy, the parent involvement activities for all families, nor is there a presentation of the students' lens (Carranza, You, Chhuon & Hudley, 2009).

Though many researchers are proponents of parent involvement, others have asked critical questions pertaining to how educators and parents define it differently. These differences in perspective create scenarios of disconnectedness where the parents are blamed for their child's failure leading to a lack of appreciate for the involvement that was provided (Lawson, 2003). Furthermore, the participation of ethnically diverse parents is often unseen and unacknowledged, as their involvement does not always take place on the school campus. So, for this reason, a definition of parent involvement that is inclusive of on and off school grounds must be understood by school officials (Anderson & Minke, 2007). Also, Anderson and Minke (2007) found that parents increased their participation when they believed that teachers reached out to them. In the same study, Anderson and Minke (2007) found that parents' availability of resources, such as household income, did not influence the involvement. Though, this is not supported in

other studies that found that barriers such as transportation, child care, and time restraints did impact parents' ability to be involved in their children's education (Gettinger & Guetschow, 1998; Lopez, 2001; Ramírez, 2001; Smerka & Cohen-Vogel, 2001). Research has also shown that administrator and teachers who are properly trained in positively involving parents in the education of their children, thus, encouraging parents and demonstrating genuine care for their children, influenced parents into having a positive attitude towards their children's education and increased parent involvement (Ritblatt, Beatty, Cronan & Ochoa, 2002). Though research is clearly showing that school officials must be trained and prepared to support parent involvement, the reality is to the contrary. The implementation of training teachers and administrators is underdeveloped (Auerbach, 2007).

Also placing emphasis on teacher professional development of parent involvement, Hoover-Dempsey, Walker, Jones and Read (2002) suggest that invitations from teachers that specifically invite parents to be involved in school programs will have positive outcomes. Chavkin (2005) concludes that teachers and school officials must be properly prepared to work with ethnically and linguistically diverse families, as it will ultimately have a positive impact on students' academic achievement and socio-emotional development. Teacher initiated invitations has shown to prove to parents that teachers value parent engagement and the academic success of their children (Green et al., 2007; Adams & Christenson, 2000; Kohl, Lengua, & McMahon, 2000; Patrikakou & Weissberg, 2000). Furthermore, Greene, et al. (2007) take the position that successful implementation of school site parent involvement programs will increase parent engagement at school and at home. Though, Anfara (2008) points out that schools that

provide few opportunities for parents to be actively involved in is a barrier within itself.

Though a barrier, DePlanty, Coutler-Kern and Duchane, (2007) present findings from

their research that demonstrates that parents are interested in being involved even when

schools have poor communication and do not encourage parent involvement. Notably,

Lightfoot (1978) states the tensions between parents and schools arise out of competing

agendas and when parents are not empowered.

Immigrant parents face a more complex scenario within the realm of parent

involvement. Obstacles such as language and cultural differences become factors that

decrease their sense of belonging within the school community (Mitchell, 2008). As

outsiders, immigrant parents are not able to participate fully as they are not as aware of

the underlining and unspoken cultural norms that provide access to better incorporation

into the education of their children (Carreon, Drake & Barton, 2005).   Ethnically diverse

parents are often marginalized by the traditional types of parent involvement activities

implemented at schools (Auerbach, 2007; Olivos, 2003). Furthermore, barriers faced by

parents include an unwelcoming school atmosphere and limited ability of school officials

and teachers to communicate with parents in the home language (Anfara, 2008). Plevyak

(2003) cites that parent involvement can be mitigated when cultural differences exist

between the home and the school. School officials must understand and address the

barrier of how non-English speaking parents may see schools as bureaucratic (Cooper &

Christie, 2005). Thus, it is imperative that schools understand that parent involvement is

molded by ethnicity, socio-economic class, language, gender, culture and how school's

respond to ethnically diverse families (Auerbach, 2010). Schools, faced with the

complexities of parent involvement within linguistically and ethnically diverse

communities, need to address the marginalization that takes place when educational policies are implemented that represent dominant culture (Olivos, 2003; Auerbach, 2010). Gordon and Nocon (2008) found that low socio-economic status (SES) Latino parents were equally active as White, middle class parents in leading reform in schools, though the educational outcomes between the two groups were different. This study also found that upper income families were the beneficiaries of parents advocating for programs such as bilingual education and gifted and talented education. Additionally, school officials and teachers must address the common occurrence of holding ethnically diverse parents with a perspective that is negative or deficit oriented (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). Epstein (2002) contends that school administration must be proactive in providing an atmosphere of belonging for parents, as the principal has the power to establish a positive home-school relationship.

Access to Education

At the individual level, education is considered both a need and right. It is a determining factor of the life one will lead and the capacity to provide for oneself. It is a central component in creating happiness, financial stability and socio-economic status (Carnoy, 2005; Thomas, Wan, & Fan, 2001). Historically, providing access to education has been an issue societies have dealt with, but has led to the inclusion of some and the exclusion of others (Bhola, et al., 2006). Access to education provides for economic, social and political engagement and advancement (Wiley, 2002). At the macro, state level, education is a significant element in perceiving the contemporary and historical issues a society is faced with (Carnoy, 2005). Given the importance that education is to a nation and to an individual, equal access to schooling is considered a fundamental human

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right that no one should be excluded from (Tomul, 2007). Furthermore, education is the

leverage for creating equality and achieving social justice (Ram, 1990; Park, 1996; Lee,

1998). Education empowers individuals with higher levels of self-determination, as they

will have a better understanding of the society because they gain a broader domain of

cultural capital that leads to a stronger ability to navigate socio-political norms (Westling

Allodi, 2007). Thus, education moves society forward as it aims to advance socially,

politically and economically (Tomul, 2007). When a society has equal access to

educational opportunities, there is a socio-economic distribution among societal

members, leading to more equal levels of prosperity (Mingat & Tan, 1996). In order for a

country to face its societal issues with effectiveness, it is necessary that access to basic

education be provided (Lee, 1998). Individuals are further empowered to address basic

needs, including health needs, and development of one's full personhood (Pimentel,

2006).

Though equality within the realm of educational access is idyllic, there are

multiple factors that surface that lead to lack of access to educational opportunities.

Carnoy (2005) states that indicators such as dropout rates and grade repetition are good

identifiers of educational quality. Furthermore, his research shows that access to

educational resources and modes of better communication, as apparent in urban settings

as opposed to rural settings, has a positive effect on students' academic outcomes. Rural

areas provide significant dilemmas in accessing education. Students have the

compounded issue of few academic resources and difficult school transportation

(Geissinger, 1997). In developing countries, the quality of education is especially

significant. Poor quality of education leads to tremendous obstacles to qualifiable

education. Such obstacles include teacher shortages, large class size, student

transportation, and limited supplies of books, desks and other basic educational supplies

(Pimentel, 2006). The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF, 2005) cites multiple

impediments that stunt educational access. Included in these are poverty, child labor,

poor infrastructure, illiterate mothers, natural disasters and violence. The United Nations

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Education Report

2000 states that there are 870 million illiterate adults in the world. Of this total, two-

thirds of them are women. Also, the report cites that there are 120 million children who

are not enrolled in school, and that 67% of this total is represented by girls (Colclough,

2003). Unfortunately, both women and girls are the ones most impacted by inequalities

in educational access (Branyon, 2005).

International legal efforts have been at work for over fifty years in seeking

educational access for all children in the world. In 1948, the United Nations' Universal

Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) stated "education is a human right that must be

provided for every human being; education must be free and even compulsory till

secondary education level and higher education should be accessible for everybody"

(UNESCO, 2004; Tomul, 2007; Ojogwu, 2009). Pimentel (2006) explains that Article 26

of the UDHR demonstrates that education is key in the development of the human

personality; that, education, as a human right, provides individuals the opportunity to

being both self-aware and genuinely connected to others. Of interest, Pimentel (2006)

states that in 1936 Stalin's Soviet Constitution incorporated education as a human right

that the state was obliged to address. In 1966 the United Nations adopted the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In doing so, free and compulsory primary

education became the responsibility of nations (Tomul, 2007; Ojogwu, 2009). The 1979

Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and the

Convention on the Rights of the Child was forthright in addressing educational

opportunities based on gender discrimination but also placed emphasis on defining

education as a human right (UNESCO, 2004; Ekbar, 2007). The 1990 Justine Conference

produced Education for All, defining educational access as the goal of providing primary

school completion for all children in every country worldwide (Carnoy, 2005). Education

for All attempts to directly address inequalities in educational access for women and girls

(Branyon, 2005). The Hamburg Declaration went on to define Education for All as a

"means to give people, independent of age, the opportunity to develop their potential,

collectively or individually. It is not only a right, but also a duty and a responsibility to

others and to society as a whole" (Hamburg Declaration, 1997, para. 9).

Haddad (2006) contends that Latin America suffers from serious societal

inequality. This is evident through an analysis of the illiteracy rates. Latin America's

behavior towards education, as opposed to its legal framework of education,

demonstrates the incongruent reality that is commonly found when investigating

educational policy implementation. Along these lines the 1995 Copenhagen Declaration

and Program of Action was an attempt at pushing nations to support social development

apart from economic growth. That is, sustainable growth for developing nations was an

incorporation of universal and equitable access to education, and a strong commitment to

eliminating illiteracy (Bhola, 2002).

In approaching education as a right and not a privilege, Pimentel (2006) states that everyone is entitled to educational opportunities, and that no one should be exempt. Specifically, education should be inclusive, as there should be no external factor such as gender, age, ability, residency status, or health status that leads to exclusion. Haddad (2006) states that the "denial of the right to education is the denial of the very meaning of humanising human beings, it is to de-characterise humans as persons, it is to un-naturalise them" (p. 132). Freire (1986) contends,

> "mankind knows it is incomplete. It is conscious of its incompleteness. It is really here where we find the roots of education as an exclusively human manifestation. That is, in the incompleteness of humanity and in the awareness of this. For this reason, education is a permanent endeavor. Permanent because of the incompleteness of mankind and of the vicissitudes of reality." (p.75)

The United Nations established the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in 2000 to provide specific objectives to be reached world-wide in developing poor nations by the year 2015. MDG is a United Nations initiative that is supported by its members in achieving access to education for both males and females, the elimination of adult illiteracy and increasing the quality of education in underdeveloped countries (Ojogwu, 2009). Specific issues addressed in the MDG include illiteracy, poor health and quality of life.

For language minority students, Wiley (2002) contends that they have an equal right to education through their home language as well as a right to an education that allows for social, economic and political involvement and advancement. Lee (1998) states that linguistically diverse students are faced with the situation that the everyday language of the student is not the language of the school, and that, ultimately, this can be problematic for the academic success of the student. Meeuwis (2011) describes such

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situations as resulting from language policies that are based on a "presupposition of cultural supremacy" (p. 1285) Pluddemann (1999) states that colonial languages, specifically English in South Africa, were promoted to an elevated social status at the demotion of local languages. This linguistic inequality led to significant social inequality that was [is] reflected in economic class status and racial equality (Language Planning Task Group, 1996). And overcoming this means that society must take a sincere approach to linguistic equality that is not superficial, thus, with a goal of multilingualism (Pluddemann, 1999). Unfortunately in the United States, the English Only movement, though opposed by scholars, academics and researchers, has been considered a remedy to a non-existent problem (Phillipson, 1999). Macedo, Dendrinos and Gounari (2003) notes that educational access is closely linked with language policy in schools, that is, that language is fundamental resource "through which learners gain access to knowledge; fashion experience, values and attitudes; organize and build their world; develop an understanding of social reality; and come to regard some things as valuable and others as worthless" (p. 53).

Access to Curriculum and Instruction

Academic achievement is tied directly to students' access to qualified teachers and high quality instruction. Students with a low socio-economic status and who are ethnically diverse are the most probable recipients of having poorly qualified teachers and the lowest levels of educational funding (Darling-Hammond, 1995). Furthermore, these same students are disproportionally put in are poorly equipped special education classes (Kozol, 1991). And as classrooms become increasingly more ethnically diverse, teachers must be skilled in effective instructional practices that respond to students'

background (King, Williams, & Warren, 2011). Banks and Banks (2004) contends that students will not have high academic achievement when quality instruction, solid curriculum and sufficient resources are not made available. Olneck (1995) presents ethnographic research that characterizes schools as denying access to high quality curriculum and instruction for immigrant students by needlessly keeping them in marginalized and isolated programs that were designed to assist them. In lieu of this, Gibson (1991) states that immigrants tend to view schools as a means of upward mobility. Unfortunately, immigrant students face yet another layer of marginalization from the negative judgments of teachers. With a deficit orientation, teachers are committing immigrant students to a sub-standard perspective of their abilities, thus, dissuading immigrant students from academic progress (Trueba, Jacobs, & Kirton, 1990). Though this reality is faced by immigrant students, it is important not to give the impression that immigrant parents are passive and unaware. Olmedo (2003, p. 391) demonstrates in her research that Latina mothers are knowledgeable of school dynamics and utilize their "funds of knowledge" to confront issues that did not align with their values and beliefs. Valdés (1996) provides ethnographic findings that demonstrate that school expectations are often misaligned with family expectations. In turn, the reinforcement of a deficit model is perpetuated by poor teacher training and professional development. Valenzuela (1999), referencing Putnam (1993) (1995), provides insight stating,

> "a key consequence of these subtractive elements of schooling is the erosion of students' social capital evident in the presence and absence of academically oriented networks among immigrant and U.S.-born youth, respectively. In other

words, within the span of two generations, the "social de-capitalization" of

Mexican youth becomes apparent" (p. 20)

Both teacher shortage and preparation lead to low instructional quality for

students (Darling-Hammond, 1995; Oakes, Ormseth, Bell, & Camp, 1990). Darling-

Hammond (1995) states that in times of teacher shortages school districts are forced to

hire the most minimally trained teachers, increase class size or offer fewer courses.

Strickland (1995) concurs stating that schools with high populations of ethnically diverse

students offer fewer advanced courses in math and science, leaving the schools to offer

disproportionate numbers of vocational courses that lead to shorter educational tracks.

This, in turn, results in these students having fewer technology resources and less access

to educational resources that lead to white collar professions (Strickland, 1995; Oakes, et

al., 1990). Furthermore, students with less access to advanced courses do not have access

to training in high level critical thinking, thus are not scientifically literate with the skill

set to become a part of the workforce within the technology sector (Oakes, et al., 1990).

Nonetheless, the low level of instructional quality and limited course offerings is leaving

the most disadvantaged students with the least amount of access to a quality and pertinent

education. This is not only true at the secondary level, but at the primary level too.

Strickland (1995) concludes that at the primary level curriculum is often similar among

schools, though, the quality of instruction is significantly different. Whereas, schools

where White middle-class students attend provide access to challenging curricula with a

significantly higher level of quality as compared to schools with large populations of

ethnically diverse or low socio-economic status (SES) students. This is purported as

being directly connected to teacher preparation. Meaning, teachers of low SES and

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ethnically diverse students are not prepared in current trends in teaching methodology, nor do these teachers have adequate training in cognitive and social development (Darling-Hammond, 1988). High levels of instructional quality in respect to literacy development and language development requires that teachers have a full understanding of learning styles, multiple teaching techniques and cognitive development (Strickland, 1995). Bartolomé and Trueba (2000) state:

> [T]he need for clarity of political beliefs, practices, and commitments is as important as the actual pedagogical strategies used in instruction. Hegemonic structures in classroom instruction work effectively in penalizing linguistically and culturally different students, especially students of color. (p. 278)

Curriculum development should keep in mind the access students will have to the curriculum, how students will be involved in instructional activities, and how student evaluations will be designed (King, Williams & Warren, 2011). Teachers without proper training have the lowest abilities for planning and modifying instruction to meet the specific needs of the student. Furthermore, poorly trained teachers have the fewest skills in anticipating students' learning hurdles, thus, being the most likely to blame students for not achieving (Darling-Hammond, 1995; Kohli, 2009). Also surfacing as an ill effect to the lack of training for teachers, Strickland (1995) cites the dumbing down of instruction and curriculum as a result of teachers' lack of ability to employ proper classroom management techniques.

   Though subject matter training is argued, Houser (2008) contends that teachers must have professional development that critically examines their personal views towards ethnically diverse students. And, that all students deserve an education that affirms their

cultural identity (Kohli, 2009). So it is easily argued that to develop one's own humanity it is necessary to development of one's critical consciousness (Freire, 1986). A good start in doing so is a critical analysis of history curriculum that affirms White culture and implicitly demonstrates that non-White cultures are irrelevant (Kohli, 2009). Eriks-Brohphy and Crago (2003) contend that an understanding of how culture influences instruction and student-teacher relationships is important if educators are going to be supportive of ethnic diversity. Nieto (2004) moves the discourse further stating that teachers must be committed to becoming a more multicultural individual in order to be an effective teacher of ethnically diverse students. Taking these issues into account Romero, Arce and Cammarota (2009) state, "our pedagogy is grounded in the understanding that race and racism are dominant variables within the tri-dimensionalized reality of our students, their parents, our communities, and within us as emancipatory educators" (p. 227). And as society becomes more international and diverse, teacher preparation programs should be training future teachers with an understanding of diverse cultural norms, who can in turn teach multicultural awareness to students (King, Williams, & Warren, 2011). Teachers of color should be valued as a resource to assist current and future teachers in understanding institutional racism and educational inequity that ethnically diverse students face. Furthermore, teacher preparation programs must not only be a place where pre-service teachers develop multicultural awareness, but gain the skill set to address social justice and equity issues in schools (Kohli, 2009; Monz & Rueda, 2003). An avenue for teacher preparation programs to address issues of multiculturalism is to employ the Banks and Banks (2004) model that include five dimensions of multicultural education: 1) curriculum integration; 2) the knowledge

construction process; 3) prejudice reduction; 4) an equity pedagogy; and, 5) an empowering school culture and social structure. Finally, Freire (1986) reminds us that if the status quo in education is to be challenged, then it is imperative that teachers find alternative ways for students to understand their textbooks and curriculum. Meaning, teachers are responsible for developing critical consciousness in students. To do so, teachers must have the training and skills to do so themselves. Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992) contend that teachers trained in ethnographic methods should visit their students' homes to learn the "funds of knowledge" in order to better equipped in providing instruction that affirms their students' culture and identity. Abrego, Rubin and Sutterby (2006) demonstrate in their research that pre-service teachers must be trained in developing their understanding of the cultural capital of their students so that these 'funds of knowledge' are seen as strengths. And along these lines, intercultural communication competency (ICC) for primary and secondary teachers instructing ethnically diverse student populations is an important skill to be developed. (DeJaeghere & Cao, 2009).

Funds of Knowledge

The "funds of knowledge" construct was initially developed and introduced by Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992). Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992) revealed in their research that Mexican American parents had created processes, within the scope of their culture, to impart knowledge to their children. And that these measures of knowledge gained by children had a positive effect on their self-esteem. Unfortunately their research indicated that the children's school environment held deficit views of these cultural norms, or, their schools did not acknowledge or have a willingness to learn these cultural norms.

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Moll et al. (1992) further developed this construct. The term is defined by Moll et al (1992) denotes "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (p. 134). "Funds of knowledge" provides a means of demonstrating that students and parents bring valuable understanding and resources to the school community (Oughton, 2010). 'Funds of knowledge' relates specifically to knowledge acquired through social networks that, in turn, offers students learning opportunities within a trusting context (Monz & Rueda (2003). It is a theoretical model that is useful in addressing deficit models directed at ethnically and linguistically diverse populations (Moll, et al., 1992). Oughton (2010) states that, "funds of knowledge has proved a powerful model for disrupting discourses of deficit and reconstructing teachers' attitudes to communities other than their own" (p.75). The construct 'funds of knowledge' has been evolved by researchers as they utilize it to address deficit models within school communities (Oughton, 2010).

School officials in positions of power have been found to be unaware or hat they devalue the skills and knowledge that families from ethnically diverse families bring (Olmedo, 2003; Gonzalez et al., 1995). Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992) found in their research that Mexican American families' skills and abilities were not recognized or found relevant to the school community by school officials. Therefore, the "funds of knowledge" construct developed in order to challenge this deficit perception of communities, and to assert that the cultural capital of families is a resource that should be utilized by schools. Teachers utilizing students' 'funds of knowledge', for example, primary language or skills learned within the students' community and home, create ways

of connecting school learning activities with the experiences from students' community and home (Sugarman, 2010; Riojas-Cortez, 2001). This has been found to have positive results in language and literacy development (Monzó & Rueda, 2003; Street, 2005). Xu (2003) points out that for teachers to integrate the 'funds of knowledge' construct into the classroom, "the teacher must be willing to become a student of his or her students" (p. 14). Street (2005) found that teachers who are willing to empower their students to teach the teacher had students who were more engaged in the classroom learning process. Risko and Walker-Dalhouse (2007) contend that the experiences and knowledge of students, when integrated into learning strategies, can be effective and rewarding in reaching literacy goals. Dworin (2006) suggests using the bi-literacy of students in literacy development activities provides additional resources that affirm the students' cultural identity. And in the area of multicultural education, Omeda (1997) states that curriculum should include the oral history of communities in order to change deficit perspectives within the school community.

Intercultural Communications

Intercultural communications (ICC) is considered by many specializing in the field as having its origin in Hall's (1959) work over fifty years ago (Arasarathnam & Doerfel, 2005). Gudykunst and Mody (2002) define intercultural communication within the context of people from differing cultural backgrounds communicating directly to each other. Though this definition appears to work, it is important to note that intercultural communications has been defined by many scholars in many other ways (DeJaeghere & Cao, 2009). Utilizing Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman's (2003), Dejaeghere and Cao (2009) define intercultural communications competency "as an individual's worldview,

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and in turn, his or her perceptions and responses to cultural difference" (p. 438).

Wiseman, Hammer and Nishida (1989) state that ICC is a construct that includes the

following dimensions: culture-specific knowledge or understanding, culture –general

knowledge and understanding, and finally, having a positive perception of another

culture.

Arasarathnam and Doerfel (2005) state that communicative compentcy is often

qualified by the researcher when studying ICC. Collier (1989) notes three important

aspects of studying ICC: attention to the definitions of ICC and culture, clearly stated

research objectives and theoretical framework, and a solid reflection on the assumptions

of the researcher so that errors of logic are minimized. Seven components to ICC have

been presented by Ruben (1976): flexibility, ability to be non-judgmental, ability to deal

with ambiguity, skill in communicating respect, ability to personalize one's knowledge

and perceptions, ability to demonstrate empathy, and, ability for turn taking.

Arasarathnam and Doerfel (2005) present four distinct means of studying ICC:

ethnography of speech Geertz (1973) and Katriel and Philipsen (1981), attitudes towards

cross-cultural interaction Wiseman, Hammer and Nishida (1989), behavioral abilities

(Ruben, 1976), and individual cultural identity (Casmir, 1999; Ting-Toomey, 1993).

Bennett's (1986) work surfaced with six stages of intercultural development within two

domains. The first domain is 'ethnocentric'. Within this domain are denial, defense and

minimization. The second domain, 'ethnorelativ' includes acceptance, adaptation and

integration. Arasarathnam's (2006) research has furthered the development of ICC. The

Arasarathnam model cites several components that contribute to developing ICC:

"experience, listening skills, positive attitudes toward people from other cultures,

motivation to interact with people from other cultures, and ability to empathize"

(Arasarathnam, 2011, p. 227).

Olebe and Koester (1989) state that research on ICC assumes that culturally

different individuals have an interactive relationship. Thus, it should be understood that

participants in ICC research perceive themselves as culturally dissimilar. Behrnd and

Porzelt (2011) point out that ICC is not simply improved by an individual being in a

different culture, and that there are other factors that play a decisive role.

Measuring ICC has presented multiple challenges. There are multiple definitions

used by various researchers that are exploring psychological attributes such as attitudes,

and acquired knowledge and learned skills (Behrnd & Porzelt, 2011). It is important that

concepts and constructs of culture, when studied, are sufficiently clarified (Collier, 1989).

Ruben (1989) cites the difficulty inherent in measuring cross-cultural competence. Thus,

Ruben encourages a need for a comprehensive understanding of cross-cultural

competence. Beyond this, ICC poses the issue of being a measurement that can change

and evolve over time (Fantini, 2009). Early on in the development of ICC Dinges and

Lieberman (1989) stated that the traditional ICC criteria being employed may be

appropriate in assessing macro components of ICC, but limited in the micro. Multiple

researchers have developed various tests to measure ICC (Berhrnd & Porzelt, 2011).

Two ICC tests have surfaced to popularity: the Developmental Model of Intercultural

Sensitivity (DMIS) (Bennett, 1986) and Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI)

(Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova and DeJaeghere

(2003) note that the IDI was developed from the DMIS constructs. Table 4 provides a list

of tests that have surfaced to measure ICC:

Table 4

Intercultural Communications Tests

Date	Test Name	Authors
1975	Test of Intercultural Sensitivity	Weldon, Carston, Rissman, Slobodin, and Triandis
1985	Behavioral Assessment Scale for Intercultural Communication (BASIC)	Hui and Triandis
1986	Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)	Bennet
2001	Multicultural Personality Questionnaire	Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven
2001	Intercultural Adjustment Potential Scale	Matsumoto, LeRoux, Ratzlaff, Tatani, Uchida, Kim, and Araki
2003	Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI)	Hammer, Bennett, and Wiseman
2009	Intercultural Communication Motivation Scale (ICMS)	Kupta, Everett, Atkins, Mertesacker, Walters, Walters, Graf, Brooks, Dodd, and Bolton

Deardorff (2006) states that researchers studying ICC are more apt to utilize interviews and a case study approach; concluding that ICC is a construct that should be measured by mixed-methods. Yashima (2010) found that by using a mixed-methods

approach to studying ICC, data from participants was richer and that better understanding of increased ICC was acquired.

Berhrnd and Porzelt's (2011) research demonstrated that ICC can be effectively developed through workshops or trainings that take place after students have had their study abroad experience. Though, it should be noted that Hammer, Gudykunst and Wiseman (1978) present evidence that language acquisition of a different culture is not a predictor of high level of ICC. Though, Yashima (2010) found that ICC competence was positively affected by short-term study abroad. Given these findings, Lough (2011) gives greater specificity stating that ICC competency increased when the intercultural experience lasted for longer periods. Noted here, was that ICC competency may be a continuous process, and that shorter experiences with intercultural contact may be less effective than a longer, more sustained experience. Participants in study abroad that include service with reciprocity were found to have a positive effect on ICC (Lough, 2011). It is important to keep in mind Martin and Hammer (1989) finding that individuals with low levels of ICC competency tend to make limited distinctions between skills needed in general, intercultural contexts, as opposed to the skills needed for an intercultural specific context.

