

Final Draft

A Report for the International Organisation for Migration



Haitian Migrants in The Bahamas 2005



Prepared by The College of The Bahamas

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Research team:

Team leader:

Team members:

Dr. Pandora Johnson

Miss Virginia Ballance

Mr. William Fielding

Dr. Thaddeus MacDonald

Ms. Carol Scriven

Miss Donna Stuart (Department of Labour)

Cover illustrations: Examples of the range of housing occupied by Haitian nationals in The Bahamas

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Glossary

Convenience sample: A nonprobability sample method in which the researcher uses whatever individuals are available rather than selecting from the entire population.

Flow-through: migrants who pass from one country to another as they attempt to reach a third country represent the flow-through migrant population.

Gate-keeper: A person from the study community, or trusted by the community whose authority will allow strangers to engage community members.

Haitian-Bahamian: a Haitian national, probably, but not exclusively, born in The Bahamas, who has lived many years in The Bahamas and regards The Bahamas as “home” even if s/he does not consider him/herself Bahamian.

Haitian national: a person who has official documents indicating that s/he has Haitian nationality or who has no or inadequate documents but who is of Haitian ethnicity.

IOM: International Organisation for Migration

Returnees: these are persons who are taken to their country of origin, either willingly or otherwise.

Return: the result of sending a person to their country of origin.

Executive Summary

- A migration unit should be set up to compile up-to-date information on all migrant communities in the country
- This unit should provide an annual report to Cabinet on migrant groups
- All government departments should index their data by nationality so that a complete picture of the participation of national groups in government services can be obtained
- Migrants must demonstrate a set proficiency in English before being allowed to reside in the country. English, taught as a foreign language, should be made available
- Efforts must be made to integrate the Haitian community into the mainstream of Bahamian society
- There should be no decrease in returns of illegal migrants if government wishes to stabilise the size of the Haitian community
- Special attention must be paid to migrants arriving by airplane and other ports within New Providence
- Enforcement agencies need to fully enforce the rules on migration and work permits
- Government should review its work permit policy and procedures
- Enforcement agencies need to work with their Haitian counterparts to prevent the illegal departure of passengers from Haiti to The Bahamas
- Enforcement agencies should investigate claims of corruption within their ranks
- The Bahamas should seek to further expand maritime surveillance with that of Turks and Caicos and the United States of America
- Immigration must be regularised between Haiti and The Bahamas so that the demand for labour within The Bahamas can be met. The Government should open an office in Haiti to facilitate this
- Government officials must counter unsubstantiated press reports with evidence-based corrections to reduce ethnic tensions in society

Major findings from the study

- There is distrust of Bahamian authorities by the Haitian community
- Press reports are often incorrect and fuel ethnic tensions within society
- Due to a lack of information on the Haitian community perceptions have replaced evidence-based rational debate

- Many government agencies do not compile data indexed by nationality
- Where data are indexed by nationality long runs of data appear to be difficult to obtain
- Haitian nationals work illegally in the construction industry
- It is difficult to distinguish between the resident Haitian community and flow-through Haitian migrants
- Official data support the hypotheses that in some communities Haitian nationals utilise substantial government educational resources
- Official data support the hypothesis that Haitian nationals utilise public hospitals disproportionately to the size of its population
- Official data do not support the hypothesis that Haitian nationals use health clinics out of proportion to the size of its population

- New Providence is the hub for Haitian nationals entering the country
- Many of the Haitian community have children who are not in the country
- Many Haitian nationals do not wish to settle in The Bahamas, which suggests that circular migration continues
- Respondents claimed that they were abused either by persons on the street, or by the authorities
- Haitian nationals arrive illegally in The Bahamas, and then regularise their stay
- The work permit system seems to fail to regulate the use of foreign labour and may even promote poverty in the Haitian community
- Haitian nationals appear to provide a pool of cheap, unskilled/semi-skilled labour
- Employers use migrant labour without respect for the legality of the employment, so enforcement should also focus of employers and employees
- Haitian nationals have limited education and language skills and this constrains their employment opportunities
- Haitian nationals live in homes which may be at risk in hurricanes
- While Haitian nationals utilise the public health and education systems, they make little use of other social services

Summary

As the media review indicates, the presence of Haitian nationals in The Bahamas is an emotive issue. The debate has been fuelled by the media reporting whatever claims “concerned” citizens may have even if there is little or no evidence to substantiate the statements of these persons.

Haitian nationals settle in The Bahamas to obtain work. Typically, they arrive illegally and then attempt to regularise their status by acquiring permits, legally or illegally. Once a permit is acquired, that person can obtain employment in sectors which are not allowed by the permit. Having paid a \$1,000 to get to The Bahamas, migrants may take over a year to find work and then may be surcharged to obtain documents.

Employers may hire persons who are in breach of the law and later assist them to regularise their status by assisting them in acquiring documents. One attraction to employers of hiring Haitian nationals is that they will work for wages which are unacceptable to Bahamians. It is these people who provide the employment engine which encourages the migration from Haiti to The Bahamas.

Once Haitian nationals are employed here, it is to be expected that they will want their families to reside with them. Due to the language barrier it is not surprising that Haitian households have elected to live in the same neighbourhoods, typically where rents are low. Due to their low household incomes, typically close to the poverty line, Haitian nationals have no choice but to use the subsidised government services. The use of these services, notably health and education, results in Haitian nationals being seen concentrated in selected areas such as in the one major public hospital and their local public health clinics. These foci can give the impression that “Haitians are taking over”.

Outside of the education and health systems, Haitian nationals make little use of the social services and remain isolated from other residents.

While many live peacefully, sending back limited amounts of money to relations in Haiti, other members of the Haitian community are allegedly abused by the authorities, through extortion and physical ill-treatment. Some may suffer verbal abuse, just because of their ethnicity.

Vigilance at the major ports of entry should reduce the use of The Bahamas as a stop-over for Haitian nationals *en route* to North America. It is clear that until all levels of enforcement are improved and a system set up which will allow only those with valid work permits to enter the country, The Bahamas will continue to be a prime place in which Haitian nationals will seek work; and society, although utilizing their cheap labour, will continue to complain about their presence.

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(1) The Literature Review: Haitian nationals in The Bahamas

When one considers that Haitian nationals have had a presence in the Bahama Islands for over 200 years and that there has been a significant influx of migrants since the 1950s, it is surprising that there is such a paucity of literature on the subject generally and specifically on the Haitian migrant population. There are two studies which have used questionnaires and interviews to study the migrant Haitian population in The Bahamas. These studies were made 30 years apart and offer an interesting juxtaposition of data and conclusions. Two other substantial studies which largely draw upon the first quantitative study provide deeper analysis of what has come to be known as the “Haitian Problem”, the “Haitian Dilemma” or “Haitian Question”. In addition, shorter reports and studies address specific aspects of “the problem” and add to our understanding of the history and implications of the migrant population.

The first study to use quantitative measures was by Marshall (1979) and was published as a book. Her research, conducted in the summers of 1969, 1970 and 1971, consisted of interviewing three mutually exclusive groups of stakeholders: some legal residents and others illegal migrants. Sizes of the survey samples utilized in 1969 and 1970 were 35 and 25, respectively. For the 1971 exercise, Marshall surveyed 71 households, 135 adults, and 55 children – all in the Carmichael Road area of New Providence. The results were published only in 1979. Because it was the first and for a long time, the only study of the Haitian migrant in The Bahamas, this study’s observations, analysis and data have provided the basis for most secondary research carried out on the migration of Haitian nationals to The Bahamas.

The study sets the scene by describing the living conditions of the population of northern Haiti (from where most Haitian residents of The Bahamas originate), considers the motivations for migration and analyses The Bahamas as the destination for the potential migrants. Marshall uses the “push / pull” theory to explain the migration phenomena. Her review of the history of Haitian migration to The Bahamas outlines the response of successive Bahamian governments since 1950 to the “invasion” of migrants and provides statistics (mostly estimations) of the numbers of migrants in The Bahamas. In 1973 it was estimated that there were 40,000 Haitian nationals resident in The Bahamas (without any reference to whether they were legal or illegal). Her conclusions were that given the social and economic marginalization of the illegal migrant in The Bahamas, the Haitian migrant had few reasons to assimilate or interact with the Bahamian majority, and that the cycle of poverty and isolation would continue. Marshall also was of the prescient view that within “the area of origin (Haiti) there are no factors, which are operating, or likely to operate in the future, to discourage or halt the migration.” As for Bahamian practices at that time, she found that, despite Haitian migrants’ fears in the face of roundups and substantial numbers of returns effected to Haiti, “immigration efforts do not act as an effective deterrent to migration.” Rather, she posited that more measured economic growth and integrated development, offering increased social and financial benefits to Bahamian nationals, might also be employed to address the issue.

The second quantitative study of Haitians migrants was conducted in 1998 for a master’s thesis by a Haitian-Bahamian Ermitte St. Jacques (2001). The author used the Marshall study as a basis, examining the second generation of Haitian immigrants to determine whether they have broken the cycle of poverty, lack of education and social isolation. The results of 26 surveys

conducted in the same neighbourhood where Marshall conducted one of her surveys 30 years previously generated comparative results. The survey also elicited information about collective or political organizations among the Haitian community. A final section of the thesis examined the socio-cultural integration of immigrants and the role of the Bahamian media.

St. Jacques feels that the “push / pull” theory of Haitian migration is now “stair step” migration which is seen throughout the Caribbean. The poorest nations send migrants to the less poor nations, and the less poor nations send migrants to industrial countries. The Bahamas is no different given that there are over 70,000 undocumented Bahamians resident in the United States (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2003) and that between 1989 and 2004, 11,736 Bahamians emigrated legally to the United States and between 1992-2004, 5,104 subsequently became citizens of the United States. (U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2005). While the United States remains the destination of choice for most Haitian migrants, only the wealthier Haitian nationals are able to get visas and can afford airline tickets to the United States. Migrants to The Bahamas often (though not always) arrive by boat from the depressed northern area and are always classed as economic refugees.

While many Bahamians (the public and the government) complain that Haitian nationals are using health, education and social services to the exclusion of Bahamians, St. Jacques presents data provided by the Ministry of Health (1991 report) that only 15% of patients at the national hospital, Princess Margaret Hospital, were Haitian nationals. Similarly, use of the educational system by Haitian nationals from surveys made in 1991 and 2005 show that 7.85% and 8.85% of students, respectively, are Haitian nationals. (Stubbs, 1994, Bain, 2005). She concludes therefore that the “problem” is less about Haitian nationals using services but more about Bahamian concerns regarding national and cultural sovereignty, what is known in the Bahamian press as “creolization”. In her conclusions, St. Jacques determines that in fact, the second generation of Bahamian-born children of Haitian migrants are well assimilated, have obtained an education and for all intents and purposes are “Bahamian”. The “Haitian problem” has metamorphosed from the scourge of illegal migrants into a problem of granting citizenship to “Haitian Bahamians”. The St. Jacques thesis is the most recent study available and as such has not been cited by further research.

There are five or six articles, reports and studies that draw on the Marshall research. These include a long section in a contemporary history of the Bahama islands by Craton and Saunders (2000), and two articles in the Journal of The Bahamas Historical Society by Sears (1994) (Sears is presently the Attorney General and Minister of Education) and McWeeney (1994) (formerly Attorney-General and senator), and a university research paper by Treco (2002). The 1998 National Commission on Crime also devoted several pages to “Immigrant communities”, concluding that Bahamians are the cause of the perpetuation of the “Haitian problem”. Marshall’s study is referred to in numerous studies about Haitian migration as a general phenomenon in the Caribbean (Hope-Thomas, 2003), migration to the United States and migration to the Dominican Republic

Craton and Saunders (2000) provide an historical analysis of Haitian migration from the 1950s to the mid-1990s, including a thorough description of Haitian-Bahamian relations during the period. During the 1990s, they assert, Haitian nationals were blamed for every social and

medical ill conceivable: TB, cholera, AIDS, malaria, prostitution, drug dealing, theft, violent crime, gang warfare, etc. The chapter concluded, as do other studies of the Haitian migrant “problem” in The Bahamas, questioning what the future holds for Bahamian Haitians, Haitian Bahamians, Bahamians of Haitian parentage, whatever one wishes to call them, who at age 18 would be asking for citizenship in The Bahamas and would be more vocal about their rights and unlike their docile parents, would not accept the rampant, institutionalized discrimination (Robertson, 2002, *National Commission on Crime*, 1998). A study of Bahamian attitudes toward Haitian immigrants by Lightbourn (2000) revealed that as young people exhibited a stronger sense of Bahamian national self-identity, there was an increased likelihood they would have anti-Haitian prejudices and support harsher immigration policies.

Government concern with respect to Haitian nationals in The Bahamas has resulted in several agreements between the Governments of the Republic Haiti and the government of The Bahamas concerning the rights of Haitian nationals in The Bahamas and the return of illegal Haitian nationals from The Bahamas (Treaty, 1985; Charles, 1985; Haiti/Bahamas, 1995). These treaties have now lapsed but show the need for bilateral agreements to assist in reducing the flow of migrants from Haiti.

Several government-commissioned studies and short reports were also consulted. The Ministry of Education surveys student nationalities in all schools (public and private) every five years; we were able to find the 1991 (Stubbs, 1994) and 2005 (Bain, 2005) studies only. The Ministry of Health (1994) surveyed the impact of Haitian migration on The Bahamas, estimating the population to be about 30,000. Taylor (2005) assesses educational needs of Haitian nationals concluding that more adult educational programmes need to be offered.

Studies of the Haitian Diaspora in the United States, Guadeloupe and the Dominican Republic also provided interesting background information, sociological and ethnographical research and analysis to compare and contrast to the Haitian Diaspora in The Bahamas. Cultural anthropologist Paul Brodwin has published several studies on the Haitian population resident in Guadeloupe (2000, 2001, and 2003), where they suffer from structural exclusion from participating in society, symbolic denigration, economic and residential marginality, suspicion and stigma by the host society. Like their counterparts in The Bahamas, first generation migrant Haitians do not seek assimilation into the host society. Rather, migrant Haitian nationals, Brodwin has revealed, forge a new identity by joining evangelical and Pentecostal churches. Brodwin’s 2003 paper concludes that transplanted Haitian nationals become transnational, they revere their Haitian origins yet continue to live among an alien society remaining apart from the dominant society. How these conclusions apply the second-generation Haitians who are assimilated would be lines for future inquiry in the Bahamian and Guadeloupan contexts.

Studies from among the large body of work on Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic were also consulted. The analysis and results of these studies were relevant to this research project. (for example, Ferguson, 2003; Fletcher & Miller, 2004; IOM, 2005).

By far the greatest research has been done on the Haitian migrant population in the United States and Canada. There are large populations of Haitian nationals – both legal and illegal – resident in New York, Boston, Miami and Montreal. Books by Laguerre (1998 and 1984) and Stepick

(1998) were particularly useful for understanding Haitian migration, how they settle in the United States, how they gain political voice and become transnational citizens – becoming Americans (or Canadians) yet maintaining strong cultural and kinship links to their homeland.

A large part of the present research project included a survey of Haitian immigrant communities in The Bahamas. Studying an illegal immigrant population presents several challenges: their distrust of government officials, their constant movement and language barriers are three such challenges. Two studies, DeSantis (1990) and Wingerd (1992) describe some of the problems and limitations encountered with surveying the Haitian population in south Florida and some of the limitations encountered.

Finally, a classic study of the Haitian people and Haiti by Leyburn (1941) provided background context to the history of Haiti and the problems of Haiti which persist today: overpopulation, poor health, lack of education and bad agricultural management and deforestation.

With the small number of Bahamian government studies which largely relied on small reservoirs of data, the Marshall 1979 study, St. Jacques's master's thesis and the Craton and Saunders history of The Bahamas, there was not a font of resources upon which to draw.

(2) The Media Review

Executive Summary

Reports on Haitian migration in the Bahamian print media generally consisted of hard news reports concerning the arrest, detention and return of Haitian nationals, as well as many articles reporting on the opinion of various persons such as politicians, religious leaders and the public on various social issues ranging from housing, to education, to health. Most of the opinions reported on were negative and focused on problems created by Haitian nationals for The Bahamas. Rare were any feature articles exploring the issues with any depth or any significant degree of depth and reflection. Rare also were any reports on individual Haitian nationals' situations such as might give them a human face.

The opinion columns, editorials and letters to the editor were critical of the government's handling of the migrant situation. There were repeated accusations that the government did not have a plan but was reacting to events as they occurred. The media discourse also blamed the Bahamian public for having created an economic environment that has encouraged migrants to come to The Bahamas by continuing to employ migrants who have illegally entered the country. The reports highlight the perception that the government tacitly encourages continued illegal migration by allowing migrants to remain in The Bahamas once they have found work and an employer willing to secure a work permit for them.

Main Recommendations

- The media should try to portray the migration issue less as a local / regional problem and more in the global context
- The media should try to make the migrant less of an impersonal statistic
- The media should try to portray Haitian residents in a more balanced/objective light and highlight the many contributions they make to Bahamian society, polity and economy
- Articles should be more evidence-based

Key Findings

- Over half the media reports reviewed concerned the capture, arrest, detention and return of Haitian nationals
- Articles addressed issues about housing and living conditions, health and environment, smuggling migrants and the question of citizenship for Bahamian-born children of Haitian nationals
- There was good coverage of bilateral Haiti-Bahamas talks and the political and economic situation in Haiti
- There were few feature articles about the resident Haitian community or articles that could promote positive Haitian-Bahamian relations
- Debate on the migrant situation in the media sometimes follows a trigger event such as a natural disaster (fire, hurricane, flooding)
- The media portrays the migrant population in a way that heightens the public's perceived threat by the migrants
- The public's perception of the size of the population is that it is very large
- Haitian nationals resident in The Bahamas do not have a voice in the media

Terms of reference

The terms of reference for a print media review for the past 3-5 years included an assessment of trends in media coverage on the subject of Haitian migration and an assessment of public perceptions on the flow and presence of Haitian migrants in The Bahamas. This review is comprised of two sections: i) a “content analysis” of “hard news” media coverage on the subject of Haitian migration, providing assessment in terms of trends and issues; and ii) an assessment of public perceptions through “opinion or discourse analysis” on the flow and presence of Haitian migrants in The Bahamas. Opinion or discourse analysis involves analyzing commentaries, editorials, and letters to the editor. Although “hard” news is generally understood to be fair, factual and balanced, it can in fact influence its readership through the choice of language, metaphors, images and representations. On the other hand, “opinion discourse” articles openly take sides on an issue: they evaluate and explain events subjectively; they are blame-oriented (Greenberg, 2000) and they present a particular ideological position that connects with the readership’s ethics and emotions.

Methodology

A review of news reports for the past 3-5 years was undertaken, with a cut-off date of May 31, 2005. The review was not exhaustive for a number of reasons. None of the daily newspapers (*The Tribune*, *The Nassau Guardian* or *The Bahama Journal*) are indexed electronically by an independent indexing service. Clippings files at the newspapers’ morgues and local libraries are not up to date. None of the newspapers for the period 2000 to 2004 has yet been microfilmed.