Pederson (2010) states that university officials should work with students in developing ICC as part of the study abroad experience. Pederson suggests that guided reflection and an intercultural curriculum be used in developing global citizenship. Lough's (2011) research concluded "that service duration, immersion, guided reflection, and contact reciprocity are worth careful consideration when planning an international service experience to increase volunteers' intercultural competence" (p. 461). Most

notable from Pederson's study is that ICC should be an explicit and target goal of the study abroad experience. The practice of group reflection and dialogue facilitated by individuals with little or no cultural competency may have a negative effect on ICC competency (Lough, 2011).

Social Capital and Community Networks

Bourdieu (1985) was the scholar who initially defined social capital (Portes, 1998). Since then, several definitions of social capital have surfaced, and because of this, several researchers have been critical of the construct (Onyx, Osborn, & Bullen, 2004). Bourdieu (1985) defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more of less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (p. 248). Later, Coleman (1988) stated that social capital has two essential components. First, social capital has aspects of social structures. Second, these social structures are facilitated by individuals within the social structures. Furthermore, Coleman goes on to add that social capital is active in individuals reaching goals. It is not a passive construct. It is understood that social capital provides for the creation of diverse connections among individuals and institutions (OECD, 2001). Thus, it is important to keep in mind that social capital has the means of positively or negatively impacting individuals and groups. Portes (1998) asserts that social capital represents an individual's ability to acquire privilege or benefits given the individual's association with social networks. And ultimately, the members of the social network are the advantage of the individual's advantage. Developing social capital within a social network requires that an individual be loyal, make contributions, adopt or hold common values, and integrate into the

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acceptance and enforcement of trust (Portes, 1998). Social capital has also been

understood as the degree of civic involvement and an individual's level of trust in public

institutions (Putnam, 1993). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) contend that social capital

can be used to promote the public good or undermine it. When a community is not open

to diversity, and the social capital is guarded and restricted to outsiders, there is the

negative effect of the community becoming isolated and unable to adapt or provide

innovation in addressing contemporary issues (Newman & Dale, 2007). Mason and

Beard (2008) state that analysis of social capital should be open to the possibility that it

very well might be cementing inequalities within social hierarchies, as well as

contributing to poverty reduction.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) state that social capital is a reference to the norms

and networks that allow individuals to act cooperatively. For example, a family's social

capital is the relationship between parents and children. This social capital gives children

access to human capital (Coleman, 1988). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) contend that

social capital is apparent in both vertical and horizontal relationships. Furthermore, it is

noted that social capital does not exist in a political vacuum. Realo, Allik and Greenfield

(2008) affirm that social capital is understood as a form of trust and civic engagement.

Bourdieu (1985) views social capital as a means for individuals to create trusting

relationships within networks, thus, leading to the benefits of being a genuine member of

the network. Portes (1998) cites that the purpose of social capital serves three roles: 1) a

means of social control; 2) a means to benefits outside an individual's family network;

and, 3) a means of acquiring family support. Mason and Beard (2008) assert that social

capital is understood in two ways. First, that social capital is a benefit that individuals get

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with membership to a social network. And second, social capital represents societal trust and reciprocal exchange.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) present social capital as "the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (p. 119). Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) assert that individual achievement is often a reflection of the individual having access to institutional networks and resources that provide support in reaching goals, as opposed to the false idea that an individual had passive forms of support that did not provide direct resources assisting in reaching a goal or achievement. Social capital has a function within the family network, and is easily seen there. However, it is most commonly utilized outside the immediate family network as a tool for achievement (Portes, 1998). This leads to the understanding that an individual's network of friends, family and professional peers are essential when there is a need for support in addressing an emergency, crisis or in need of advancing towards an objective (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Thusly, a community that has a well-developed and considerable amount of social capital is more apt to find collaborative partnership more fluid (Putnam, 1993). Tangibly, social capital can be seen outside the family network when it is used in creating strong community networks as a means for parents, teachers and other community stakeholders to create stability and compliance within the community (Portes, 1998). Bowles and Gintis (2002) reinforce this stating that "social capital generally refers to trust, concern for one's associates, a willingness to live by the norms of one's community and to punish those who do not" (p. 419).

There has been increased interest in understanding how the social networks and relationships of trust can be utilized in community development (Mason & Beard, 2008). Within this scope, Putnam (1993) states the "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action" (p. 167). And though poor communities rely on strong networks to provide safety and security, wealthy class networks are understood to have more extensive networks that provide leverage and privilege (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). So, it is important to note that marginalized communities will not have equal access to social, ecological and economic resources as communities that are of greater wealth (Dale & Newman, 2010). Bourdieu, Passeron and Passeron's (1977) work presented the social phenomena of upper class families passing status on to future generations as a form of social reproduction. Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) built upon this conceptualization asserting that cultural and linguistic capital must be understood as important, valued components by agents of the institution. This, in turn, leads to access to unique privileges, resources, and the assurance of continued membership in the institutional network. Ultimately, Stanton-Salazar and Dornbush's research concluded that bilingualism is a strong form of cultural capital in social networks. Outside of the cultural capital arena, Onyx, Osburn, and Bullen (2004) found in their research that participants with high levels of social capital were the most likely to show environmental concern.

Social capital research has included immigrant and migrant communities. Winters, Janvry, and Sadoulet (2001) revealed that social capital in migrant networks was a strong factor in the decision to move, as well as in the number of family members who would migrate. The immigrants' need to understand the societal norms and functions of

operation, e.g. traveling regulations, points of transfer, cost, supply destinations, and the need to have social skills and personal networks that are required for survival (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). A migrant family's ability to have strong community networks is fundamental to its ability to migrate successfully. And with established community networks, the migrant family is establishing destination points that are within its network (Winters, Janvry, & Sadoulet, 2001). Portes (1998) clarifies a needed distinction between immigrants and migrants. Immigrants rely more heavily on social capital of family networks, whereas migrants tend to find outside familiar networks more useful. Whereas migrants use community networks for destination and work opportunity decision making, immigrants will use familiar networks in the preservation of home culture and personal support. Though, Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) point out that immigrants that acquire bilingualism, often this is first generation children, the social capital of language becomes an asset in accessing institutional opportunities. With a capacity to function at a native language level in two or more languages, additional social and institutional networks become available.

Critical Ethnography

Trueba and McLaren (2000) argue that critical ethnography can be traced back to 1542. This claim cites Francisco Tenamaztle leading a revolt in opposition to Spanish colonizers. Tenamaztle's defense of the human rights, assisted by Friar Cristóbal de las Casas, was based on his observations of Native Americans being oppressed by a more powerful force from Europe. Critical ethnography, from a stricter, more research perspective, has beginnings in psychological anthropology. It was later advanced in the fields of philosophy and sociology by Paulo Friere. Freire's collaboration with activist

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priests working within the framework of liberation theology is presented by Lincoln and

Denzin (2004). Brazilian priests sought to bring the church into an alignment with

egalitarian principals in seeking social justice and equity for the oppressed and

disenfranchised.   Freire's work in seeking social justice and liberation is termed *praxis,*

and is the ultimate objective of critical ethnography (Thomas, 1993). And in seeking

social justice and liberation, Freire (1986) requires that the critical researcher aim for

"*conscientização"* (conscientization), which is to "understand, analyze, pose questions,

and affect and effect the sociopolitical and economic realities that shape our lives"

(Leistyna, Woodrum, & Sherblom, 1996, p.334). Thus, it is the critical ethnographer who

unveils hidden agendas through description and analysis. And fundamentally, it is the

critical ethnographer that questions "commonsense assumptions" (Thomas, 1993, p. 3).

Noblit, Flores and Murillo (2004) claim that critical ethnography surfaced from a crisis in

social science during a time when emancipatory movements were taking place in the

1960's and 1970's. Since its inception, critical ethnography has been defined by

researchers in many different ways (Carspecken, 1996).

In making a distinction between conventional ethnographers and critical

ethnographers, Thomas (1993) states that the former aims to address the audience or

readership directly and describe cultural norms. Critical ethnographers have the

additional objective of speaking on behalf of the study's participants as they present

knowledge that should be used for seeking social justice and equity. Furthermore, critical

ethnography is a vehicle for exploring emancipatory knowledge that leads to

disenfranchised groups "resistance to the dominant culture" (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p.

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Kincheloe and McLaren (1994) define a critical researcher with depth. Parsing

through their definition of a 'criticalist', adapted here in turns of a critical ethnographer,

they state that to make a social critique is to accept "that facts can never be isolate from

the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription…that certain

groups in any society are privileged over others" (p. 139). Thomas (1993) defined

critical ethnography as a style of analysis and dialogue is incorporated into "conventional

ethnography" (p. 3). It is important to note that though there are distinctions between

conventional and critical ethnography, it should be understood that there are fundamental

similarities, too. First, both rely on qualitative data to support analysis. Second, each

follows the fundamental framework or rules of ethnographic methodology and the

analysis of data. Third, there is an "adherence to a symbolic interactionist paradigm" that

is kept (Thomas, 1993 p. 3). And finally, both are drawn to developing "grounded

theory" (Thomas, 1993 p. 3; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Trueba and McLaren (2000)

qualify critical ethnography with the following:

> a modern concept of critical ethnography as a research methodology stresses the
> notion that all education is intrinsically political, and consequently critical
> ethnography must advocate for the oppressed by (1) documenting the nature of
> oppression; (2) documenting the process of empowerment – a journey away from
> oppression; (3) accelerating the conscientization of the oppressed and the
> oppressors – without this reflective awareness of the rights and obligations of
> humans there is no way to conceptualize empowerment, equity, and a struggle of
> liberation; (4) sensitizing the research community to the implications of research
> for the quality of life – clearly linking intellectual work to real life conditions; and
> (5) reaching a higher level of understanding of the historical, political,
> sociological, and economic factors supporting the abuse of power and oppression,
> of neglect and/or disregard for human rights, and of the mechanisms to learn and
> internalize rights and obligations. (p. 37-38)

Thomas (1993) explains that critical ethnography holds a purpose of answering

the question "so what"? And within the information of the answer is an ingredient to

social change, or a critical question that reviews the possibilities of equity and social

justice. Critical ethnography is a method that requires reflection and analysis of culture,

knowledge, and action. Furthermore, critical ethnographers are to "describe, analyze, and

open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agendas of power" (Thomas, 1993, p. 2). Naiboo

(2008) asserts that critical ethnography performs as a means of erasing injustice and

inequality; that, in following a fundamental of critical theory, it forces an analysis into the

potential, or, into a framework of what is idealistically possible. And from there, critical

ethnography moves forward in becoming the action that seeks social justice. It is the

tangible that materializes from the philosophical framework of critical theory. And

through theory, whether critical race theory, phenomenology or Marxist theory, the

critical ethnographer interprets and analyzes society (Madison, 2005). Thomas (1993)

writes that "critical ethnography takes seemingly mundane events, even repulsive ones,

and reproduces them in a way that exposes broader social processes of control, taming,

power imbalance, and the symbolic mechanisms that impose one set of preferred

meanings or behaviors over others" (p. 9). Characteristics of critical ethnographers

include having both a critical epistemology and a value schema (Carspecken, 1996). And

within critical epistemology, it is understood that the critical ethnographer does not

always find the 'facts' one is looking for (Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004). Quantz

(1992) states that critical ethnography is one form of an empirical project associated with

critical discourse, a form in which a researcher utilizing field methods that place the

researcher on-site attempts to re-present the "culture," the "consciousness," or the "lived

experiences" of people living in asymmetrical power relations" (p. 448). Madison (2005)

states that it is the critical ethnographer that takes the reader below the surface of society.

That the critical ethnographer "disrupt the *status quo*, and unsettles both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by" illuminating the actions of the hegemony (p. 5). Thomas (1993) writes that "critical ethnographers resist symbolic power by displaying how it restricts alternative meanings that conceal the deeper levels of social life, create misunderstanding, and thwart action" (p. 7). In reflecting on Bourdieu and Thompson (1991), it is understood that institutions of power are hidden behind actions that push and pull individuals in their daily routine and limit choices in order to create societal directionality. This power is symbolic because it requires or needs society to share a belief in it. And critical ethnography is guided by the idea that social life rises out of the constructs of power (Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004). The constructs or structures within society that are critiqued by critical ethnographers are identified as "class, patriarchy, and racism" (Anderson, 1989, p. 249). And by using a critical epistemology that was birthed by hermeneutical philosophical traditions, critical ethnographers aim to reveal the nature of hegemony (Trueba & McLaren, 2000). Thomas (1993) states that critical ethnographers purpose their research to reach emancipatory goals and to nullify oppression. And that critical ethnography is both hermeneutic and emancipatory. To conclude, Lee (1998) provides the following reflection that reveals the purpose and goal of critical ethnography within the field of educational research:

> Through its impact on employment opportunities and earning potential, education alters the value placed on children and the willingness of parents to invest more in each child's development. Finally, education contributes directly and indirectly to a higher level of socio-cultural and economic development that provides sufficient resources to address effectively environmental issues. (p. 668)

Chapter Three: METHODS

Introduction

The research presented is an examination of Haitian access to education in the

Elías Piña province of the Dominican Republic. Educational policy and its

implementation provide a focal point for the study so that a methodological framework

can be employed that addresses 1) systemic and / or institutional mechanisms of

oppression or liberation, and, 2) points of practice that hinder or contribute to educational

opportunities for Haitian students. With an established *a priori* understanding that

Haitian school-aged children live in Elías Piña, the study is established with a central

research question (RQ): "In the post 2010 earthquake, what are the conditions faced by

Haitian immigrants in accessing primary public education in the Dominican Republic"?

Out of this central RQ, six sub-RQs are established in response to the conceptual

framework (see Figure 1 in chapter 1). Newman and Benz (1998) state that there are

three fundamental steps in beginning a research study. First, the research question needs

to be established. Second, an evaluation of the accessibility of the data must be made.

And finally, a clear understanding of the analysis to be used with data is necessary for

respectable results to emerge. In terms of qualitative research, Denzin and Lincoln

(1994) provide a well-respected explanation.

> Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive,
> naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers
> study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret,
> phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research
> involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case
> study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational,
> historical, interactions, and visual texts—the described routine and problematic
> moments and meanings in individuals' lives. (p. 2)

In order to address the central RQ of the study with depth and precision the study employed ethnographic methods as a primary means of data collection. Ethnographic methods provided in depth tools that assisted in understanding the implicit and explicit actions within the Dominican school-community that addressed the RQs. The use of empirical data is derived from ethnographic methods that reveal the voice, climate, emotion and tension in the social context of Elías Piña which are documented during the 2010 – 2011 period of the study. Specifically, critical ethnography provided the theoretical position, as stated by Brooke and Hogg (2004), "to use a dialogue about a cultural context to develop critical action while remaining highly attuned to the ethics and politics of representation in the practice and reporting of that dialogue and resulting action" (p. 117). In the selection of the ethnographic approach chosen, Spradley (1979) presents a valuable description of ethnography that aligns with the methodological processes undertaken:

> Ethnography is an exciting enterprise, the one systematic approach in the social sciences that leads us into those separate realities that others have learned and use to make sense out of their worlds. In our complex society the need for understanding how other people see their experience has never been greater. Ethnography is a tool with great promise. (p. iv)

Researcher's Reflection

As the researcher, it was necessary for me to be fully aware and reflective of my identity in the context of collecting data on the Haitian Dominican border. Being a United States citizen and White male, whose Spanish is a second language, I faced the methodological dilemma of collecting information that answered the RQs. Having lived in the Dominican Republic for several years, two of which were as a United States Peace Corps volunteer, my understanding of colloquialisms and interpersonal communication is

advanced in comparison to someone with limited integration into the Dominican culture.

That said, I am not Dominican or Haitian and my first language is not Spanish or Haitian

Kreyol. Though a respectful ability to communicate with ease often got me through the

door, it was impossible to shed my blonde hair, pale complexion and accent. The extent

to which this impacted data collected, I believe, was minimal, though, it is difficult to

determine. This is often the dilemma faced by ethnographers whose identity is different

than that of the participants. This ethnography follows Denzin's (1994) concept that as

the research moves forward there should be an attempt to move inward. Truth must be

re-conceptualized from multiple perspectives. Alexander (2001) states,

> Nobody embarking on a study of education in countries and cultures other than
> their own does so (or at least nobody ought to do so) without being acutely aware
> of how little, despite their best endeavors, they end up knowing….that so many of
> its [comparative education] have neglected what is arguably the most important
> part of the educational terrain, the practice of teaching and learning, and what is
> the most allusive theme of all, how such practice relates to the context of culture,
> structure and policy of which it is embedded. (pg. 3)

Therefore, it was helpful to keep in mind Spindler and Spindler's (1987) presentation of

implicit and tacit sociocultural knowledge. That is, sociocultural knowledge is not

universally known by all those within and from the community, and it is often ambiguous

to those to individuals within the same group. In respect to this study, I found the

sociocultural dynamics and norms quite different in Elías Piña than those I experienced in

other parts of the Dominican Republic. From a broad perceptive, Madison (2005)

recapitulates my situation well:

> As ethnographers, when we travel to Other worlds, we open ourselves to the
> greatest possibility of loving perception and dialogical performance, because (a)
> we witness and engage cultural aspects of the Other's world; (b) we witness and
> engage with Others' sense of self in their own world; (c) we experience how we
> are perceived through Others' eyes; (d) we are now bodies that must touch, see,
> and listen to each other because we are inhabiting a space in their world where

distance cannot separate you; (e) we witness and engage the Other as a subject even as he or she may be subjugated, and as a result, meanings of power and positionality begin to arise between us; (f) we are dependent on each other for the possibility of being understood. Traveling to another world threatens arrogant perception and makes loving perception possible. Loving perception evokes dialogical performance and sustains it. Loving perception is not sentimental or sappy, nor is it a romanticization of the Other. (p. 105)

Engaging the community as Madison (2005) describes, I collected data, then, based the data analysis through the lens of grounded theory. That is, no theoretical assumptions were established at the onset of the study design or during data collection. Grounded theory allowed for a conceptual model or theory to emerge after data collection has taken place (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In following this methodological path, data, both quantitative and qualitative were needed to "conceptualize research holistically" (Newman & Benz, 1998 p. 20). A diagram is provided below as a guide to the methodological schema used to conceptualize the study (see Figure 3). The objective of the schema is to provide visual representation of the research design used to answer the central RQ. The schema illustrates the geographic place of the study, Elías Piña, followed by three divisions of data collection: ethnographic, Elías Piña Household Composition Survey (EPHC), and the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). Following these, the sample size is presented that represents each respectively. Continuing from the sample size, the qualitative or quantitative method that was employed is shown. This, in turn, leads to a presentation of the data analysis.

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                    │    Ethnography of Central RQ    │
                    └─────────────────────────────────┘
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| Ethnography in Elías Piña | Elías Piña Household Composition Survey | Latin American Opinion Project |

| Case Studies (4 schools) | Interviews (63) | Households (266) Individuals (631) | N=1500 |

| Participant Observation | Semi-structured Interviews | Descriptive Statistics |

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                    │         Etic & Emic Data        │
                    └─────────────────────────────────┘
                                    │
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                    │         Analysis of Data        │
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                                    │
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                    │    Grounded Theory (analysis)   │
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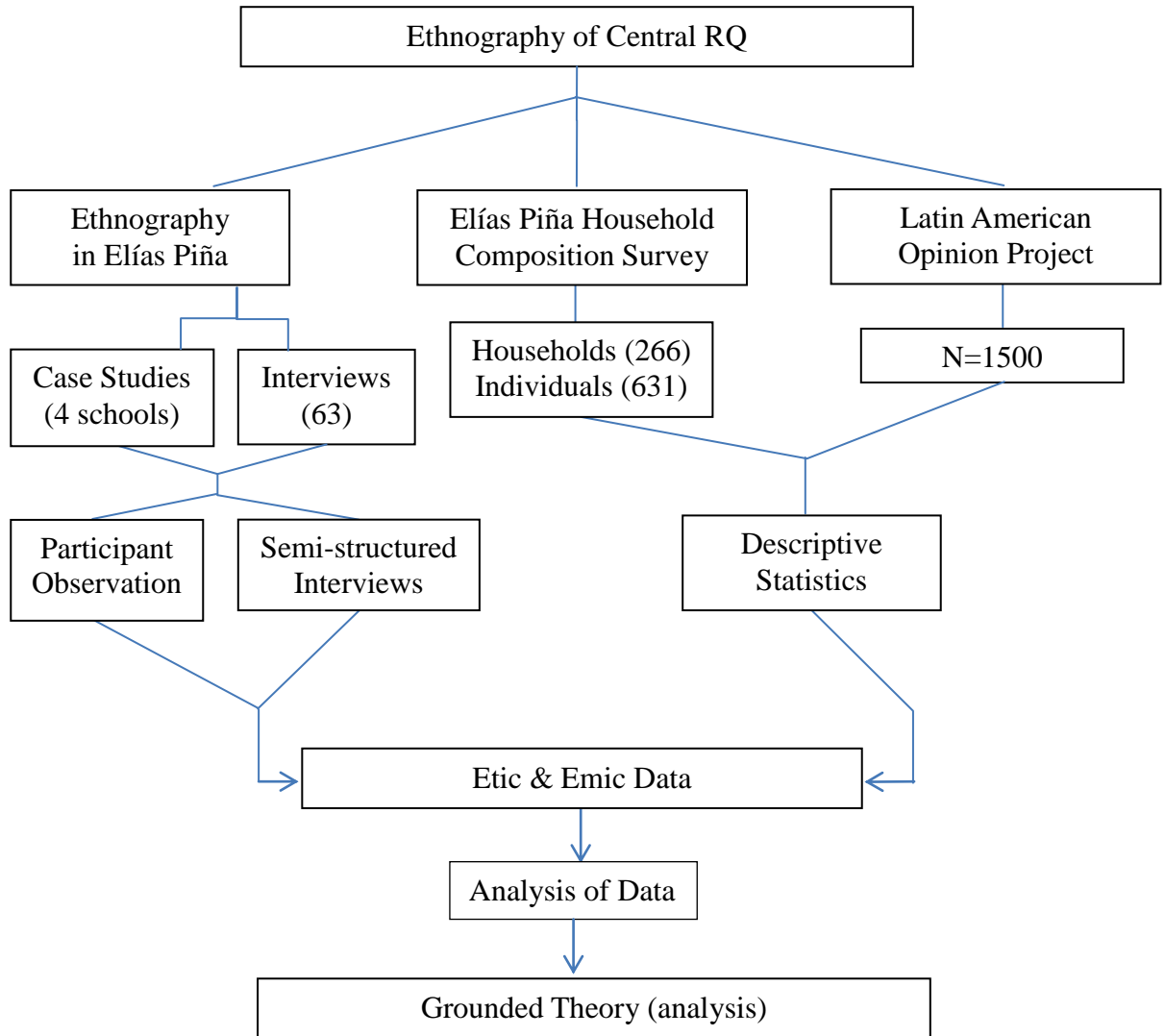
Figure 3. The methods schema illustrates the fundamental, methodological elements of the study.

Case Study Method

The research utilized a case study approach in the data collection to observe and document Haitian students' access to education. Four elementary schools within and near the Comendador town limits were chosen. A case study approach was used because it best fit what Yin (2003) describes as rationale for utilizing the method. That is, in researching the phenomena of Haitian access to education since the 2010 earthquake in the Dominican Republic, the appropriate data collection tool when the "phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" is the utilization of the case study method (Yin, 2003, p. 3). The schools that were incorporated into the

case study met the criteria of 1) having Haitian students enrolled, 2) being within or near the town

limits of Comendador, and, 3) serve as K-5/6, primary public school. Within the context of the

conceptual framework, participant observations and semi-structured interviews were the tools

used in collecting data. In keeping with the protection of human subjects protocol, schools have

been renamed in order to ensure anonymity. Table 5 provides an overview of the schools

included in the study.

Table 5. Case Study Schools.

Primary School	Description
Westside School	School A is located on the outskirts of Comendador. Students attending the school come from surrounding poor communities. The school has two rooms, two full-time teachers, one of whom is also the director. Haitians make up a minority of the student population with an approximate count of 120. Students attend in either the AM or PM session. School facility was poorly equipped and the grounds were not kept.
Northside School	School B is a large, centrally located school in Comendador. The student population is over 500. There are over 20 full-time teachers and about 3 administrators running the school. Haitian students make up approximately 10% of the student body. School is offered in two distinct sessions – AM and PM. School facility was structurally very poor.
Southside School	School C is located in a rural area, in the outskirts of Comendador. Two full-time teachers provide instruction to approximately 60 students, including a minority group of Haitian students. The school has two small classrooms. The school is located on a rural back road that crosses the international border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. This road is an unofficial transit route for Haitians entering with goods to sell at the open market. School facility was structurally the poorest among the four schools included in the study.
Eastside School	School D is located across the street from the Dominican customs office on the international border crossing. The school has six, full sized classrooms. Six teachers, including the principal, provide instruction. School served Haitian students who represented approximately 20% of the student body. Facilities were above average in comparison to the other schools in the study.

Table 5: Case study of four schools.

Data Collection – Observation and Interviews

The study utilized two types of data collection tools – participant observation and

semi-structured interviews. These data collection tools were not exclusive to each other.

As Rubin and Rubin (2005) point out, both observations and interviews are means of

collecting data jointly or simply in isolation. As the researcher, it was sometimes best to

be a passive member of a social situation, and on other occasions, I found myself taking

an active role in discourse that through exchange of ideas revealed exquisite shades of information. As a critical ethnographer, I observed the community's socio-cultural power dynamics in reference to stakeholder empowerment, privilege, and authority (Creswell & Creswell, 2007). At parent meetings and domino games, I engaged the dialogue, sometimes challenging status quo opinions or racially based comments using open-ended questions. Rubin and Rubin (2005) describe this as a means for the researcher to acquire the participants' perspective, or emic data. On other occasions, it was best to observe quietly. That is, I observed the discourse as it presented itself without the addition of my voice. Whether I engaged or remained on the sidelines, the decision was mostly intuitive and not prescriptive. As an ethnographer, I found it invaluable to trust my intuition and experience to guide me as I interacted with Dominican and Haitian participants. Most notably, I found this to be necessary in respect of the dynamic socio-cultural context. The Haitian Dominican border in Elías Piña provides a physical space that is best described as the "wild west." As I ventured out to interview parents in the most rural areas, there were various situations that I intuitively knew were unsafe, or leading to an unsafe situation. My intuition, based on several years of doing rural development work in the Dominican Republic, provided me a needed compass in deciding when to no longer walk down a trail, end an interview early, or resolve to not return to an area. Safety issues became a much larger dynamic than I had anticipated at the onset of the research. Ultimately, all planned participant observation activities and interviews were accomplished.

Participant Observation

As a data collection tool, participant observation was an extremely valuable means of documenting the community members' and my experiences and perceptions. Following Dewalt and Dewalt's (2002) conceptualization of the participant observer, I lived in Elías Piña for over six months on most of the terms as a community member. That is, I was fully incorporated into the daily rituals of eating, cleaning, traveling and buying that corresponded to the lives of my neighbors so that I might engage and acquire a better understanding of the explicit culture (Spradley, 1980). Furthermore, I was assisted with the help of a community informant who introduced me to several Haitian parents and oriented me to the streets of Comendador.