In order to find a sample of newspaper articles for the past five years a variety of approaches were used: for the period of 2000-2002 we used the only published index to Bahamian newspapers, *The Bahamas Index and Yearbook*. (The Index, produced at Milliken University in the United States, ceased publication in 2002). We obtained clippings from *The Tribune* newspaper morgue for the period 2002-2005. *The Nassau Guardian* website provided access to articles from January 2002-2005. (A search on the key words “Haitian” and “Immigration” produced approximately 100 relevant news and editorial-type articles). *The Bahama Journal* website also provided access to a selection of current articles and editorials. (A search on the key words “Haitian” and “immigration” retrieved approximately 50 relevant news and editorial-type articles). In sum, the sample of articles for the review period was approximately 80-100 per year for 2002 to 2005 and about 20 per year for 2000-2001.

I “Hard News” – Trends / Issues / Language

“Hard news” is the news of the day, a chronicle of current events and incidents that are reported upon without commentary – just the facts. News stories about the Haitian migrant population were analyzed to assess trends in coverage and to determine which topics and issues were consistently deemed newsworthy. The trends in how the media characterized the Haitian migrant population were assessed to determine whether tacitly or overtly the media appeared to contribute to perpetuating stereotypes.

One topic consistently accounted for over half the articles reviewed each year: those concerning the capture of illegal migrants, raids on workplaces and roundups of migrants (in New Providence and elsewhere in The Bahamas), as well as returns. Arrests of illegal migrants were reported regularly, with the articles giving numbers of migrants rounded up, detained and

returned to their country of origin. Often the cost of sending the migrants back to their home country would be included. With the launch of the Department of Immigration's Rapid Response effort in 2002, the department issued a weekly press release stating the numbers detained, their nationalities and numbers returned home. Many of the news reports were a virtual verbatim replication of the press release. Occasionally the short report would be accompanied by a photograph of the detainees. In the case of migrants arrested at sea, especially a large group, the report would sometimes give information about how long they had been at sea, how much they paid for their journey, provide descriptions of the health and physical condition of the detainees (especially if women and children were among those arrested), and report whether the migrants were in particular physical distress. It was reported that migrants paid \$500-\$1,000 for a passage on a sloop, whereas they paid \$3,000 for a trip on a motor boat. In the early 2000s boats capsized (five reports) and people drowned (a total of 22-37 victims), serving as the subject of sensational news reports; however since 2002 no such reports were found in the review sample. Throughout 2004/05, the number of news reports about boat loads of migrants being intercepted and roundups of migrant workers on the streets has been almost equal in number.

Issues

Notably, there were very few of what could be described as "feature stories" regarding Haitian nationals in The Bahamas. Many newspaper articles appearing under reporter's by-lines were actually reports of someone offering an opinion, either on a radio talk show, at a meeting, from a political or religious platform or from an interview. Rarely were such opinions accompanied by hard statistics. Newspaper reports and stories discussing the myriad of issues surrounding the Haitian community in The Bahamas ranged from one extreme to another. On one hand, there were reports of the opinion leaders calling for the government to take action to reduce the Haitian illegal immigrant population, or statements that the government was not doing a good job of keeping migrants out or that successive governments had allowed the situation to get out of hand. Yet, when the Department of Immigration carried out sweeps of the illegal immigrant community, there were reports that many members of the public thought that roundups of illegal immigrants and raids on their homes and places of work were inhumane and uncaring.

Issues which received consistent coverage about Haitian migrants and the Haitian community in The Bahamas fell into three categories: social issues (including housing and education), political issues (citizenship, law and order) and economic issues (labour). The argument that Bahamians are denied access to "education, health and social services" because of the large resident Haitian migrant population was repeatedly reported in the media without statistical or factual substantiation. (for example, *The Tribune*, August 19, 2002).

Social issues

Housing and Living Conditions

Housing and living conditions of migrants received consistent treatment in the five years reviewed. These articles would appear after adverse events such as hurricanes or house fires, when the plight of residents in shanty towns (sometimes referred to as slums) became a focus of public attention. Reports would focus on the unsanitary, substandard and dangerous conditions migrants live in. Calls for resettling residents of Pigeon Pea and the Mud (migrant settlements in Marsh Harbour, Abaco) appeared following disasters. Some reports focused on the

environmental concerns about garbage not being collected, human waste contaminating the water table and migrant burial practices. A *Nassau Guardian* report (September 4, 2004) expressed concern that Haitian dwellings would not withstand hurricane force winds. Positive reports were published about the assistance given to Haitian nationals living in Abaco who lost all their belongings in fires or hurricanes.

In early February 2005 the Minister of Trade and Industry, Leslie Miller, in an address to the House of Assembly during the Rent Control Bill debate stated that “a growing number of illegal immigrants is making it more difficult for Bahamians to have access to properties and rental units” (*The Bahama Journal*, February 10, 2005) and that “some people won’t rent to Bahamians because they can make more money from illegal immigrants” (*The Tribune*, February 10, 2005). Later that month, during the debate on the Rent Control Act, there were further reports in all the daily papers about Haitian migrants building shacks on other people’s property, building without permits, stealing electricity, and disposing of human waste in outdoor latrines.

Education and Health

Articles about health and education of Haitian migrants and residents were a growing feature of articles, particularly in the last two years of the review. There were frequent statements in the media, particularly opinion articles, that Haitian children comprised the majority of students and were among the best students in the public school system or that Haitian nationals were filling the hospitals to the exclusion of Bahamians. Such assertions were rarely, if ever, accompanied by any factual evidence. Reports which did publish statistics may reasonably be regarded as suspect, for example, *The Nassau Guardian* (January 13, 2004) reported that one third of students in public schools were of Haitian origin and that 7 of 10 maternity patients were Haitian nationals.

Few articles specifically addressed education of children of Haitian nationals. *The Nassau Guardian* (November 3, 2004) reported on a programme at a primary school that serves a significant Haitian student population where teachers would be given instruction in the Creole language so they could help unilingual Creole-speaking students adapt to the education system. Similar reports appeared in the two other daily papers several months later. As a result of these reports, it came to light that only students with documentation (birth certificate, residency papers, passport, etc.) were permitted to register for school. There were also several articles about the increasing tension between Bahamian and Haitian students in the public school system (*The Bahama Journal*, March 10, 2005).

Following Hurricanes Frances and Jeanne in September 2004 the newspapers reported fears that there would be a cholera outbreak in the badly flooded Haitian communities in Abaco. Two articles reported on this potential public health threat. Otherwise one article about the health of migrants and the migrant community generally, pointed out that many highly contagious diseases, such as tuberculosis, pink eye, malaria, dengue and HIV/AIDS could be spread by migrants (*The Tribune*, May 23, 2003).

Political, Law and Order

Political and law and order issues included smuggling migrants, corruption of public officials, bribery, and citizenship. The evolving political situation in Haiti was reported on regularly in the press as were Haitian-Bahamian inter-governmental contacts, such as official visits between government officials, and negotiations on the illegal immigrant issue. All reports imparted a sense that relations between the two countries were improving. In 2002 the first resident Haitian Ambassador was appointed to The Bahamas and the press responded positively to this development.

Smuggling of migrants into The Bahamas was reported on consistently throughout the period, with calls in the press for the boat captains to be prosecuted and the boats sunk. There were several reports per year with a peak in 2002 (there were other nationalities smuggled through The Bahamas at that time, in particular, Chinese nationals). As well, there was an increase in the number of reports on falsified or forged documentation, which were related to reports of corruption and bribery among public officials during the period under review.

With respect to crimes committed against Haitian nationals, there was one report by the Chief of Police (*The Tribune*, April 7, 2004) sending a warning to Haitian nationals living and working in The Bahamas to exercise caution as they were deemed to be easy targets by criminals. The article also noted that criminals realize that many Haitian nationals do not report crimes against them because of their immigration status.

The Prison Superintendent reported that the number of Haitian-Bahamians committing crimes and being incarcerated was on the rise; however he acknowledged that it was merely “a general trend he has observed” (*The Tribune*, February 4, 2005).

Amnesty International reports about The Bahamas always made front page news (March 2000 and March 2005, in all papers) especially when they discussed the treatment of minorities in society, particularly Cuban or Haitian migrants. These reports always spawned much discussion in the press.

Economic & Labour

Numerous articles reported on Haitian nationals being exploited for their willingness to work for low wages. There were reports that Haitian nationals were being paid half of what a Bahamian would earn for the same work, or not being paid at all under the threat of being reported to the Department of Immigration (*The Tribune*, June 25, 2002).

In a statement to the press in November 2003, the Director of Immigration called attention to the role of the “the man on the street” in contributing to illegal immigration by employing undocumented Haitian nationals in preference to Bahamians. He indicated that it was easier to return illegal Haitian immigrants than take their Bahamian employers through the courts, which explains why in the five year review of the media, there was only one report of someone being charged for hiring illegal immigrants (*The Tribune*, May 10, 2000).

Reports that Haitian nationals were working in areas nominally reserved for Bahamians appeared in news reports throughout the period. There were articles spaced several months apart, in two

daily papers (*The Nassau Guardian*, November 12, 2003 and March 10, 2004; *The Tribune*, January 23, 2002 and July 4, 2003) about Haitian nationals working as illegal taxi drivers (known colloquially as “hackers”) collecting passengers at the airport. In February and July 2005 there were reports that vendors holding permits for stalls at Nassau’s Straw Market hired Haitian or Jamaican nationals because some vendors reportedly claimed that “Bahamians are lazy and untrustworthy” (*The Tribune*, February 22, 2005). The Straw Market and the taxi industry are important pistons in the tourism engine, and Bahamians are sensitive to the fact that tourists should see nationals, not foreigners, in these sectors. There were, however, reports which noted the unwillingness of many Bahamians to do jobs such as gardening, farming and construction frequently done by Haitian nationals (*The Nassau Guardian*, February 25, 2005).

With the closure of the citrus farms in Abaco during January 2005 because of the citrus canker outbreak, there were reports in the media about the role Haitian labour had played in the development of agriculture and forestry in Abaco.

Haitian-Bahamian Relations

There were several general articles which could be classed under the rubric of “Haitian-Bahamian relations”. The Prime Minister, Perry Christie, called for increased economic and cultural exchanges between The Bahamas and Haiti (*The Tribune*, July 9, 2002). Later that year, it was reported that the Minister of Tourism attended a cultural festival in Miami that celebrated multiculturalism, particularly the Haitian culture (*The Tribune*, September 10, 2002). Reports (and particularly opinion articles) often mention the fears that Bahamians have that the Haitian culture will eclipse their own. Articles about cultural topics included the launch of the Minister of Education’s Book Club reading list which included Haitian-American Jean Cadet’s autobiography *Restavec* and the production of Ian Strachan’s play *Diary of Souls*.

There were few reports on the religious life of Haitian nationals. There was one report on the ordination of a Haitian Anglican priest in Abaco (*The Nassau Guardian*, March 15, 2005) which was regarded as a positive development in Haitian-Bahamian relations.

Characterization of Haitian Nationals in the Bahamian Print Media

How migrants are portrayed in news reports can play a significant role in perpetuating stereotypes and prejudices (Sciortino & Colombo, 2004). Analyzing the terminology used to describe Haitian migrants in Bahamian newspaper headlines reveals how the media characterizes Haitian migrants. The preponderance of headlines refer to Haitian nationals directly and simply as “Haitians”, without any qualifying adjective. The most common combinations of terms used in news reports were “Haitian immigrant” and “illegal Haitian immigrant”.

Infrequent descriptions included “detainee and prisoners”, “undocumented Haitian”, “human cargo” and “illegal migrant”. Except for “squatter” or “slum resident”, no derogatory terms were used to describe Haitian migrants in news stories (although other epithets were used in opinion pieces, particularly in letters to the editor).

Characterizations of immigrants in the media can create images and heighten perceived threats by the immigrant population in the mind of the newspaper reading public. News reports used metaphors to evoke images such as: “Haitian cheap labour”, “Haitian hordes”, “invaders from

the south”, “Haitian invasion” or describing Bahamian society as being “under assault” by migrants.

Of note was that Haitian nationals were never referred to as “expatriates”, a term used in Bahamian newspapers to describe foreign blue-collar workers and foreign white-collar professionals.

In sum, in the Bahamian press, Haitian migrants and residents are rarely given a human face. The newspapers most frequently reported the numbers of migrants arrested, but nothing of the circumstances that prompted their migration or any details that might lead the reader to picture the migrant as much more than a statistic. The newspapers never publish individual human interest stories portraying Haitian immigrants and residents positively or highlight their contribution to building the Bahamian economy or society.

Public’s estimates of the Haitian migrant population over time

A study of estimates of the “Haitian” population in The Bahamas is revealing of the overarching fear that Bahamians have expressed for many years: they are taking over. However, it is also interesting to note that the popular estimates have not changed dramatically over the past 15-20 years. Throughout this discourse there is never any real distinction made between the first generation Bahamian of Haitian progeny, Haitian citizen with permanent residence in The Bahamas, naturalized Bahamian citizen of Haitian origin, Haitian national with working papers in The Bahamas, or illegal-migrant Haitian. It is possible, that to the general public, “Haitian” means either legal or illegal Haitian nationals, and probably also includes the naturalized Bahamian citizens of Haitian ancestry.

From the sampling of population estimates which have appeared in the press and in various studies, there is a considerable range of numbers suggested, Table 2.1. It should be noted that one “estimate” makes the size of the Haitian community the same as that of the entire population of The Bahamas, i.e. there is one Haitian national for every other person in the country, while another suggests that there are more Haitian nationals than Bahamians in the country.

Table 2.1: Estimates of the Haitian community reported in the press.

Estimates for all Bahamas		
Date	Source	Population
1973	St Jacques	40,000 – Craton suggests it stabilized at 40,000 owing to deportation raids, saturated job market, & Bahamas is just a transfer point to the USA.
1994	Ministry of Health	20,000-40,000 more likely 30,000 because of age structure
1995	PM Ingraham	40,000-60,000 – hoped to return 10,000, rounded up about 5000. Said that another 5000 left voluntarily (though this was never substantiated).
2000 July 21	<i>The Tribune</i> Letter to editor	80,000
2002 August 30	<i>The Tribune</i> quoting Carl Bethel	“hundreds of thousands”
2002 August 31	<i>The Tribune</i> quoting Rev Jeffrey Davis	1/5 or 20%
2002	Ria Treco quoting GBHRA	40,000 or as high as 75,000
2003 February 5	Haitian Ambassador	30,000
2003 September 30	Halston Moultrie	100,000 based on 1990 60,000 plus 3400 per year since then
2004 January 17	<i>The Nassau Guardian</i> report	Estimated 60,000
2004 February 24	<i>The Nassau Guardian</i> Letter to the editor (anon.)	95,000+
2004 December	Regnier	Officials think 40,000 but it is more like 15,000-20,000
2005 February 12	<i>The Tribune</i> report	24 years ago it was 60,000
2005 February 17	<i>The Tribune</i> Letter to editor	100,000 to 300,000
2005 February 20	<i>The Tribune</i>	60,000 illegal immigrants in Bahamas (US Homeland Security Department estimate for 2003)
2005 February 22 (<i>The Tribune</i>) Feb 26 (<i>The Nassau Guardian</i>)	Letter to Editor from “Generation Bahamian”	50,000 to 100,000
2005 February 28	Ambassador Joseph (Haitian Ambassador)	25,000 documented Haitian nationals (based on number of passports issued)

Table 2.1 cont.

Estimates for all Bahamas		
Date	Source	Population
2005 March 3	Ambassador Newry (US Ambassador?)	50,000 (or 17% of the population)
2005 March 19	Ambassador Joseph	62,000 legal/illegal (based on 23,000-25,000 passports issued times 3 children per family)
2005 March	US State Dept Human Rights Report, 2004	30,000-40,000 Haitian citizens legally resident (10% of population) plus some suggest an equal number of illegal residents \approx 60,000-80,000
2005 April 15	<i>The Nassau Guardian</i> commentary by Errington Watkins	400,000 plus. The 62,000 is 1/7 th the actual number living in The Bahamas
Estimates for Abaco		
Date	Source	Population
2000 July 17	<i>The Tribune</i> re Pigeon Pea	4,000
2002 April 8	<i>The Tribune</i> re: Marsh Harbour	4,000
2003 September 25	Alexander Williams Abaco administrator	6,000-8,000 and some say it is 10,000
2005 February	<i>The Tribune</i>	9,000 (1500 homes in Mud x 6/home)

The size of the Haitian national population is also expressed figuratively in the press through reports that Bahamians are feeling “outnumbered and overwhelmed” by Haitian nationals or that the “country is overrun”.

Lack of a Haitian Voice in the Bahamian Media

A revelation from the media review was the lack of feature articles about Haitian nationals in The Bahamas or opinion articles by Haitian nationals (or Haitian-Bahamians). In the sample of articles culled for the media review, one opinion article was published (in both *The Tribune* and *The Nassau Guardian*) by a young Bahamian-born Haitian student. She described the discrimination and prejudice she endured as a student in public school and her humiliation at being obliged to pay foreign student fees to attend the local college because she was not a Bahamian citizen.

St. Jacques (2000) writes that the public discourse about the size of the Haitian community has posed a “cultural threat” to Bahamian national identity and as a result, the Haitian community lacks cohesion, strong community organizations and their own media. In contrast to the situation in the United States, there are no Creole language radio stations and newspapers in the main centres of Haitian immigrant settlement. St. Jacques suggests that the lack of media and community associations is also a result of the temporary nature of the migrant’s stay in The

Bahamas, their socio-economic profile, and finally the need for Haitian migrants to keep a low profile.

II Opinion Discourse

Gauging the public perception of the flow and presence of Haitian migrants in The Bahamas is best analyzed in the context of a particular “focusing event”. This approach was used by Greenberg (2000) to gauge the public’s reaction to several boatloads of Chinese illegal immigrants who were dropped off on Canada’s west coast in 1999. The January 2005 “Nassau Village Riot” was an event that precipitated considerable discussion and debate in the media about Haitian migration and Haitian immigrants. More than 60 articles (reports of talk show appearances, letters, guest editorials, editorials and opinion columns) were published in the three daily papers in the six weeks following the event. The drama of the incident was interpreted from various viewpoints, which as a trigger or focusing event, brought to the fore in a relatively short period many disparate voices.

The Nassau Village Riot – The Discussion in the Press

On January 28th 2005 a riot broke out in the community of Nassau Village as a result of a verbal exchange between a policeman and a Haitian woman following a minor traffic accident. The policeman shot a man who had joined in the quarrel and this precipitated a mass reaction among the people who had gathered. In order to quell the disturbance, the police shot and injured three people; the crowd set a police car on fire and, as a result, 10 people were arrested for various misdemeanours (swearing, throwing rocks, resisting arrest, assaulting a police officer etc.). While on the surface it was seen as an inter-ethnic, Haitian versus Bahamian conflict, in the days following, community leaders revealed that it was better described as a conflict between the community (composed of Haitian nationals and Bahamians) and the police. All the major papers reported that Haitian nationals and Bahamians living in Nassau Village had always coexisted and live peaceably together, and it was the result of police action that the riot started.

The increased media coverage of this very political and social issue was reflective of public opinion. The first articles commented on the riot itself, but the ensuing discussion evolved into an ongoing analysis of the Haitian migration situation generally, who was to blame for it, how to solve it and what should be done.

The co-existence of two cultures in The Bahamas was a point raised by many commentators. Godfrey Eneas in *The Bahama Journal* (February 11, 2005) expressed the view that Haitian migration is a fact of life in The Bahamas and Bahamians need to find a solution, one where the Bahamian economy and culture would be enriched by those who make The Bahamas their home. Oswald Brown in *The Nassau Guardian* (February 19, 2005) continued on this theme saying that Bahamians have no understanding or knowledge of Haiti, its language, culture, art, literature. **He also asserted** that Haitian nationals made good Bahamian citizens and made positive contributions to Bahamian society as police officers, teachers, nurses, etc. In a similar vein, Rev. C.B. Moss, opined that roundups of illegal immigrants were inhumane and that Bahamians needed to be more charitable toward their fellow man and that they should make one people out of the two cultures (*The Nassau Guardian*, February 17, 2005). He further cautioned the public not to blame Haitian nationals for the country’s social ills.

The economic aspects of migration were addressed in Arthur Foulkes' *To the Point* column in *The Tribune* on February 1 and again on February 15. He reviewed the history of Haitian migration to The Bahamas and was of the opinion that the Bahamian economy, while needing Haitian labour, has used and abused this labour. He suggested that the flow of immigrant labour should be regulated more closely, in a way similar to the "Contract" of the 1940s. *The Bahama Journal's* Godfrey Eneas likened the present work permit system to "state approved indenturism". Andrew Allen's opinion column, *Perspectives*, published in *The Tribune* on February 14th, pointed a finger directly at Bahamian employers who hire illegal immigrants and at Bahamians **who** would rather hire someone to cut their grass than do so themselves.

In a speech in his church reported in all the newspapers on February 1, 2005 Neil Ellis stated that "foreign elements" needed to be rooted out of Bahamian society – a not so veiled reference to Haitian nationals. (The full text of the speech was published in *The Nassau Guardian* on February 24, 2005). Similar sentiments were reflected in an opinion editorial by Errington Watkins in *The Nassau Guardian* on February 8. A Letter to the Editor in *The Tribune* on February 17, 2005 pointed out the hypocritical attitude Bahamians have toward foreign workers and made several suggestions regarding how to solve the Haitian migrant problem. In contrast to the anti-foreigner (and anti Haitian) sentiment, Raynard Rigby and Ella Walkine on February 5 took the stand that The Bahamas needed foreign labour to maintain its economic success. Rigby went on to suggest that Bahamians needed to bring "into the mainstream persons whose parentage may not be Bahamian but have known The Bahamas from birth or for all their adult life". (*The Tribune*, February 5, 2005).

Editors at both *The Tribune* and *The Bahama Journal* published a series of editorials about the Haitian migrant situation in The Bahamas, providing a voice of moderation in contrast to the more strident opinions in the debate. Agreeing with public opinion that successive governments were to blame for letting the situation get out of hand, the editors suggested that however the government chose to solve the situation, it should be resolved with common sense and dignity. In their editorials, they expressed the opinion that the contribution of Haitian migrants to the development of the Bahamian economy needed to be acknowledged, echoing a sentiment that was expressed by Dr. David Allen at a Bahamian Forum meeting held on February 2, 2005 (and reported in *The Nassau Guardian* on February 8, 2005).

Many of the writers of opinion pieces and editorials published after the Nassau Village Riot pointed to a consequence of the migration "problem": the need to naturalize all Bahamian-born and raised children of Haitian parents. They suggested that the dislocation young people feel at being considered neither Haitian nor Bahamian is a potential problem that the government in power must address. Many commentators and opinion articles were critical of the present citizenship regulations and suggested that children born in The Bahamas should become citizens automatically. In contrast, authors of letters to the editor were strongly against this, suggesting it was the Haitian agenda to overpopulate The Bahamas. (*The Nassau Guardian*, February 26, 2005).

In sum, *The Tribune* editorial of February 14 stated that "words sparked the Nassau Village Riot" and words from leaders of Bahamian society will continue to influence public opinion, whether from the House of Assembly, the media, the pulpit or the educational system.

Conclusions

In the Bahamian print media the Haitian migration issue is not seen as a global or even regional issue but from a narrow, local or national viewpoint. Most of the focus has been on the numbers of illegal immigrants captured and returned, without providing an understanding of the circumstances that motivate a population to migrate or provide an understanding of the migration process. There is no elaboration on the migration phenomena or the meaning of the Haitian Diaspora. These important issues need to be understood when living in a global, multicultural, multilingual world and the media does not attempt to help the average Bahamian to understand the problem. (*The Bahama Journal*, February 2, 2005).

Many articles focus on the negative aspects of the migrant population – their use of health, education and **other** public services – without recognition that migrants make a contribution to the economy and society. Immigrants find niches in the economy and create jobs. They bring their culture, music, food, art and literature which can enrich the culture of their new environment.

Unsubstantiated claims in news reports can make sensational headlines and perpetuate negative public perceptions of the migrant, which is of no benefit to the wider community - neither Haitian nor Bahamian. Coverage is largely negative and “event driven”. The majority of “hard news” reports are disguised opinion or commentary articles.

(3) Review of Official Statistics on the Haitian Community

Recommendations

- A migrant monitoring unit should be set up. This unit should maintain data indexed by nationality collected from all sources. It would submit an annual report to Cabinet on the state of migration in country.
- All government agencies must index all data by nationality and report their data with the migration monitoring unit.
- All government agencies should share migration data so that timely action can be taken, whether it be to assist migrants in need or to return illegal migrants.

Key findings:

- The Haitian community is scattered irregularly throughout the country
- The Haitian community makes considerable use of public healthcare and education services
- The Haitian community makes use of few social benefits and services
- Even on islands where Haitian nationals are better paid, they would still be expected to live in poverty
- Haitian nationals live in poorer accommodations than others in the country
- Haitian nationals primarily work in unskilled or manual occupations
- Haitian nationals are often illegally employed in the construction industry
- Many Haitian nationals resident in The Bahamas have less than a high school education
- In 2004 a larger than expected number of boats from Haiti visited The Bahamas

Terms of reference: Accumulate and assess existing data on the Haitian migrant population in The Bahamas; identify gaps in data and suggest means and methods to develop this information.

Data Indexed by Nationality

Government Ministries/Departments where data are not recorded by nationality

1. Road Traffic Department

Contact Person: Mr. Rex Adderley, Supervisor, Vehicle Licensing Section. The Road Traffic Department does not record their index data by nationality because the law does not require this to be done.

2. Department of Labour

Contact Person: Mrs. Floretta Laing, Statistician.
The Department does not record data by nationality because it is not required.

3. Government Satellite Clinics

Contact Person: Ms. Nanika Braithwaite, Statistician at the Health Information Unit, Ministry of Health. Government satellite clinics do not record index data by nationality because the form that is utilized does not require that information.

4. Registrar General Department

Contact Person: Mr. Shane Miller, Registrar General. The raw data are compiled by the Department of Statistics.

Ministries/Departments that index data by nationality

1. Department of Statistics

Contact Person: Mrs. Carmen Dawkins, Assistant Director. Data received from the Registrar General Department are broken down by nationality. However, only births and deaths data are available at this time.

2. Ministry of Social Services

Contact Person: Mrs. Mavis Darling Hill, Deputy Director. Approximately 28 Haitian nationals were given service by the Ministry between January and July of 2005. The service rendered to these persons was food assistance and it was done on a one-time basis.

3. Her Majesty's Prisons

Contact Person: Sergeant Stephanie Pratt, Public Affairs Liaison Officer. There are currently 59 Haitian nationals and four Haitian/Bahamians housed at Her Majesty's Prisons.

4. Ministry of Education

Contact Person: Brenda Bain, Education, Planning Officer. A recent report of the nationality of students attending schools was published in 2005 (Bain, 2005).

5. Immigration Department

Contact Persons: Claudine Minus, Chief Immigration Officer, attached to the Enforcement Unit and Steven Laroda, Senior Immigration Officer. Work permits cost from \$650 - \$1,000 and they are valid for one year.

6. The Royal Bahamas Police Force

Contact Person: Sergeant Deidre Ferguson, Statistical Officer. Examples of their data were provided on drug offences.

7. Princess Margaret Hospital

Contact Person: Camille Deleveaux, Epidemiologist at the Health Information Unit, Ministry of Health. Examples of their data were provided.

8. Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Passport Office

Contact Person: Mr. Clifford Scavella, Chief Passport Officer. Examples of their data were provided.

Characteristics of the Haitian Community from official sources

Census data

General information

One of the most important sources of official data is that contained in the Census¹. It should be noted that the Census refers to “residents”, those who have been in the country at least six months prior to enumeration or who intend to stay at least six months after enumeration. Thus the Census statistics refer to Haitian nationals who are residents of the country. Should there be a substantial number of flow-through migrants, the number of Haitian migrants actually in-country would inflate the apparent size of the resident Haitian community and make it appear larger than it really is.

In the 2000 Census, the resident Haitian community consisted of 21,426 persons out of a total of 303,611 residents in the country. The Haitian community was reported as having a median age of 25.3 years, with a modal age of 5-19 years. This points to a young community and one which includes about 28.3% of its number of around school age (5-19 years) (Figure 3.1). In the Haitian community aged 20 years and older, 7,627 were married or in cohabitating relationships which represents 59% of this population (12,930 persons). Almost 35% (4,492 persons) had never been married.

¹ For ease of reading **reference** to information in the government’s 2000 Census data is simply given as “the Census”. In some cases, we use information especially generated for us and which **is** not in the published report.

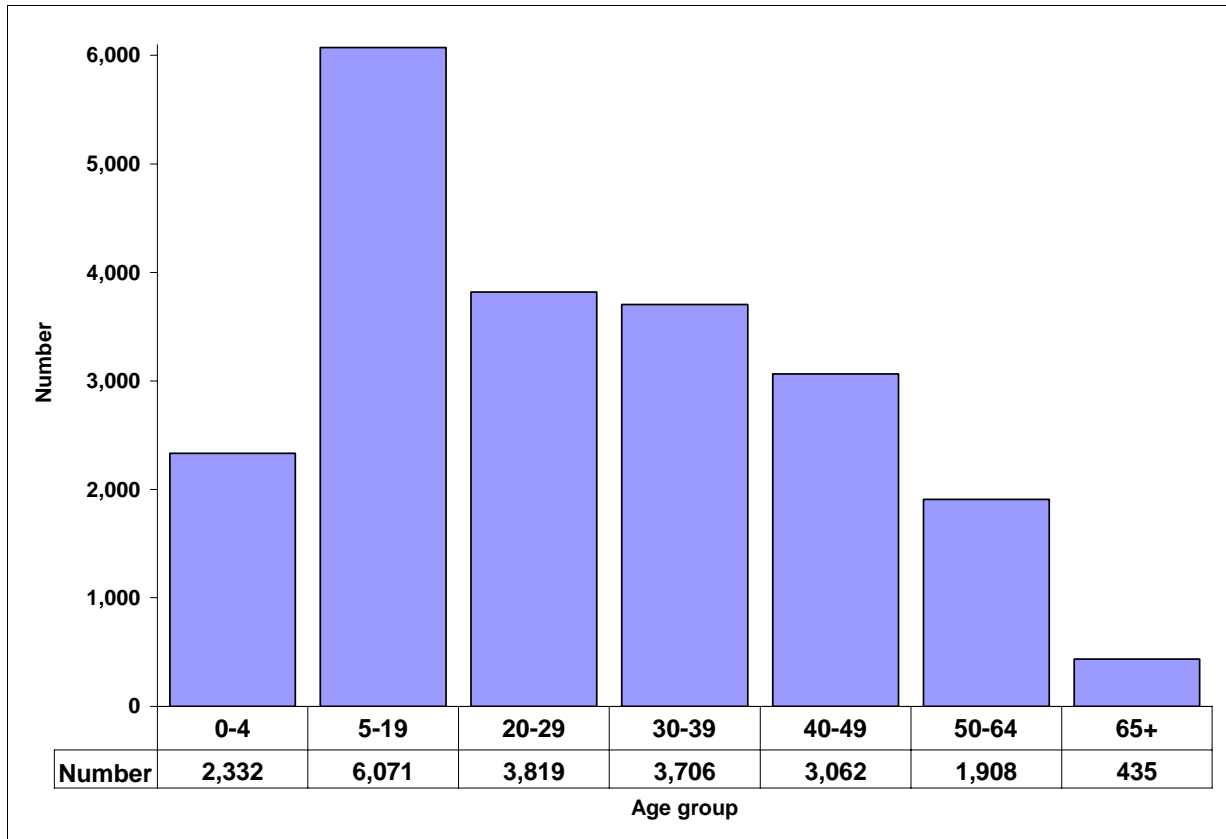


Figure 3.1: Age structure of resident Haitian nationals in The Bahamas, 2000
 Source: Department of Statistics.

The 2000 Census points to the Haitian community having a slightly different age structure compared with the non-Haitian community within the country, Figure 3.2. A greater percentage of the Haitian community is under one year old, 3.36% compared with 1.84% in the non-Haitian community. This observation points to the Haitian community having proportionately more babies than non-Haitian nationals.

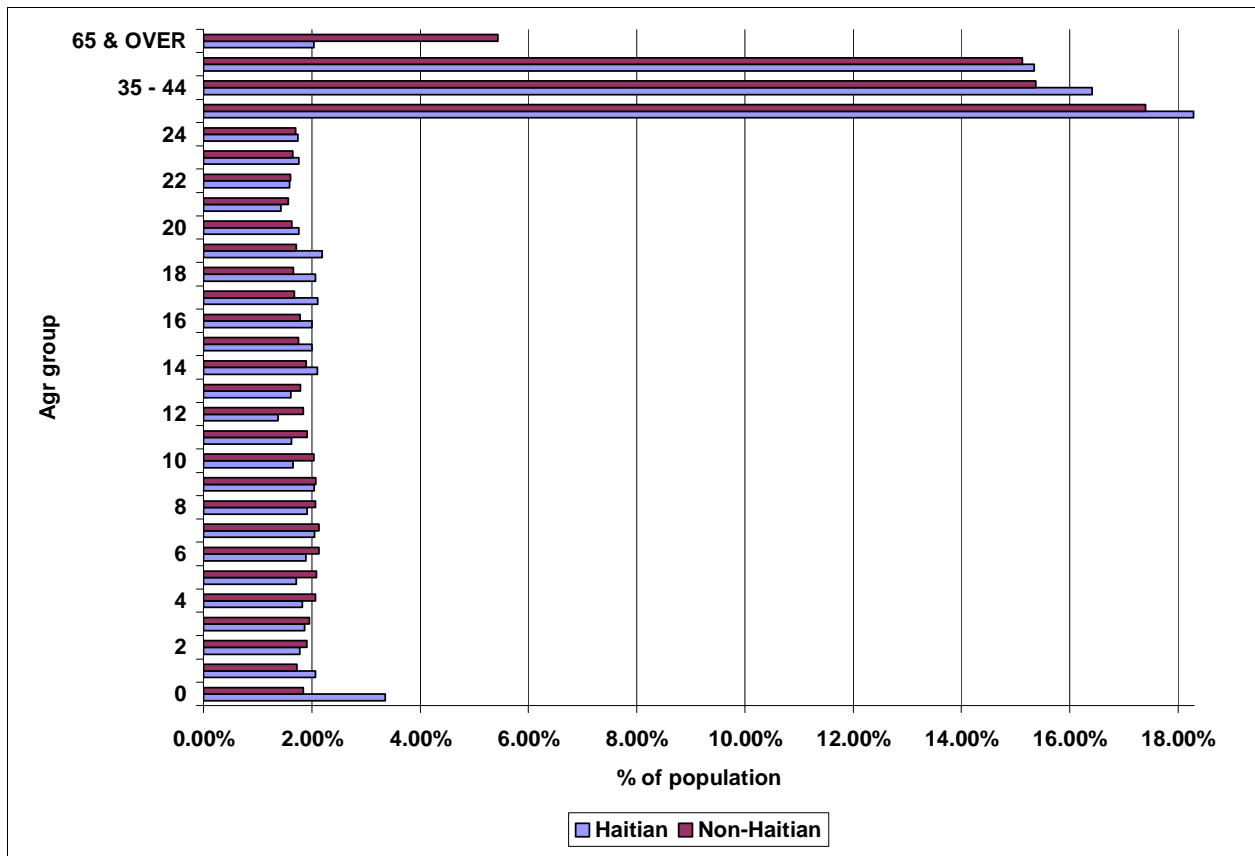


Figure 3.2: Age structure of the Haitian and non-Haitian communities in The Bahamas, in 2000 Census.

Source: Department of Statistics.

However, this age structure does not result in a household size which is much different between Haitian and non-Haitian nationals (on average, 3.3 and 3.5 respectively) Figure 3.3. However, households headed by Haitian nationals have proportionately slightly more large households (10 persons or more) than those headed by non-Haitian nationals.

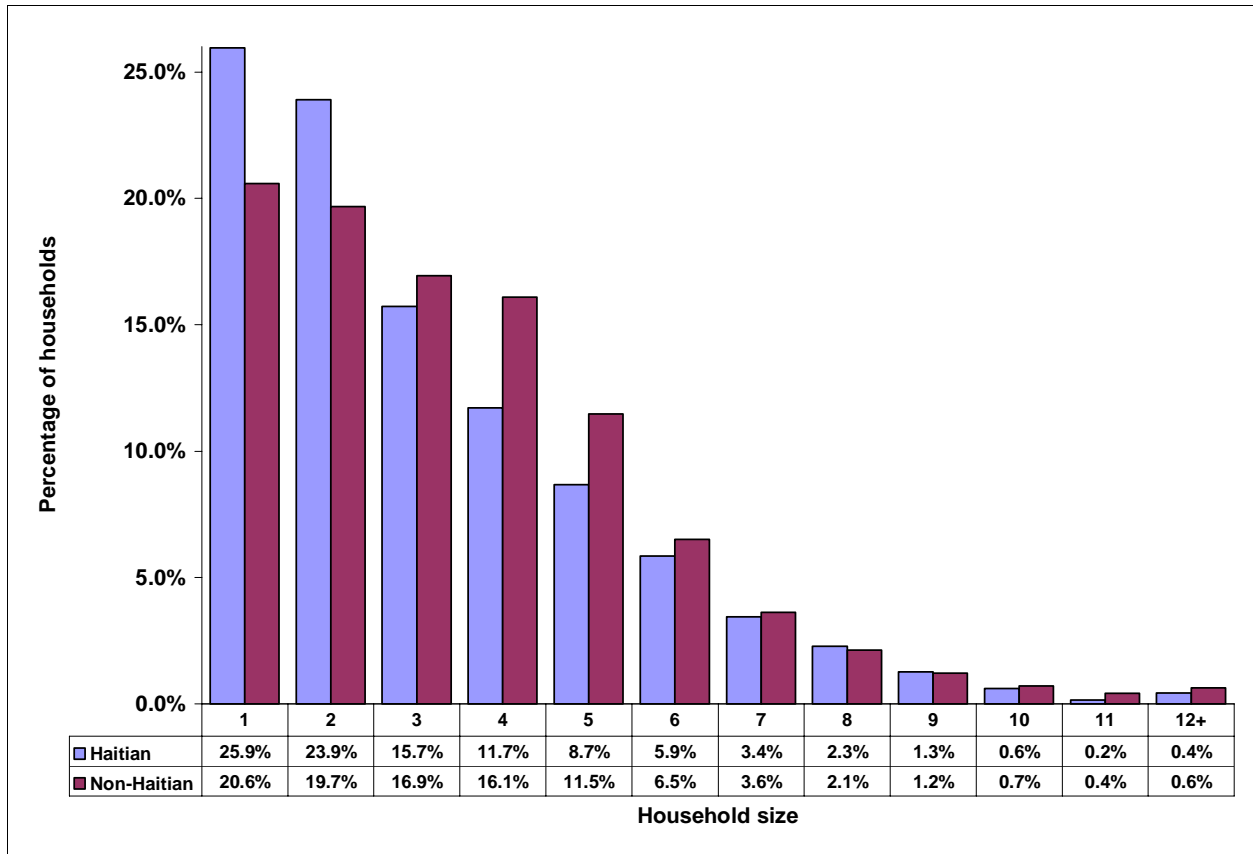


Figure 3.3: Distribution of household sizes headed by Haitian and non-Haitian nationals.
Source: Census 2000.