As a participant observer, it was my responsibility to record daily interactions, conversations and observations. Prus (1997) affirms that the ethnographer should attempt "to achieve a thorough, sensitive, and fine-grained descriptive account of the life-world of the other" (p. 197). As I believe this was achieved in this study, Prus' (1997) description of participant observation as "a very time-consuming and emotionally draining activity" was very true to me. After many months of field work, and living within close proximity to several murders, the cholera epidemic, and aggressive tensions between Dominican military and Haitians, the experience became very personal which led to a recognition of my own privilege as someone who had living condition options. The context of these circumstances made participant observation a valuable tool as the subject matter of Haitians in the Dominican Republic became an increasingly sensitive topic (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002).

Semi-structured Interviews

Interviewing participants was a key data collection tool, as there was a need to have a focused conversation that addressed the RQs. Specifically, semi-structured interviews allowed me to collect information that was too sensitive for many to express in the public domain. Semi-structured interviewing mostly took place in the living room of participants homes, or within the privacy of their office or empty classroom. The semi-structured interview technique provided an open-endedness that allowed elaboration, yet, had a nature of focus that was helpful in keeping within the conceptual framework (Schensul, Schensul & LeCompte, 1999). Interviews were digitally recorded when possible, though, many participants were reluctant, thus, opted not to be recorded. The interview questions, as each corresponds with the sub-research questions (SRQs), are presented in Table 6.

Table 6

Semi-structured Interview Questions

Sub-research Question	Guiding Interview Questions
SRQ1: How does educational policy support or limit access to education for Haitian students?	**School Personnel:** What is your understanding of Dominican educational policy of providing access to education for Haitian children? How do you interpret and implement the policy? What is the response teachers and parents have had to this implementation? How many Haitian students are currently enrolled in the school(s)? Has this number increased or decreased since the 2004 change in educational policy? How many Haitian students have attempted to enroll in the school since the January earthquake? **Dominican and Haitian Parents:** What is your understanding of Haitian students being able to go to Dominican primary schools? What is your opinion about this?

	Does your local primary school allow for Haitians to attend? Do you know how many Haitian students are currently enrolled in the school where your child attends? Do you know how many Haitian students are currently enrolled in the school where your child attends? Has this number increased or decreased in recent history? Do you have any other opinions you would like to share?
SRQ2: How does curriculum and instruction materialize in primary schools as a means to supporting or limiting access to education for Haitian students?	**School Personnel:** Do Haitian students have any special or unique needs to succeed in school? Are Haitian children provided any type of curriculum or instruction that is unique to them? How well do Haitian students do academically in your school? Do Haitian students improve or diminish the school as a whole? Explain? **Dominican and Haitian Parents:** Do Haitian students need teachers to do anything different to teach them that they don't do for Dominican students? How well do you think Haitian students do in your child's school? Grades? Socialization? Do you have any other opinions you would like to share?
SRQ3: How do teacher resources and training support access to education for Haitian students?	**School Personnel:** Are teachers provided special training to teach Haitian students? Do teachers receive any type of resources that assists teaching Haitian students? If so, why? Do you have any other opinions you would like to share?
SRQ4: How does parent involvement surface as a means to access to education for Haitian students?	**School Personnel:** Are Haitian parents supportive of their children going to school? If so, how? Are there Haitian parents involved in their child's education, either at school or at home? Are there Haitian parents who are members of the *Padres y Amigos de la Escuela* (Parents and Friends of the School)? How? Why? Do you think Haitian parents could contribute to *Padres y Amigos de la Escuela*? Why? **Dominican and Haitian Parents:** Are you active in your child's school parent organization? How? Why? Are Haitian parents active in your child's school parent organization? How? Why? Do you have any other opinions you would like to share?
SRQ5: What are the explicit and	**School Personnel:**

implicit intercultural communication actions that positively or negatively impact the denial or access of educational services for Haitians in the Dominican Republic?	Are there teachers who have mentioned that they want to teach Haitian students? Are there teachers who have mentioned that they do not want to teach Haitian students? Are there differences between Haitian and Dominican children? If so, what are these differences? Are you friends with any Haitians? If so, what is your relationship? Would you feel comfortable meeting with a group of Dominican parents? Would you feel comfortable meeting with a group of Haitian parents? **Dominican and Haitian Parents:** Do Haitian students improve or diminish the school as a whole? Explain? Do you have any other opinions you would like to share?
SRQ6: One year after the post 2010 earthquake, what has been the praxis, reflection and action to assist Haitians in accessing primary public education in the Dominican Republic?	**School Personnel:** Are there any specific initiatives to include Haitian parents in the school parent organization? **Dominican and Haitian Parents:** Are Haitian students treated differently at your child's school? How? Do you have any other opinions you would like to share?

Semi-structured Interview Procedure

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in a private setting selected by the participant. Most interviews took place in participants' homes, though, several teachers and school administrators expressed that they were perfectly comfortable being interviewed in private at their respective school site. The interviews began with what Spradley (1979) describes as the "explicit" explanation. That is, I expressed to the interviewee what the study was about and why I was doing the study. The second phase of the interview led me to explain the specifics and nature of the questions. That is, I asked interviewees to express their personal experiences as related to the subject of the question or overall research theme – Haitian immigrant student access to education. After the participants understood the explicit nature of the study and the intent to capture

their voice, I preceded to the specific interview questions. In keeping with a semi-structured format, interview questions touched on the main components found in the conceptual framework of the study presented in chapter 1. Yet, considerations were made to allow participants to elaborate on specific ideas as they chose.

In order to gain access to schools, I first approached the Dominican Ministry of Education central office for the Elías Piña province. After multiple visits, I was able to speak with the superintendent. He is a political appointee with the responsibility of coordinating public K-12 education for the province. In Dr. Leonel Fernández's second and subsequent third term as President, the appointment of school officials became a wide-spread practice in the Dominican Republic.

Once a meeting with the superintendent was confirmed, I summarized the research, requesting permission to speak with teachers, staff and administrators. The superintendent was obliging and suggested several schools with higher populations of Haitian immigrant students. With a background and expertise in teaching English as a other language and teacher professional development, I offered to provide workshops and English classes as a way of reciprocating services to the schools. With the support of the superintendent, I moved forward with the study and developed positive relationships at each of the four schools used as case studies.

Most teachers and administrators were interviewed in their office or classroom. I found both very willing and responsive to the suggestion of being interviewed, though, initially, I intuited an initial reservation that I interpreted as a tension taking place between the President and the teacher's union – the Campaign for 4%. I will discuss the nature of this discourse in subsequent chapters. In short, the Campaign for 4% was a call

by social advocates, grassroots organizations and the teachers union to require the Dominican legislature to adhere to the constitutionally designated 4% of gross national product (GDP) allocation to public, K-12 education. According to the World Bank (2011), the 2009 allocation was 2.3% of the Dominican gross domestic product (GDP).

Dominican and Haitian parents and community leaders were interviewed in the privacy of their homes, a selected location by the particpants. After an explanation of the research was given to the participants, most were very willing to be interviewed. There were a few cases where the potential participant expressed that he or she was not interested in being interviewed. Yet, in several of these occasions, that person would later engage me in informal conversations expressing her or his opinions about Haitians in the Dominican Republic. That said it was interesting that these same individuals were not receptive to a formal interview. Given the inherent distrust the community of Comendador has towards outsiders and what was perceived as an "official, formal interview", this informal approach to communicating was not surprising.

The issue of distrust was an initial methodological issue. After a few weeks of being seen as a resident and developing relationships with neighbors and community leaders, I believe the initial hesitation individuals had towards me was reduced. When asking a next door neighbor, whom I played dominos on a regular basis with and was very helpful in making contacts, as to why people tended to be so reserved in talking to me, he said, "*Mateo, la gente cree que tu eres una persona con otros interes*" (Matthew, people think you are a person with other interests"). In the subsequent chapter I will address the historical reference this comment contextualizes. Though, I was faced with the task of earning the trust of the participants. This was done in two ways. First, I lived

in Elías Piña six consecutive months. This showed a level of commitment and regularity that encouraged confidence. Second, I was regularly visiting schools, attending church services and participating in community events. I believe this demonstrated my genuine interest in the community. The most frequent community event I participated in was the daily domino game. Over the years, I have found that playing dominos is an enjoyable activity of diversion and an excellent means of developing relationships within communities in the Dominican Republic.

Community Advisor

Having a community advisor was an absolute necessity in order to collect data and interview within the Haitian community. The community advisor served as the Haitian Kreyol translator. As a Dominican and trained researcher, her intrinsic understanding of Dominican culture, qualitative research methods and Haitian Kreyol added an inestimable depth to understanding the data collected. She was able to connect me to Haitians and community leaders so that their participation could be included in the study. Furthermore, she provided me with valuable Spanish-Haitian Kreyol and English-Haitian Kreyol translations that were key in interviewing within the Haitian community.

Participants

The study involved adult participants who were living or working in the Elías Piña province. Participants were selected based on the following categories and selection criteria: (a) Haitian parent with a school-aged child, (b) Dominican parent with a school-aged child, (c) school administrator, staff or teacher, (d) former Haitian student (adult) and (e) community leader as identified by community at-large. A total of 63 semi-

structured interviews were held. The following chart is a breakdown of the interviews by type of participant:

Table 7

Participant Distribution Chart

Participant Description	N	%
Haitian parent	21	33.3
Dominican parent	20	31.7
Teacher, administrator, staff	12	19
Former Haitian student (adult)	4	6.3
Community leader	6	9.5
Total	63	100

2010 Latin American Public Opinion Project

To ascertain public opinion of socio-cultural dynamics, including immigration and education the 2010 Dominican Republic Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) database was utilized. LAPOP is based at Vanderbilt University with the objective of surveying democratic values and behaviors in 26 countries in Latin America, North America and the Caribbean. Including all regions, more than 40,000 participants were surveyed. LAPOP uses probabilistic national sampling to generate the participant profile (Morgan, Espinal, & Seligson, 2010). The 2010 LAPOP survey had an added dimension, as there is an attempt at capturing the impact of the economic crisis has had on the participants and the politics of each respective country. The survey has been employed every two years since 2004. LAPOP is the most extensive survey in the Western Hemisphere (Morgan, Espinal, & Seligson, 2010; Seligson, 2008; LAPOP Vanderbilt University, 2011). To address the central RQ, specific items from the 2010 Dominican Republic LAPOP survey were analyzed. An analysis was done by disaggregating data from the Dominican Republic dataset. The focus of the

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disaggregation were specific items and geographic areas. Items that were used in this analysis were the following:

- Do you attend school parent meetings? / *¿Reuniones de una asociación de padres de familia de la escuela o colegio?*

- Concerning public education, would you consider it very good, good, bad, or very bad? / *¿La educación pública, considera usted que es muy buena, buena, mala, o muy mala?*

- In general, would you say that people from other countries come here [Dominican Republic] to find work that Dominicans do not want, or they take work from Dominicans? */ En general, ¿Usted diría que la gente de otro país que viene a vivir aquí hace los trabajos que los dominicanos no quieren, o que les quitan el trabajo a los dominicanos?*

- At what point are you in agreement that the Dominican government should offer social services, e.g., health assistance, education, housing, to undocumented immigrants that come here to live or work in the [Dominican Republic]? */ ¿Hasta que punto está de acuerdo con que el gobierno dominicano ofrezca servicios sociales, como por ejemplo asistencia de salud, educación, vivienda, a los inmigrantes indocumentados que vienen a vivir o trabajar en el país?*

- At what point are you in agreement that the children of Haitian immigrants born in the Dominican Republic be given Dominican citizenship? / *¿Hasta que punto está de acuerdo con que los hijos de inmigrantes haitianos nacidos en la República Dominicana sean ciudadanos dominicanos?*

- At what point are you in agreement or disagreement that the Dominican government grant work permits to undocumented Haitians that live in the Dominican Republic? /

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¿Hasta que punto está de acuerdo o desacuerdo con que el gobierno dominicano otorgue

permisos de trabajo a los haitianos indocumentados que viven en República

Dominicana?

Elías Piña Household Composition Survey

The household composition survey was employed through a collaboration among

the U.S. Peace Corps, University of Florida and the Office of the First Lady (Dominican).

The instrument was employed in late 2010, after the January 2010 earthquake in Port-au-

Prince, Haiti. The database includes 250 households surveyed. Both Dominican and

Haitian families were included in this study. Participating households included in the

survey were a cross-section of differing socio-economic levels from multiple

neighborhoods within or near Comendador. Key points of data drawn for analysis are

included in Table 8.

Table 8

Elías Piña Household Composition (EPHC) Survey Selected Items

Instrument Item #	Instrument Question / Statement
7	How long has (name) been living in your current home? *¿Cuánto tiempo tiene (NOMBRE) viviendo aquí (en la localidad de la entrevista)?*
8	Where has (name) live before you lived in your current home? *Antes de que (NOMBRE) viviera aquí, ¿dónde vivía?*
9	Where was (name) born? (city, country) *¿Dónde nació (NOMBRE)? (ciudad, país)*
10	What language(s) do (name) speak? *¿Qué idiomas habla (NOMBRE)?*
12	What countries does (name) have citizenship? *¿En qué país está declarado (NOMBRE)?*
25	I'm now going to ask you about the earthquake. Was (name) in Haiti the day of the earthquake? Go to question 27 if the answer is "no." *Ahora le voy a hacer algúnas preguntas sobre el terremoto en Haiti. ¿Estuvo (NOMBRE) en Haití el día del terremoto?" Si la respuesta es NO, pase a la pregunta 27.*

30	These questions are about persons that are school-aged or older. Does (name) know how to read or write in any language? *Estas preguntas son para las personas en edad escolar o mayores. "¿Sabe (NOMBRE) leer o escribir en algún idioma ya sea español, creol, francés u otro idioma?"*
31	What language(s) does (name) read or write? *¿En qué idioma sabe (NOMBRE) leer o escribir?*
32	Has (name) ever been enrolled in school? *¿(NOMBRE) ha asistido algúna vez a la escuela?" Si la respuesta es NO, pase a la pregunta 36.*
33	What is the highest level (name) reached in school? *¿Cuál fue el nivel de enseñanza más alto al que (NOMBRE) asistió o asiste?*
34	During the current school has (name) enrolled in primary school, high school, or college/university? *Durante el presente año escolar, ¿está asistiendo (NOMBRE) a la escuela, liceo, colegio o universidad?*
35	What level did he/she enroll? *¿A qué nivel o curso está asistiendo?*
36	In this school year, has (name) attend the Parent-School Committee? *¿En este año escolar, asistió (NOMBRE) a una reunión del comité Padres y Amigos de la Escuela?*
37	In the previous school year, did (name) attend the Parent-School Committee? *¿En el año escolar pasado, asistió usted a una reunión del comité Padres y Amigos de la Escuela?*
38	Concerning Dominican law, can Haitian school-aged students in the Dominican Republic attend primary schools? *Según la ley dominicana, ¿pueden los estudiantes haitianos ir a las escuelas primarias en la República Dominicana?*
39	Are you in agreement with this law? *¿Está usted de acuerdo con esta ley?*
40	Are there Haitian students in your child's school*? ¿Hay estudiantes haitianos en la escuela de su hijo/a?*
41	Do Haitian parents or guardians participate in the Parent-School Committee? *¿Los padres o los tutores de los estudiantes haitianos participan en el comité Padres y Amigos de la Escuela?*
42	What impact (positive, negative or neither) do Haitian students have on the quality of education that Dominican students receive? *¿Qué impacto (positivo, negativo, o ninguno) tienen los estudiantes haitianos en la calidad de la educación que reciben los estudiantes dominicanos?*
43	Now I am going to ask about information technology. Has (name) ever taken a computer course? ¿Ahora le voy a preguntar sobre informática. *Ha (NOMBRE) tomado un curso de computadoras?*
44	Would (name) be interested in taking a computer course? *¿Le gustaria a (NOMBRE) tomar un curso de computadoras?*
45	What course would you like to take? *¿Qué curso le gustaria a (NOMBRE) tomar?*
46	Characteristics of the house. Type of house (observational). *CARACTERISTICAS DE LA VIVIENDA Tipo de vivienda(POR OBSERVACION)*
47	Type of floor (observered). *Principal material de construcción del piso (POR OBSERVACION)*

Analysis (qualitative and quantitative)

Hatch (2002) describes data analysis as a "systematic search for meaning" (p. 148). In providing an analysis of the data that resulted from the household composition survey, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, it was my intent to present an organized pallet that is reflective of the realities faced in Elías Piña. As the researcher, it is necessary for me "to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories" (Hatch, 2002, p 148). The analysis, for both qualitative and quantitative data, is centered around the study RQs. An inductive data analysis approach was utilized as the principal means of presenting conclusions from the study. Using an inductive analysis approach requires that interpretive connections be made from micro-points of the data. These connections, contextualized in the socio-political culture of Elías Piña, are organized into patterns that provide a responsive discourse to the RQs of the study.

Grounded theory is used as a primary tool in the analysis of data. In addressing issues of social justice, grounded theory provides exceptional tools that allowed me to focus an analysis that "builds inductive middle-ranged theories through successive levels of data analysis and conceptual development (Charmaz, 2008, p. 204). Grounded theory provides a cornerstone for moving forward in addressing social justices issues that have historical basis that connect to contemporary realities. Within this framework, discourse analysis was employed as a means of reviewing the collected data derived from interviews, documents and observations (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

From Data Gathering to Reflection

The subsequent two chapters, Findings and Conclusions, are a presentation of data collected and a reflection of the findings. In the chapter Findings, a descriptive narrative guides the reader through the ethnography. In this chapter, the data from each of the four case studies and the study's RQs are presented. This narrative provides an in depth exploration of the day-to-day successes, challenges and barriers Haitian immigrant students face in accessing education in Elías Piña. In the chapter Conclusions, a reflection is provided addressing the data from the findings. This chapter is a response to the findings through a critical reflection. Implications to educational policy, non-governmental organization project implementation and social theory are stated in an attempt to promote and create educational access for Haitian immigrant students.

Chapter Four: ELÍAS PIÑA: A CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY SITE

Introduction and Positionality

As a researcher and ethnographer it was vital to reflect on my own positionality. Therefore, in order to investigate the context, norms and functions of Elías Piña, I need to understand and acknowledge how I am a person of privilege and power, with inherent biases (Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004; Madison, 2005). In respect to understanding the dynamics of race and positionality in the Dominican Republic, Torres-Saillant (2000) states,

> A measure of familiarity with the concrete historical background that explains the tendency of Dominicans to configure their racial identity in an intermediate conceptual space between the black and white polarities can enable scholars to overcome the temptation to denormalize the way this community speaks of race. Since the Dominican people's racial language defies the paradigms prevalent in countries like the United States, well-intentioned observers from such countries would wish this community adopted the racial vocabulary generated by the historical experiences of their societies. But, apart from safeguarding us all from such ethnocentric compulsions, paying heed to the specificity of the Dominican case can incite reflection on the elusiveness of race as an analytical category both in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere. (p. 1090)

Having lived in the Dominican Republic on and off for fifteen years, I have become more aware of who I am as a White male because of my position as an outsider in a foreign land. Though, given my personality, I was cognizant that I needed to be adept in moving fluidly within the culture of the *campo* / countryside and *barrio* / low SES neighborhoods, I also realized that I could not shed non-native Spanish and my skin color. As an *americano*, I am often considered inherently wealthy and educated. And at the same time, while I am very welcomed into communities, there is always an understanding of being an outsider. In Elías Piña this distinction was also true. However,

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I found Elías Piña to have a unique culture towards outsiders that I never experienced in other parts of the Dominican Republic. In general, I found Dominicans in Elías Piña in positions of power, less likely to engage me. To some extent, these individuals were apt to avoid me all together.

McCorkel and Myers (2003) contend that data acquisition, analysis, and the conclusions of a study are often not reflected upon by the researcher because of fears of undermining validity. By using a reflective approach to data collection, analysis and conclusions, the reality of conditions in Elías Piña were more validly presented. In turn, I avoided the social justice issues that surface when a study is mired in a Euro-centric framework. McCorkel and Myers (2003) state,

> In locating ourselves as agents of knowledge and scrutinizing the influence of our positionality on the practice of ethnography, we have sought to achieve a stronger form of objectivity—an objectivity that generates "better," more realistic claims than those offered by positivism or earlier versions of standpoint methodology. (p. 229)

Understanding the point McCorke and Myers (2003) are making was very important in Elías Piña, as I found multiple modalities of perspective grounded in gender, age, language, culture, class, occupation and / or nationality. As I interviewed individuals, I presented to them my unknowing of their reality and openness for them to describe and interpret the information they chose to share. The schools became singular entities among many schools. The voices of the participants were uniquely diverse, and, given appropriate reflection, intertwined.

Elías Piña: An Introduction

Situated at an equal distance from the northern and southern tips of the Haitian-Dominican border, Elías Piña is a relatively small province that represents significant

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historical and contemporary political tensions between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Comendador is the capital of Elías Piña and the hub of commerce, political activity, and military presence. Relative to other comparable towns in the Dominican Republic, Comendador is small. According to the 2002 census, it has a population of roughly 25,475 (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2010). This small population is clearly distinguished from the San Juan de la Maguana population of 280,000, which is the capital to the adjoining eastern San Juan province. As the two are politically separate, yet geographically similar, resource acquisition is a game of political power and leverage that has ultimately put Elías Piña at a disadvantage.

Getting to Elías Piña requires passing through San Juan de la Maguana and the San Juan valley. The area (around San Juan) has a reputation as the bread basket of southern Dominican Republic. Or, as Dominicans prefer to say, *"el granero del sur."* Traveling west towards Haiti through the San Juan valley rice, beans, plantains and citrus grow abundantly. To the north, the *Cordillera Central* (Central Mountain Range) rises above farmland. To the south, the *Sierra de Neiba* rise separating them from the dry, desert-like area around the salt water lake, *Lago Enriquillo*. In the San Juan valley water is plentiful and the tropical climate lends itself to the commodities. The strong agricultural economy of San Juan de la Maguana is seen in the infrastructure and development of the town. Only 45 minutes further west, it is easy to see a stark contrast in the local economy, even though the terrain is relatively the same. Entering Elías Piña, more specifically, Comendador, the military's presence is fairly obvious. The military is present at numerous east-bound check points between Comendador and Santo Domingo. Six armed government entities reside in Elías Piña: *El Cuerpo Especializado de*

Seguridad Fronteriza Terrestre (CESFRONT), El Departamento Nacional de

Investigaciones (DNI), Dominican National Army, G2, Dominican Immigration, and the

national police. Referring directly to Elías Piña, the 2010 (UNDP) reports,

> There have been moments in history when the State has been omnipresent (in the Trujillo Era), not to construct capacity and freedom to the population, but to convert the province into a barrier against Haitian immigration. At other times, [Elías Piña] has simply been abandoned by the State, allowing local strongmen [the case of Quirino Paulino Castillo, narco-trafficker of the area] to substitute its authority. And at the same, within the national imagination, Dominican society has erased Elías Piña by lumping it into an area it calls the "deep south" and in the best of instances, the southwest, even though it is situated in the midwest. Within the national imagination, the Dominican Republic does not have a west. (p. 1)

> Ha habido momentos en su historia, donde el Estado ha sido omnipresente (en la Era de Trujillo), no para construir capacidades y libertades en la población, sino para convertir a la provincia en una barrera contenedora de la inmigración haitiana. En otras, sencillamente ha sido abandonada por el Estado, permitiendo que algunos caciques locales lo sustituyeran. El caso de Quirino Paulino Castillo narcotraficante de la zona]. Al mismo tiempo está ubicada en un sitio que el imaginario social ha construido, pero que no existe, el "sur profundo" y en el mejor de los casos en el "suroeste", Elías Piña queda en el centro oeste de la República. En el imaginario social, República Dominicana no tiene oeste. (p. 1)

Statistically, Elías Piña is categorically the poorest province in the Dominican

Republic, with the lowest rankings in the Human Development Index (HDI). It was

serendipitous that shortly after I arrived in Comendador during June of 2010, the UNDP

research team presented an extensive study they had recently completed on Elías Piña in

2010. The study was a multifaceted look at Elías Piña guided by economists,

anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and political scientists. The UNDP (2010)

report states,

> Elías Piña is the poorest province in the *El Valle* region, as well as of the whole country. Out of every 100 Dominicans, 83 qualify as poor [lowest socio-economic status (SES)]. The fact that it borders Haiti compounds the poverty for the residents. These two factors contribute towards the construction of the idea that local residents have of being distant from Santo Domingo. Thus, this idea of

distance and isolation is compounded by the low level of public resources provided. (p. 149)

Elías Piña es la provincia más pobre de la región de El Valle, así como de todo el País, ya que 83 ciudadanos de cada 100 son pobres. A su situación de pobreza se añade su condición de provincia fronteriza. Estos dos elementos contribuyen a la construcción de la idea de lejanía, en el imaginario de sus pobladores, con respecto a Santo Domingo. Esta situación se incrementa como resultado de la baja oferta de servicios públicos. (p. 149)

The UNDP report was controversial, as the research team was dismantled after findings from the study were beginning to be published and presented nationally. Miguel Ceara Hatton, the UNDP economist leading the study, renounced his position, and stepped down after heading the Office of Human Development for eight years (Medrano, 2011, para. 1). His argument concerning the dismantling of the research team was that the findings from the study were not politically palatable.

Table 9 below is a quantified presentation of the reality of residents of Elías Piña. The province ranks last among the 32 provinces in the Human Development Index (HDI), Education Level Index, literacy rate and annual income. Table 9 provides a comparison between Elías Piña and its eastern neighbor, the San Juan province.

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Table 9

UNDP Findings from 2010 Report "Informes Provinciales de Desarrollo Humano"

Indicator	San Juan	Elías Piña
	Rank	Rank
Human Development Index	29 of 32	32 of 32
Education Level Index	27 of 32	32 of 32
Literacy Rate (15 years old or more)	29 of 32	32 of 32
Child Survival	23 of 32	27 of 32
2007 Annual Average Income (USD)	27 of 32	32 of 32

Elías Piña is well-known in the Dominican Republic as a province where

residents enjoy fewer opportunities, less access to public services and restricted freedoms

(UNDP, 2010, p. 40). Medrano (2011, para. 1), reporting for the Dominican national

newspaper Listín Diario, states,

> Among the findings made by the United Nations Development Programme
> (UNDP from the nine provinces, poor quality of services stood out, as well as the
> finding that border provinces such as Elías Piña are stigmatized with disdain by
> Dominicans in the country's capital Santo Domingo.
>
> Entre los hallazgos del estudio de nueve provincias del país, hechos por el
> Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD), sobresalen la
> deficiente calidad de los servicios, y que provincias como Elías Piña, por ser
> fronterizas, están estigmatizadas por el desdén de los capitalinos.