Of the 15,243 Haitian nationals over 15 in 2000, 10,728 (70.4%) were economically active and 1,201 of these were unemployed (11%).

Most Haitian households (74.6%) live in rented accommodation. The median rent/mortgage paid per month in 2000 was \$163. This compared with \$230 for all residents, a difference of 41%, which indicates that Haitians live in less desirable accommodation than others in the country.

Access to water by Haitian households again reflects their level of accommodation. Of the 6,474 Haitian households, 34% had public water piped into their homes, and 35% used public standpipes, or standpipes in yards and a further 15% had a private water supply which was not piped into their homes, Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Main source of water supply for private homes, 2000 Census.

Water supply	% of all households	% of Haitian households
Public water piped into home	55.8%	34.0%
Public standpipe	5.5%	27.5%
Private water source, piped into home	30.5%	10.2%
Private water, not piped	3.3%	15.5%
Public standpipe in yard	2.1%	7.0%
Total number of households	87,742	6,474

Source: Department of Statistics.

The amenities found in Haitian households are reported in Table 3.2. While the ordering of amenities is the same for both classes of households, Haitian households were less likely to have any of the items than the general public. The lack of items such as a computer and internet access might be expected to be detrimental to the education of Haitian children.

Table 3.2: Presence of house amenities in all households in The Bahamas and in Haitian households in The Bahamas, 2000.

Item	Percentage of all households having	Percentage of Haitian households having
Television	93.0%	64.4%
Water heater	69.8%	13.7%
Air conditioning	53.7%	6.1%
Access to computer	27.9%	1.2%
Internet	15.5%	0.4%
Total of households	87,742	6,474

Source: Department of Statistics.

Within the Haitian community, males have broadly similar educational attainment as females. The most likely education level attained by Haitian nationals is either elementary or high school (Grades 1-3²), Table 3.3. It is clear that relatively few members of the Haitian community have schooling beyond high school Grade 4³. This confirms the impression that the Haitian community is not particularly well educated. Its level of education contrasts with that within the entire Bahamas where 15.2% were educated beyond Grade 4+ and 1.5% have no schooling.

² High school Grades 1-3: Junior High, Grades 7-9

³ High school Grade 4+: Senior High, Grades 10-12.

Table 3.3: Haitian population 15 years and over, by educational attainment and gender, Census 2000 data.

Educational attainment	Males	Females	% Haitian population
No schooling	889	786	12.1%
Kindergarten	52	28	0.6%
Elementary	2,517	1,526	29.1%
High school, Grades 1-3	2,494	1,525	28.9%
High school, Grades 4+	2,404	1,312	26.7%
College	159	83	1.7%
Total	8,596	5,322	

Education levels were not stated for 143 people.

Source: Department of Statistics.

Areas of population concentration

As indicated in Section 4, the Haitian community in 2000 was concentrated in just four islands, New Providence, Grand Bahama, Abaco and Eleuthera. Within each of these islands the Census data indicate that there are relatively few pockets where the Haitian community makes up more than 10% of the settlement and or which represents more than 5% of the entire Haitian community, Table 3.4. However, it is in those communities where Haitian nationals represent 10% of the population that attract most media attention (Section 2).

Given the difficulties of successfully enumerating the Haitian Community (see Section 4), the figures in Table 3.4 should be used as a guide only. Further, the inability of gate keepers within Haitian Communities to provide estimates of the number of Haitian nationals living within their communities, points to the real difficulty of ascertaining the population. However, it is hoped that the distributional nature of the Census data is correct. If so, it will be seen that the Haitian community is well dispersed throughout the major islands, but with small communities outside the four main concentrations.

Table 3.4: The distribution of the Haitian Community within The Bahamas, 2000 Census. Figures in bold indicate those districts in which Haitian nationals represent 10% of the entire community or 5% of the entire Haitian community

Supervisory District	Haitian Population	Total population	% of Supervisory District which is Haitian	% of the Haitian Population
New Providence				
Centreville	1,972	10,080	19.6%	9.2%
Englerston	1,775	8,748	20.3%	8.3%
Grants Town	1,419	10,411	13.6%	6.6%
St. Cecelia	1,410	8,827	16.0%	6.6%
Adelaide*	1,194	11,983	10.0%	5.6%
Shirlea	1,164	9,359	12.4%	5.4%
Blue Hills*	1,111	11,159	10.0%	5.2%
Bain Town	810	8,173	9.9%	3.8%
Malcolm Creek	772	11,834	6.5%	3.6%
Fort Charlotte	640	7,833	8.2%	3.0%
St. Margaret	624	8,390	7.4%	2.9%
Fox Hill	538	8,371	6.4%	2.5%
Marathon	363	6,571	5.5%	1.7%
Garden Hills	278	8,204	3.4%	1.3%
Holy Cross	246	8,339	2.9%	1.1%
Montague	213	8,106	2.6%	1.0%
Kennedy	180	8,521	2.1%	0.8%
Delaporte*	175	9,483	1.8%	0.8%
South Beach	99	8,472	1.2%	0.5%
Bamboo Town	79	8,198	1.0%	0.4%
Golden Gates	74	7,499	1.0%	0.3%
Mount Moriah	33	7,179	0.5%	0.2%
Carmichael*	18	6,772	0.3%	0.1%
Yamacraw	14	8,319	0.2%	0.1%
Grand Bahama				
Eight Mile Rock	1,451	8,345	17.4%	6.8%
Pineridge	714	8,816	8.1%	3.3%
Marco City	149	8,170	1.8%	0.7%
West Ed	109	4,827	2.3%	0.5%
Lucaya	88	9,924	0.9%	0.4%
High Rock	39	6,912	0.6%	0.2%
Abaco				
South Abaco	1,605	6,558	24.5%	7.5%
North Abaco	624	6,612	9.4%	2.9%

Table 3.4 cont.

Supervisory District	Haitian Population	Total population	% of Supervisory District which is Haitian	% of the Haitian Population
Eleuthera				
South Eleuthera	403	5,018	8.0%	1.9%
North Eleuthera	291	2,981	9.8%	1.4%
Spanish Wells	198	1,527	13.0%	0.9%
Harbour Island	167	1,639	10.2%	0.8%
Elsewhere				
Exuma & Cays	147	3,571	4.1%	0.7%
Nicholls Town	81	3,444	2.4%	0.4%
Bimini	59	1,717	3.4%	0.3%
Cat island	29	1,647	1.8%	0.1%
Fresh Creek	19	2,576	0.7%	0.1%
Berry Island	18	709	2.5%	0.1%
Kemps Bay	11	1,666	0.7%	0.1%
Long Island	7	2,992	0.2%	0.0%
San Salvador	7	970	0.7%	0.0%
Crooked Island	6	350	1.7%	0.0%
Acklins	2	428	0.5%	0.0%
Ragged island	1	72	1.4%	0.0%
Inagua	0	969	0.0%	0.0%
Mayaguana	0	259	0.0%	0.0%
Rum Cay	0	80	0.0%	0.0%

Source: Department of Statistics.

* Carmichael: This should not be confused with Carmichael Road. Most of the Haitian communities along Carmichael Road would be counted in the Blue Hills and Adelaide supervisory districts⁴.

⁴ Boundaries for Supervisory Districts in the Carmichael Road area: **Blue Hills**: Bounded on the north by Gladstone Road, J. F. Kennedy Drive, Theodora Lane and Harrold Road; on the east by Blue Hills Road; on the south by Carmichael Road and on the west by Gladstone Road. **Carmichael**: Bounded on the north by Carmichael Road; on the east by Golden Sun Drive, Windward Isles Road and Leeward Isles Road; on the south by St. Vincent Road; and on the west by Bell Palm Close, Ambergris Street and Iguana Way. **Adelaide**: Bounded on the North by South West Bay Road, Adelaide Road and Carmichael Road; on the east by Iguana Way, Ambergris Street, an unnamed road, St. Vincent Road, Faith Avenue, Cowpen Road and Marshall Road, on the south by the sea; and on the west by an imaginary line that extends from the sea to South Ocean Boulevard; **Delaporte**: Bounded on the North by the sea, on the east by Grove Avenue, Sea View Drive, Marlin Drive, Emery Street, Dolphin Drive, Edmond Street, an imaginary line that extends to Saunders Road, Saunders Road, Lightbourne Avenue, Maxwell Lane, Haven Avenue, Farrington Road, Hawthorne Road, Davis Street, Thompson Boulevard, J. F. Kennedy Drive, Harrold Road, Theodora Lane and Gladstone Road; on the south by Carmichael Road, Adelaide Road, South West Road and the sea; and on the west by the sea, including Lyford Cay.

The distribution of the Haitian community between these four islands is probably based on economic opportunities. These opportunities are reflected in the median household incomes from the 2000 Census, Table 3.5. These figures will reflect not only the wages paid but also the availability of work. Household income indicates that Abaco has the most affluent Haitian community and Eleuthera the poorest. It should also be noted that for a household of size four the poverty line is \$11,452 and so the Census findings are in line with the observation that many Haitian households live in poverty (Department of Statistics, 2004).

It should be borne in mind that as new construction starts which requires semi-skilled labour, migrant communities can be expected to gravitate towards these new centres of employment. Consequently, areas of population concentration will be dynamic and will fluctuate, but affordable housing will always act as a draw to low income communities.

Table 3.5: Median household income of Haitian families, 2000 Census

Island	Median household income
Abaco	\$14,095
New Providence	\$12,247
Grand Bahama	\$9,928
Eleuthera	\$7,134
Overall	\$11,759

Source: Department of Statistics.

National Insurance Board Statistics⁵

We are advised that members of the Haitian community are relatively comfortable in registering with the National Insurance Board. This is reflected in the fact that from 1974 to 2004 23,300 Haitian nationals have been registered by the National Insurance Board. Further, a National Insurance card must be presented in order to obtain a driver's license and is required as part of the employment process.

Since 2001, the number of Haitian nationals newly registered has been declining: from 1,937 to 1,395 in 2004, a decrease of 28%, Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Number of newly registered Haitian nationals by the National Insurance Board.

Year	Newly registered
2000	1,771
2001	1,937
2002	1,773
2003	1,593
2004	1,395

Source: National Insurance Board

This decline is notable as the total number of new registrations has been increasing. Consequently, the percentage of newly registered Haitian nationals has been declining, from 15% in 2001 to under 10% in 2004, Figure 3.4. Since 2001, non-Bahamians have had to provide

⁵ Data for this section were specially prepared for this report.

proof of residency and this would now mean that only documented migrants would be able register at the National Insurance Board. This change in registration requirement may explain the drop in new registrations since 2001. The post-2001 data should now become an indicator of the number of new Haitian nationals who have regularised their status in the country.

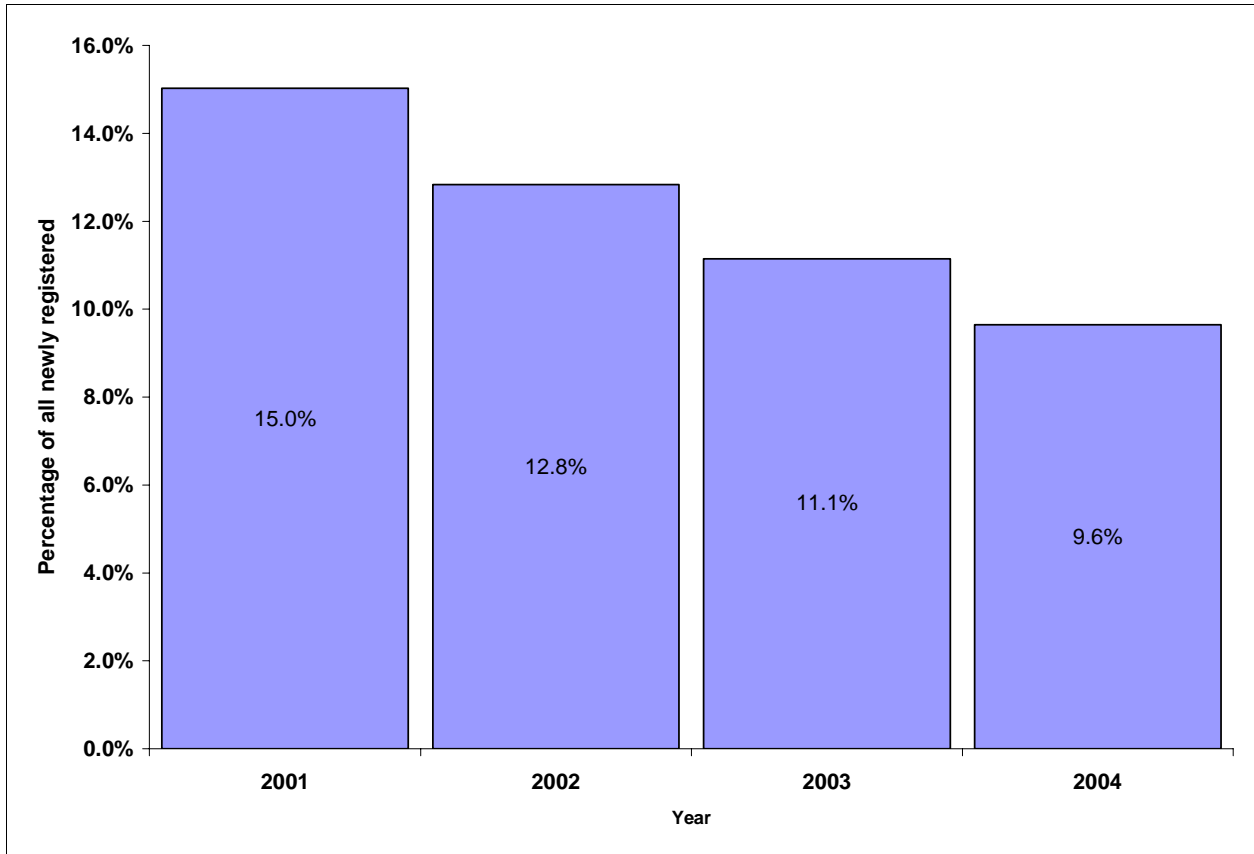


Figure 3.4: Percentage of new registered Haitian nationals as percentage of all new registrations, National Insurance Board, 2001 to 2004.
Source: National Insurance Board

The number of Haitian nationals making contributions to the National Insurance Board (NIB) appears to have been increasing since 2000, primarily due to the number of private contributors, Figure 3.5.

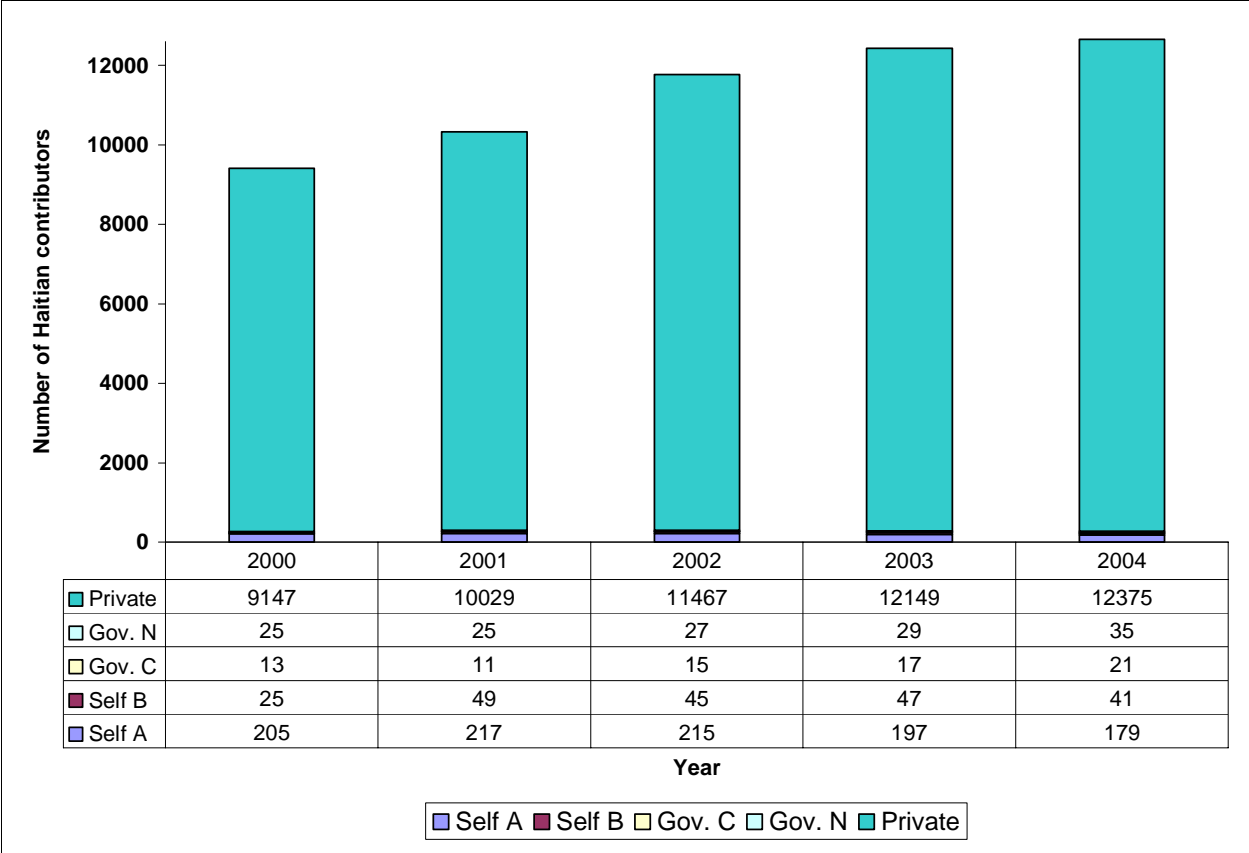


Figure 3.5: Number of Haitian nationals making National Insurance contributions, 2000-2004.

Key: Self A: All self-employed persons with the exception of those specifically named in Class “B”. Self B: Self-employed licensed taxi or tour drivers who own their own vehicles, licensed fruit/vegetable/straw vendors and owners of fishing vessels who work on them as share-fishermen. Gov. C.: Pensionable civil servants. Gov. N.: Non-pensionable civil servants

Source: National Insurance Board

The number of Haitian nationals contributing to the NIB has increased from 9,415 in 2000 to 12,651 in 2004, an increase of 34%, or an average increase of 6% increase per year. The increase in the number of people contributing has resulted in an increase in the value of the contributions to the NIB. This has moved from \$2,512,565 in 2001 to \$3,529,104 in 2004, an increase of 40%. However, the percentage of total benefits paid to Haitian nationals has increased from about 1.5% to 1.8% of all benefits paid out, Table 3.7.

Table 3.7: Summary of NIB benefits paid out to Haitian nationals, 2001 to 2004.
 Figures are percentages of the total benefits paid out to Haitian nationals, except otherwise stated.

Benefit	2001	2002	2003	2004
Retirement	2.1%	2.2%	2.4%	2.5%
Disability benefit	1.7%	1.5%	1.6%	1.7%
Survivors benefit	1.6%	1.9%	2.3%	2.6%
Old age NC pension	1.0%	1.0%	1.1%	1.3%
Disability assistance	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%
Survivors assistance	2.1%	2.1%	1.8%	1.6%
Sickness benefit	0.8%	1.3%	1.1%	0.9%
Maternity benefit	0.4%	0.8%	1.0%	1.3%
Maternity grant	0.3%	1.0%	1.2%	1.6%
Funeral benefit	1.6%	2.2%	2.5%	1.7%
Sickness assistance	3.8%	1.0%	2.4%	0.1%
Injury benefit	2.4%	2.4%	2.8%	2.3%
Disablement benefit & grant	1.1%	1.2%	1.0%	0.9%
Industrial death	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%	1.1%
Total benefits paid out (\$)	\$1,396,432	\$1,671,746	\$1,863,506	\$2,109,215
Total contributions (\$)	\$2,874,270	\$3,192,570	\$3,467,575	\$3,528,104
All benefits (\$) paid out to all (,000s)	\$94,849	\$103,746	\$106,190	\$114,421
% of all benefits paid to Haitian nationals	1.47%	1.61%	1.75%	1.84%

Note: NC: Non-contributory
 Source: National Insurance Board

It should be noted that the payments in 2004 are atypical as payments for that year included back-pay for an increase in benefits from 60% to 66%. Consequently the figures for 2004 should be viewed with some care as they are not comparable to the data from previous years.

The percentages of NIB benefits paid out to Haitian nationals is typically less than 2%, which indicates that the benefits they receive are proportionately far less than the 7% which they could be expected to receive if benefits were paid out equally across society. As the Haitian community may represent more than 7% of residents, their share of benefits is clearly even less than might be expected.

It is also noted that while the percentage of the total maternity benefit and grant paid to Haitian nationals is low, it is steadily increasing and in nominal terms has increased from \$25,504 in 2001 to \$110,764 in 2004, an increase of 334%.

Over this five-year period, the ratio of males to females contributing was 4.1:1, which indicates that the Haitian workforce is predominantly male.

Work permits

The majority of work permits issued to Haitian nationals was to those to be employed as gardener/handyman; the next most important group was for employment on farms (Table 3.8). It is clear that with the exception of 27 permits (0.6% of the total), 99.4% of the permits were issued for manual occupations. Almost all permits issued for “Gardening/ handyman” and about half the permits for “Farming” are allocated to Haitian nationals⁶. This highlights the official niche market which Haitian nationals occupy in the country.

Table 3.8: Number of work permits by category issued to Haitian nationals (excluding Northern Region), 2001 and 2003.

Category	Number of permits issued, 2001	Number of permits issued, 2003	% of permits 2001	% of permits, 2003
Gardener/handyman	2,043	2,212	44.1%	48.7%
Farming	1,651	1,401	35.6%	30.8%
Maid/housekeeping	432	489	9.3%	10.8%
Other, not specified	151	248	3.3%	5.5%
General worker	304	156	6.6%	3.4%
Religious	31	24	0.7%	0.5%
Construction	23	13	0.5%	0.3%
Education	3	3	0.1%	0.1%
TOTAL	4,638	4,546		

Source: Bahamas Immigration Department

The official occupations of the Haitian community explain why Haitian households have some of the lowest household incomes in The Bahamas and why Haitian households occupy a disproportionate place in the number of households in poverty. The 2000 Census places 61% of employed Haitian nationals in “elementary occupations”.

Comparison of the work permits issued and industrial groups reported in the 2000 Census points to areas where members of the Haitian community may be illegally employed; if the employment was legal, clearly the broad trends in these tables should be similar, at least to the ordering or the employment categories. From Table 3.9 it is clear that construction and housekeeping are under represented in the work permits issued Table 3.8. No permits were issued for Haitian nationals to work in tourism, yet 11% of those enumerated in the 2000 Census reportedly worked in that industry.

⁶ In 2000, the total number of permits for “Gardening/handyman” was 2,128, and 2,243 were issued for “Farming”. Bahamas Immigration Department.

Table 3.9: Number of Haitian nationals employed by industrial group, 2000 Census.

Category	Number employed	% of employed
Private households	2,391	25.1%
Construction	2,201	23.1%
Agriculture	1,282	13.5%
Trades, wholesale/retail, repairs	1,130	11.9%
Hotels & restaurants	1,028	10.8%
Manufacturing	397	4.2%
Real estate	343	3.6%
Other community, social personal services	268	2.8%
Transport, storage & communication	160	1.7%
Education	83	0.9%
Fishing	78	0.8%
Public administration	28	0.3%
Health & Social work	32	0.3%
Financial intermediation	23	0.2%
Mining	8	0.1%
Electricity	13	0.1%
Extra-territorial organisations	9	0.1%

Source: Department of Statistics.

The number of work permits issued to Haitian nationals has remained fairly static between 2001 and 2003; this is despite an apparent increase in the percentage of applications which has been approved in recent years, Figure 3.6.

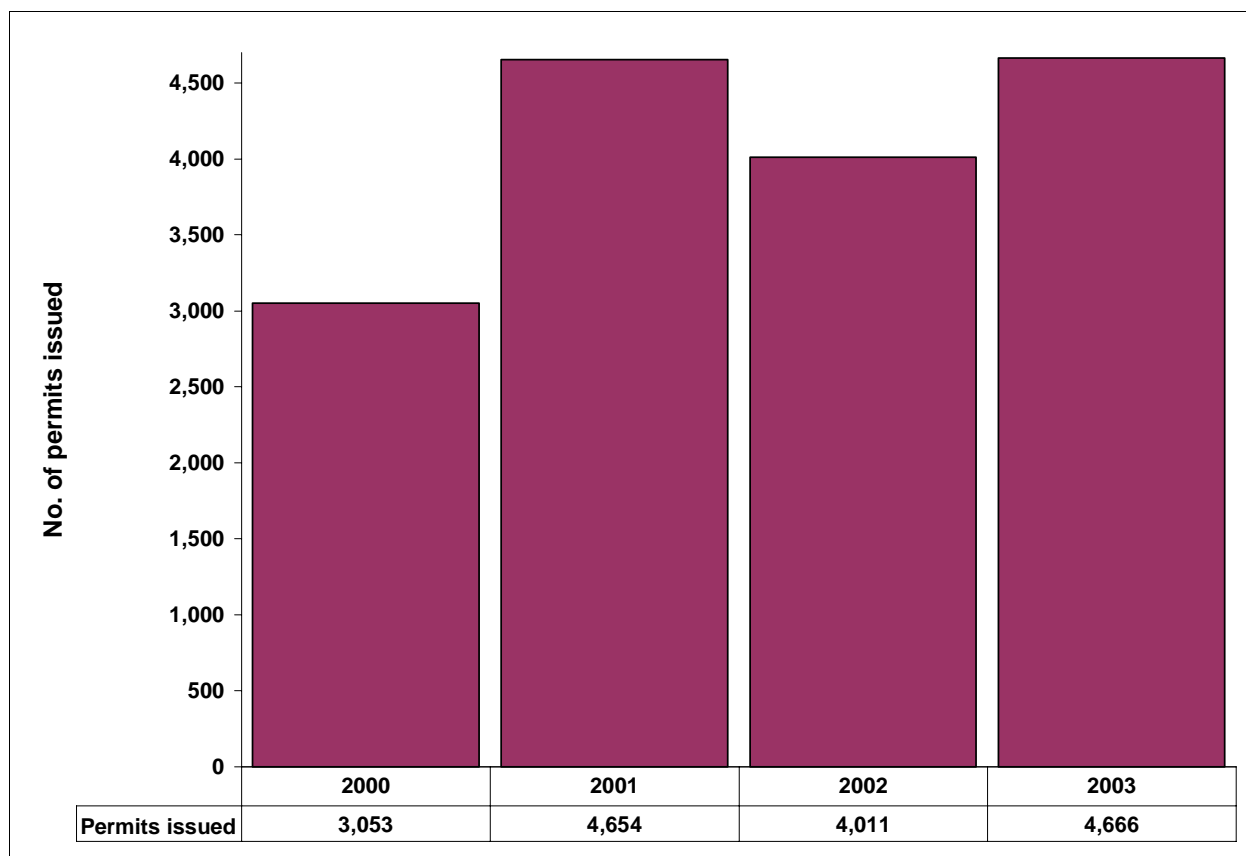


Figure: 3.6 Number of work permits issued to Haitian nationals, by The Bahamas Immigration Department, 2000-2003.

Source: Bahamas Immigration Department.

Table 3.10 suggests that it may be harder for Haitian nationals to be successful in obtaining a work or residency permit than applications from other foreigners. However, this may be explained by the fact that the skills which Haitian nationals can offer are not necessarily those required by The Bahamas or that simply too many applications are made for labour/manual permits.

Table: 3.10 Percentage of applications for work and residency permits approved, by nationality of applicant.

Year	Work Permits		Residency permits	
	% Applications approved, all other nations	% Applications approved, Haitian nationals	% Applications approved, all other nations	% Applications approved, Haitian nationals
2000	91%	88%	92%	86%
2001	93%	82%	97%	75%
2002	93%	87%	97%	93%
2003	95%	87%	98%	87%

Source: Bahamas Immigration Department.

The number of residency permits approved to Haitian nationals has increased steadily from 390 in 2000 to 708 in 2003, and an average annual increase of 16%. This suggests that the resident Haitian community is increasing, but from a low base. There is no reason to believe that this rate of increase would necessarily continue in future years.

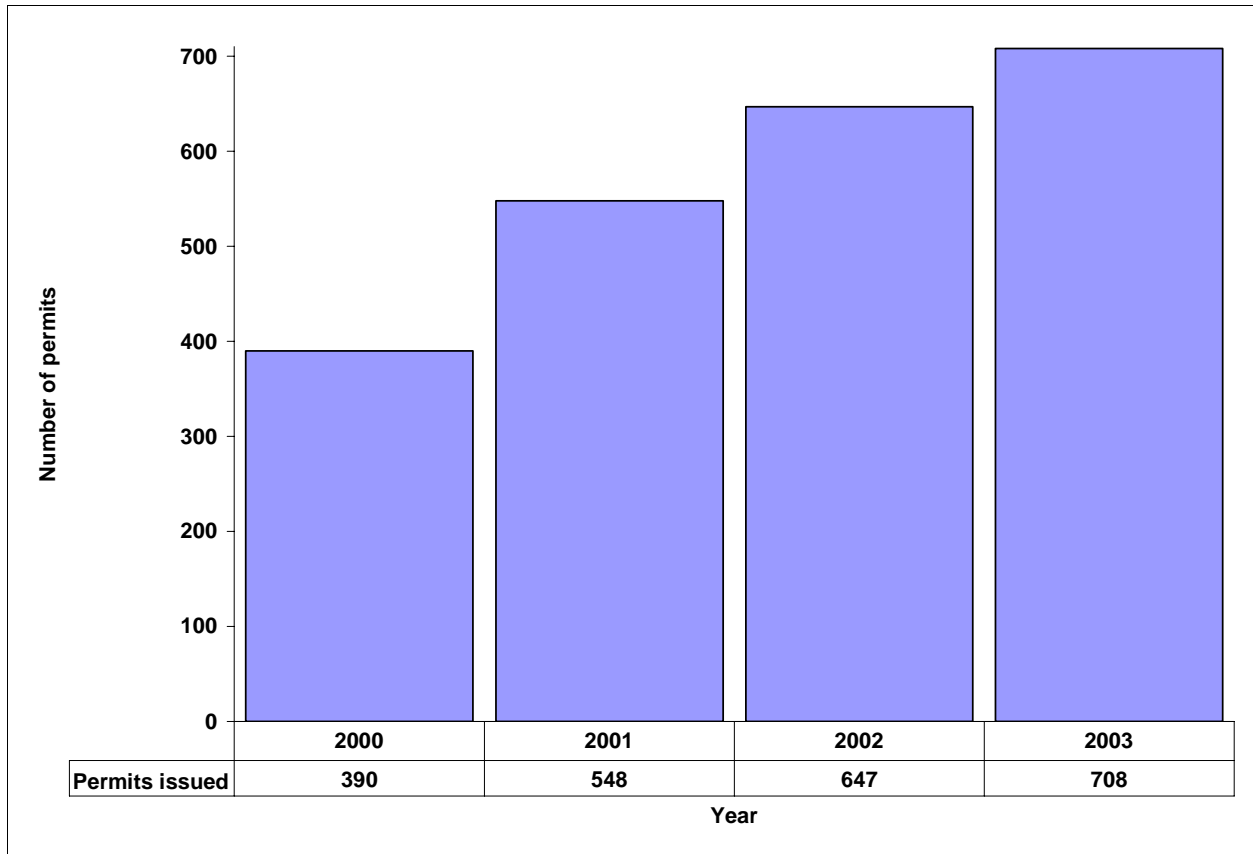


Figure 3.7: Number of residency permits issued to Haitian nationals by The Bahamas Immigration Department, 2000-2003.

Source: Bahamas Immigration Department

In 2004, 1,440 Certificates of Identity were issued to Haitian nationals and 1,473 in the first eight months of 2005 (Passport Office). A much longer run of data would be required to ascertain if there is an underlying trend towards more or less Certificates of Identity being issued. Two-hundred and five passport applications had been received from Haitian nationals born in The Bahamas before 10th July 1973 up to 2005. This number represents a tiny fraction of the population in the country.

Education statistics

The recent “Student Nationality Report” (Bain, 2005) gives an overview of student numbers by nationality in early 2005, which referred to about 75% of the total school enrolment. That study indicated that 8.83% of the entire student population were Haitian nationals. In the Government school system, 10.7% of students were Haitian nationals. Except for the islands of Abaco and New Providence, the enrolment of Haitian children by island indicates a proportion in keeping with the relative size of the Haitian communities, Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: Percentage of the general population and percentage of school students who were Haitian

Island	% of Haitian nationals in general population	% of Haitian students in Government schools
Abaco	16.9%	31.3%
New Providence	7.2%	12.5%
Grand Bahama	5.4%	5.8%
Eleuthera	9.5%	10.0%

Source: Bain (2005) & Census (2000)

The need for education by the Haitian community is evident by the fact that this community is a young one with 28.33% of its members between 5-19 years (in 2000), ages at which it would benefit from education. However, this young age structure is not unique to the Haitian community; overall, 28.54% of the population of The Bahamas was aged 5-19 in 2000. So in this regard, the needs of the Haitian community are those of the entire country. It should be noted that the number of children of Haitian nationals in Bain's report is in broad agreement with the number of school-age children expected from the 2000 Census. This is either an extraordinary coincidence or the agreement suggests that the 2000 Census estimate of the number of resident Haitian nationals is reasonable.

The obligations of Government in having to provide education for all children within the country are set out in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the issues surrounding the education needs of the Haitian community have been recently addressed (Taylor, 2005). He suggests that Government may not be able to provide all the resources required to meet these responsibilities. Regional and international assistance may be required if Haitian students are to be fully integrated into Bahamian society. Taylor notes some specific needs of Haitian students which Government should provide, such as teaching English as a second language and, later, skills training for older students.

The Ministry of Education does not index national examination results by nationality, so it is not possible to assess the results of Haitian children to determine if they are performing as well as their Bahamian counterparts.

Health related statistics

Registered live births by place of birth of mother, indicate that the percentage of all live births in the country to Haitian nationals has at least stabilized since 1999, Figure 3.8, and if anything, has decreased since 2000.

Table 3.12: Registered live births by place of birth of mother.

Year	Haitian nationals	All births	% of all births to Haitian nationals
1994	427	4,357	9.8%
1995	273	4,189	6.5%
1996	261	4,160	6.3%
1997	282	4,076	6.9%
1998	400	4,125	9.7%
1999	473	3,592	13.2%
2000	692	4,549	15.2%
2001	610	4,495	13.6%
2002	564	4,900	11.5%
2003	559	4,987	11.2%

Source: Department of Statistics.

It should be noted that according to the 2000 Census, Haitian nationals made up about 7% of the population, so it is apparent that Haitian nationals are more prolific than the country as a whole, Table 3.12. Thus it is clear, as other reports have indicated that the Haitian community uses certain aspects of government health care disproportionately to its size.

This observation is important because unless the Haitian community becomes more fully integrated into Bahamian society, an important minority of the Bahamian born population will grow up as foreigners within the only society they know. The tensions which such a situation can cause can be seen in other countries within the Caribbean (Cohen, 1973).