In conversations with Dominicans in Santo Domingo certainly confirmed this

phenomenon. Elías Piña is perceived as a virtual no man's land. I spoke with no one in

Santo Domingo who had a positive impression of Elías Piña, other than a few individuals

who originated from there. The 2010 Latin American Public Opinion Poll (LAPOP) data

also provides further insight into the Dominican perspective of specific issues that are

significant to Elías Piña such as immigration, labor, and the use of government resources.

The 2010 LAPOP data presents an interesting perspective of how Dominicans view Haitians' accessibility to public services that are provided by the Dominican government to the general population. Border provinces, combining Elías Piña, Dajabón and Monte Cristi, responded positively with 53.2% either "very much agree" or "somewhat agree" to the idea of the Dominican government providing social services to undocumented immigrants. While the the national average was 57.4%. Though there is only a 5.8% difference between the border provinces and the national average, this difference is interesting due to the tensions experienced along the international border. These descriptive statistics set the stage for presenting the sociocultural characteristics ed in this chapter, of which is a complex relationship shared between Dominicans and Haitians.

Table 10

Summary of the Opinion that the Dominican Government Should Provide Social Services

such as Health, Education, Housing to Undocumented Immigrants Who Come To, Live

In, or Work In the Dominican Republic – 2010 LAPOP

	Very much agree		Somewhat agree		Neither disagree or agree		Somewhat disagree		Very much disagree		Total	
	N	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Elías Piña	4	22.2	4	22.2	1	5.6	4	22.2	5	27.8	18	100
Border Provinces	9	14.1	25	39.1	9	14.1	9	14.1	12	18.8	64	100
Southern Region	54	21.4	70	27.8	26	10.3	39	15.5	63	25.5	252	100
Dominican Republic	340	23.2	501	34.2	136	9.3	213	14.5	276	18.8	1466	100

Also included in the 2010 LAPOP questionnaire was the question to whether

children born of Haitian immigrants should be granted Dominican citizenship if born in

the Dominican Republic. When combining the negative end of the Likert scale, i.e., Very

Much Disagree (1-3), Table 11 data shows that nationally, 46.2% of Dominicans believe

Haitian children born in the Dominican Republic should not be granted citizenship.

When looking at the border provinces (BP), 72.2% of the respondents had a negative

opinion towards granting citizenship to children of Haitian immigrants born in the

Dominican Republic. Though there is strong resistance to granting citizenship, other

findings do not support an over-arching or generally negative attitude towards Haitian

children. The interpretation of the 2010 LAPOP data concerning granting citizenship

could very well be a finding of how Dominicans self-identify, and identify others. The

researcher found that Dominicans self-identified through colloquial language, a shared

history, personal appearance, and cultural norms of social interactions. The 2010 LAPOP

findings in Table 11, in respect to the findings from this study, the UNDP study, and the

2010 EPHC survey data, provide a pattern of opinions for further research into the 2010

LAPOP information and its interpretation of the status Dominicans give the children of

immigrant Haitians born in the Dominican Republic.

Table 11

Summary of the Opinion That the Immigrant Haitian Children Born in Dominican Republic Should be Dominican Citizens –

2010 LAPOP

	(1) Very much disagree											Very much agree (7)							
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Total	
	N	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
EP	13	76.5	1	5.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.9	2	11.8	17	100
BP	36	54.5	8	12.1	4	6.1	3	4.5	4	6.1	5	7.6	6	9.1	66	100
SR	102	40.5	11	4.4	13	5.2	12	4.8	19	7.5	21	8.3	74	29.4	252	100
DR	437	29.8	118	8.1	122	8.3	123	8.4	166	11.4	134	9.2	363	24.8	1463	100

Below, Figure 3 provides a visual perspective of the Dominican Republic in relationship to the LAPOP 2010 item concerning Dominican's opinion of Haitian immigrants' children who are born in the Dominican Republic access to Dominican citizenship. Figure 4 shows that the Cibao region, the geographic central area of the country that stretches between Santo Domingo in the south, past Santiago in the northwest, has the more positive opinion of granting citizenship, as opposed to the western provinces.
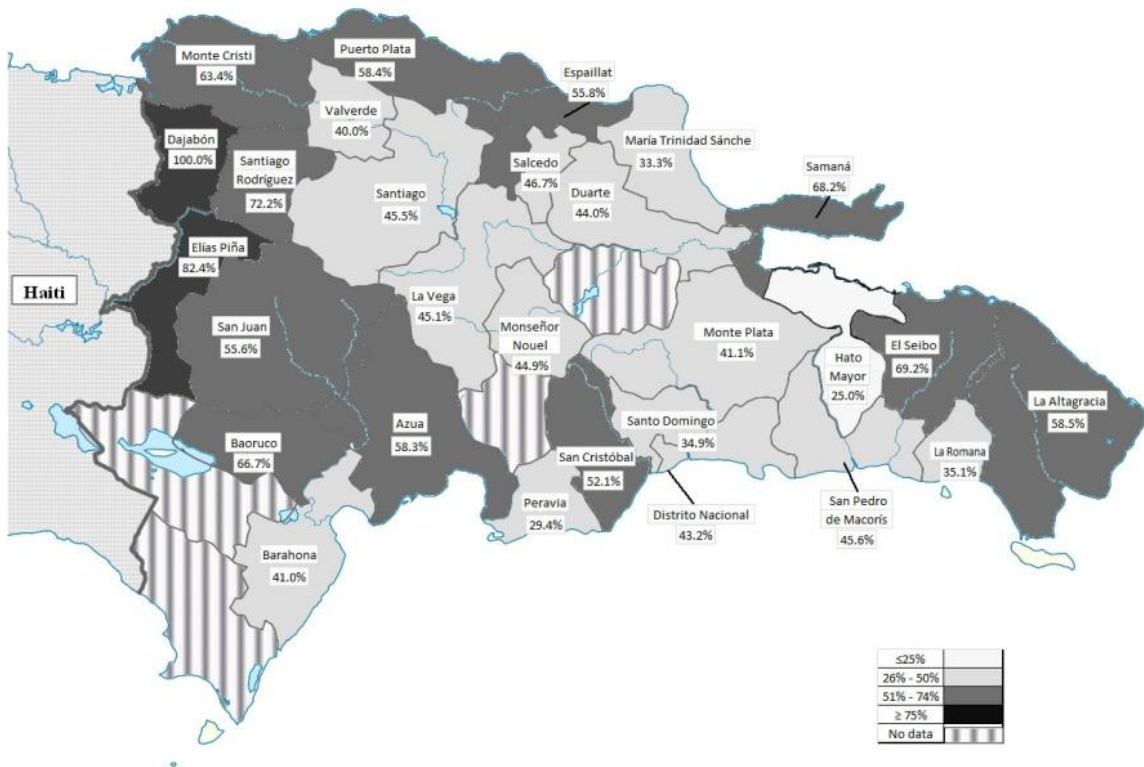
Figure 4. Haitian children should not have Dominican citizenship. This figure illustrates 2010 LAPOP data in respect to Dominicans' opinion that Haitian children born in the DR should not be given Dominican citizenship.

The Market and Haitian Dominican Relations

There are two major societal forces that work in tandem in Elías Piña – the international border and the market of commodities ranging from food products to second hand clothing. Of the four major border towns with significant exports into Haiti, Comendador ranks third in Dominican goods being exported to Haiti: Jimaní (23.5%), Dajabón (17%), Comendador (9.7%), and Pedernales (1.9%) (UNDP, 2010, p. 100). Experiencing the market is inevitable while living in Comendador. Twice a week streets in the center of town are closed for vendors to set up on the sidewalk and in the street. Each vendor is required to pay a fee for selling at the market. This has become very controversial over the years, as Haitians claim to be over-charged and manhandled. The tension between Haitians and Dominicans is exacerbated by the distrust both Haitians and Dominicans have in business transactions. Tensions are further increased with the demand on Haitian vendors to return to Haiti before a 2 P. M. curfew. It is common to see a CESFRONT truck *(El Cuerpo Especializado de Seguridad Fronteriza Terrestre)* riding through town collecting Haitians in order to deport them. Howard (2007) asserts that Dominicans have a generally negative sociocultural opinion towards Haitians that leads to reactionary deportation. My observations in Elías Piña show a more complex relationship than Howard's (2007). Dominicans and Haitians in Elías Piña can be observed in both positive and negative relationships. Though, in respect to the market, it cannot be forgotten that the power structure is clearly on the side of the Dominicans. The UNDP (2010, p.188) interview data shows that there are Dominicans in Elías Piña who are against Dominicans abusing or discriminating against Haitians. My observations are aligned with Murray's (2010) findings. Murray (2010) states,

Violent scenes such as those in the Elías Piña market place are easily converted into raw materials for documentaries of "Dominican abuse of Haitians." This version is misconstrued. The initiators of the abusive interactions that take place in the Elías Piña market are a small group of male thugs, the businessman that hires them as collectors and confiscators, and the municipal authorities – the mayor and the councilmen – who have instituted the privatization arrangement and who, according to several people interviewed, are suspected of being personal beneficiaries of the arrangement as well. Haitian market women are most clearly the principal targeted victims. And they are targeted precisely because they are Haitians who can be mistreated with political and social impunity in a way that Dominicans could not. But the victimizers are a small group. (p. 30)

The market provides a place where agricultural goods are sold in bulk to buyers from Santo Domingo, as well as in small *pilas (piles)* to locals. Used shoes, pots, pans, clothing are often sold by Haitian venders who have storage space in Comendador. Many products that are not allowed to be sold in the rest of the Dominican Republic, such as Haitian matches, Chinese garlic and Haitian rice, are sold at the Comendador market. The UNDP (2010, p. 12) report identifies Elías Piña as a place where smuggling and trafficking of contraband and people is the norm. Smucker and Murray (2004) concluded that the most obvious abuser of Haitians in the Dominican Republic is the Dominican military. My observations confirm their finding. The UNDP (2010) report presents this complex relationship stating,

> In short, the Haitian presence is part of everyday life. Dominican and Haitian people interact in reciprocal relationships, support, recreation, economic transactions, familiarity and knowledge of Creole. In addition, Dominican families do not end at the border; they extend into Haiti, creating a transborder model of cross-border families that include brothers and sisters, aunts, uncles, cousins, and nephews and nieces on the Haitian side. Moreover, as noted earlier, the practice of polygamy by Dominican men, who prefer both Haitian and Dominican women, further creates transborder families and strengthens intercultural presence in the province. (p.189)

> En resumen, la presencia haitiana es parte de cotidianidad. Población dominicana y haitiana interactúan en relaciones de reciprocidad, apoyo, diversión-recreación, transacciones económicas, familiaridad y algunos conocimientos del creole. En adición, las familias dominicanas se extienden a Haití en un modelo de familias

transfronterizas con hermanos y hermanas, tíos y tías, primos y primas, y sobrinos y sobrinas en el lado haitiano. Por otra parte, como se vio antes, el ejercicio de la poligamia en los hombres dominicanos es una pauta cultural en donde aparece la atracción por tener mujeres dominicanas y haitianas, generando familias transfronterizas y fortalece la interculturalidad presente en la provincia. (p.189)

The 2010 LAPOP data shows that Dominicans tend to disagree (51.6%) with the idea of the Dominican government providing undocumented Haitians with work permits. This figure is stronger in the Border Provinces (BP) where 61.5% disagree with the practice of providing work permits to undocumented Haitians. The percentage presented here is a summation of the "Very Much Disagree" sub-categories of the Likert scale found in Table 12.

Table 12

Summary of the Opinion That the Dominican Government Should Grant Worker Permits to Undocumented Haitians Who Live in the Dominican Republic

| | (1) Very much disagree | | | | | | | | | | | Very much agree (7) | | | | | | Total | |
| | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 4 | | 5 | | 6 | | 7 | | | |
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
EP	11	64.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.9	1	5.9	4	23.5	17	100
BP	26	40.0	5	7.7	9	13.8	5	7.7	8	12.3	4	6.2	8	12.3	65	100
SR	108	43.4	10	40.2	19	7.6	26	6.8	18	7.2	17	6.8	51	20.5	249	100
DR	455	31.1	133	9.1	167	11.4	171	11.7	179	12.3	113	7.7	243	16.6	1461	100

My field observations coincide with the trend of this data. The tension associated with doing business in Elías Piña tends to be high. Dominicans and Haitians appreciate the opportunity to buy and sell, yet, did so aggressively, and with contempt for the other. That said, I also observed equal tensions between Dominicans to Dominican merchants that I observed between Haitians at the market in Elías Piña. The historic process of Haitians crossing the border to sell goods, then being required to return to Haiti by Dominican force appears to be a scenario that benefits both sides, with the advantage being on the side of the Dominicans. Based on this, it is not surprising that the 2010 LAPOP data presented in Table 12 demonstrate resistance by Dominicans in allowing Haitians worker permits to stay in the Dominican Republic.

Education

Nationally, Dominican schools, from kindergarten through high school, offer courses for students in either the morning or afternoon. In general, the morning sessions begin at 8am and end at noon. The second session begins at 2pm and closes as 6pm. Students attend either the morning or afternoon session. Teachers and administrators are most likely to teach both; although some teachers are contracted for only one of the two sessions.

While the level of education is quite low in Elías Piña, the UNDP (2010) report concluded that it is generally reflective of the country as a whole. In the 2005-2006 academic year, 39% of teachers had a university degree in Elías Piña. This is the second lowest among provinces in the Dominican Republic. The national average is 56% (UNDP, 2010, p. 140)

Carnoy (2005) identifies grade repetition and dropouts as indicators of the quality of education students are receiving. The age-grade discrepancy in the Dominican public education is 54% (UNESCO, 2004). Most striking from this data point is that UNESCO's report defined age-grade discrepancy as a student having two or more years of age difference than the corresponding age of the grade. The UNDP (2010) report presents a more specific finding stating that in Elías Piña the age-grade discrepancy is 60-80%. The report also stated that in the academic year 2007-2008 the rate of students repeating a grade was 7.4%. This was the highest among all provinces in the Dominican Republic (UNDP, 2010, p. 140).

Misión 1000 x 1000 Campaign

In reference to the schooling intensity, and noting the weakening of the school year to strikes by the teacher's union that protested wages, the cancellation of classes by teachers, and lack of instructional time in the classroom, the Dominican Department of Education implemented the "Misión 1000 x 1000" campaign. This campaign is to push teachers and administrators to have 1000 hours of instruction in quantity coupled with 1000 hours of instruction in quality. The carrot of this campaign is to reward teachers that meet the goal with bonuses. The 2009-2010 school year budget appropriated for the campaign was RD$102,554,000.00 (USD$ 2,695,243.16; 1 USD = 38.05 DOP) (El Ministerio de Educación [MINERD], 2011).

National Education Reform "4% Campaign"

The national education reform "4% Campaign" began in 2010, during my fieldwork in the same year in Elías Piña. The fundamental premise to the 4% campaign is that the Dominican Republic legislative body must meet its constitutional obligation

(*Ley 66-97)* to allot 4% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) to public education. In 2009, the national budget only provided 2.3% towards public education costs. In my visits to schools and my visual assessment of academic resources, one finds Elías Piña schools to be considerably underfunded. This was a theme among most teachers I interviewed. Jiminez, Lockheed, Luna, and Paqueo (1991) found that private schools located in Dominican towns that served middle and lower-middle class residents were found to be more cost effective in regards to the use and allocation of resources than free public schools in the same town. This finding no doubt contributes to the consternation between the Dominican legislature and the demands of the 4% campaign. Since the inception of the 4% Campaign, there have been numerous marches and wide-spread public support. So much so, that most recently it was reported in the national newspaper Listín Diario that 10 candidates running in the 2012 presidential election have signed the *Compromiso Político y Social por la Educación* / Political and Social Promise for Education which is a commitment to adhering to the 4% campaign (Apolinar, 2011).

Case Study Descriptions of Schools

East School

Located in a public housing community, East School is relatively small. Though situated on the outer edge of Comendador, East School is surrounded by one of the nicest barrios in the area. The neighborhood where East School is located was created by the late President Balaguer. The concrete, three bedroom apartments are highly sought after by local middle-class residential families as a community. Professionals, military retirees and politically connected families make up much of the barrio. Typically, many of these families do not send their children to the East School, as private schooling is

categorically preferred over public education. Most of the students attending the school walked from a neighboring community with a larger Haitian immigrant population of lesser means.

East School is a three room, concrete building of roughly 800 sq. ft. The grounds were found to be poorly kept, as the lot had an abandoned, skeleton of a truck on the property. The grass and vegetation appeared to be lost to the elements; the space for student recreation is limited. East School is a primary school offering a kindergarten through fifth grade curriculum twice a day (A.M. and P.M.). The student population is relatively small, with an enrollment of 42 students in the morning session and 35 in the afternoon. These students are separated into two rooms, with a single teacher designated to head each classroom of multiple grades, fewer seats and desks than students and limited text books. The school district designates one of the two teachers as the school director, in addition to being a full-time teacher, too. One teacher teaches kindergarten, first and second grade in one classroom. The other teacher, who is also the director, instructs third, fourth and fifth grades in the second room. The school is officially open from 8am until noon; it closes for lunch and opens again at 2pm till 6pm to serve a new group of students. Actual hours are at the whim of the two teachers. Rain, festivals and labor strikes often close the school.

Also located in the community, next to East School, is a Centro Tecnológico Comunitario (CTC) / Community Technology Centers (CTC). The CTC is funded by the Office of the Dominican First Lady, and not tied to the Dominican Ministry of Education. Gated, like the East School, it is a striking contrast between a highly supported government project and a minimally supported school. The CTC provides local

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Dominican students with free access to the internet, a library, workshops (computer training, English classes, etc.) and pre-kindergarten.

North School

The North School is located near Comendador's center in one of the older, more established barrios. It is one of the two largest elementary schools in the town. The student population is roughly six hundred for both the morning and afternoon sessions. Unlike the other three schools in Comendador, North School has offered classrooms with individuated grade levels, not multiple grade levels in a one single classroom, taught by one teacher. The families living around North School have been living there for generations, and are prominent stakeholders of Comendador. Children and grandchildren of these well-established families have moved to the Balaguer housing barrios nearby.

North School is large. Its lot takes up much of an entire block from the barrio. The construction of the building is a mix between a wooden structure and concrete block. The North School offers classes from the pre-kindergarten level to the eighth grade. Over twenty teachers work at the school, supported by a school director and an administrative support staff. When I walked through the school, it was apparent that the school had received little upkeep. The ceilings in the halls and classrooms were falling, the paint was old, and the hallways and classrooms were dim. If I were to walk through the school when it was not in session, I would have been under the impression it had been abandoned.

South School

South School is the smallest school of the case study. Located just a ten minute walk from the Comendador center, South School is in a rural setting, surrounded by small

parcels of family owned farms and wooden, two-room homes. The dirt road to South

School leads to the Haitian border where many Haitians are seen traveling with goods to

sell in the Comendador market. The Haitian border was approximately two kilometers

from the school. There is a mix of Haitian, Dominican and Haitian-Dominican families

that send their children to the school. It is common to hear Haitian Creole and Spanish

being spoken from people passing by the school, going into or leaving Comendador.

South School is made of concrete, with a zinc roof. The school has roughly 30

students in the morning and afternoon sessions respectively. Haitians students made up

approximately 20% of the total student population. Students from the school live in the

immediate area.   Two teachers instruct kindergarten through sixth grade. The two

classrooms have fewer seats and desks than they have students. The school is poorly

maintained, as doors, windows and paint show significant deterioration.

West School

Located in Carrizal, a community two kilometers from Comendador, West School

is located within view of the international border separating the Dominican Republic

from Haiti. The school is centrally located near Dominican immigration offices, military

post and the agricultural checkpoint. The school has six classrooms, offering all primary

levels of instruction, kindergarten through sixth grades. There were six teachers

employed at West School. The facility has been renovated, as evident by the new paint,

lighted classrooms and relatively new chalkboards and desks. Also notable, an

international non-profit development organization, with its Dominican headquarters in

Santo Domingo, had been very supportive of the school, providing teacher trainings and

manuals.

West School has a student population of roughly 250 students, of which, approximately 40% were Haitian immigrants or children of Haitian immigrants. Given its close proximity to the international border, the Haitian immigrant population was most visible here. At West School, there are Haitian students who pass through the international border on a daily basis in order to attend. Despite its renovations, like the other schools, there are fewer text books, seating and desks than students. Classrooms were overcrowded. Here also, the director was required to teach, organize and manage the school's breakfast program, and supervise recreation time.

Chapter Five: FINDINGS

Introduction and Research Questions

This study is guided by an over-arching research question (RQ), followed by six sub-research questions (SRQs). Using an ethnographic approach, I sought to answer the broad research question, "Following the 2010 earthquake, what are the conditions faced by Haitian immigrants in accessing primary public education in the Dominican Republic"? The six SRQs provide a means of understanding the intrinsic nature of the generalized RQ. The findings are organized and presented using the six SRQ. The educational structural components of the conceptual framework are: curriculum and instruction, parent involvement, policy analysis, teacher resources and training, intercultural communications, and praxis. The data collection schema uses the educational structural components of the conceptual framework in framing semi-structured interviews, observations, document review and field notes. The SRQs are listed below:

SRQ1: How does educational policy support or limit access to education for Haitian students?

SRQ2: How does curriculum and instruction materialize in primary schools as a means to supporting or limiting access to education for Haitian students?

SRQ3: How do teacher resources and training support access to education for Haitian students?

SRQ4: How does parent involvement surface as a means to access education for Haitian students?

SRQ5: What are the explicit and implicit intercultural communication actions that positively or negatively impact the access of educational services for Haitians in the Dominican Republic?

SRQ6: Given more than one year after the post 2010 earthquake in Haiti, what has been the praxis, reflection and action to assist Haitians in accessing primary public education in the Dominican Republic"?

Hood (2007) states, "Without constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling, and theoretical saturation of categories, we have lost the power of the method [grounded theory]" (p. 152). After reviewing the collected data, it became apparent that the four case study schools presented very similar findings. Furthermore, in organizing and categorizing the findings, I found that the sub-research questions blended and overlapped. Because of this, SRQ1 (policy), SRQ5 (ICC) and SRQ6 (praxis) are presented together. This allowed for an analysis that demonstrates the intertwined nature of each within the other.

SRQ1 (policy), SRQ5 (intercultural communications), SRQ6 (praxis)

The Dominican Republic has a formal educational policy that conforms to international expectations that nations will adopt legal procedures for providing access to primary public education for non-native, undocumented students. In 2003, the Dominican Republic updated its laws with passage of *Ley 136_06.* This law, as presented in chapter two, explicitly states that primary education is obligatory and free to all children in the Dominican Republic. This legislation provides undocumented Haitian students the right to attend public primary schools (Mariner & Strumpen-Darrie, 2002; Wooding & Moosley-Williams, 2004).

The Dominican Department of Education reported that 23,967 Haitians attended

Dominican public schools in the 2009 – 2010 school year. This is 1.2% of 1,943,179 of

the total student population (Ministerio de Educación [MINERD], 2010). In the

academic year 2006-2007 Haitian students made up 4.6% (1,036) of the student body in

Elías Piña (UNDP, 2010).   After the cholera outbreak in Haiti, Uribe (2010), writing for

the Dominican newspaper, Listín Diario,reported,

> The public schools along the border have a large number of Haitian students,
> many of whom come and go daily to their schools, both in the morning and
> evening sessions. The enrollment of students increased significantly after the
> earthquake in the neighboring country. (para. 4 & 5)

> Las planteles públicos de la frontera tienen un alto número de estudiantes
> haitianos, muchos de los cuales entran y salen a diario para recibir sus clases,
> tanto en la tanda matutina como vespertina. La matrícula de estudiantes se
> aumentó considerablemente tras del terremoto en el vecino país. (para. 4 & 5)

Because specific statistical data on each Dominican school were not available, the exact

number of Haitians in each school fluctuates. Emily, an employee of an international

non-governmental organization (NGO) with projects in Elías Piña and Haiti reaffirm this

fact when she was interviewed, stating,

> The first thing we discovered, when I was part of the ministry, was that…I did not
> dare to say the number of Haitians who had children in schools because it was
> going to highlight the fact that Dominican public resources were being diluted and
> I did not want this interpretation to be had. At the school in Carrizal, with 100
> students, 80 are Haitian, if I tell that to them, instead of reforming the school, they
> will close the school. They will say that these 20 students need to be transferred to
> schools in town and the others be left with nothing. This is what the power
> structures envision in terms of spending, and now there are demands that not
> enough is being invested in Dominican education. If I provide the Minister of
> Education with statistics that reveal what is being spent on the education of a
> migrant population, he would have a heart attack. Such a fact would create
> tension since not all Haitians are addressed in public discussion.

> Lo primero que descubrimos, cuando yo era parte del ministerio…yo no me
> atrevía a sacar un número que dijera el número de niños haitianos que había en
> una escuela porque iba a poner muy relevante que los recursos del estado

dominicano estaban siendo diluidos y yo no quería que se le diera esa interpretación. En la escuela de Carrizal, donde de 100 estudiantes, 80 son haitianos, si yo le digo eso, que en vez de reformar la escuela de Carrizal, la escuela la cierran. Porque esos 20 niños lo que hay que trasladarlos para escuelas en el pueblo y los demás que no tengan nada. Esas son las visiones de las estructuras con relación al gasto y ahora hay una demanda de que no se está invirtiendo suficiente en la educación dominicana. Si yo le facilito al ministro de educación las estadísticas de lo que se invierte en educación en una población migrante, le da un ataque. Este no es el momento por eso no todos los haitianos son fruto de discusiones públicas.

After the January 2010 earthquake, Listín Diario (Haití faculta al BID, 2010, para. 3), a national newspaper, reported that 90% of Haitian schools are private. Before the 2010 earthquake approximately half of primary school age Haitians were not registered for school. Many schools were destroyed or suffered significant damage due to the earthquake.

In regards to access to schools, the 2010 Elías Piña Household Composition (EPHC) survey specifically asked participants of their knowledge of Haitian children attending Dominican schools. Table 13 shows responses by participants' place of birth. An interesting finding is that 10.7% of DR born participants responded that Haitian students did not attend their local school in Elías Piña. Given the large, and visible, Haitian population in Elías Piña, this percentage, though significantly less than those who responded "yes" (77.8%), is still higher than expected. Only 3.3% of Haiti born participants responded "no."

Table 13

Knowledge of Haitian Students Attending Local School

	Place of birth			
	Dominican Republic		Haiti	
Haitian students attend local school	*N*	%	*n*	%
Yes	189	77.8	55	91.7
No	26	10.7	2	3.3
Don't Know	28	11.5	3	5.0
Total	243	100	60	100

The data are even more revealing in Table 14 among the Spanish only speakers. This same sub-group that responded "no" to Haitian students attending the local school was 22.8%.