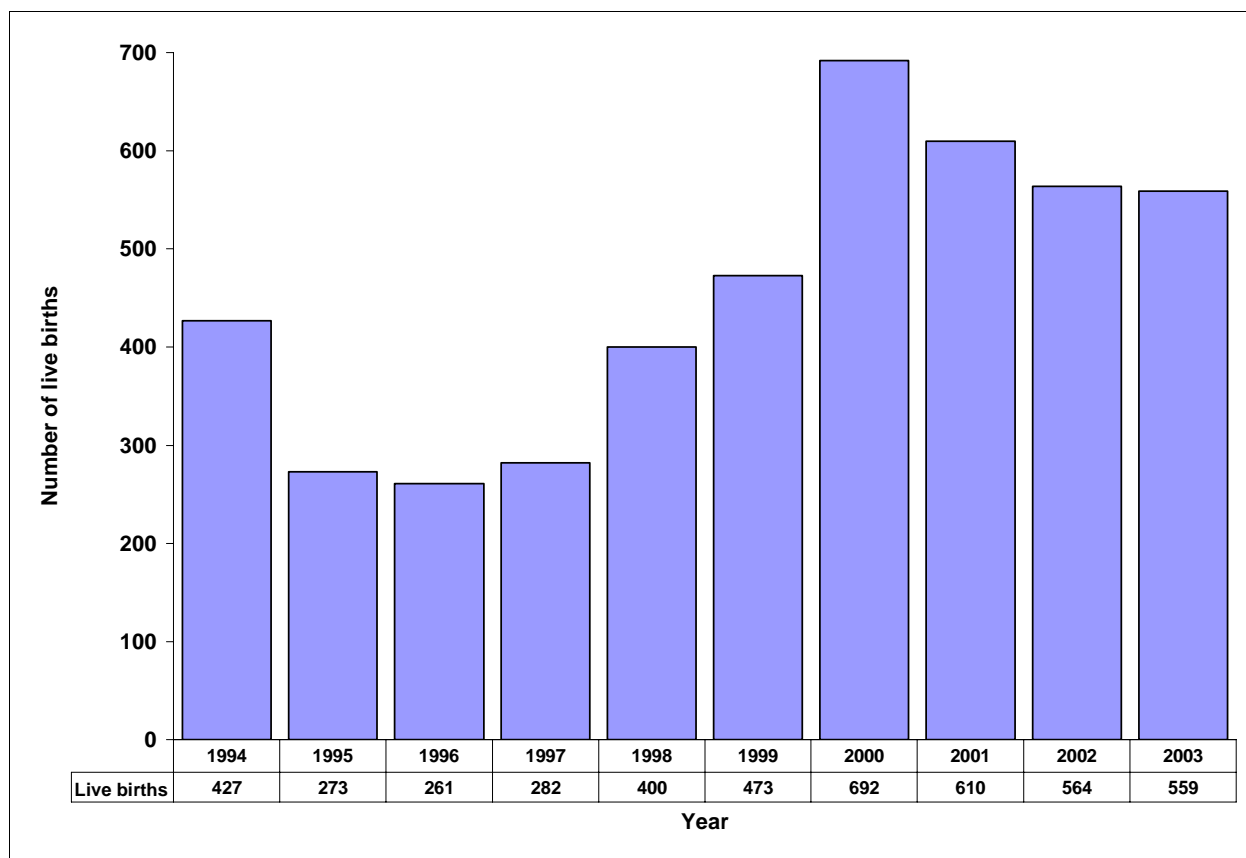


Figure 3.8: Number of live births to mothers born in Haiti, 1994-2003.

Source: Department of Statistics.

The figures in Table 3.13 suggest that Haitian nationals probably use the Princess Margaret Hospital as much as would be expected due to the overall size of the national population. During the period, 1996-2003, the most common reason for Haitian nationals to be discharged is after normal deliveries (between 23.1%-26.6%) or due to communicable diseases (between 13.7%-18.9%). It should be noted that between 2001 and 2003, the number of new HIV infections in the Haitian community fell from 143 to 123 to 111, and in 2003 represented 18% of all HIV infections.

Table 3.13: Percentage of patients who were Haitian nationals utilizing services at the Princess Margaret Hospital, 1997-2001.

	Year				
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Admissions to hospital	7.1%	8.7%	10.6%	11.8%	11.2%
Visits at the General Practice Clinic	6.9%	7.9%	9.3%	9.1%	8.8%

Source: Public Hospitals Authority

It is clear that the Haitian community relies almost entirely upon the public health services for its healthcare. The higher than expected percentage of Haitian nationals using hospitals can be attributed to their maternity needs. The higher than expected percentage of Haitian nationals seen

in the public clinics results from the fact that they, unlike other nationalities, are unable to afford private health care, Table 3.14.

Table 3.14: Distribution by nationality of outpatient visits, by type of health facility

Nationality	Public health care			Private health care				Foreign Medical
	Hospital	Clinic	Total	Hospital	Clinic	Professional	Total	
Bahamian	73.4%	83.3%	78.0%	81.4%	85.3%	90.9%	85.8%	75.8%
Haitian	22.3%	16.0%	19.3%	0.7%	1.9%	0.0%	1.5%	8.6%
Other	4.4%	0.7%	2.6%	17.9%	12.8%	9.1%	12.7%	15.6%

Source: Department of Statistics: Bahamas Conditions of Living Survey, 2001, unpublished data.

Despite the illegal status of members of the Haitian community, it is important to the general public health of the country that they engage health providers. Should Haitian nationals fail to obtain the treatment they require, for whatever reason, they could then pose a public health threat to their own communities and the wider public.

Drug Offences

In 1998, 25 Haitian nationals were charged with drug offences and in 2003 the number was 22. These figures represent 1.26% and 1.88% of all drug offences, respectively, which suggests little overall change during this period, Table 3.15. It should be noted that the percentage of Haitian nationals charged with drug offences is less than the 7% which might have been expected if the resident Haitian community comprises 7% of the general population.

Table 3.15: Drug offences, number of persons charged, The Bahamas

Year	Haitian nationals	All nationalities	% of all drug offences, Haitian nationals
1998	25	1,982	1.26%
1999	7	1,538	0.46%
2002	14	1,389	1.01%
2003	22	1,171	1.88%

Source: Royal Bahamas Police Force

Returns

Since 2001, the number of Haitian nationals returned to Haiti has decreased from 6,298 to 2,500 in 2004. The total number of Haitian nationals returned in that period was almost the total (106%) of the enumerated Haitian community in the 2000 Census. In the first seven months of 2005, 2,236 Haitian nationals were returned. During the period 2001-2004, about 80% of all returnees were Haitian nationals.

These data suggest that an important number of those returned could be flow-through persons. Historically, given the increase in the official size of the resident Haitian community (see Section 5), it would seem improbable that if even half of those returned would have become a part of the resident community as this would represent an extraordinary increase in the Haitian community in just five years.

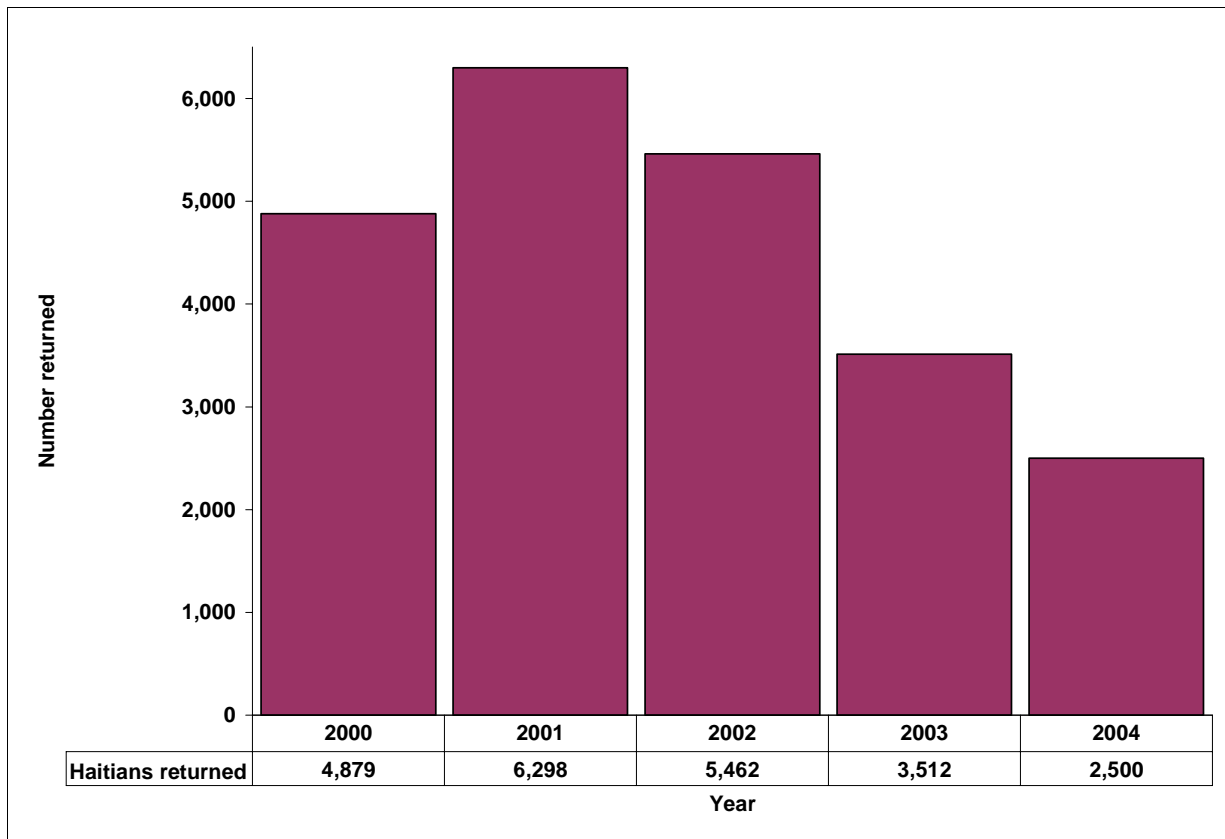


Figure 3.9: Number of Haitian nationals returned from The Bahamas during 2000–2004
Source: Department of Immigration

Data on returns should be further analysed to determine how many of those returned were detained at sea or after a short time on shore, compared to illegal members of the resident community, as well as the frequency of return of those detained more than once. In addition, detainees could be interviewed to obtain information on their final destination etc.

Haitian vessels cleared at Matthew Town

The number of Haitian vessels cleared at Matthew Town, Inagua, is important as all boats entering Bahamian waters are required to be cleared at this port of entry. As will be seen in Section 4, many Haitian nationals arrive illegally by boat, and so Inagua may be a port through which people might be smuggled.

Between 2000 and 2004, the number of Haitian vessels cleared at Inagua increased from 55 to 228, an increase of 314%. Commensurate with this increase, the number of persons landed at Inagua increased from 266 in 2000, to 1,531, an increase of 476%, Figure 3.10. In the first eight months of 2005, 221 vessels had been cleared and 1,347 persons landed.

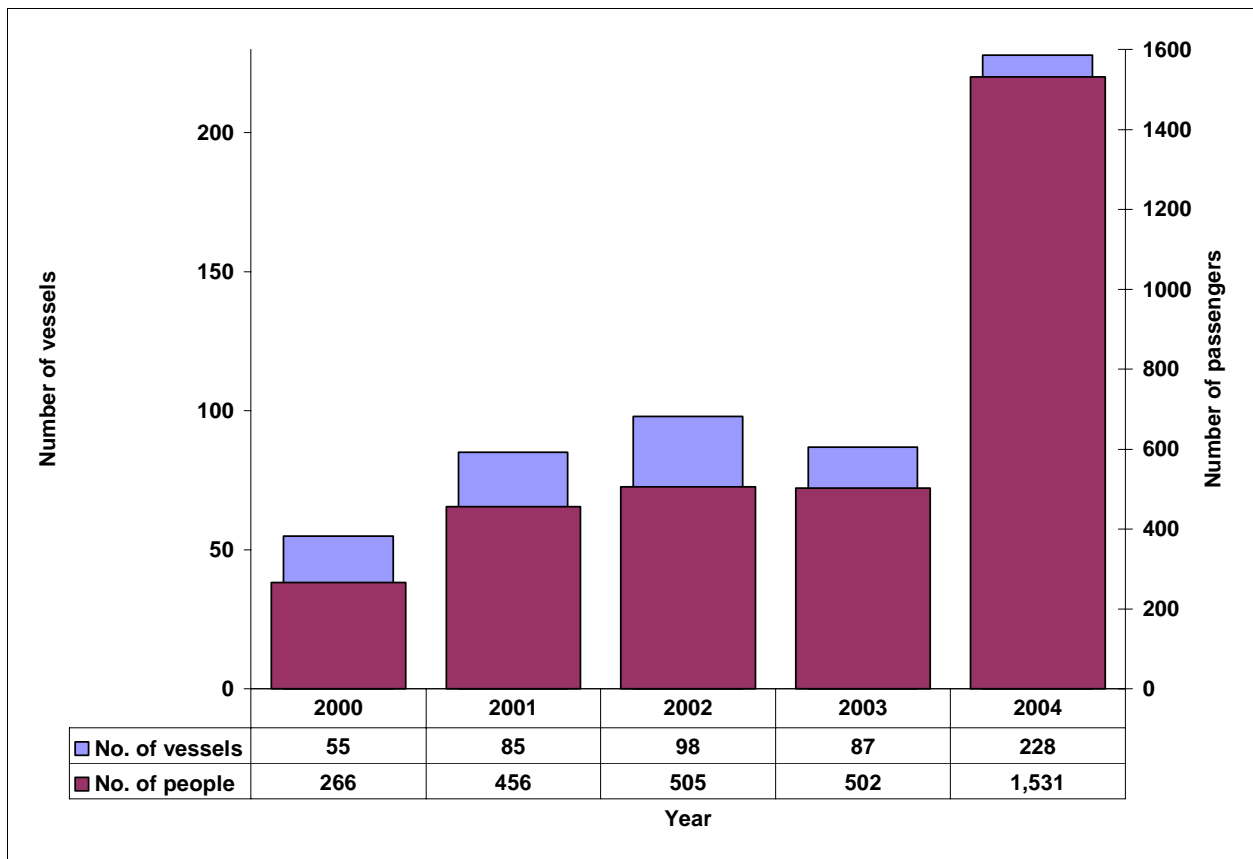


Figure 3.10: Numbers of Haitian vessels cleared and passengers landed in Inagua, 2000-2004.
Source: Department of Immigration

Immigration could offer no immediate explanation for the rise in the number of vessels other than the troubles in Haiti. Persons landed, should be interpreted as crew members as passengers are not normally allowed on the boats. The crew for these boats is typically about four persons (Bain, personal communication, 2005, September 15). The figures also show that the average number of passengers per boat has increased from 4.8 persons per boat in 2000 to 6.7 persons per boat in 2004. Rather than speculate that this increase in passengers per trip is an attempt by captains to increase their revenue from illegal transportation of migrants (possibly by passing them off as crew members) at \$1,000 per person (Section 4), further research should be done to elucidate the forces which have resulted in the sharp rise in boat traffic between Haiti and The Bahamas.

The increase in legal boat traffic entering The Bahamas may be an indicator of an increase in the illegal traffic. The increase in legal traffic can be expected to tax the resources of the immigration service and so may make it easier for illegal migrants to enter the country. In our study (Section 4) few respondents reported Inagua as their island of first entry into The Bahamas. This may be because they only reported the island at which their boat finally docked, but it is clear from the study that at least some migrants successfully evade immigration officials in Inagua.

(4) A Survey of the Haitian Community

Recommendations:

- Periodic studies of all migrant groups in The Bahamas should be made
- Enforcement of employment laws should include both employers and employees
- Policies should be pursued which will reduce the demand and supply of migrant labour
- Haitian migrants should be educated in English so that they can be active participants in society
- Matters associated with the Haitian community must be considered with sensitivity if ethnic tension is to be avoided

Key findings

- Most Haitian nationals come to The Bahamas to work
- Most Haitian nationals do not intend to settle in The Bahamas
- Many Haitian migrants probably arrive illegally and regularise their stay with the help of employers
- Most migrants work in unskilled or semi-skilled areas and allegedly get paid less than Bahamians
- Many Haitian migrants violate the terms of their work permits with the assistance of employers
- Respondents allege that Haitian migrants are abused by the authorities
- Haitian nationals have little education and poor English language skills
- Haitian nationals are poorly integrated into Bahamian society
- Some migrants use The Bahamas as a transit point to North America
- Migrants use public services such as health and education
- The Haitian community provides its own social services and has little contact with social services provided by the country

Terms of reference: Design and conduct a household survey, with a sample of 500 Haitian households in representative communities within The Bahamas.

Desired results of study and survey:

- A projection, based on survey results, of the number of Haitian migrants in-country
- Migration patterns and flows
- Estimate of level of irregular migration
- Areas of population concentration
- Demographic profile
 - date and place of birth (based on certified documents, whenever possible)
 - gender
 - citizenship status
 - education level
 - occupational skills
 - family size
 - family ties to The Bahamas
 - size and frequency of remittances
- Types of work sought and performed
- Language skills
- Living conditions
- Health services utilized
- Educational services utilized
- Social Services utilized for basic humanitarian needs
- Level of interaction with and integration into general society

Methodology

The target population for inclusion in this study were adults (18 or over) who (1): Had papers confirming that they were Haitian nationals or (2): Were undocumented but of Haitian ethnicity. Haitian nationals who had renounced their Haitian citizenship were not included because they are now legally Bahamian. People born in The Bahamas to Haitian parents were included in the study even though they may have applied for, but not yet received an official determination about, Bahamian citizenship/passport. The concept of “Haitian-Bahamian” was only included as a perception of participants.

Research of irregular migrant groups is beset by difficulties. By their very nature, such groups are fearful of outsiders and of local officials who may easily be seen to pose a threat to their liberty. Anyone who might be considered associated with national authorities is likely to arouse suspicion and lead to non-cooperation of the intended participants of the study. Although this is well documented in the literature (Stepick, & Stepick, 1990; Wingerd, 1992; DeSantis, 1990), local examples include attempts by the Department of Statistics to include the Haitian community in its household studies. In studies by the Department of Statistics, attempts to create a reliable sampling frame (a prerequisite for a probabilistic sample) have failed due to the transient nature of the physical structures occupied by Haitian households; homes identified in one visit can be gone by the time the study is to be made (K. Dorsett, personal communication,

May 24th, 2005). During the period of this study, homes of Haitian nationals were demolished in the Carmichael Road area, which was a reminder of the transient nature of some households and household structures. Consequently, this study attempted to ensure the maximum collaboration of the Haitian community as this was considered to be vital if any data of any reliability were to be collected at all.

Given the limited resources of this project, and taking into account the expected difficulties in collecting the data, the methodology used in this study was a hybrid which concentrated on three aspects: (1) Cooperation of the Haitian community (2) Engaging the community so that reliable results might be obtained (3) Using Creole speaking data collectors of Haitian ethnicity.

Consequently, the methodology can be viewed as a large ethnographic convenience sample as gate keepers were used to gain access to communities. Once inside the communities, data collectors attempted to choose what they considered to be a reasonable cross-section of the community. *The limitations of this approach place constraints upon the reliability of the inferences from this study to the wider community.* However, this approach does allow information to be collected from a relatively large number of Haitian nationals from a wide number of locations throughout The Bahamas. In addition, the use of ethnic Haitian data collectors was expected to encourage respondents to provide honest answers.

In order to achieve these goals the following techniques were used: (1) The Haitian community was engaged in the study at the start through a meeting at the Haitian Embassy with many leaders of the Haitian community. The purpose of the meeting was to obtain the community leaders' support for the study and to explain the motives for the research, (2) Interviewers were Creole speakers and in almost every case of ethnic Haitian origin and who were in many cases also gatekeepers, (3) *Confidentiality of the participants was stressed at all stages and participants were allowed to leave any question unanswered,* (4) Participants were told of the guarantee given by the Department of Immigration that no one would be targeted as a result of being interviewed, even though the usual enforcement practices would continue, (5) Participants were given a "petit cadeau" of a tee-shirt (suggested by the Haitian Ambassador after consultation with the Haitian community), (6) Where possible, gatekeepers were contacted who allowed data collectors access to their communities and encouraged the community to participate.