Table 14

Knowledge of Haitian Students Attending Their Local School

	Language(s) spoken					
	Spanish only		Haitian Creole only		Bi or multi-lingual with Haitian Creole	
Haitian students attend local school	*n*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Yes	167	75.9	13	100	52	91.2
No	26	22.8	0	0	2	3.5
Don't Know	27	12.3	0	0	3	5.3
Total	220	100		100	57	100

Note: DR born bi or multi-lingual with Haitian Creole (n = 31). Haiti born bi or multi-lingual with Haitian Creole (n = 26).

Emily, a NGO professional with several years of experience working in development projects along the Haitian Dominican border, provided her insights into the multi-dimensional nature of Haitians having access to education stating,

> My Haitian colleagues put forth the idea that if schools in Haiti were stronger, maybe the children would not be sent to Dominican schools. But there may more to it, because leaving to another country represents an opportunity. Parents want their children to learn the language [Spanish], besides the Dominican Republic offers public schools and Haitian education is mostly private. But we do not have advocates in Haiti. What we have been saying is that the problem points to private education.

> Mis colegas haitianos proponen que si las escuelas en Haití fueran mas fuertes, quizas los niños no los mandarían para las escuelas dominicanas. Pero ese puede no ser un logro porque salir para otro país representa una oportunidad. Los padres quieren que aprendan el idioma además la educación dominicana es pública y la educación haitiana es privada…Pero no tenemos interlocutores en Haití. Es tanto lo que hemos dicho que el problema es que la educación es privada.

There are Haitian children who have not been registered in public schools in the Dominican Republic due to lack of immigration documentation, fear of deportation racial and social discrimination (Almonte, 2002, p. 41; Human Rights Watch, 2002, p. 27). Human Rights Watch (2002) reports on the consequences of this condition:

> Primary schools tend to be more flexible with regard to documentation requirements than secondary schools, but policies vary from district to district. Students are often prevented from continuing in school at two crucial junctures. First, they are often barred from registering for the national exam administered at the end of eighth grade, which determines whether a student is eligible for secondary school. Second, they are typically denied a diploma at the end of secondary school, which is a prerequisite for applying for entry to a university. (p. 27)

Though there have been reports of Haitians being denied access to public schooling in the Dominican Republic, there is also evidence that in recent history that the Dominican government has publically announced support of Haitian students in Dominican schools.

In 2001, then Vice President and Secretary of Education Milagros Ortiz Bosch announced that students no longer were required to provide birth certificates in order to register and attend schools. Vice President Ortiz Bosch went on to state that the previously held regulation was racist. Furthermore, she asserted that no child should be denied schooling due to race or socio-economic status (Human Rights Watch, 2002, p. 27). A year after taking this position, under political pressure, Vice President Ortiz Bosch stated that the Dominican Department of Education's position would be to allow school directors to decide on the registration policy; thus, allowing directors the authority of allowing or not allowing undocumented Haitian children entrance (Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004, p. 69).

Uribe (2010, para. 1), writing for the newspaper Listín Diario, reported an announcement by the Dominican Department of Education of the possibility of setting up a program where thousands of Haitian students living along the Haitian Dominican border could attend Dominican public schools. In my observations, I witnessed Haitian students who crossed the international border every day to attend Dominican primary schools. However, I did not observe, nor was I informed of, a formal bi-national program as cited by Uribe (2010) in the Listín Diario, which stated,

> The government representative stated that the government, by order of President Leonel Fernández, discussed with Haitian authorities the possibility of children from the neighboring country (Haiti) going to school in Jimaní [Dominican Republic] and other border provinces, in order keep students from suffering delays in their studies after the destruction of schools the earthquake of January 12. (para. 3)

> El funcionario dijo que el gobierno, por disposición del presidente Leonel Fernández, discute con las autoridades haitianas la posibilidad de que jóvenes del vecino país estudien en Jimaní [Republica Dominicana] y otras provincias fronterizas, a fin de que no sufran retrasos en sus estudios tras la destrucción de planteles como consecuencia del terremoto del 12 de enero. (para. 3)

Furthermore, the 2010 Elías Piña Household Composition (2010 EPHC) survey asked

two questions that addressed Haitian children attending Dominican schools. Table 15

provides a cross-tab of respondents who were born in the Dominican Republic around

two questions: 1) whether Dominican law allows Haitians to attend Dominican public

schools, and 2) whether they agree with the response to the previous question. Table 15

shows 61.9% of Dominican born respondents have an accurate knowledge of Dominican

educational law as it pertains to Haitian access, and/or, are in agreement with this law.

Table 15

Knowledge and Opinion of Dominican Education Law Pertaining to Haitian Access to Public Education

| | Dominican Law Allows Access | | | | | |
| | Yes | | No | | Don't Know | |
Agree with Dominican Law	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Yes	179	61.9	6	2.1	5	2.6
No	74	25.6	8	2.8	1	.3
Don't Know	3	1	1	.3	8	2.8
Total	286		15		14	

Note. Participants who identified as being born in the Dominican Republic.

Table 16 presents the response to the same set of questions by Haitian born respondents. The data show a similar pattern among Haitian born respondents in comparison to Dominican born respondents. Haitian born respondents that both had accurate knowledge of Dominican law and were in agreement with this was 71.8%.

Table 16

Haitians' Knowledge and Opinion of Dominican Education Law Pertaining to Haitian Access to Public Education

	Dominican Law Allows Access					
	Yes		No		Don't Know	
Agree with Dominican Law	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Yes	79	71.8	5	4.5	0	0
No	12	10.9	3	2.7	0	0
Don't Know	2	1.8	0	0	1	0
Total	93		8		1	

Note. Participants who identified as being born in Haiti.

Given the issue of Haitian students having access to public education in the Dominican Republic, it was apparent that the school directors from each of the four case study schools were aware of both public opinion and the international perspective of educational services to Haitian children. Within this context I found positive affirmation from each of the four school directors towards the basic assumption that Haitian students should be allowed to attend their respective school.

Ramona, the lower grade teacher East School, stated,

> Yes, I have several Haitian students. They go to school here because they live nearby and have to have an education. What are the alternatives? They are good students and they are respectful. Most of them come from the poorest neighborhood. They are very poor but dedicated. Dominican students are not as dedicated to their studies as Haitian students.

> Sí, yo tengo varios estudiantes haitianos. Ellos van a esta escuela porque viven cerca y necesitan una educación. ¿Y qué pueden hacer? Ellos son buenos estudiantes y son muy respetuosos. La mayoría salen de los barrios mas pobres. Ellos son muy pobre pero dedicados. Los muchachos dominicanos no son tan dedicados a sus estudios como los estudiantes haitianos.

The East School director, Yolanda, addressed the issue of allowing Haitian students to enroll by stating,

> At this school, I welcome all Haitian students. If there is a Haitian student that wants to attend here I let them. You can see many of the students here are too poor to buy uniforms. I don't let that keep students from coming to school. Many Haitian students don't wear uniforms and I understand why. Haitians are very poor in the neighborhoods near here. If there is a Haitian student who is not in school here, it is not because of me. Some parents don't send their kids to school.

> En esta escuela, yo le doy la bienvenida a todos los estudiantes haitianos. Si hay un estudiante haitiano que quiere asistir aquí, yo los dejo. Uno se da cuenta que aquí muchos estudiantes son demasiado pobres para comprar uniformes. Pero yo no permito que por eso los estudiantes no vengan a la escuela. Muchos estudiantes haitianos no usan uniformes y entiendo por qué. En los barrios de por aquí, los haitianos son muy pobres. Si hay un estudiante haitiano por aquí que no está en la escuela, no es por mi. Es porque los padres no los mandan a la escuela.

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The sentiment of these two educators was echoed by all four school directors from each case study school. At first, the directors' statements on Haitian enrollment appeared as an official, government sanctioned response. A significant pattern of responses from Haitian parents confirm what the Dominican public school directors were saying. Though, I found economic and social conditions as intervening factors in accessing education that it was not always cut and dry. Evelyn, a displaced Haitian living near the North School, stated,

> My children are going to school there [North School]. Not all [Haitian] parents are sending their children. Most of them do. Those that do not can't afford the uniform. Sometimes the teachers from the school come to the neighborhood asking if students are enrolled. I enrolled my children with a friend because I don't know the system. Some of us are nervous about going by ourselves.

> Pitit mwen yo ale lèkol la. Gen kèk ayisyen ki pa voye timoun yo lèkol. Men, anpil nan yo voye yo. Paran ki pa voye yo pa gen lajan pou achte inifòm nan. Pafwa mèt lekòl yo vin katye a pou mande si timoun nan lekòl la. Yon zanmi mwen mete pitit mwen yo nan lekòl paske mwen pa konnen tout bagay. Nou pa vle ale pou kont nou.

Having visited dozens of Haitian families in their homes, I found a repeated circumstance that kept Haitian students out of schools. Jan, a blind Haitian man with numerous children and grandchildren who did not attend school, said, "I want my children to get an education. It is important. But, I don't have the strength (*la fuerza*) to send them." First, it is important to understand what Jan means by *la fuerza*. This was a phrase repeated to me over and over again by Haitians. It does not have as common usage with Dominicans. *La fuerza*, literally translated, means "the force." Haitians use it figuratively, as a metaphor reflecting one's financial circumstance. Someone with financial security, a nice house, a car and a steady job has *la fuerza* to do the things necessary for her or his family, like buy uniforms, notebooks, pencils. They are not

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reliant on their children to sell goods at the market or beg in the streets. In the case of Jan, and many other Haitian families in Elías Piña, their economic status was so bleak that he, like many, relied on the labor of his children in order to provide minimal clothing, housing and food.

Having visited Jan's home numerous times over the six months in Elías Piña, his circumstances were fairly common among Haitian families. The exception for Jan's case is that he was blind and completely dependent on his wife and children. One day his daughter, Solanj, spoke to me expressing interest in attending school. She is eighteen and had never attended school. She, like many children born into Haitian families in the Dominican Republic, does not have a birth certificate. It is the de facto policy of hospitals not to provide any birth certificate to children born in the Dominican Republic if the mother is Haitian. As a response to Solanj's interest in school, I set out to see what could be done, and document the process of her attempting to gain entrance into school. I bought her the school uniform; the ubiquitous blue shirt and khaki pants seen throughout the Dominican Republic. I got her pencils, pens and notebooks. Also, I spoke to the teacher and director of South School, notifying them that Solanj had the uniform and supplies to go to school. After a few weeks of follow up with Solanj and her father, the reality of their poverty would not all allow her to break away from selling at the market, watching over the young children and assisting her mother with washing clothes and gathering water.

I spoke with the director and teacher of the South School concerning Solanj's circumstance. Margarita, the teacher told me,

> That is very common here. We invite the Haitian families to send their kids to school. We even take them after the enrollment date. Many poor Haitian families

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won't send their children if they can't afford a uniform, notebook and pencils. It is very sad. We can't convince them otherwise. They send their young kids to the fields to work or the market to sell. None of those kids know how to read. The Haitian students in my class are better than the Dominican students. They are more respectful and work harder.

Eso es común aquí. Nosotros les decimos a las familias haitianas que manden a sus hijos a la escuela. Hasta los aceptamos tarde, después que ya haya pasado la fecha de inscripción. Muchas familias haitianas pobres no mandan a sus hijos porque no pueden comprar el uniforme, las mascotas ni los lápices. Da pena. No importa lo que uno le diga, ellos no los mandan. Mandan a sus niños chiquitos a trabajar en el campo o en el mercado para vender. Ninguno de los niños sabe leer. Los estudiantes haitianos en mi clase son mejores que los dominicanos. Son más respetuosos y son más trabajadores.

Though Margarita expressed apparent concern and understanding for Jan and his children, she repeated to me that all the Haitian children were enrolled in school in the school's zone. This came across as an official position. Her sympathy for Jan's situation was more genuinely oriented.

During my stint in Elías Piña I observed school directors expressing their concern for Haitian students who were displaced from the 2010 earthquake. The sympathy expressed resonated among teachers, community members and leaders, too. Many Dominicans I spoke to were very proud of their quick response to send supplies to Port-au-Prince. A long-time community leader, Carmelo, expressed his pride saying,

When we heard about the earthquake in Port-au-Prince here in Elías Piña, we were the first to send supplies. Before the Dominican government, before anyone, we had collected three truckloads of supplies for Port-au-Prince. Understand, we know the Haitians in Port-au-Prince are human too. We responded to their need out of solidarity. They are our Haitian brothers.

Cuando nosotros supimos lo del terremoto en Puerto Príncipe, aquí en Elías Piña, nosotros fuimos los primeros en mandar ayuda. Antes que el gobierno dominicano, antes que cualquiera, nosotros habíamos recolectado tres camiones de ayuda para mandar a Puerto Príncipe. Es que los haitianos en Puerto Príncipe son seres humanos, también. Nosotros somos solidarios. Ellos son nuestros hermanos haitianos.

Several participants cited with pride that Elías Piña had sent trucks of supplies to Port-au-Prince. I followed up asking about what Elías Piña had done to help displaced Haitians who now lived in their community. This tangible evidence of assistance, that was specifically provided to displaced Haitians now living in Elías Piña, demonstrated a level of empathy.

Carmelo went on to expound upon his opinion towards Haitian children going to school in Elías Piña.

> All children need to be educated. It is their right. This includes Haitian children. If they live in Elías Piña, they should go to school just like Dominicans go to school. They need to learn to read and write in Spanish just like Dominicans, if they are going to live here. They have nothing in Haiti. So, if they live here they should send their kids to school.

> Todos los niños necesitan ser educados. Ese es su derecho, incluyendo a los niños haitianos. Si ellos viven en Elías Piña, ellos deben ir a la escuela igual que los dominicanos van a la escuela. Si ellos van a vivir aquí, ellos tienen que aprender a leer y a escribir en español igual que los dominicanos. Ellos no tienen nada en Haití. Entonces, si ellos viven aquí, ellos deben mandar a sus hijos a la escuela.

At West School, where many students cross over from Haiti to go to school, the idea of allowing Haitians to go to Dominican schools was similar among teachers and the director. Altagracia, the West School director, stated,

> Haitians have nothing in Haiti. Over there [pointing west towards the border] many Haitians don't have food, clothing, and fewer go to school. If my supervisor allows me to register Haitians, then I do it. For the most part, they are well behaved. We don't speak Haitian Creole so they must learn Spanish if they want to be here. We don't have much here [school supplies], but I know we have more than they have in Haiti.

> Los haitianos no tienen nada en Haití. Allá, hay muchos haitianos que no tienen comida, ropa, y menos van a tener escuelas. Si mi supervisor me deja inscribir haitianos, entonces yo los inscribo. Ellos, en su mayoría, se portan bien. Aquí no hablamos creol, así que ellos tienen que aprender español si quieren ir a la escuela aquí. Aquí no hay mucho, pero lo que yo sí sé es que aquí hay más que lo que ellos tienen en Haití.

For Haitian students who were learning Spanish, there was no language support. It was a classic 'sink or swim' scenario – they either engage in Spanish or they fall behind. Haitian students at East School had almost all repeated grades. Yolanda, the school director stated,

> Haitian students have to learn Spanish. We are expected to teach them no matter what. I know a few words of Haitian Creole, but not enough to teach them. I tell their brother or sister to tell them what I said so they know what I am saying. I teach in Spanish. That is what I know.

> Los estudiantes haitianos tienen que aprender español. Nosotros tenemos que enseñarles, no importa los obstáculos. Yo sé un chín, unas palabritas en creol, pero no lo suficiente para enseñarles. Yo les digo a sus hermanos o hermanas que les digan lo que yo dije porque yo enseño español porque eso es lo que yo sé.

At the North School I found an exceptional circumstance of access. While doing interviews with displaced Haitians in a neighborhood near the school, I was introduced to a Haitian who was a single mother of a three year old child. The mother had lost many of her family, her house, and her work due to the earthquake. She came to Elías Piña because she had a family member there. Her name is Janel. I sat down with her in her one room living space. Janel was very direct in expressing her experience in Elías Piña.

> I was surprised. I didn't expect Dominicans to care. You see us hiding from the military because we are scared of being deported. I thought Dominicans would all be like that. It has not been true. I have a three year old. The teachers from the school [North School] came to our neighborhood. They were looking for three and four year olds to enroll in the pre-kindergarten program. I was a little suspicious, but my friend said it was ok. My child is going to the school now. This is good. He can start to study now.

> Mwen te sezi. Mwen pa t panse Dominiken pral fe anyen. Ou wè nou kache militè paske nou pè yo depòte nou. Mwen te panse tout Dominiken konsa. Li pa vre. Mwen gen yon pitit ki gen twa lane. Pwofesè yo nan lekòl la [School Nò a] te vin nan katye nou. Yo chèche pitit ki gen twa ak kat lane pou enskri yo nan pwogram nan Pre-kinder. Mwen te yon ti kras sispèk, men zanmi mwen te di li te ok. Pitit mwen an ale lekòl la kounye a. Sa bon. Li ka kòmanse etid kounye a.

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After this interview, I left the barrio with my contact person, walking with a few other Haitians. As we walked towards a main road, they quickly became austere. One of the women turned around nonchalantly and began to return to the barrio. The CESFRONT military was driving through town, as it does every evening, picking up Haitians to deport.

Yanel's experience was unique in that it represented a displaced Haitian child, her son, getting access to non-obligatory education. Pre-kindergarten is not covered under Dominican law, only kindergarten through eighth grade. Therefore, he gained access to a public educational opportunity that the Dominican government did not have the legal onus of providing. The North School's pre-kindergarten program was not administrated by Consejo Nacional para la Niñez y la Adolescencia (CONANI), which is the Dominican government's equivalent to Head Start. The Centro Tecnológico Comunitario (CTC) is another educational opportunity in Elías Piña that could legally exclude undocumented Haitians. CTC provides public high school and adult vocational education. In the case of the CTC, students without official Dominican identification were officially not allowed to use the computer lab, internet, library, participate in vocational classes, or enroll in the pre-kindergarten class. Jose Luis, a CTC staffer lamented, stating,

> Haitian students are very good students. They are always the first ones to school. They apply themselves more than Dominican students. But to use the CTC they must have official identification.

> Los estudiantes haitianos son muy buenos. Ellos son los primeros en llegar a la escuela. Son más aplicados que los estudiantes dominicanos. Pero para poder usar el CTC, necesitan tener identificación.

A repeated theme of technology surfaced when interviewing Haitian parents concerning

the educational opportunities that they wanted for their child. Several Haitian parents

expressed interest in enrolling their child in computer courses. Evelyn, a displaced

Haitian mother of three children, stated,

> If I could ask for an education for my child, I would want them to learn
> technology. It is important. It can give them a future. They don't have this
> opportunity. They go to school, but don't learn technology. To succeed these
> days people need to know computers.

> Si mwen kapab mande pou gen yon edikasyon pou pitit mwen an, mwen ta vle yo
> aprann teknoloji. Li enpòtan. Li ka ba yo yon fiti. Yo pa gen opòtinite sa a. Yo ale
> lekòl, men li pa aprann teknoloji. Pou yo reyisi jou sa yo moun bezwen konnen ò
> bagay komputadol.

I found that participants did not give me specifics to the type of technology courses they

desired. It is notable; though, that all participants were unanimous in that they knew that

information technology education was a path out of poverty. In all fairness to the

participants, providing specifics should not be a criterion for their wanting to break the

cycle of poverty they endure. I found that in most of the Haitian households I visited,

most parents were illiterate. Many lived without electricity; slept on a dirt floor; and,

cooked with scavenged wood. It was evident to me that these parents had an

understanding of society and the economy that was beyond their own experience, but that

would advance their children educationally.

Emily, the international NGO staff member, summarized the situation by noting

the complexity of formal and informal educational policy as it unfolds in elementary

schools. She stated,

> Of all the school directors, none of whom I knew personally, we asked what they
> do when a Haitian child arrives to register at their school. Their response was to
> tell us that of course they would register the children - all of them. They said

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there were children that would run behind the teacher say "let me in, let me in, let me in." And they would let them in the school. There are others who were registered in an unorthodox way. Teachers would tell them to come to school dressed, then give them shoes. This led to their attendance at school. I say this to explain that there is a lot of humanity here. There is solidarity between the students and the school directors. The problems start at the moment of educating the students. A teacher registers a [Haitian] child and there isn't a problem until the fourth grade. In fourth grade of elementary school there are national exams with your name attached to an exam. And there are no documents that state that the [Haitian] child is enrolled because the child was enrolled only verbally. And if by chance the child is registered at the school, it is in the school district's computer. This name is marked with an indicator in the Department of Education's database. All schools have to report their names of all students in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grades. In the database they separate the students who have documents and the ones who do not. There are an extremely high number of Dominicans without documents. There are a lot of Dominican-Haitians who do not have documents. Don't believe that it is only the Haitians who don't have documents.

De todas las directoras de escuela, ninguna de las que yo conocí, por no decir todas, la primera ronda de consulta hace 4 años, le preguntamos ¿qué usted hace si viene un niño haitiano a inscribirse en la escuela? ¿Cómo qué yo hago? ¡Yo lo inscribo!. Todas los entran. Hay niños que les caen atrás a los maestros '¡éntrame, éntrame, éntrame!' Y ellas los dejan entrar. Hay otros que entran de manera irregular, ven cambiados, les dan unos zapatos y comienzan a llegar y lo entran. Es decir, que hay más que humanidad, hay solidaridad entre los docentes y los directores de escuela. Donde comienza el problema, el problema comienza en dos momentos en educación. Una maestra te inscribe un niño y no hay problema hasta cuarto de primaria. En cuarto de primaria hay pruebas nacionales porque tu nombre está en una lista, pero no hay un documento que avale tu inscripción. Te inscribiste de boca. Ese niño está inscrito en el registro de la escuela, ese niño está en la computadora. En esa computadora de educación tienen en rojo, porque todas las escuelas reportan cundo van para quinto a sexto y séptimo hacia octavo. Tienen que poner al lado con documento sin documento, el proceso de documentación. Hay un número altísimo de dominicanos que tampoco tienen documentos y de domínico-haitianos sin documentos. No te creas que solamente es con haitianos.

From this statement there are multiple areas of interest. First, it is important to know that

Emily is speaking from the perspective of having worked within Department of

Education, to someone who is now working for an international NGO outside the

Department of Education. Also, Emily works out of the international NGO's office in

Santo Domingo on projects in multiple sites along the Haitian Dominican border. I found

her background in education and her experience in education the highest among all

participants. In her statement she identified the solidarity teachers and school directors

have for Haitian children. Also, she described the informal measures that teachers and

directors will use to provide access to education. Finally, she elicits the barriers

encountered by bureaucratic procedures or how data is documented within the

Department of Education.

The 2010 EPHC survey provides other insight into the public opinion of the

impact Haitian children have on Dominican public schools. Table 17 shows that 46.1%

of DR born respondents believed that Haitian students have had a positive impact on

Dominican schools. Only 7% thought Haitian students have negatively impacted

Dominican schools.

Table 17

Opinion of Haitian Students' Impact on Dominican Schools

	Place of birth			
	Dominican Republic		Haiti	
Haitian student impact	*n*	%	*n*	%
Positive	125	46.1	55	52.9
Negative	19	7.0	3	2.9
Neither positive or negative	47	17.3	35	33.7
Don't know	80	29.5	11	10.6
Total	271	100	104	100

In Table 18, of the same 2010 EPHC survey question, is presented by languages spoken.

Respondents who only spoke Spanish had a lower positive opinion (43.2%) than those

who only spoke Haitian Creole (57.9%) or spoke Haitian Creole, plus another language.

Though this percentage is lower, it is still much stronger than the negative opinion shared

by 8.6% of Spanish only respondents.

Table 18

Opinion of Haitian Students' Impact on Dominican Schools

Haitian students' impact	Spanish only		Haitian Creole only		Bi or multi-lingual with Haitian Creole	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Positive	105	43.2	22	57.9	46	58.2
Negative	21	8.6	1	2.6	0	0
Neither positive or negative	43	17.7	9	23.7	25	31.6
Don't know	74	30.5	6	15.8	8	10.1
Total	243	100	38	100	79	100

Intercultural Communications

Drawing on Arasaratnam's (2009) work on intercultural communication competency (ICC), the inquiry for SRQ5 was guided by five themes: empathy, experience, listening (interaction involvement), attitude towards other cultures, and motivation. Using these five themes, the findings relating to SRQ5 demonstrate various rationales for the findings from SRQ1, 2, 3, 4 and 6. Thus, SRQ5 (ICC) was incorporated into each sub-question to provide context for the findings. After interviewing the participants, reflecting upon, and analyzing the data, I found that there were three major points that were identified within the ICC construct. First, the Elías Piña bi-national market is a major component in everyone's lives in Comendador. Second, Comendador has a strong military presence. And finally, Haitian children are perceived differently than Haitian adults by Dominicans in Elías Piña. In answering SRQ5 through SRQ2 (curriculum and instruction), SRQ3 (teacher resources and training), and, SRQ4 (parent involvement), I present a reflection of the findings from the other SRQs through the lens of the ICC five themes.

Explicitly, Dominicans are providing Haitian children access to enrollment in primary public schools in Elías Piña. Directors and teachers interviewed showed empathy for the students as a basis for assisting students. At West School, Marta, a lower grade teacher, stated,

> I don't mind that the Haitians go to school here. If my child can go to school they have the right to go too. Haitian children are poor. They should be in school or they will have nothing in their life.

> A mi no me molesta que los haitianos vayan a la escuela aquí. Si mi hijo puede ir a la escuela, ellos también tienen derecho a ir también. Los niños haitianos son pobres. Por eso, ellos deben asistir a la escuela o ellos nunca van a llegar a nada en la vida.

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Marta's reflection on her Haitian students demonstrates a certain level of empathy in that she believes that children should have equal rights. She sympathizes for the high level of poverty Haitians endure. This is contrasted with Thelma, a Dominican grandmother who had lived in Elías Piña her whole life. Thelma stated,

> Haitians are strange and perverse. They are bad luck and need to stay in their country. Haitian women are dirty. Haitians aren't people. I give Haitians food and they don't even thank me. No one [Haitian] has ever said "let me help you wash dishes", but they like to eat my food.

> Son unos pájaros, unos perversos. Estos azarosos tienen que quedarse en su país. Las haitianas son sucias. El haitiano no es gente. Yo le doy comida a los haitianos y no me agradecen. Nadie a mí me ha dicho 'venga a fregarle unos platos', pero sí me cogen víveres.

Pamela, a mother of a Dominican student at the East School, speaking about the cholera epidemic that began in October of 2010 and Haitian parental participation, took a strong position by stating,

> I don't want Estarlin [daughter] to study with Haitians. They [Haitians] have a bad epidemic, sickness or skin disease. They have a bad heart, they even rob. Look here, ``there are ungrateful Haitians sick in Higuey. They say there are 16 sick in Pedernales.

> The Haitians don't go to the parent meetings.

> Estalin says there are no Haitians in her class.

> Yo no quiero que Estarlin estudie con haitiano. Ellos tienen una epidemia mala, una gripe, o raquiña. Tienen un corazón malo, hasta roban. Mira, hasta hay un desgraciado haitinos enfermo en Higuey. Dicen que hay 16 enfermos en Pedernales.

> Los haitianos no van a esa reuniones de padres.

> Estarlin dice que no hay haitianos en su curso.

The findings from the study demonstrate a unique dichotomy between a sense of compassion and high levels of indignation. Dominicans interviewed that made negative

statements about Haitians, did so within the context of speaking of Haitian adults. In the

previous statement by Pamela, she cites not wanting to send her child to school with

Haitian children, yet, implicitly blames Haitian adults. Dominicans interviewed

demonstrated certain levels of empathy, whether it was assisting with school enrollment

or helping with relief aid to earthquake victims. In the areas of experience, listening,

attitude towards other cultures, and motivation, the Dominican participants tended to

make a distinction between Haitian culture and Dominican culture. The lives of the two

cultures are intertwined, overlapping and connected. Daily, Dominicans and Haitians do

business, communicate and engage each other Elías Piña. The language of use is nearly

always Spanish. The connectedness can be found in the many Dominican-Haitian

marriages, Haitian compas music blasting on a street corner, eating corn meal (chen

chen), and funeral rights. Nonetheless, Dominicans in Elías Piña identify themselves as

uniquely Dominican. They dismiss this cultural overlay. Overall, the intercultural

relationship Dominicans and Haitians have in Elías Piña is complex – not an absolute

dichotomy. In using Arasaratnam (2009) concept of ICC, the findings show that the

Dominican participants had limited, identifiable aspects of ICC, even though there were

obvious intercultural connections taking place. Dominican participants had nearly daily

experiences with Haitians and were motivated to be engaged, yet, a distinction in identity

created a dividing line that inhibited ICC development.

Summary of Policy (SRQ1), Parent Involvement (SRQ4), Praxis (SRQ6).

The findings for SRQ1 and SRQ6 are interesting in that the results demonstrate

both explicit access to education through an affective response, and an exclusion from

educational opportunities through government agencies that operate outside the

Dominican Department of Education. Findings from SRQ1, SRQ4 and SRQ6 are as follows:

- Minimalist Policy of Access: Dominican educational policy is minimalist in that it provides access to primary education in public schools, yet excludes students from CONANI, CTC and secondary education.

- Compassion and Indignation: Dominican teachers and directors demonstrated a certain level of ICC through expressed empathy that was acted upon by registering Haitian children in schools.

- Access to Schools: Haitian students are able to register and attend the four selected case study schools. Dominican directors, teachers and community leaders believe and affirm that Haitian students should be in Dominican public schools if they live in the school zone.

- Early Childhood Access: Haitian students are able to have access to pre-kindergarten outside of CONANI when Dominican teachers visited the homes of Haitian immigrants in their recruiting efforts to engage Haitian parents.

SRQ2 (curriculum and instruction), SRQ3 (resource and training), SRQ5 (intercultural communications), SRQ6 (praxis)

Regular visits to the four case study schools for six months revealed similar access to minimalist curriculum with few teachers having student support materials. Overall, the curriculum teachers taught was based on national, standardized workbooks provided by the Dominican Department of Education. In general, there were few resources provided by the Dominican Department of Education. The standardized national curriculum was presented in workbooks that were given to each child. Teachers

presented lessons directly from the workbooks in a one-size-fits-all approach to all the students in the classroom in Spanish. I often observed younger students to be mostly lost and disconnected from the lessons. There was little to no student work posted on the walls. Actual student products could be seen in the workbooks and in students' notebooks. I observed that students spent most of their time copying what the teacher had written on the chalkboard into their notebooks and teachers expected students to memorize the content selected.

The 2010 Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) data, in Table 19, indicate that a large majority of the public believe Dominican public education is average to good. This is very striking considering the public support of the 4% campaign / iniative for the need to support public schools. This study's data collection was done during the national education reform "4% Campaign", thus, at a time of shifting public opinion. The LAPOP data was collected prior to the onset of the national education reform "4% Campaign" that proposes to increase educational funding.

Table 19

Summary of the Opinion of Public Education in the Dominican Republic

	Very good		Good		Average		Bad		Very bad		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Elías Piña	1	5.2	13	68.4	4	21.1	1	5.2	0	0	19	100
Border Provinces	4	6.0	46	68.7	13	19.4	2	3.0	2	3.0	67	100
Southern Region	8	3.2	146	57.7	54	21.3	38	15.0	7	2.8	253	100
Dominican Republic	56	3.6	738	50.7	371	25.5	217	14.9	74	5.1	1456	100

This study approached the questions of educational quality with more specificity than the 2010 LAPOP study in the four selected schools. In uncovering the specifics of the Haitian student experience in the classroom, Ramona, the East School teacher replied,

> You know, when a teacher has so many students in a small classroom, along with disorder and no materials to teach with, it is very hard to teach and have students learn. Many students sit two in a seat. A lot of students have to share paper and pencil. I do the best I can to help students develop but they have a hard time learning under these circumstances. I want students to learn, that is why I am here. But I lose hope when I am not supported as a professional.

> Usted sabe, que cuando una maestra tiene un curso pequeño lleno de estudiantes haciendo desorden y sin materiales para enseñar, es muy difícil enseñarles y es difícil que ellos aprendan. Hay muchos estudiantes que se sientan de a dos en un pupitre y tienen que compartir sus papeles y lápices. Yo más de ahí no puedo hacer, pero a ellos les da trabajo aprender en esas condiciones. Yo quiero que los estudiantes aprendan. Para eso es que yo estoy aquí, pero uno pierde las esperanzas cuando uno, como profesional, no recibe apoyo.

In reviewing field notes I found it easy to identify that a lack of instructional resources was an issue. Beyond a chalk board, a few pieces of chalk, a map, some posters and varied workbooks, teachers and students had nothing else to use in teaching and learning. Both Dominican and Haitian students were faced with a similar circumstance, a demoralized teacher with virtually no instructional resources. Many students shared a chair or sat on the floor. Repeatedly I observed the fundamental teaching practice or method was to have students copy what the teacher wrote on the chalkboard. Teachers relied on students' ability to memorize information as opposed to higher order thinking skills or critical questioning. And for Haitian students who were learning Spanish, there was no language support. It was a classic 'sink or swim' scenario if the student is unable to understand it is not the problem or concern of the teacher. Haitian students at East School had almost all repeated grades. Yolanda, the school director stated,

Haitian students have to learn Spanish. We are expected to teach them no matter what. I know a few words of Haitian Creole, but not enough to teach them. I tell their brother or sister to tell them what I said so they know what I am saying. I teach in Spanish. That is what I know.

Los estudiantes haitianos tienen que aprender el español. Nosotros tenemos que enseñarles, no importa las circunstancias. Yo sé un poco de creol, pero no lo suficiente para enseñarles. Yo les digo a sus hermanos o hermanas que les digan lo que yo estoy diciendo. Yo enseño en español. Eso es lo que yo sé.

Instructional practices did not vary to a significant degree. In all schools, the curriculum and instructional practice provided to all students was delivered exclusively in Spanish. Furthermore, the orientation of language, history, culture and society in workbooks reflected the Dominican Republic. Baron, the director and teacher at South School, stated,

Haitians that come to school that don't know Spanish have to learn it. They learn in time. They work hard. But to learn here one has to learn Spanish. I don't speak French or Haitian Creole. The teachers in Haiti only speak to students in French. Haitians know they have to learn a language to go to school. Most Haitians learn Spanish even though it takes them a while. That is why so many stay in the lower grades.

Los haitianos que vienen a esta escuela que no saben español tienen que aprenderlo. Ellos aprenden, con tiempo. Ellos son trabajadores. Pero para aprender aquí, hay que aprender español. Yo no hablo ni francés ni haitiano. En Haití, los maestros sólo le hablan a los estudiantes en francés. Los haitianos saben que para ir a la escuela tienen que aprender el idioma. Pero la mayoría de los haitianos aprenden español, aunque les coge un tiempo. Por eso es que muchos se quedan en los cursos bajitos.

Baron's statement is representative of the four case study schools. Neither the curriculum nor instructional practice is oriented in giving Haitian Creole language support for students who do not speak Spanish. The Haitian parents' perspective was represented in Claudie's statement:

In Haiti children learn French when they go to school because they teach in French. Here, students learn Spanish because the teaching in Spanish. Haitian

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Creole is what we speak at home, not in schools. To be a professional, to advance, my child needs to learn the language of the school.

An Ayiti, timoun aprann an franse lekòl paske pwofese yo aprann an franse. Isit, nan elèv aprann an panyol paske pwofese yo aprann an panyol. Nou pale kreyòl nan lakay nou, men nou pa pale nan lekòl. Pou yon moun vin yon pwofesyonel, pou avanse, pitit mwen bezwen aprann lang lekòl la.

Taking a subtractive perspective of Haitian Creole and not considering the development of dual languages for their children was found not to be a priority among Haitian participants. The dichotomy of there being a professional or formal language (French/Spanish) versus a street or home language (Haitian Creole) was a shared acceptance within the Haitian community.

At the West School, an international non-governmental organization (NGO) that has invested in reforming the school's curriculum and instructional practices, as well as in emphasizing a multicultural focus. This, however, was unique to West School and not representative of the other case study schools. The project at West School focused on incorporating multicultural education into the school's curriculum and instructional practices. I observed a focus on developing concepts of social plurality and respect for diversity. The NGO provided the school with workbooks, manuals, posters, teacher trainings and community outreach in an effort to strengthen the teachers' and students' understanding of multicultural pluralism within the context of living on the Haitian Dominican border. Christina, a teacher at West School stated,

> The support [from NGO] we received has been very good. The government does almost nothing for us. We are forgotten by the government. The workshops we receive from the NGO are the only ones we get. This support has helped us a lot. They teach us how we can teach Haitian children better. Multicultural education is very important at our school because there, we have so many Haitian children. Teaching students to respect each other and value their cultures is important to our harmony.

La ayuda de ellos ha sido muy buena porque el gobierno no hace nada por nosotros. Nosotros, el gobierno se olvidó de nosotros. Los talleres de la ONG son la única cosa que recibimos. Este apoyo nos ha ayudado muchísimo. Nos enseñan cómo podemos enseñarles mejor a los niños haitianos. La educación multicultural es importante en nuestra escuela porque como allá hay tantos niños haitianos. Nosotros les enseñamos el respeto y les enseñamos a valorar las culturas porque eso es importante para la armonía.

Though Christina has a very positive response to the NGO's efforts of including multicultural education in the curriculum, Emily, a team member of the NGO working at West School, reflected on the process of working there:

Teachers at West School are going through a process of learning and understanding multicultural education. It is taking us a long time to develop their social consciousness from perceiving Haitian students negatively. We still have a lot of work to do. We still witness teachers who are very frustrated with Haitian students and show their frustrations in negative interactions with them. It is true that many teachers think Haitian students are good students and respectful. There are many teachers that share this idea. But you will also see the same teacher believe this and treat Haitian students with disregard. As you can see we have a lot of work to do. Though, our work in supporting multicultural education has been significant.

Las profesoras están en el proceso de aprender y comprender la educación multicultural. Nos ha tomado mucho tiempo el que tomen conciencia y cambien su percepción negativa de los estudiantes haitianos. Todavía nos queda mucho trabajo por hacer. Aún vemos maestros que se sienten bien frustrados con sus estudiantes haitianos y expresan esta frustración en sus interacciones con ellos. Es verdad, muchos maestros piensan que los estudiantes haitianos son buenos y que son respetuosos. Hay muchos maestros que tienen esa idea. Pero al mismo tiempo, uno puede ver a la misma maestra que cree esto y tratar a los estudiantes haitianos mal. Como tu podrás entender, nos queda mucho trabajo por hacer, a pesar de que nuestro trabajo en educación multicultural ha sido significativo.

Throughout my observations and field notes, I found that West School did have an elevated sense of multiculturalism as compared to the other schools. By providing instructional resources and teacher training, West School was able to improve its knowledge and ability to teach Haitian students. This was evident in my observations in Haitian student participation in classroom activities, e.g. responsiveness to teacher's

questions. Though, it is important to note that this is within the context of comparing West School to the other case study schools. West School did provide evidence of a higher level of access to education vis-à-vis curriculum, resources, teacher training and instructional practices. And even though this was higher than the other three schools, I observed it to be well below an academically acceptable level, given that comprehension and application of concepts was lacking. West School, like the other schools, suffered from having limited to no support from the Dominican Department of Education. Furthermore, the general perception of Haitian students, as described by Emily, is that teachers may treat individual Haitian students poorly, yet at the same time believe they are, as a whole, good students. This juxtaposition is noteworthy as it brings the discourse into the realm of seemingly opposing ideas that repeatedly were described during interviews and observations. It is important to take into account the work of Martinez (2003) and Torres-Saillant (1998) in being open to ambiguous or contradictory findings that surface in the Dominican Republic. That is, it is common to find Dominicans who love their Haitian neighbor, yet, hate Haitians.

As mentioned as a finding to SRQ1(policy) and SRQ2 (curriculum and instruction), access to educational opportunities outside the school is a possibility for Dominican students and not for Haitian students. The case of the Community Technology Center (CTC) model is a good model to examine when studying educational access by proxy. Dominican students use the CTC as a critical resource for completing school assignments and projects. As mentioned, public primary schools have few to no resources. The educational attainment is limited. The Dominican government created an educational resource that has had a lot of success, and with a great deal of participation

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from Dominican students, yet, Haitian students are excluded. Since the CTC is not part

of the public school, it operates outside the legal obligations of providing access to

Haitian students. The CONANI pre-kindergarten enrollment also operates under the

same denial of access by proxy. The significant findings are that Dominican students

have access to a curriculum that is technology rich, and an early childhood curriculum

that is well supported and respectably implemented. Yet, Haitian students are

marginalized by receiving the least publically supported curriculum and instruction that

does not include technology, and very limited early childhood education. Further, in

terms of educational resources and trained teachers, Haitians are denied access by proxy,

as they are not allowed through the door of the CTC and CONANI based on their

undocumented status. That is, explicit policy excludes Haitians. Though, there were

unique situations at the CTC where Haitians did use the facilities unofficially.

Access to education at the secondary level was not a focus of the study, although

it did become a reoccurring theme. The fact that Haitian students were not allowed to go

past eighth grade was generally understood by most participants of the study, since the

high school required a national identification in order to be registered. Rising out of this

theme surfaced the voices of a Dominican man and a Haitian man. Both of these men

were in their twenties and had gone to high school in Elías Piña. Jacque attended night

school without being registered. Jose Luis graduated high school from Elías Piña through

the normal, day schedule. In an interview Jacque described how he saw both Haitians

and Dominicans being denied access to education:

> When I went to school, I attended at night. They don't always ask for papers for
> night classes. Haitians should be able to go to high school just like Dominicans,
> but we can't because we don't have papers. But going to school in the day or
> night can be a problem both for Dominican or Haitian students. The goal is to

pass the national exam to graduate. I know of a math teacher that doesn't teach everything students need to know and only those who pay him for private tutoring get a chance to learn enough to pass the exam.

Cuando yo iba a la escuela, yo iba de noche. Ellos no siempre te piden papeles en la tanda nocturna. Los haitianos deberían poder ir al liceo igual que los dominicanos pero no podemos porque no tenemos documentos. Pero los dominicanos y los haitianos, los dos, tienen problemas en la escuela en la mañana y en la noche. Lo que uno tiene que hacer es pasar las pruebas nacionales para uno poder graduarse. Yo sé de un maestro de matemáticas que no les enseña todo a los estudiantes para poder pasar las pruebas y sólo les enseña a los estudiantes que le pagan tutorías.

This statement by Jacque demonstrates the multiple issues faced in Elías Piña. Beyond what appears as the obvious unethical nature of this math teacher, it is difficult to ignore the poor salary teachers make that might lead to this type of extortion. Though there is no justification for a teacher denying students the required learning opportunities, it is undeniable that teachers are provided less than minimal training, resources and curricular support. After asking Jose Luis about his experience in high school, he identified an interesting bi-national program as one of the most educationally rewarding events during high school:

When I was in high school several Haitians came over from a high school in Haiti to our high school here. They spent two weeks with us. We [Dominican students] could not believe how much more advanced they were than us. We learned a lot from them. They actually taught us English and French lessons. They were more advanced than our teachers. We wished that this program continued because it was good for us because we learned about Haitian culture. And we were learning more with them. As far as I know this program no longer exists.

Cuando yo estaba en el liceo, habían varios haitianos que venían de un colegio en Haití para nuestro liceo. Duraban como dos semanas aquí. Nosotros nos quedabamos con la boca abierta de lo avanzados que ellos estaban, más que nosotros. Nosotros aprendíamos muchísimo con ellos. Nos enseñaban francés e inglés. Ellos hasta sabían más que los profesores. Nosotros queríamos que este programa continuara porque nos beneficiábamos y aprendíamos de la cultura haitiana. Y aprendíamos mucho con ellos. Que yo sepa, este programa ya no lo hacen.

Evident in both the statements of Jacque and Jose Luis is the limited access to education Dominican students have at the secondary level. In terms of Haitian access to secondary education, it is minimal to non-existent. Denial of basic resources by the Dominican Department of Education has led schools to look for outside sources of support. In the case of the high school experience of Jose Luis, the support came from Haiti. In the case of West School, the external support comes from an international NGO. As mentioned, external support is also available for Dominican students at the CTC. Yet, within South School, East School and North School, there is complete dependence from the Dominican Department of Education. The resulting consequence was shared by both Dominican and Haitian students. Unfortunately, Haitian students bore the heaviest brunt, as these students were regularly repeating grades, and not getting through to high school.

Representative of this scenario is a Haitian girl who lived in the same neighborhood as me in Elías Piña. She attended the East School. Arielle was 13 years old during the time I was doing the study in Elías Piña. She lived with a middle-class Dominican family. Dominicans call this relationship, *hija de crianza* (foster child). In Elías Piña it is common to raise a Haitian girl in your home with the expectation of her providing assistance with chores as she grows up. In the case of Ariele, she was given shelter, clothing and food, and in return, she was expected assist around the house throughout the day, except when she was in school. I got to know the family quite well, as I spent hours playing dominos with the adult members of the house several times a week.

As mentioned, Arielle goes to East School. She is a 13 year old Haitian. She has been living with a Dominican family since she was four years old. Her parents gave her

to the Dominican family because they believed they did not have the *fuerza* (financial ability) to raise her. She is in the first grade. Her Dominican foster sister, who is 11 years old, goes to East School. She is in the fifth grade. The relationship Arielle has with the family is, on the surface, one of full integration into the family. Arriving from school Arielle greets her foster mother with a kiss, saying *besa mano* (a greeting of respect for God parents or elder family members). Her foster mother responds, "*Dios te bendiga mi hija.*" I witnessed this daily. The relationship between the foster mother and Arielle was observed to be affectionate, yet the expectations were undeniably clear. After arriving from school she would immediately change clothes and begin making dinner. While the tubers boiled I would see her with a broom in hand. Her foster sister would have some chores, but would have time for homework and visiting friends in the neighborhood. I witnessed both girls working around the house, but the expectation for Arielle appeared to be more of an employee than as a daughter. When asked about her progress in school, her foster mom, Dalia, stated,

> Arielle is a good girl. She is obedient. She does what she is told. I send her to school but she doesn't progress. She doesn't have a lot of capacity to progress in school. My daughter doesn't fail grades she progresses. Arielle doesn't progress because she isn't oriented to schoolwork. I tell her to do better in school but she keeps failing. Haitians are like this.

> Arielle es una niña buena y obediente. Ella es bien mandá. Yo la mando a la escuela pero ella no echa para adelante. Ella no tiene mucha capacidad para avanzar. Mi hija no se quema y progresa. Arielle no echa para adelante porque ella no está impuesta a cosas de escuela. Yo le digo que estudie para que le vaya mejor en la escuela, pero ella se sigue quemando. Los haitianos son así.

At East School I asked the teachers about Haitian students' academic progress, specifically about Arielles. Ramona, Arielle's teacher response was,

> Arielle like most Haitians doesn't progress. They fail their grade a lot. There are good things about my Haitian students. They are respectful. Arielle is very

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respectful. For the most part, they stay out of trouble. And this makes them a good student. But learning seems to be hard for them. It is a matter of capacity.

Arielle no echa para alante, igual que la mayoría de los haitianos. Ellos se queman mucho. Los haitianos son buenos. Ellos son respetuosos, como Arielle. Ella es muy respetuosa. La mayoría no se mete en líos. Y por eso, ellos son buenos estudiantes. Pero aprender les da trabajo. Es la capacidad.

In following up with this statement, I asked Ramona if she had ever received training that would help her teach Haitian students to make sure they are learning. Her response was,

Training? That would come from Department of Education. They do nothing for us. Some schools are lucky and an NGO will support them. Here at East School no one helps us. We get no support. We have never had training that would help us teach Haitians.

¿Entrenamiento? Eso tendría que ser de la Secretaría y ellos no hacen nada por nosotros. Algunas escuelas tienen suerte y una organización los apoya. Pero en esta escuela, nadie nos ayuda. A nosotros no se nos ofrece ningún tipo de apoyo. A nosotros nunca se nos ha dado ningún entrenamiento para ayudarnos a enseñarles mejor a los haitianos.

I asked the same question to teachers who were participating in a gathering of teachers and community members in support of the national education reform "4% Campaign." Specifically, I asked the teachers what they wanted the funding to be used for if the Department of Education received the money from the government. The response was mostly universal – higher wages, educational resources and better school up keep. I specifically asked about teacher professional development. The response was universally "Sí" ("yes"). The follow up to this response was to ask them if there was specific training they would like to have. All the teachers I asked responded "Cualquiera" ("whichever"). This was then followed up with asking the teachers if they think they could use specific training that would help them teach Haitian students better. Gloria, a teacher at North School, responded in a way that was representative of the other teachers' responses. She stated,

Yes, of course. We could use training. We don't know Haitian Creole. We don't know what they need. Our Haitian students are good students. Most of them are respectful. But teachers don't know how to teach a student who doesn't speak Spanish. We want to see them move forward in school but they fail. We need to be trained to help them succeed. The government does nothing for us. We get no support. So yes, the 4% should go to training us to be better teachers.

Sí, claro. Nosotros necesitamos capacitación Nosotros no sabemos hablar el creol. Nosotros no sabemos qué ellos necesitan. Nuestros estudiantes haitianos son buenos, la mayoría son respetuosos. Pero imagínese, los maestros no saben darle clases a los estudiantes que no hablan el español. Nosotros queremos que a ellos les vaya bien, pero ellos se queman. Nosotros necesitamos capacitación para ayudarles, pero el gobierno no hace nada por nosotros. Así que sí, el 4% debe usarse para la capacitación para que los maestros sean mejores.

The responses from the teachers who participated in the national education reform "4% Campaign" rally identified several interesting points. First, there was no clear vision for the increase in funding beyond wage increases, improved facility management, and educational resources. Second, teachers were supportive of professional development. When asked directly about professional development, teachers were supportive of specific training that would increase their skill level in teaching Haitian students. Finally, teachers believed that their professional development should include a component of teaching language learners. Also, the statements of several teachers and the foster mother Dalia, provide evidence that there is a concept that Haitian children do not possess the "capacity" to be academically successful. Once again, there is a juxtaposition between this deficit oriented, handicapping perspective and the perspective that Haitian students are good students. Though, when following up with what an interviewee believes defines a Haitian student as a good student, Margarita, a teacher at the South School stated,

Haitian students who are good students, are, well, respectful. They come to school on time. They are obedient. Dominican students won't always come to school. And they don't like to pay attention. My Haitian students do. They work hard.

> Bueno, los estudiantes haitianos que son buenos son…respetuosos. Ellos llegan a la escuela temprano, son obedientes. Los dominicanos faltan mucho y no les gusta atender. Mis estudiantes haitianos, sí. Ellos son trabajadores.

I followed up with Haitian parents about their expectations for their children at school.

Glaphyra, a Haitian mother of two students at West School, stated,

> I send my children to school so they can advance and have a future. I tell them they must get along with their classmates. They must respect their teacher. They must do as they are told. If they misbehave, I will punish them and they will never do it again. I didn't get to go to school, so they need to take advantage of this opportunity.

> Yo mando a mis niños a la escuela para que puedan echar para alante y tener un futuro. Yo les digo que tienen que llevarse bien con sus compañeros y que tienen que respetar a su profesora. Y hacer lo que ella les diga. Si ellos se portan mal, yo los castigo y no lo vuelven a hacer. Yo no fui a la escuela, así que ellos tienen esta oportunidad que tienen que aprovechar.

There is a clear expectation from the Haitian parents that being respectful and well behaved are the criteria for the Haitian students demeanor at school. When this answer was followed up with a question about the expectation of their children's academic progress, Haitian parents did not give specifics. Many of the parents noted that they had not been to school and that they believed the teachers were doing their job. Gesner, a Haitian father with a child at East School, stated,

> I do not read and write. I did not go to school. I work with my hands. My children have the opportunity to go to school and this is good. I tell Doriska he needs to go to school and work hard. He should respect his teachers because they are in charge. They are the ones who give him the opportunity to go to school. I tell him to get along with his friends.

> Mwen pa liekri. Mwen pa janm ale lekòl. Mwen travay ak men mwen yo. Pitit mwen gen opotinite pou ale lekòl epi sa bon anpil. Mwen di Doriska se pou li ale lekòl epi travay di. Se pou li respekte mèt yo. Se yo menm ki bay li opotinite pou ale lekòl. Mwen toujou di l li bezwen trete zanmi l byen.

Haitian parents have a very specific expectation of their children. The expectation of being well behaved and respectful is clearly assessed by the Dominican teachers. The

interpretation of this by Dominican teachers is that Haitian children are "good students" and "hard workers."

Summary SRQ2 (curriculum and instruction), SRQ3 (resources and professional development), SRQ5 (ICC), SRQ6 (praxis).

The findings for SRQ2 and SRQ3 are presented in a way that represents their interrelatedness. Curriculum and instruction were infused within the context of resources and professional development. Observations, review of workbooks, and interviews suggest that the lack of resources and professional development directly contributed to a minimalistic curriculum implemented with a limited instructional skill set. Findings from SRQ2 and SRQ3, within the context of Elías Piña, include:

- Dominican teachers have few to no educational (curriculum and support) resources to teach both Dominican and Haitian students.

- Dominican teachers use a teaching technique that is based on rote memorization, and not of concept development that aim for students to comprehend, apply and analyze the curriculum.