Engagement of the Haitian community before the data collection was clearly beneficial as the community leaders raised many concerns which focused on a fear that the data would be "used against" them. The importance of the approval of the project by both Haitian and Bahamian government officials cannot be overstated in giving data collectors and leaders of the Haitian community the confidence to encourage their constituents to participate in the study. Once these fears were overcome, the leaders encouraged their communities to cooperate with the data collection exercise. This did not mean that individual participants did not have their own concerns which the data collectors had to allay.

As the gatekeepers had no reliable information as to how many households were in their communities, data regarding this were not collected. In addition, the destruction of homes along the Carmichael Road area in July 2005 served to show that using a count of the households to estimate the size of a Haitian community, would not produce a useful estimate as the number of households varies from day to day.

The survey form was based on a previous International Organisation for Migration (IOM) study of the Haitian community in the Dominican Republic (Appendix 1). The form was modified to take into account the suggestions made at an Inter-ministerial meeting with the IOM representative. The Haitian Embassy made suggestions about some of the questions and, as a result, modifications were made in order to maximise the chances that all questions would be answered truthfully. Consequently, the questions on the survey form were designed to meet the needs of IOM and the members at the inter-ministerial meeting. A pilot study of 40 interviews was done to test the feasibility of the survey form. Although the interview was considered “long” the data collectors indicated that people were willing to cooperate and that they “could make it work”. One important matter raised by the pilot exercise was that immigration enforcement tended to discourage participation by the Haitian community. IOM brought this observation to the attention of the Ministry of Immigration and Labour, pointing out that on-going enforcement activities would necessarily have to be considered a parameter of the study and one that should be taken into account when the results were evaluated and interpreted.

In the full survey, final selection of participants depended upon the ability of data collectors to successfully engage what appeared to be a cross-section of the community. No quota was placed on the sample. In some communities data collectors reported that people queued up as the tee-shirt induced participation, while elsewhere, sceptical members of the community attempted to dissuade neighbours from being interviewed. These factors should be noted when extrapolating the survey results to the wider Haitian community. Throughout the survey period the Department of Immigration continued its enforcement policy.

The Haitian Embassy translated the English form into Creole so that enumerators could work from either a Creole or English form. The Creole form allowed enumerators to choose which language they wished to work from and the majority of the interviews were reported on Creole forms. Although the use of a Creole form was beneficial at the data collection stage, it slowed the data entry process.

The 2000 Census was used as the basis for determining the relative sizes of the Haitian community in The Bahamas. The 500 interviews required by the study were distributed proportionately to the sizes of the Haitian populations in New Providence, Grand Bahama, Abaco and Eleuthera, Table 4.1. These four islands accounted for 98% of the Haitian community in the 2000 Census, and so by focusing the study on these islands few Haitian communities would be expected to be excluded. Information on numbers of passports issued by the Embassy of the Republic of Haiti confirmed this general distribution of the Haitian community throughout The Bahamas (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Distribution of the Haitian community by island in the 2000 Census and distribution of Haitian passports issued by island of residence.

Island	Census		Passports issued to Haitian nationals August 2002-July 2005	
	Population	% of total	Number	% of total
New Providence	15,201	71%	8,897	74.6%
Grand Bahama	2,550	12%	977	8.2%
Abaco	2,229	10%	1,256	10.1%
Eleuthera	1,069	5%	773	6.5%
Exuma	147	}2%	7	}0.6%
Andros	111		13	
Bimini	59		7	
Cat Island	29			
Berry Islands	18			
Long Island	7			
San Salvador	7			
Crooked Island	6			
Acklins	2			
Ragged island	1			
Inagua	0			
Mayaguana	0			

Source: Census, 2000 & Embassy of the Republic of Haiti (unpublished 2005)

Data collectors were volunteers identified by community leaders or who were students or ex-students from the College of The Bahamas or College staff members. Training for data collectors was held in New Providence, Grand Bahama, Abaco and Eleuthera prior to the data collection. At the training in New Providence a senior immigration official was present to assure the data collectors that The Bahamas Government supported the study and that there would be no repercussions associated with the study for anyone who participated in it. At each of the training sessions the importance of confidentiality was stressed. A data collection supervisor oversaw the data collection in New Providence. On the Family Islands, one of the data collectors was identified as the point person on each team. Ten interviews were carried out at the Carmichael Road Detention Centre with the cooperation of the Department of Immigration. The data collection periods for each island are given in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Approximate data collection periods for the study, 2005.

Island	Start date	End date
New Providence	15 th June	7 th July
Grand Bahama	17 th June	14 th August
Abaco	24 th June	22 nd July
Eleuthera	16 th July	28 th July

In New Providence, data collectors debriefed the research team, the IOM and the Haitian Ambassador when the data collection was completed. They confirmed that the approach to gain the cooperation of the community and obtain honest answers had, in general, been successful. The expected concerns of “the data being used against participants”, were common and had been

anticipated in the training. Explanations concerning the nature and purpose of the study had in some cases stretched the interview to almost two hours. It was stated that if the data collectors had not been of Haitian ethnicity few people would have participated due to the nature of the questions and the duration of the interview. The assurances that data collectors could give interviewees about participation in the study were also crucial. However, at least one data collector was concerned that the perceived increase in “raids” on the Haitian community by the authorities was related to the study and the person was concerned that participation in the study had undermined their standing in the community.

It was felt by some data collectors that responses to some questions should be treated with caution and these are flagged in the results section. These instances appeared to relate to questions concerning how members of the Haitian community had been treated by Bahamian nationals.

Due to the fact that respondents freely participated in the study, they had the right to refuse to answer questions. As a consequence, not all forms were completed. Therefore, the results represent minimum numbers of the total number of participants. So when a result reads “x%” it should be interpreted as “at least x%” as percentages are of the total number of appropriate respondents, not those who replied. Values for N indicate the number of people who actually provided information.

SE refers to the standard error of the mean and indicates the level of variability associated with the mean. The median (the value occupying the mid-point of the ordered data) is given when observations are skewed about the mean, i.e.: it is a more useful measure of “average” than the mean.

Results should be interpreted considering the comments respondents provided (Appendix 2). These range from feelings of mistrust about participating in the study to reporting firsthand incidences which they have experienced in the country.

Results and Discussion

Responses from 506 members of the Haitian community were obtained. Some additional forms were discarded as they related to respondents who were under 18 years of age. The reason why more than 500 interviews were conducted was due to more than the required number of forms being left with each point person to allow for spoilage. Consequently the extra forms were used and we obtained results from slightly more respondents than planned. We assume that these respondents represent 506 households. The distribution of respondents by island is given in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Number of responses from each island.

Island	Number of responses	% of sample
New Providence	361	71%
Abaco	60	12%
Grand Bahama	58	12%
Eleuthera	27	5%
Total	506	

A list of the enumeration districts in which respondents lived is given in Appendix 3.

General description of the respondent group

The average age of respondents was 35.0 years (SE:0.54); 61.2% were male and 8.6% were born in The Bahamas.

Over half of respondents (56.2%) were in a union and 41.2% were single, Table 4.4. These results compare with 59% of Haitian nationals (aged 20 years or older) enumerated in the 2000 Census where 35% were single.

Table 4.4: Marital status by country of birth.

	Country of birth		
	Haiti	The Bahamas	Overall
Single	40.0%	53.5%	41.2%
Married	39.6%	25.6%	38.4%
Cohabiting	17.5%	20.9%	17.8%
Widow(er)	2.8%	0	2.6%
N=	457	43	500

Just over half of respondents (52.0%) wanted to stay permanently in The Bahamas and 22.0% did not. The remainder were undecided.

The study respondents lived in households dominated by family members; the largest household size reported was 12, Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Summary of the composition of households in the Haitian community

	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean	SE	N
No. of adult family members	0	8	937	2.34	0.07	401
No. of non-adult family members	0	9	440	1.23	0.08	358
No. of adult non-family members	0	7	160	0.44	0.05	362
No. of non-adult non-family members	0	5	43	0.12	0.03	347
Total in household	0	12	1607	3.75	0.10	429

The distribution of households by size is given in Figure 4.1. This pattern is different to that seen in Figure 3.3 from the Census and may result from difficulties of making contact with respondents from single person households.

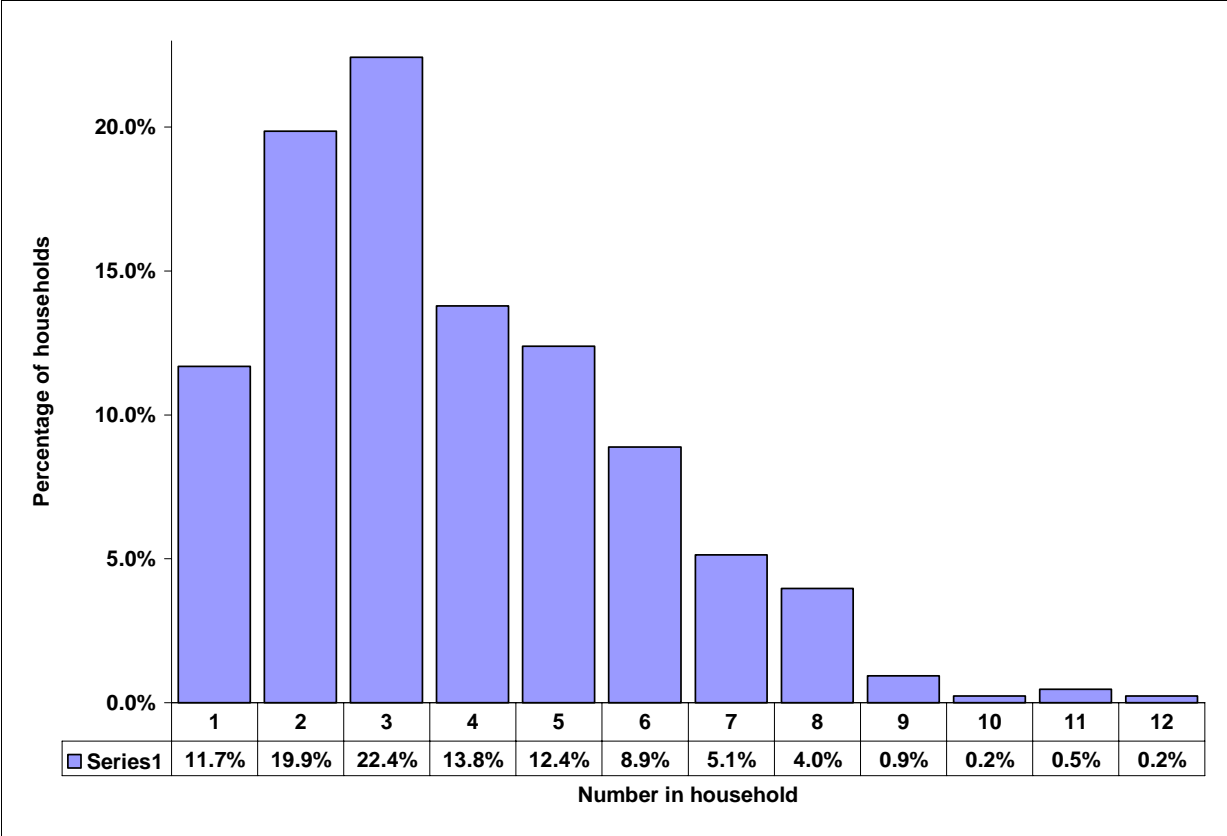


Figure 4.1: Distribution of households by size within the Haitian community in the study.

Most households in the Haitian community sampled included at least one adult family member and 86% of households include at least one child (Figure 4.2). Only a minority of the households had non-family members residing in them.

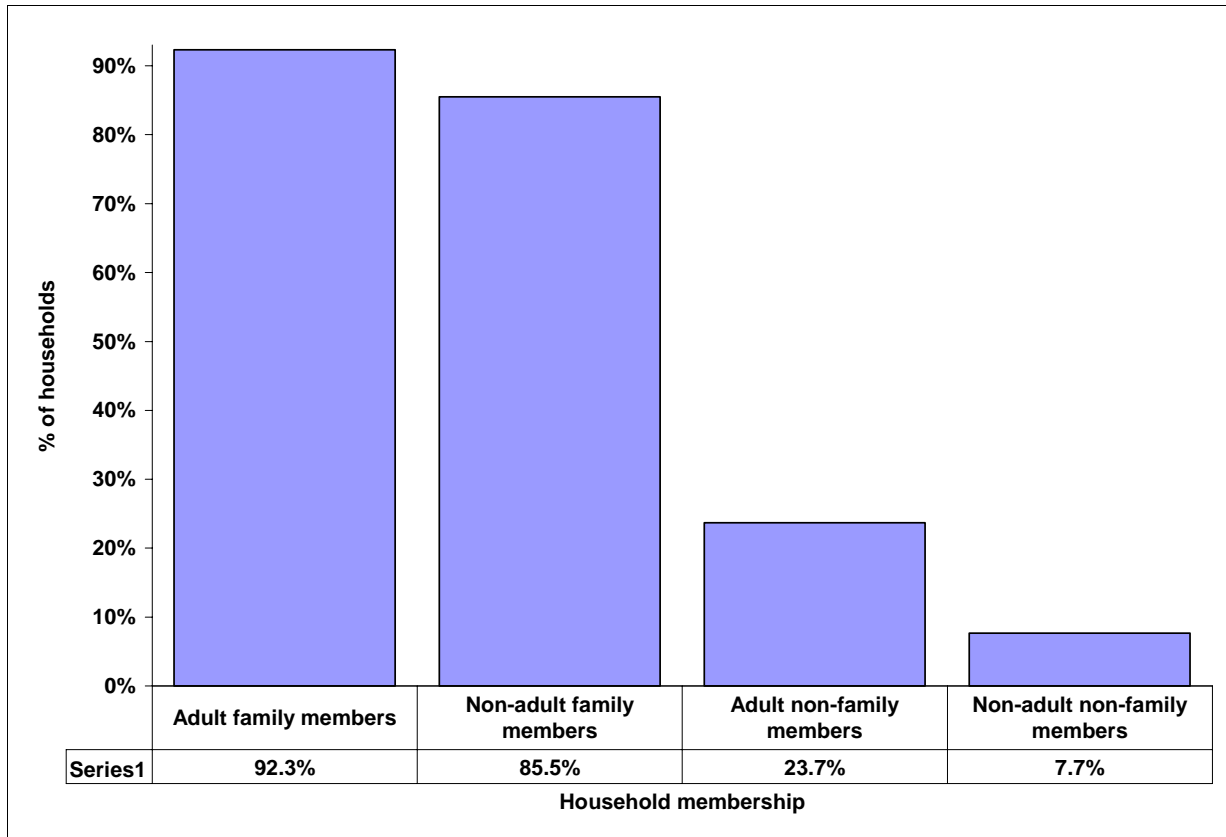


Figure 4.2: Prevalence of household members in Haitian community homes in The Bahamas.

Migration patterns and flows

While most migrants still come from the north-west of Haiti, they no longer come exclusively from this area. With migrants leaving by air from Port-au-Prince, residents from the south of Haiti are now migrating to The Bahamas. This is a notable change from the findings in Marshall’s 1970 study. This change is corroborated by data collected at the Embassy of the Republic of Haiti on the place of birth of passport holders (2005). The last place of residence in Haiti of respondents is given in Table 4.6.

Port-au-Prince is now an important port of embarkation for migrants travelling to The Bahamas due to the popularity of air travel. Those leaving by boat still leave from ports situated in the north-west (Table 4.7 and Figure 4.3). The fact that one migrant arrived via Miami should not be ignored as it shows that indirect travel routes are also available to migrants.

Table 4.6: Place of last residence in Haitian of migrants before arriving in The Bahamas

Last place of residence*	%
La Pointe	30.6%
Lafond	15.8%
Rivière des Nègres	12.2%
Cap-Haïtien	10.9%
La Croix St Joseph	9.2%
Port Salut	9.0%
Hinche	2.1%
Roseaux	1.7%
Port-de-Paix	1.1%
Carrefour Feuille	1.1%
Doulan	0.9%
Fond des Blancs	0.6%
Moustique	0.6%
North West	0.6%
Port-au-Prince	0.4%
Lavisite (Bassin Bleu)	0.4%
Bassin Bleu	0.2%
Saint Louis du Nord	0.2%
Anse-à-Foleur	0.2%
La Tortue	0.2%
Inis	0.2%
Cap-Rouge	0.2%
Bonneau	0.2%
Gros Morne	0.2%
Bellevue	0.2%
Gonaïves	0.2%
Anse-à-Veau	0.2%
Jacmel	0.2%
South Eastern	0.2%
	N= 468

*List compiled with the assistance of the Ambassador of the Republic of Haiti to The Bahamas

Table 4.7: Port of embarkation for Haitian nationals migrating to The Bahamas

Port of embarkation*	%
Cap-Haïtien	33.3%
La Tortue	29.0%
Port-de-Paix	27.6%
Port-au-Prince	6.9%
North West	0.9%
Gonaïves	0.7%
Gros Morne	0.7%
Anse-Rouge	0.2%
Bonneau	0.2%
Miami	0.2%
Port-a-faux	0.2%
	N= 435

*List compiled with the assistance of the Ambassador of the Republic of Haiti to The Bahamas.