- Dominican teachers are not provided professional development by the Dominican Department of Education that addresses language development and multicultural education.

- Only one of the four case study schools in Elías Piña, West School, benefited from professional development in multicultural education provided by an international non-governmental organization (NGO).

- Dominican teachers verbalize a willingness and need to participate in professional development that would improve their ability to teach language learners and Haitian students.

- Dominican teachers relate Haitian students' respectfulness and hard work to being "good students", though many Haitian students have a high age-to-grade discrepancy.

- Dominican teachers report that Haitian students, despite their attendance and behavior patterns, do not have "capacity" for achieving academically (using the Dominican curriculum). At the same time, Dominican teachers suggest Haitian students have a hard time learning.

SRQ4 (parent involvement), SRQ5 (intercultural communications), SRQ6 (praxis)

Parent involvement in Dominican public schools is centralized around the *Comité Padres y Amigos de la Escuela (*Parents and Friends of the School) committee. All four case study schools have this committee. The committee at all four schools provided space for parents and local leaders to voice concerns and organize their collective opinion.

The 2010 Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) data show in Table 20 the frequency with which Dominicans attend school meetings. In order to compensate for the low *n* in the Elías Piña specific LAPOP data, both Monte Cristi and Dajabón data were combined with the Elías Piña data to create a sub-category called "Border Provinces." (With a low *n,* data from the Elías Piña schools might not be representative of other school committees throughout the nation.) However, the "Border Provinces" sub-category shows a higher level of activity in school meetings than the national

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percentage. The Border Provinces had 33.8% of parents participating in *Padres y Amigos de la Escuela* within "1 or 2 times a month", whereas the Dominican national mean for the same category was 27.2% of respondents claiming to attend school meetings on a monthly basis.

Table 20

Summary of the Frequency of Attending School Meetings

	1 time a week		1 or 2 times a month		1 or 2 times a year		Never		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Elías Piña	3	15.8	8	42.1	4	21.1	4	21.1	19	100
Border Provinces	6	8.8	23	33.8	6	8.8	33	48.5	40	100
Southern Region	6	2.3	86	33.6	55	21.5	109	42.6	256	100
Dominican Republic	42	2.8	406	27.2	288	19.3	757	50.7	1493	100

From my observations of the four selected schools, very few Haitian parents participated in these "Friends of the School" meetings when I was in attendance. Most Haitians I identified had the characteristic of fluency in Spanish and had lived in Elías Piña for several years. That observation appears to be in alignment with Dominican born and Spanish-only respondents. Thus, Haitian assimilation into the school community has become a means of crypsis or camouflage. As presented in Table 21, the 2010 EPHC survey asked participants if they knew of Haitians attending school meetings. In looking at the data, selecting by place of birth, 27.6% (79) DR born respondents said that they were aware that Haitians attend school meetings. When contrasting with responses of 65.6% (40) from Haiti-born participants there appears to be a divide.

Table 21

Knowledge of Haitians Attending School Meetings-Padres y Amigos de la Escuela

| | Place of birth | | | |
| | Dominican Republic | | Haiti | |
Haitians attend	*n*	%	*n*	%
Yes	79	27.6	40	65.6
No	96	37.8	9	14.8
Don't know	88	34.6	12	19.7
Total	254	100	61	100

Within the scope of the same question, though selecting by languages spoken, the data reveal similar results between Spanish only 26.5% (61) and DR born 27.6% (79). Those respondents who spoke only Haitian Creole responded 57.1% as knowledgeable of Haitians attending school meetings.

Table 22

Knowledge of Haitians Attending School Meetings-Padres y Amigos de la Escuela

| Haitians attend | Language(s) spoken | | | | | |
| | Spanish only | | Haitian Creole only | | Bi or multi-lingual with Haitian Creole | |
	n	%	*n*	%	*N*	%
Yes	61	26.5	8	57.1	32	54.2
No	89	38.7	4	28.6	13	22.0
Don't know	80	34.8	2	14.3	14	23.7

In the 2010 EPHC survey, Table 23 provides a cross-tab of respondents'
attendance at school meetings over the past two academic years by their place of birth.
The school year following the 2010 Port-au-Prince earthquake showed a slight decrease
in Haitian born attendance to the school meetings, and a slight increase in Dominican
born attendance. Only participants who responded to being born in the Dominican
Republic or Haiti were included in Table 23. The N for these questions was 159 for the
2009-2010 school year, and 171 for the 2010-2011. Also, it is important to note that the
survey was taken mid-way through the 2010-2011 school year.

Table 23

Responding "Yes" to Attending School Meetings-Padres y Amigos de la Escuela

	Place of birth			
	Dominican Republic		Haiti	
	n	%	*n*	%
2009-2010 School Year	125	45.3	34	44.7
2010-2011 School Year	144	52.2	27	35.5

Note. Total responses (yes, no, don't know): 2009-2010 (n=376), 2010-2011 (n=371*).*

Table 24 provides insight into the EPHC survey questions concerning school meeting
attendance by languages spoken. The significant data point presented is the low level of
attendance by parents who speak only Haitian Creole. The data show a decrease in
attendance from the 2009-2010 school year to the 2010-2011 school year.

Table 24

Responding "Yes" to Attending School Meetings-Padres y Amigos de la Escuela

	Language(s) spoken					
	Spanish only		Haitian Creole only		Bi or Multi-lingual with Haitian Creole	
	n	%	N	%	N	%
2009-2010 School Year	111	68.1	7	4.3	45	27.6
2010-2011 School Year	126	71.6	3	1.7	47	26.7

Note: Total responses (yes, no, don't know): 2009-2010 (N=376), 2010-2011 (N=371).

The Haitian parents I interviewed expressed reservations about attending the meetings or

going to the school. Of those that did not speak Spanish, I found that they did not want to

engage the teachers because the teachers do not speak Haitian Creole. Anedie, a Haitian

mother of two children at South School, was direct in her assessment of engaging with

the school:

> I don't speak Spanish. I am not familiar with the parent committees at the school.
> If I need to go the school, I will take a friend who speaks Spanish. I like the
> school.
>
> Mwen pa pale panyol. M pa konnen anyen sou gwou paran sa a. Si m bezwen ale
> lekòl, m ale ak yon zanmi ki pale panyol. Lekòl la bon. M renmen li.

Following up with Anedie's response, I asked her if she felt comfortable going to the

school if there is a problem with her children. Anedie's responded stating,

> I will if it is necessary. Most of us [Haitian parents] don't go because there is no
> reason. If a Haitian child needs to register for school, we get a friend to go with
> us. Or, we go with a Haitian who knows the director. We don't just arrive not
> knowing anyone. I paid a Haitian to register my child. I didn't want to go.
>
> Si se pou mwen ale, mwen ale. Gen anpil nan nou ki pa ale paske nou pa gen
> rezon pou ale. Si yon timoun bezwen anrejistre nan lekòl, nou cheche yon zanmi
> pou ale ak nou. Oubyen, nou ale ak yon Ayisyen ki konnen direkte a. Nou pa ale
> si nou pa konnen nenpòt moun. Mwen peye yon Ayisyen pou fe sa pou mwen.
> Mwen pa t vle ale.

Anedie expressed a sentiment of distrust and resilience. She, like many Haitians

interviewed, would pay a small amount to a bilingual, established Haitian in Elías Piña to

enroll their child.   Her distrust of teachers and directors was more representative of an

overall distrust of Dominican officials who might attempt to have them deported.

Glaphyra, a Haitian mother of a student at East School, stated,

> The Dominican military humiliate us. We have to be careful. There are
> Dominicans who are fair and don't take advantage of our situation. The
> Dominican military do. And so do Dominicans at the market. So we have to be
> careful. We have to do things with people we trust. That is why I go with a friend

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when I have to meet a Dominican I do not know. When there is a meeting at the school I send a friend. I don't go. I might give her a little bit of money for doing me the favor.

Milite dominiken yo imilye nou. Se pou nou dwe fè atansyon. Gen Dominiken ki jis ak nou. Men milite yo pa jis. Gwo nèg nan mache pa jis tou. Se pou sa nou dwe fè atansyon. Nou bezwen pale selman ak moun nou konnen byen. Se pou sa mwen ale ak yon zanmi lè m bezwen ale wè yon dominiken mwen pa konnen. Lè lekòl la gen yon reyinyon, mwen voye yon zanmi. Mwen pa ale. Lè li ale, mwen ba li yon ti kob pou ede m.

In all four school communities I did not meet a Haitian parent that enrolled their child without using a network or being initially engaged by Dominican teachers. Simply walking up to the school with a child to enroll her or him was not a scenario I came across. Haitian parents who were displaced from the earthquake arrived in Elías Piña through networks. The same networks that provided them with shelter also assisted them in getting their children registered in schools. Sarodj, a single mother with one 8 year old girl, spoke to me about her experience in being displaced from the earthquake and arriving in Elías Piña. The two of them had lived in Elías Piña for four months. Her experience in Elías Piña was reflective of many Haitians I spoke to. Saradj told me,

I lost everything in Port-au-Prince. It is only my daughter and me. We are so poor and we have nothing. My cousin told me to come to Elías Piña. I don't know Spanish. And I know it is dangerous. But we have nothing else. We are grateful to have shelter.

Mwen pedi tout bagay mwen nan Potoprens. Se selman pitit fi mwen epi mwen menm ki rete. Nou pòv, nou pa gen anyen. Kouzin mwen te di m pou vini isit, nan Elíaspinn. Mwen pa pale panyol epi mwen konnen li danjere. Men, mwen pa gen anyen. Nou kontan nou genyen yon kay isit.

Saradj and her daughter's situation is bleak. They both sleep on a dirt floor in a room near a latrine. I asked her specifically about her daughter's education and what she wanted for her daughter. Saradj response was,

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My daughter has never been to school. That was not possible in Port-au-Prince. We did not have *la fuerza /gen fòs* (financial ability) to send her to school. I want her to go to school because that creates a future for her. But she is not in school yet. She should go to school but the time needs to be right.

Pitit fi mwen pa janm ale lekòl. Nou pa kapab nan Potoprens. Nou pa gen fòs pou voye l lekòl. Mwen vle li ale lekòl paske sa se fiti pou li. Men li poko all lekòl. Se pou li ale lekòl, men kounyeya nou pa kapab.

I followed up with Saradj about registering her daughter at the school. Her approach was representative of many Haitians with school age children in Elías Piña. Saradj stated,

I believe that the school will be good for her here. My cousin tells me to send her to school. When my daughter has a uniform and is ready I will talk to my cousin to get her into school. Right now, I don't have *la fuerza/gen fòs* (financial ability).

Mwen kwe lekòl la bon isit pou li. Kouzin mwen di m pou voye l lekòl. Lè pitit fi mwen an gen yon inifom, m a pale ak kouzin mwen pou mete l nan lekòl. Kounyeya, nou pa gen fòs.

The need for a trusted friend or family member to provide a link and connection to the school was a clear finding from the study. The issues of distrust relating to the Dominican military and the negotiations at the market have created a barrier for Haitian parents in enrolling their children.

Dominican parents interviewed from all four case study schools vocalized a dichotomy of opinions concerning Haitian parents being involved at the school. Jorge, a Dominican parent with two children at South School, told me,

I get along with my Haitian neighbors. I would want them to come to the school if that is what they wanted to do. Not many Haitians come to the meetings. I think that maybe they don't feel comfortable there. Some of them send their children to school, but not all. So I don't know if they want to be a part of the school committee.

Yo me llevo bien con mis vecinos que son haitianos. Si ellos lo que quieren es ir a las reuniones en la escuela, entonces eso yo lo veo bien. Pero no muchos haitianos van a las reuniones. Yo creo que tal vez es que ellos no se sienten

cómodos. Pero hay algunos de ellos que no mandan a sus hijos a la escuela, no todos, pero algunos. Así que yo no sé si ellos quieren ser parte del comité.

Jorge identifies a common and repeated perspective. Dominicans interviewed were relatively positive about their Haitian neighbors. When asked about Haitians in general, however, the tone and perspective became negative. Melania, an active member of the *Padres y Amigos de la Escuela* (Parents and Friends of the School) committee at North School stated,

> I don't want to know about Haitians. They are animals! They are uneducated and I don't want them to come to the school. They should all go back to their country and stay. Leave us alone. You know, you can't work with them – they are thieves, liars and cheats. I don't trust Haitians. They are all bad.

> Yo no quiero saber de haitianos. ¡Son animales! Ellos no tienen educación y yo no qu iero que ellos vayan a la escuela. Ellos lo que tienen que hacer es irse a su país y quedarse allá y que nos dejen tranquilos. ¿Usted sabe? Uno no puede trabajar con ellos. Son ladrones, mentirosos y tramposos. Yo no confío en ningún haitiano. Son toditos malos, malos.

As harsh as this sentiment was, it was relatively common in Elías Piña among Dominicans. Yet, these comments were always a generalization of Haitian adults, never about a Haitian neighbor or Haitian children.

Summary SRQ4 (parent involvement), SRQ5 (ICC) and SRQ6 (praxis).

- Haitian parents are initially distrustful of Dominican school officials based on their experiences with the Dominican military and the Elías Piña market.

- Haitian parents use trusted relationships and networks, including those that provide a paid proxy, to enroll their children, with the exception of children who were enrolled when Dominican teachers actively recruiting in Haitian neighborhoods (see finding from SRQ1).

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- Haitian parents who do not speak Spanish had little to no engagement with their children's school a trusted friend or by paid proxy.

- Haitian parents did not have consistent and active participation on the school committee *Padres and Amigos de la Escuela* (Parents and Friends of the School), often due to their sense of not being able to communicate in Spanish or feeling a lack of belonging.

- Dominican parents active on the school committee *Padres and Amigos de la Escuela* (Parents and Friends of the School) represented both positive and negative attitudes towards Haitian parents. If they know the person the perception is often positive, but when referring to Haitians the perception is often negative.

Overal Findings

The findings from the study show the complex nature of the Dominican – Haitian relationship. Evidence is presented through quantitative data and qualitative data that suggest Haitian children do have access to primary education. Dominican teachers demonstrate empathy and outreach to Haitian parents, yet Haitian parent involvement is almost non-existant due to language differences and lack of understanding of how schools work. Also, there is clear evidence that Haitian parents are motivated to send their children to school and be active in the school-community. Yet, Haitian children frequently faced barriers in attending schools, primarily when circumstances of poverty and belonging are addressed they are confronted with surviving the day / week / month. Though Haitian children are gaining access to primary schools, there is minimal access to pre-kindergarten and, throughout the learning continuum, to information technology

which is allotted for their Dominican classmates. The learning experience of Haitian students and Dominican students in primary schools is meager and exacerbated by an underdeveloped curriculum, archaic instructional approaches, poorly trained teachers, and few resources. The implications to the over-arching research question of access to education are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Six: DISCUSSION

> [N]ot simply knowledge, not simply direct repression of evil, will reform the
> world. In long, indirect pressure and action of various and intricate sorts, the
> action of men which are due not to a lack of knowledge nor to evil intent, must be
> changed by influencing folkways, habits, customs and subconscious deeds. Here
> perhaps is a realm of physical and cosmic law which science does not yet control.
> (p. 222)
>
> W. E. B. Du Bois
> In *Dusk of dawn: An essay toward an autobiography of a race concept*

The over-arching research question of the study asked, "In the post 2010

earthquake, what are the conditions faced by Haitian immigrants in accessing primary

public education in the Dominican Republic?" This ethnographic investigation was

designed to gain understanding of the current socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-

economic conditions Haitian children face in Elías Piña. As a literal, explicit construct,

access to education is easily seen as simply opening the school door to children. At the

primary level, there is clear evidence that both Haitian and Dominican children are

accessing entry into classrooms and being provided instruction in Spanish. Dominican

directors and teachers have allowed Haitian children to enroll in Elías Piña. Furthermore,

there is a general perspective among Dominican educators that Haitian students are more

respectful than Dominican students, even though they were more likely to have failed a

grade several times. This parallels Wooding and Moseley-Williams (2004) research that

found that the Dominican perception of Haitian farm labor was superior to Dominican

farm labor. And even though Haitians were understood to be harder workers than

Dominicans, Haitians tended to be underpaid and apt to be taken advantage of at the work

site.

This study challenges the reader to gain a greater understanding of the implicit aspects of the construct "access to education." When access to education is denied, the findings reveal profound educational and social implications that are far reaching. And though the desire to send Haitian children to school transcends nationality and ethnicity (Kulstad, 2006), there are equity issues that go beyond the superficiality found in their classroom presence. That said, this study concludes that neither Haitian nor Dominican primary-aged children are provided with access to quality education. That is, neither Haitian nor Dominican students are lacking a learning environment that supports age appropriate and fundamental learning opportunities that addresses their academic skills to an acceptable level. Haitian students, though included in the school's physical setting, are the most disadvantaged due to their language difference, cross-cultural communications adaptability, and age-grade discrepancy. Furthermore, displaced Haitian children are the least likely to be a part of the school-community as a result of poverty and their parents' distrust of Dominican school officials. This distrust is a component of the historic and contemporary tension between Haitians in Elías Piña and the Dominican military. As found in Burundi by Jackson (2000) and held with this study, equal access to education is a necessary factor in creating a peaceful community. And when basic education is not provided equitably, the ability of the community to respond to rising social issues will be weak (Lee, 2002). Elías Piña's reliance on an external force (military) for solving local issues and the inequities at the market have created a tension that contributes to the denial of educational opportunities for Haitian children. Haddad (2006) provides a rationale and vision that is applicable to Elías Piña:

> What is proposed, therefore, is that specific groups be guaranteed a differentiated access to services and public actions destined to fulfilling rights or expanding

possibilities for personal and collective development. The importance of investing in Youth and Adult Education lies in the fact that this is an affirmative action to overcome inequalities and that, as we saw, this is the only form of reaching development seen as liberty. This implies in recognizing the particular traits within the context of universality of human right to education. This also means that that the condition of exclusion of this social group should be recogni[z]ed, based on the absence of school services openings, but also and principally, on the absence of liberty for human fulfillment and a full exercise of their rights as citizens as a result of their social conditions. (p. 143)

Implications of the Findings

The implications of the study are presented through the six sub-questions of the study: policy, curriculum and instruction, professional development and resources, parent involvement, intercultural communication competency (ICC) (empathy, experience, listening (interaction involvement), attitude towards other cultures, and motivation), and praxis (the implicit and explicit nature of actions taken that ultimately lead to access or denial to education for Haitian refugees and immigrants in the Dominican Republic). The implications of the study are both general and specific. In the case where a general recommendation is given, there is not a strong enough foundation that a responsible specific recommendation is warranted. For example, specific parent involvement initiatives cannot be recommended until Haitian parents are provided support and respect and are not afraid of being deported when showing up to their child's school. The following implications and recommendations are suggested as relevant to both international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the Dominican Department of Education. When applicable, recommendations are directed at the specific institution, e.g. NGO, Dominican Department of Education.

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Policy.

The first sub-question of the study asked: How does educational policy support or limit access to education for Haitian students?

The findings from this study based on weekly visits to selected schools in Elías Piña provided evidence that Haitian immigrant children, after the January 2010 earthquake, while having access to instructional classrooms, are not being provided access to a comprehensible education or learning opportunities that are relevant and effective to their academic, literacy and developmental needs. Explicitly, Dominican law provides Haitian children with a vehicle for school registration; yet the implicit nature of actualizing national law, *Ley 136-06*, allows school officials to interpret how to implement the law of allowing Haitian immigrants to their schools, contributing to the ongoing anti-Haitian sentiment and perception among Dominicans. It was admirable and humanistic that teachers and directors from the four selected schools of the study did not adhere to the political rhetoric and pursued upholding the human rights of Haitian children. And as seen in the findings from the 2010 Elías Piña Home Composition (EPHC) survey, there was a belief among Dominicans for supporting Haitian students attendance in Dominican schools. Evident in this study, based on explicit written regulations, is the lack of political will to make the policy explicitly mandatory. Also lacking was the specific educational regulation that provides pedogological guidance to meeting the needs of ethnically and linguistically diverse students. Given the age-grade disparity between Haitian and Dominican students, and the nature of grade repetition among Haitian students due to not having Spanish language proficiency, Haitian students' linguistic and academic needs are being ignored. This is ironic since one of the most

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striking finding from this case study of Haitian immigrant students in Elías Piña was that the vast majority Dominicans interviewed perceived Haitian students to be academically disciplined and good models for Dominican students. The reality was that within the four schools, Haitian immigrant students were stuck in the lower grades for multiple years and taught in Spanish. The policy recommendation is for the Dominican government, including the President's Office and the Department of Education, to ensure equal access to schooling for both documented and undocumented children, whether Dominican or Haitian. Furthermore, the government should follow through, taking appropriate measures to assure that school districts and schools are in compliance with providing a meaningful and comprehensible education to all children in the nation. In order to be successful, a public awareness campaign that explicitly invites undocumented Haitian parents to enroll their children in local Dominican schools is necessary (Human Rights Watch, 2002).

The Dominican political rhetoric, documented in newspapers, often manufactures much of the anti-Haitian sentiment that presently exists in Dominican society. The explicit implementation of an informal policy allows school directors to provide or deny school attendance for Haitian immigrant students. The international community should not accept this practice of allowing educational personnel to interpret access of education as a closed or open option. The international community, including UNICEF, UNDP, UNESCO, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the World Bank, should address this issue by advocating for a clear and formal policy of educational access for all Haitian students and a way to curtail existing discriminatory practices of educational access.

The policy of requiring residency documentation, documents that are often denied, for enrollment in secondary education should be removed. The limit of an eighth grade education for undocumented Haitian immigrant students is discriminatory and unjust. The findings from this study support the positive perspective Dominicans have of Haitian students. Furthermore, there is evidence that supports the positive role Haitians immigrant students have played in exchange programs between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Repeated school observations suggest that Haitian students in secondary schools are a positive element that supports inclusion, multiculturalism, and academic rigor.

The Dominican Department of Education needs to review local school policies that lead to an inordinate number of Haitian immigrant students with age-grade discrepancy at the primary level. Haitian students are being failed at a rate that gives evidence that they are not receiving an education, or, in terms of this study, do not have access to education. Figure 5 illustrates levels of access and barriers within the educational policy of providing access to education for Haitian immigrant students.

Figure 5. Schema of Haitian immigrant access to education through the implementation of Dominican educational policy.
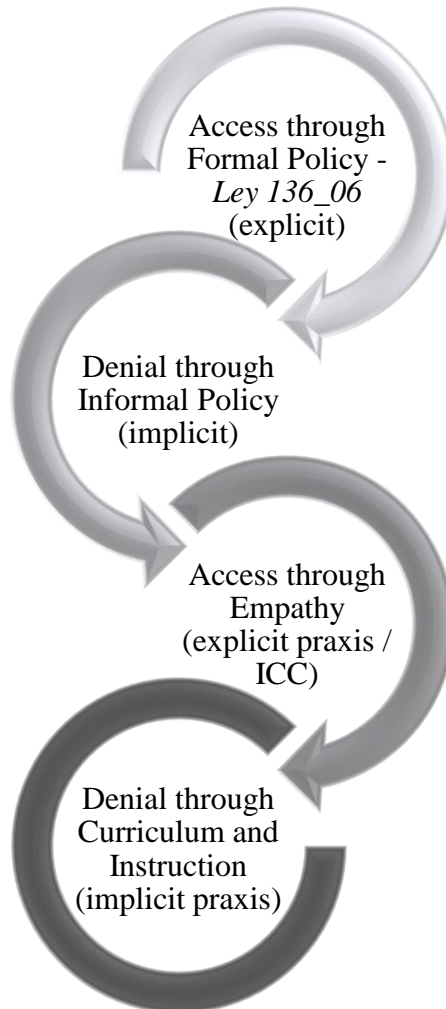

Figure 5. Illustration of the ebb and flow of Dominican educational policy in providing access to education for undocumented Haitian immigrant children.

The ebb and flow occur as a reaction to formal policy and intercultural communication competency (empathy). Ultimately, Haitian immigrant children are denied access to educational opportunities even though formal policy and ICC (empathy) are aligned. Initially, the flow of policy takes place as a socio-political and socio-cultural

national and international reaction to a formal policy of providing access to Haitian immigrant students. The implementation of the policy, as in Elías Piña, is a reaction that surfaces as an informal option by politicians to school directors that allowed them to ignore formal policy. The response to this is a humane sense of empathy that Haitian children have a right to an education. This provides Haitian children the ability to have educational access to a school and be able to register. The flow of a permissive policy follows with teachers at Elías Piña to be supportive of Haitian students' attendance, yet unsupportive of providing instruction that is comprehensible in their home language (Haitian Creole) and leads to academic achievement. Hence, this scenario coupled with extreme poverty leads to a disproportionate number of Haitian students with age-grade discrepancy.

Curriculum and instruction.

The second sub-question of the study asked: How does curriculum and instruction materialize in primary schools as a means of supporting or limiting access to education for Haitian immigrant students?

The Dominican national curriculum is standardized and formatted in workbooks and distributed by the Dominican Department of Education to all schools. A review of the pedagogical structure of the workbooks suggests that there was no pedagogical language support, modified learning strategies, support of diversity, or a focus on multiculturalism and inclusion. Teachers in the study schools expressed a consistent concern for the need for expert teachers to guide them in the use of the curriculum for both Dominican students and with Haitian immigrant students. In the case of Elías Piña, there is a need for highly qualified and culturally sensitive teachers that are aware of the

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unique needs of linguistically diverse students. Darling-Hammond (1995), Baker (2001),

and Commins, Miramontes and Nadeau (2005**),** document in their research the

importance of well prepared teachers that have a high capacity to motivate and engage

students with a broad spectrum of teaching strategies that are tailored to creating a

participatory curriculum. In Elías Piña, the study found that in the selected Dominican

public schools the need for well prepared teachers was compelling when responding to

the linguistic and academic needs of undocumented and displaced Haitian immigrant

students and families. The researcher found the educational challenges faced by Haitian

immigrant students are far greater than this study presents. Olneck (1995) describes the

exceptionality of the immigrant experience stating,

> [S]chools have historically presented and continue to present a challenge to the
> valued ways and inherited meanings of immigrant groups. More than just
> behavioral patterns are at issue. Rather, concepts of God, personhood, family,
> community, and society, responsibilities and futures, right and wrong, and gender
> identities and roles are at stake. These challenges have had profound
> consequences for the experiences of immigrant youth, for rending relationships
> between the generations, and for transforming immigrant culture and identities.
> (p. 317)

The political culture of the Dominican Republic has explicitly leeched into the

staffing practices in public schools. The party controlling the presidency uses

administrative and instructional positions within the Elías Piña school district as a means

of employing individuals who have that party's membership (UNDP, 2010). This

practice has inextricably marred an educational vocation in need of highly trained

professionals. Party members are often given their choice in teaching and administrative

assignments. The resulting consequences in schools are displaced professionals,

cynicism among members of other political parties, and little motivation to achieve

results related to students' academic achievement. In light of this, Monzó and Rueba

(2003) offer support to the argument that the current *politicization* of the educator,

coupled with the militarization of the community, negatively contributes to a productive

educational learning environment.

> From a sociocultural perspective (Pinard, (1959); Wertsch 1998), teachers bring to their teaching worldviews that have been shaped by the sociocultural and historical contexts of their lives (Goodson 1991; Nieto and Rolón 1997). These "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al. 1992) impact teachers' beliefs about education, content, instructional strategies, and interactions with students (Sumara and Luce-Kapler 1996). The decisions teachers make convey assumptions about what is worth knowing, which are typically presented as "naturally" important to know.

> In a multicultural society it is important for all children to be exposed to multiple perspectives, perhaps especially for children of marginalized ethnic and racial groups. Such exposure supports inclusive learning environments where all children's diverse funds of knowledge can be drawn upon. (p. 72)

The Dominican Department of Education is in a position, with the potential of

added funds from the national education reform "4% Campaign", to reinvent curriculum

and teacher training in the Dominican Republic. Inclusive of this must be an explicit

attempt to include multiculturalism, first and second language development and meeting

the specific academic needs of displaced Haitian students. As mentioned, the age-grade

discrepancy is so large that it is clear Haitian immigrant students at the primary level do

not have access to learning opportunities. Currently, the Dominican primary school is

operating more as a daycare than providing Haitian immigrant students with curriculum

and instruction that leads to academic advancement. The future is ripe for offering

bilingual education that allows Dominican students to learn Haitian Creole and Haitian

students Spanish. Elías Piña, as a bi-national market community, is poised to benefit

greatly from a bilingual curriculum. Hornberger (1998) states,

> [C]onsistent and compelling evidence that language policy and language education serve as vehicles for promoting the vi-tality, versatility, and stability of

these languages, and ultimately of the rights of their speakers to participate in the global community on, and IN, their own terms. (p. 455)

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Baker (2001), reflecting on the developmental needs of immigrant students such as Haitian immigrant students, argue that education is a human right. Bilingual education can offer Elías Piña an opportunity to provide socio-culturallly relevant programs that provide equitable access to education such as school enrollment, parent involvement and academic achievement. Mar-Molinero (1995) identifies a central tenet that supports bilingual education stating, "[t]o construct this truly multicultural society there is also a need for a far greater awareness of the role of language and its complicated relationship with national identity" (p 217). This is very true for Elías Piña. The educational chasm between Haitians and Dominicans is filled with the opportunity if relevant and language appropriate bilingual education is designed, implemented and evaluated.

Following the model at West School, one of the four selected schools, the Dominican Department of Education is encouraged to implement a multicultural component to its national curriculum. The suggested multicultural curriculum should be explicit in promoting social and cultural equality. Furthermore, the multicultural curriculum should explicitly demonstrate the similarities and parallels Haitian and Dominican culture share and as a foundation for examining cultural diversity throughout Latin America and the world. This should include both historical and contemporary attributes that are representative in both cultures. Promoting cultural pluralism and inclusion for the Haitian immigrant community in the Dominican Republic will lead to less societal tension between Haitians and Dominicans. The development of cross-cultural competency with students begins with the development of the five dimensions of

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intercultural communication competency (ICC) with the teachers. Furthermore, the framework for teacher professional development must be in a context that language acquisition is a critical element, and linguistically diverse students are able to integrate their home culture and values. Teachers must acquire the skill set, which allows them to be aware of how culture impacts instruction and contextualized meaningful learning (Eriks-Brophy & Crago, 2003). International NGO's have had some success in this area, though, there needs to be a national approach, thus placing the onus on the Dominican Department of Education versus external NGO's.

Professional development and resources.

The third sub-question of the study asked, How do teacher resources and training support access to education for Haitian immigrant students?

The study found that the role of international NGOs and its resources in the arena of Dominican public education is very important and proven to be locally helpful. From this study, through direct interactions, interviews, and observations, there is evidence of international NGO success in Dominican public schools, such as in one of the four selected schools of the study (West School). Unfortunately, these organizations have funds to provide limited services over a limited timeframe. The Dominican Department of Education should look closely at the best practices provided by international NGO's and the local impact each is having on the individual school in Elías Piña and in other Dominican communities. Given the need expressed by Elías Piña teachers for professional development, the Dominican Department of Education should provide continued access to schools in supporting teacher training and specific professional development activities. The professional development provided by international NGO's

and the Dominican Department of Education should be developmentally approapriate, programmed throughout the academic year, rigorous, and supported by educational theory and practice. In order to address the school-community needs, teacher training must develop teachers' ability to promote education as a fundamental, human right (Pimentel, 2006; Skuttnab-Kangas, 2000).   Emphasis, as expressed by Elías Piña teachers, should be placed on professional development that includes language support, multiculturalism, literacy interventions, class management and specific teaching strategies that address the academic needs of Haitian students. Both Dominican teachers and specialists from NGO's also point to other learning strategies that should be included such as cooperative learning, technology integration, cooperative learning strategies, and language learning instructional techniques. Furthermore, given the high number of Haitian students with age-grade discrepancy, a significant area identified by Elías Piña Dominican teachers was the need to provide training in student assessment, specifically professional development in assessing linguistically diverse students.

Dominican public schools are anemically diffused of resources. With the anticipated increase in public funding for Dominican education, emphasis should be placed on rebuilding schools into learning centers that reflect a commitment to education by the Dominican people. Technology should be at the forefront of this effort. Given the wide and enthusiastic use of the Centro Tecnológico Comunitario (CTC) / Community Technology Centers (CTC) and school computer laboratories, instructional technology is an obvious direction in which schools get a high return. Citing the UNESCO (2010), the importance of investing in teacher education is far reaching and imperative:

> The quality of teacher training is equally important. Teachers who are well-trained and adequately remunerated are better equipped to provide a decent education and

be active promoters of the values of citizenship, peace and intercultural dialogue. Governments are therefore urged to continue investing in viable national policies and programs for teacher training, recruitment, and incentives so that teachers remain and develop within the profession. At the same time, we urge development partners to support governments, particularly in developing countries, in their determination to invest in well-trained teachers. (p. 2)

The investment in teacher training is supported by teachers from the study. Pending the resolution of the 4% Campaign, education in the Dominican Republic is potentially on the verge of going through an educational paradigm shift. Correlating well with the findings of this study, Johnson (2003) comments on the direction teacher training should head by stating,

I advocate for the 'scholarship of civic engagement.' I believe we should pool our university resources (e.g. time, money, research expertise, political connections) to examine how all of our children are faring in today's schools, to provide technical assistance to local school districts, and to advocate for progressive multicultural policies that incorporate culturally inclusive curriculum, culturally responsive pedagogy, and equitable assessment practices. (p. 117)

Parent involvement.

The fourth sub-question asked: How does parent involvement surface as a means of access to education for Haitian students?

Dominican teachers who were participants of the study expressed importance to a teachers' concept of student identity and parent involvement. Specifically, they believed that if Dominican school officials are serious about addressing equity in education, they needed to have a holistic grasp of parent engagement, the importance of home-school communication, the unique needs of displaced Haitian immigrant families and how to develop relationships that lead to engaged Haitian immigrant families in the school-community.

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Haitian parent involvement is an untapped resource in the Dominican Republic. Parents' trust in schools is vital in creating a school-community that has high levels of quality parent involvement (Anderson, 2007). The responsibility rests on the Dominican Department of Education in making the Dominican school a safe and welcoming space for Haitian immigrant parents. Until this is done, international NGO's will be hesitant in promoting parent involvement to the Haitian community in Elías Piña and in the Dominican Republic. There are three initial aspects of Haitian immigrant parent involvement that Haitian parents need reaffirmation:

- The Dominican school site is a safe place for Haitian parents who are undocumented to be and not fear deportation or discrimination.

- The Dominican school is a place that provides a social and educational context that is welcoming and makes them feel a sense of belonging.

- The Dominican school shows respect for Haitian Creole language by having translators that are readily and freely accessible for Haitian parents.

Addressing these three needs is the beginning of Haitian immigrant parent involvement. The recommendations provide a starting point for Elías Piña and Dominican schools to collaborate effectively with international NGO's in promoting higher levels of parent involvement, informing the Haitian community of registration, and promoting adult education opportunities for Haitian parents. Developing networks between Haitians and Dominicans bridges barriers and develops social capital for both (Dale & Newman, 2010). Yet, in order to create the networks and provide opportunities so that social capital is developed, trustworthiness must be established, it must be genuine, and, it must be protected (Coleman, 1998).

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Intercultural communication.

The fifth sub-question of the study asked: What are the explicit and implicit intercultural communication actions that positively or negatively impact the denial or access of educational services for Haitian refugees and immigrants in the Dominican Republic?

The researcher, in his review of interviews, school field note observations, and observations of the school community for over a six month period in Elías Piña, derived impressions of how Haitian immigrant students were perceived and treated using Arasaratnam's (2009) five intercultural communication dimensions. Intercultural communication competence focuses on expected and accepted behavior in a given cultural context and in the cultural identity of the perceiver. The five factors include: empathy, experience, listening and interaction involvement, attitude towards other cultures, and motivation.

Overall, teachers' and administrators' attitudes and behaviors towards immigrant Haitian children and parents in Elías Piña demonstrated a certain level of empathy, yet lacked in experience, listening and interaction involvement, attitude towards other cultures, and motivation. The Dominicans the researcher interviewed felt sorry for the "poor Haitian", yet had minimal interaction or interest in Haitian culture, language or lived experience. In several interviews, there was antipathy towards "all things Haitian", to the extent that Haitians, in several Dominican minds, could not be related to nor understood in a positive light. This finding is not categorical, though, significant enough to be brought to the surface. Furthermore, many Dominicans who did not express a blatant antipathy towards Haitians, nor had a neutral or somewhat positive perception for

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Haitians, often had limited relationships with Haitians, and limited knowledge of Haitian culture, language and lived experience.

Within the scope of empathy, Dominicans tended to be quite concerned about the victims of the 2010 Port-au-Prince earthquake. Also, teachers demonstrated concern for the welfare of their Haitian students. In this case, teachers often perceived Haitian students as coming from desperately poor households, with insufficient resources to survive. Though this may be interpreted as a subtractive or negative perspective, there was a clear feeling of sympathy, and in some cases empathy, for Haitian students. After following up with many Haitian immigrant students, it was clear that the sympathetic feelings held by the teachers were grounded in the actual circumstances faced by Haitian families.

Experience and training includes the ability to consistently behave in a way that is perceived to be appropriate. In the case of stakeholders and educators in Elías Piña, the study suggests that, for the most part, few had the experience and background to understand the complexity of Haitian immigrant students and families who expressed living in fear of the authorities, suspicion of who to trust, and despair with regards to living day to day and not knowing their future. While education for their children was seen as a positive need for survival in the Dominican Republic, Haitians' lack of understanding of the Dominican educational system led to the perception that Haitian immigrant parents were not engaged in the education of their children.

Listening (interaction involvement) of Dominicans in the study was very limited. Dominicans in the study showed little interest in engaging Haitian adults outside of perfunctory interactions. There was limited evidence of Dominicans who had explicitly

become adept in Haitian Creole or Haitian culture. Mostly, Dominicans in the study expressed little to no desire to becoming aware of the Haitian lived experience in Elías Piña. This area of intercultural communications reflects the observed distrust Dominicans have of Haitians.

Dominicans' attitude towards Haitian culture was verbalized in vivid language. Several Dominicans stated that Haitians were monsters and dirty when referring to the way Haitians lived.   Within the scope of intercultural communications, Dominican teachers would benefit greatly from training in cultural plurality. At West School, this training was explicit and incorporated into the school's curriculum. Teachers who had received training and who were expected to use the international NGO's supplemental curriculum on multiculturalism showed evidence of gravitating towards a better, more equitable perception of Haitian Creole and Haitian culture.

Dominicans showing motivation towards becoming more engaged with Haitians in a positive light was limited. Yet, vice a versa, Haitians, out of necessity were very motivated to learning about and incorporate into Dominican society. The overall subtractive view of Haitians and the driving forces of the market economy tended to gear Dominicans towards rebuking Haitian culture as opposed to embracing it.

Praxis.

The sixth sub-question asked**:** After the post 2010 earthquake, what has been the praxis, reflection and action to assist Haitian refugees and immigrants, in accessing primary public education in the Dominican Republic?

The community of Elías Piña, school administrators, and teachers along the Dominican-Haitian border are in need of a social campaign that will "interrupt particular

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historical, situated systems of oppression" (Lather, 1991, p. 121). While the social

acceptance by Elías Piña educators of Haitian immigrant students has been open and

welcoming, it has been limited to accessing schooling without much focus on how to

accommodate the national curriculum to the needs of Haitian immigrant communities.

The posture of such an approach is considered to be based on an assimilationist paradigm

that is often referred to as a subtractive pedagogy (Baker, 2001). Haitian immigrant

students either sink or swim in a Spanish-only instructional approach. For praxis or social

agency to exist on the part of Dominican administrators and teachers and in order to

address the existing conditions faced by Haitian immigrant students in Elías Piña and in

the Dominican Republic, a transformative socially conscious problem posing pedagogy

needs to be developed. A socially conscious curriculum, as advocated by Paulo Freire

(1986), needs to identify oppressive elements of the school community that leads to the

explicit (policy interpretations) and implicit (assimilation expectations) denial of

educational access for Haitian immigrant children. In doing so, teachers would follow a

critical theory approach that incorporates problem posing questions for understanding

what constitutes power, who holds power, and, how power is used to benefit certain

groups (Freire, 1986; Lynn & Jennings, 2009). Professional development and teacher

training would provide teachers, who have demonstrated a willingness and belief in equal

access to educational opportunity, to have the ability to see beyond the superficial act of

school attendance, and seek a truer meaning of providing educational opportunities to

Haitian immigrant children. By utilizing a critical pedagogy approach in teacher training

it is possible that a critique of society can take place and can lead to positively

transforming the school community (Freire, 1970; deMarrais & Le Compte, 1999).

Intrinsic in this critical pedagogy activism by the Dominican Republic school leadership

and its teachers who engage education reform through teaching, is an act of love and

problem posing (Darder, 1998). And in the event of a natural disaster, the role of the

teacher is critical in assisting immigrant and non-immigrant children in returning to the

life they once knew. The UNESCO (2010) report states,

> Teachers provide continuity and reassurance, both during and after natural disasters and other crises. By giving hope for the future and providing structure and a sense of normalcy, they help to mitigate the effects of conflict, disaster and displacement. They provide much-needed psycho-social support to ease the trauma of children and youth who have witnessed extreme violence, or lived through the destruction of their homes and the loss of family members. Supporting teachers in post-crisis situations is an investment in peace and development. (p. 2)

Other Implications.

The findings also have implications for other areas beyond the ones from the

conceptual framework, i.e. policy, curriculum and instruction, teacher resources and

training, parent involvement, intercultural communications, and praxis. There are

implications for those working in developing community advocacy and leadership in the

development of an infrastructure for comprehensive education. Also, there are

implications for the 4% Campaign in supporting all children's right to quality education.

Specifically, the 4% must address the unique regional needs of Elías Piña, as well the

unique needs of other regions of the Dominican Republic. Within the scope of

developing infrastructure for comprehensive education, it is vital that the national

curriculum be geared to the distinct groups within the Dominican educational spectrum,

i.e. Haitian Creole speakers, special education students, gifted learners, etc. Meaning,

comprehensive education needs to be defined as a curriculum that provides access to

learning for all students in the Dominican public classroom. In doing so, all students,

including mainstream Dominican students, are provided an education that does not exclude the inordinate numbers that are falling behind. Key to this paradigm shift is placing significant investment into teacher training and teacher professional development. With the potential of increased funding for public education, vis-à-vis the 4% Campaign, it is possible to ultimately instill comprehensive education into the instructional practices into the classroom through a long term objective of creating a teacher workforce that has a high skill level.

Specific to the non-governmental organization (NGO) community, there is need for continued influence at the school site level. As previously stated in Chapters Four and Five, several NGOs are working in the field of curricular development within public primary schools. It is highly recommended that more NGOs focus efforts along the Haitian-Dominican border, focusing within the educational sector. Though the term "sustainable development" has become rather contrived over the years, the idea should not be lost. NGOs need to focus on developing highly skilled advocates and leaders within the public school sector that will sustain, and continue to promote multicultural education and address issues of social justice. This will not take place by simply implementing a few workshop a year or an annual conference. NGOs that are serious in sustainable development must be committed, long-term to having a presence along the border, with an active and dynamic presence that is dependable, local and grassroots oriented.

Coordination amongst NGO with the region must take place in order to maximize the positive impact of project implemented within the public education sector. This coordination needs to include the following:

1) Communication among NGOs on the status and objectives for each project in schools;

2) Coordinated professional development of teachers;

3) Sharing of best practices; and,

4) Creation of common, long-term objectives that leads to increased teacher instructional skill level, increased presence of multicultural education, and language development.

Limitations

This study's focus on a single community in the Dominican Republic, Elías Piña, limits the extent to which its findings can be generalized to the broader communities of the Dominican Republic. In this regard, the findings of the study should be viewed as a starting point for understanding educational access provided to Haitian immigrant students since the 2010 earthquake. Additionally, despite efforts to ensure trustworthiness, the study's reliance on the capacities of a single human researcher as its primary method for data collection and analysis are naturally limiting. Finally, the study's findings are confined to the experiences and reflections of those educators and community individuals interviewed at the four selected schools in Elías Piña.

In addition, multiple events in the data collection process during this study created unforeseen limitations. Though there were unforeseen circumstances that surfaced, there were obvious limitations that were known prior to beginning the study. As a White male from the United States, my physical attributes always made me an outsider. Having worked in the Dominican Republic for several years in international development, my cross-cultural skill set is above average, yet, it was always understood that, as the

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researcher, I was not from Elías Piña, nor am I Dominican. This created an inherent questioning of my motives for living and researching in Elías Piña. And even though I was perceived as a professional to a certain extent, I did not have the resources that most professionals had, such as a vehicle, office or staff. Hence, this inherent discrepancy contributed to possible misunderstanding of the academic work I was performing.

While doing ethnographic research in Elías Piña, a place where the black market of goods, people and drugs created an undercurrent of distrust, there was an atmosphere of tension that involved the Dominican military. The military's informal policy of taking bribes from Haitians in order to enter and travel in the Dominican Republic without documents contributed to the environment of cash for access and mobility. This issue is historic, far-reaching and integrated into the military culture. Having witnessed on numerous occasions the transactions between undocumented Haitians and the Dominican military, it was apparent that the informal policy of allowing bribes to take place trumped formal policy of immigration procedures. And because informal policy dominated the daily life of those who live in Elías Piña, I found certain limitations in interviewing individuals. More often than not, access to educators, stakeholders and individuals creagted a significant limitation since many were reluctant to sign the consent waiver or to have the interview recorded. A retired military officer once told me that because foreign journalists had exposed the dynamics of the border, there was an increased level of distrust for non-Dominicans. Though this was a theme resonant throughout my time in Elías Piña, there were many educators and community members who were comfortable being interviewed. For the most part these persons were less likely to be involved with the military or the business of the market.

Overall the findings of the study are limited to the researcher's sociocultural filters of social phenomena of the educational and social conditions facing Haitian immigrant students and families in Elías Piña.

Reflections

The experience of doing ethnographic research along the Haitian Dominican border was one of sociological fascination, intensity and arduous work. The socio-political and socio-cultural tensions that are embedded in the culture of the market and immigration patterns make Elías Piña a community of underlying socio-economic motives and informal political policy implementation. The time spent in schools showed that the lack of resources, along with inadequate teacher training, ultimately excludes all students, both Haitian and Dominican, from educational learning and their academic development. Furthermore, during the study, the cholera epidemic developed in Haiti and began to cross the border into the Dominican Republic. Dominican resistance toward Haitians struggling for assistance was magnified by this; thus, Haitians became disenfranchised from the opportunities Dominicans have readily available. The social capital Dominicans garner in healthcare, education and legality inherently manifest inequality within the Elías Piña community for Haitians. Commenting on social capital, Woolcock and Narayan (2000) note that social capital is a double-edged sword stating,

> [S]ocial capital does not exist in a political vacuum, and that the nature and extent of the interactions between communities and institutions hold the key to understanding the prospects for development in a given society. The evidence supports the argument that social capital can be used to promote or to undermine the public good. (p. 243)

In Elías Piña, Dominicans hold the keys of privilege and the potency of social capital. Given the lopsided nature of the Haitian-Dominican relationship, it is imperative that

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teachers be trained in analyzing how social capital can be used as a tool for community development, and more importantly, as a mechanism for reinforcing inequalities that support an imbalanced social hierarchy (Mason & Beard, 2008). And in respect to the aftermath of the 2010 Port-au-Prince earthquake, social capital has the potential to be a tremendous force that brings people together as they recover from the earthquake disaster of 2010. The power of goodwill is tremendous, yet there is a need for organization and effectiveness (George, 2007).

The intersection of Haitian culture and language, and Dominican culture and language, is a conceptual space that is interwoven through historically divergent and parallel events. And though Haitians and Dominicans, and those who write about them, attempt to focus on the distinctions, there is space for discourse on sectors of shared identity. Addressing the construct of identity Subedi and Daza (2008) state,

> In particular, as Said (1993) reminds us, identities are complex constructions, are historically mediated, and are discrepant (e.g., contradictory and ambiguous). John (1996) maintains that discrepant identities are shaped by multiple cultural formations and that identities continue to change as im/migrant subjects' travel across geographical boundaries. (p. 5)

The critique of Dominicans denying 'blackness' and disassociating from African heritage is not supported here nor by the research of Torres-Salliant (1998) or Middleton IV (2008). Middleton IV (2008) states,

> In this study, I did not find that Dominicans largely denied their blackness; rather, their identification with blackness was tempered by a belief in being of mixed-racial heritage. Respondents in the Dominican Republic study sites ascribed to a belief in a pigmentocracy. (p. 582)

So, along the avenue of ethnicity and race, the multicultural curriculum implemented by the international NGO working in West School provides an inspiring window of the possibilities of bringing multiculturalism into the classroom. This is a beginning, not an

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end. Multicultural efforts provide the groundwork for integrating supportive curriculum that assists Haitian students to advance academically. The absence of teacher training and professional development, along with few resources, puts all students at risk of acquiring academic skills and access to careers.

The resilience found within the Haitian community in Elías Piña was inspirational. The compassion I saw by individual Dominicans towards displaced Haitians encouraged me to see the possibilities that could exist in Elías Piña. The stories I listened to by displaced Haitians, whose lives had been fundamentally destroyed and stripped, were often horrifying. Many of these families and individuals had lost most possessions and many family members from the 2010 earthquake. Somehow, they found their way to Elías Piña as a last resort, or by following the whisper of an offer of shelter by a distant relative.

Suggestions for Future Study

This study suggests that there are a number of macro issues faced by Haitian immigrant children, whether displaced from the 2010 earthquake or are immigrants to the Dominican Republic. Further suggested includes the following:

- Research is easily justified in the areas of the actualization of educational policy in a manner that yields equity and access;

- Curriculum development that addresses the unique needs of Haitian children;

- Educational policy development that addresses linguistically diverse immigrant students;

- The engagement of Haitian parents in the educational process of their children's education; and,

- The impact of the national education "4% Campaign" on Haitian immigrant students.

It is strongly held that the development of intercultural communication competency (ICC) be incorporated into teacher training and professional development. Further research is warranted to uncover how ICC makes a difference in the learning opportunities of Haitian immigrant students. And more general, research is warranted into the practices of teacher training and professional development that can influence the educational environment that faces Haitian immigrant students.

Presented in this research is an initial glimpse into the community, the lives and the social dynamics faced in Elías Piña. In moving forward, it is compulsory to respond to George's (2007) statement, "The task of identifying what forms of social and economic structure should now be encouraged to development is an immense challenge for every discipline of the social sciences" (p. 122). With the changing dynamic of the Elías Piña market, as it moves closer to the international border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and the push of the national education "4% Campaign", future research is necessary in guiding the decision-making process so that a sustainably developed community is achieved.

Conclusions

Displaced Haitian immigrant children in the study faced the initial denial of access to Dominican education because there were no school site mechanisms in place to recruit their parents into the registration process. Furthermore, an apparent layer to the

scenario, is the abject poverty Haitian families face. Unfortunately, poverty was also the

leading rationale for non-displaced Haitian families not enrolling their children. Haddad

(2006) provides insight into the nature of poverty and inequality stating,

> Inequality and poverty are two distinct phenomena, although they are interrelated. Poverty is measured by the minimal conditions for survival of the people in a certain society. Inequality refers to the form of distribution of goods and resources in a certain society. The dissemination of poverty in many countries is essentially a result of the accentuated inequality in the distribution of its resources. (p. 137)

The light of hope through this study was the pro-active nature of the North School

teachers who were willing to walk through the Haitian barrio to recruit Haitian parents to

register their children into the pre-kindergarten program. That said, it is important to

keep the words of Pimentel (2006) close:

> Nevertheless, just providing universal formal schooling is not a guarantee of an educational system that prepares the individuals to be free. Although it is clear that a lot of work needs to be done until every individual is provided education worldwide, the process of learning can always be improved to achieve its goals of preparing people to participate actively and consciously in the society of which they are part. And education must be respectful of every individual's cultural background so that each person can make the most of it in their personal journey and in their interaction with others. (p. 9)

Therefore, in keeping with Pimentel's (2006) perspective, the study found that Haitian

children who did attend were most likely stuck in the first or second grade. It could be

argued that given the abject poverty, malnutrition, and limited academic achievement

Haitian children experience, that they are able to make more of a short-term and long-

term contribution to their lives and the lives of their family members by working with

their parents in the fields or selling produce at the market, as opposed to being actively

enrolled in local Dominican school. Haddad (2006) offers a pertinent perspective that

speaks to the experience of Haitian children in Elías Piña:

Denial of the right to education is the denial of the very meaning of humanizing human beings, it is to de-characterize humans as persons, it is to un-naturalize them. (p. 132)

To conclude, a reflection on a quote from Kierkegaard (2000) gives direction and hope for the future of Elías Piña:

If I were to wish for anything, I should not wish for wealth and power, but for the passionate sense of the potential, for the eye which, ever young and ardent, sees the possible. Pleasure disappoints, possibility never. And what wine is so sparkling, what so fragrant, what so intoxicating, as possibility! (p. 45)

As the darkness of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti disappears, this study offers challenges of hope for displaced Haitian families and specifically the future of their children. It is the responsibility of a cadre of entities, including the Dominican and Haitian governments, and the international community, to create educational access for children as a means of liberation from poverty and oppression.

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