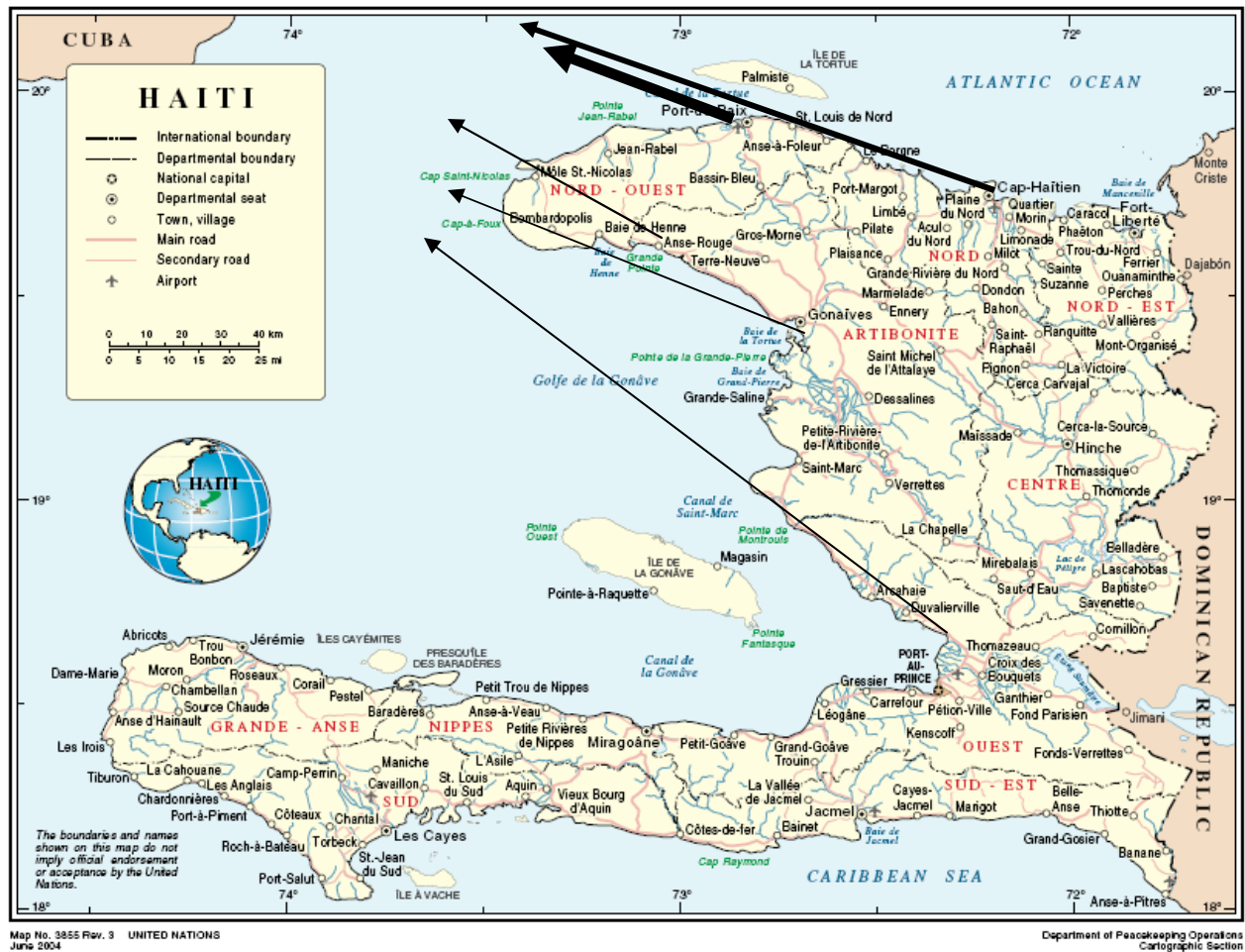


Figure 4.3: Map showing ports of embarkation of Haitian migrants to The Bahamas. Darker lines indicate more popular routes.

Source: United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations

New Providence is the hub and magnet for migrants, Figure 4.4. Most migrants come to New Providence before going to their current island of residence. Relatively few respondents went directly to the island on which they presently live. The major ports of entry into The Bahamas are Nassau International Airport and docks along the north of Nassau, in particular Arawak Cay (Table 4.8). This suggests that enforcement agencies need to be particularly vigilant in New Providence. Migrants, who may arrive by air with a visa, start a paper trail which should be followed in order to ensure that, like some in our study, they do not over-stay their permitted time. Clearly, the advantage to illegal migrants of arriving in New Providence is that its large population, both of Haitian nationals and Bahamians, allows new arrivals to easily melt into the general population and utilise the support mechanism which the Haitian community can provide. It will be seen that communications within the Haitian community are facilitated by many households having mobile telephones and so assisting the rapid dispersion of newly arrived migrants.



Figure 4.4: Principal migration routes of Haitian nationals from Haiti to Bahamian islands.
 Map: Source: PAHO web site.

Table 4.8: List of the entry points into The Bahamas by 458 respondents.

Point of entry	%
Nassau Intl Airport	26.2%
Arawak Cay	21.2%
Nassau	18.1%
New Providence	4.4%
Freeport	4.4%
South Beach	3.1%
Fox Hill	2.2%
Potters Cay	2.0%
Detained at sea	1.7%
Carmichael Road	1.7%
Exuma	1.5%
Inagua	1.5%
Palmetto Point	0.7%
Grand Bahama	0.7%
Bacardi Road	0.7%
Yamacraw	0.4%
Marsh Harbour	0.4%
George Town Exuma	0.4%
Eleuthera	0.4%
East Street	0.4%
Bay Street, Nassau	0.4%
Abaco	0.4%
Yamacraw Beach	0.2%
West Street	0.2%
West End	0.2%
Treasure Cay	0.2%
Saline (Abaco)	0.2%
Rose Island	0.2%
Prince Charles Dock	0.2%
Pinders Point	0.2%
Pigeon Pea Rd, Abaco	0.2%
Paradise Island	0.2%
On the Ocean	0.2%
Nassau Village	0.2%
Lyford Cay	0.2%
Lewis Yard, G. B.	0.2%
Harbour, GB	0.2%
Harbour Island	0.2%
Finlayson Street	0.2%
Downtown GB	0.2%
Cowpen Road	0.2%
Cat Island	0.2%
Bimini	0.2%
Bacardi Beach	0.2%
Does not know	2.2%

While it is clear that New Providence, by sea or air, is the hub for migration, as 90.3% of migrants first arrived or stayed in New Providence, there are other routes which migrants take to reach Family Islands, Table 4.9. While migrants can travel directly to Grand Bahama no respondent in this study travelled directly to Abaco. One explanation for this is that Grand Bahama may be a point of departure/stop-over for flow-through migrants *en route* from Haiti to North America. This study included one person who was detained in Nassau while attempting to fly to Abaco, which indicates that while that person was able to enter Nassau, leaving was not so easy.

Table 4.9: Pattern of migration within The Bahamas, percentage of all respondents (N=440).
 Figures in bold indicate direct entry to current island.

		Current island on which respondent lives				Total
		Abaco	Eleuthera	Grand Bahama	New Providence	
Islands passed through to reach current island	Abaco			0.5%	0.2%	0.7%
	Bimini			0.2%		0.2%
	Cat Island				0.2%	0.2%
	Eleuthera	0.2%			0.7%	0.9%
	Exuma	0.2%			1.1%	1.4%
	Grand Bahama				0.5%	0.5%
	Inagua		0.2%	0.5%	0.5%	1.1%
	New Providence	10.5%	3.9%	4.5%		18.9%
	None			4.8%	71.4%	76.1%
Total	10.9%	4.1%	10.5%	74.5%		

“None” means that the respondents travelled directly to the island on which they currently live.

Some respondents who had been born in The Bahamas had also lived in Haiti and so 93.7% of respondents had lived (this does not include visits) in Haiti.

The mean length of time since respondents, born in Haiti, had first arrived in The Bahamas from Haiti was 9.0 years (SE:0.43), with a range of a few days to 42 years. Half of the respondents had first come to The Bahamas 6.9 years ago; 16.8% of respondents had been in the country for one year or less.

Most respondents had only made one attempt to come to The Bahamas, Table 4.10. This suggests that most of those returned probably either did not make subsequent attempts to come back or managed to flow through The Bahamas to a third country. Some returnees do make multiple attempts to reach The Bahamas; at least one respondent who had been returned to Haiti had come back in order to be reunited with family members.

Table 4.10: Number of times respondents, born in Haiti, had left Haiti intending to live or work in The Bahamas.

Number of times having to leave Haiti	%
Left once	76.9%
Left twice	13.9%
Left three times	6.7%
Left four times	0.7%
Left five or more times	1.8%
N=	459

The main reason for migrating to The Bahamas was to find work, Table 4.11. Only 8.7% wanted to live in The Bahamas and 1.6% identified themselves as flow-through members of the Haitian community. Less than 5% left Haiti to escape political persecution, Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Main reason for respondents' first trip to The Bahamas

Reason	%
To find work	60.7%
To live in The Bahamas	8.7%
To join family	6.3%
Born in The Bahamas	5.7%
To escape political persecution	4.3%
Pleasure	2.0%
To move to a country outside of The Bahamas and Haiti	1.6%
To sell merchandise	1.0%
To start work in previously arranged work	0.4%
Shopping trip	0.2%
Other	4.5%
N=	482

The fact that less than 10% of respondents wished to stay in the country suggests that most migrants may leave the country. The intention of respondents to stay permanently in The Bahamas was unaffected by the length of time since respondents had first arrived in the country (Median test: 3.6, df=2, n=424, p=0.163). This means that migrants who have lived in the country for a long time are no more likely to want to stay permanently than those who have just arrived. However, it is clear that their primary purpose for coming to The Bahamas is to find work; i.e. the migration of Haitian nationals is a result of economic, not political, conditions in Haiti.

The process of migration is a solitary one, with most respondents (56%) travelling alone and 24% travelling with strangers, Table 4.12. Very few respondents came with their employer which suggests that most trips were made with the expectation of finding work after arrival.

Table 4.12: Nature of companions while migrating (excludes those born in The Bahamas)

Companion on trip	%
On my own or alone	55.8%
With others whom I did not know	23.5%
With friends	6.1%
With family members	5.4%
My parents brought me	4.1%
My employer	0.9%
	N= 450

Most respondents (57.9%) had first arrived by boat and 32.3% came by air. It should be noted that of the 143 respondents who arrived by boats, which were not their own, 31 (22%) also described the boats as “commercial”, Table 4.13. This suggests that boats used to transport migrants have commercial uses beyond that of being passenger vessels. If this is true, it suggests that strengthened enforcement would be effective at detecting illegal migrants. It should also be noted that air is now the mode of choice of recently arrived migrants; respondents who had arrived by boat had first arrived seven years ago compared with five years ago if arriving by air (Median test: Chi-square=15.3, df=1, n=411, p=0.002).

Table 4.13: Mode of travel used by respondents on the first trip from Haiti to The Bahamas

Mode of transport	%	N
Someone else’s boat	37.5%	394
Commercial boat	32.7%	396
Commercial airplane	31.2%	459
Private airplane	1.1%	366
Own boat	1.1%	365

There was no real difference in the cost of sea or air passage (Median test; df=1, Chi-squared=0.248, p=0.62), and the range in sea and air fares indicates the profits which traffickers in illegal migrants can make, Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Summary of the fares charged to Haitian nationals migrating to The Bahamas

Mode of transport	Mean	SE	Minimum	Maximum	Median	N
Air	\$1,028	\$96.4	\$0	\$6,000	\$480	119
Sea	\$1,098	\$83.1	\$0	\$10,000	\$600	228

Some respondents got free passages as they knew the captain.

From Table 4.15 it is clear that few respondents were undocumented, with over 96% claiming to have documents of some sort. If the data in Table 4.15 are taken at face value, then about 44%⁷ of the survey respondents (adult members of the Haitian community) were probably in the country legally. This figure is in line with the 48% of respondents, in Rolle’s Abaco study (2005), who were reported as being in the country legally.

⁷ This figure is the sum of those who had a work permit, a residency permit, a spousal permit or a certificate of identity but allowing for the fact that some respondents had more than one of these documents.

Table 4.15: Percentage of respondents with identification documents.

Type of document	%	N
Bahamian baptismal certificate	10.7%	399
Bahamian birth certificate	9.5%	400
Bahamian certificate of identity	5.1%	194
Bahamian citizenship§	0.2%*	237
Bahamian driver's licence	16.2%	412
Bahamian passport	0.2%*	237
Bahamian work permit	38.3%	433
Haitian baptismal certificate	54.2%	420
Haitian birth certificate	73.5%	453
Haitian ID card	34.8%	409
Haitian passport, issued in Haiti	26.5%	412
Haitian passport, issued in The Bahamas	60.1%	446
Residency, other than work	3.2%	237
Spousal permit	3.4%	237

*This is probably a forged passport. §This is probably incorrect – see text for discussion

Note: The data are based on the replies on respondents, not inspection of documents

It should be noted that one of the ten respondents at the Detention Centre claimed to have a work permit. Presumably, if the detainee held a valid work permit s/he would not have been detained which suggests that the permit was not valid. Consequently, the interpretation of the responses in Table 4.16 must be made with caution. The type of Bahamian document which respondents stated they had (Table 4.16) suggests either that respondents did not really understand the nature of the permit (which is possible due to a poor understanding of English) or that some of the documents were forged as was probably the case of the Bahamian passport which was bought for \$10 or work permits for unusual periods of time. The prices paid for certain types of Bahamian documents may also indicate that some of the papers held by respondents were either forged or that respondents had been surcharged for some reason (Table 4.16).

Table 4.16: Descriptions and amount paid for Bahamian documents by respondents

Type of Bahamian document bought	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SE
Not stated	9	\$25	\$650	\$436	\$103
Bahamian certificate of identity	3	\$25	\$60	\$37	\$12
Citizenship	1	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	.
Does not know	1	\$650	\$650	\$650	.
For a water truck	1	\$650	\$650	\$650	.
Health certificate/ Police Record \$1300	1	\$650	\$650	\$650	.
Passport	1	\$10	\$10	\$10	.
Permanent Residency	9	\$500	\$1,000	\$944	\$56
Permanent resident with authorisation to work	1	\$250	\$250	\$250	.
Residence	2	\$250	\$1,000	\$625	\$375
Spousal permit	17	\$25	\$25	\$25	\$0
Temporary Residence	2	\$250	\$250	\$250	\$0
Travel document	7	\$20	\$25	\$22	\$1
Work Permit - farm labourer	10	\$350	\$1,750	\$640	\$132
Work Permit – gardener	10	\$350	\$1,500	\$705	\$93
Work Permit – handyman	46	\$25	\$3,000	\$838	\$89
Work Permit - labourer*	3	\$350	\$1,500	\$833	\$344
Work Permit – maid	16	\$650	\$1,500	\$781	\$65
Work Permit	48	\$300	\$1,500	\$643	\$31
Work Permit and Education Permit	1	\$1,650	\$1,650	\$1,650	.
Work Permit and Police Record	1	\$650	\$650	\$650	.
Work Permit but does not [know] what is on it	1	\$25	\$25	\$25	.
Work Permit for 2 yr as a maid	1	\$2,400	\$2,400	\$2,400	.
Work Permit for 5 yrs as handyman	1	\$350	\$350	\$350	.
Work Permit for 7 years	1	\$650	\$650	\$650	.
Work Permit Gardner	1	\$600	\$600	\$600	.
Work permit valid for six months	1	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$1,500	.
Work permit was expired	1	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	.
* A value of \$15,000 was replaced by \$1,500					

Where the mean value for permits exceeds the official fee, this indicates either widespread surcharging or limited occasions of gross surcharging. One respondent claimed to have paid \$1,300 for a “health certificate /police record” which may be an example of surcharging. It is beyond the scope of this study to investigate these replies. The observations suggest that further study is required to find out why applicants appear to pay surcharges on the official fees and what benefit, if any accrues to the applicant for paying the excess fees.

In addition to the fees, the description of some of the permits (Table 4.17) suggests that they may be forged or misunderstood. In Table 4.16 we include some descriptions of permits, as given by respondents, which we feel may indicate invalid documents. The official list of permits and charges shows marked differences to those declared in Table 4.16. We feel that in addition to the forged passport other respondents may be holding invalid documents. If this is correct, the percentage of respondents here legally may be less than the 44% suggested in Table 4.15. The list of fees in Table 4.17 suggests that it is beneficial to employers to engage workers to

participate in construction (as painter, masons etc.) with a work permit as a handyman rather than with a permit for a painter etc.

Table 4.17: List of permits issued by the Department of Immigration together with the fees.

Permit	Fee
Permanent residence	\$500-\$10,000
Permanent residence for the spouse of a Bahamian citizen	\$250-\$5,000
Residence permit, non-Bahamian citizen	\$1,000/year
Residence permit, spouse/child of a Bahamian citizen	\$25/year
Work permit: Scale 1	\$10,000
Work permit: Scale 2	\$7,500
Work permit: Scale 3	\$6,000
Work permit Scale 4	\$5,000
Work permit Scale 5	\$4,500
Work permit Scale 6 (includes, carpenter, mason, mechanic, painter, plumber, truck driver)	\$4,000
Work permit: Scale 7	\$3,000
Work permit: Scale 8	\$2,000
Work permit: Scale 9 (includes, gardener, general worker, handyman, janitor, maid, other unskilled workers)	\$650

Source: Statute Law of The Bahamas, Immigration (Fees) Regulations, Section 45

When the papers of the spouses (this includes married, common-law relationships, giving a total of 297 couples) of respondents are considered, a similar pattern of responses is found to that given about the respondents themselves, Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Documents known by the respondent to be held by their spouse (N=297).

Type of document	%	N
Bahamian baptismal certificate	12.8%	202
Bahamian birth certificate	11.5%	219
Bahamian certificate of identity	4.4%	104
Bahamian driver's license	22.9%	231
Bahamian passport	9.4%	221
Bahamian work permit	33.6%	234
Haitian baptismal certificate	39.7%	224
Haitian birth certificate	73.4%	257
Haitian ID card	41.1%	232
Haitian passport, issued in Haiti	42.4%	245
Haitian passport, issued in The Bahamas	27.6%	224
Other documents	6.4%	126

Respondents were asked about the prevalence of documents within their community. While many did not respond, as they did not know, the general feeling was that relatively few community members had documents which would make their stay legal. Thus respondents were aware that they live in illegal communities. The findings in Table 4.19 corroborate the findings

on documentation about the respondents themselves (Table 4.15) and their spouses (Table 4.18). Consequently, it is understandable that communities are wary when the authorities enter their neighbourhoods.

Table 4.19: Respondents' perceptions of the level of documentation in their community

Type of document	None	Some	Many	Most	All	N
Bahamian baptismal certificate	7.9%	23.9%	17.2%	6.3%	1.0%	285
Bahamian birth certificate	8.5%	31.2%	18.6%	4.5%	1.4%	325
Bahamian certificate of identity	2.8%	14.0%	12.5%	2.2%	0.4%	161
Bahamian ID card	7.5%	25.9%	18.6%	5.1%	1.4%	295
Bahamian passport	10.5%	26.9%	15.8%	4.3%	1.6%	296
Bahamian work permit	2.6%	17.8%	18.6%	17.4%	2.0%	295
Haitian baptismal certificate	5.1%	23.1%	18.8%	7.7%	2.6%	290
Haitian birth certificate	3.0%	21.7%	20.0%	14.2%	5.1%	324
Haitian ID card	9.9%	25.3%	16.6%	4.5%	1.8%	294
Haitian passport, issued in Haiti	8.1%	27.5%	12.6%	9.3%	1.2%	297
Haitian passport, issued in The Bahamas	4.2%	20.9%	18.2%	13.2%	1.8%	295

The possession of a work permit does not imply that a person is engaged in lawful employment. A work permit allows the holder to work according to specific conditions, so a permit to work as a handyman would make working as a taxi-driver an illegal activity. From Table 4.20 it is clear that many respondents were working in areas not allowed by their permits.

Stopping the migration motor

The motor which drives migration is the demand for cheap labour, particularly in the construction industry.

Most migrants arrive intending to work, with the knowledge that previous migrants, who also arrived illegally managed to find work and regularise their stay.

Employers are willing to employ illegal migrants. The lack of legal status in the country obliges these workers to be compliant to employers' requests as they are outside the protection of worker's rights and it allows employers to pay migrants low wages.

If employers were monitored and only allowed to employ people with valid documentation this would reduce the demand for illegal labour.

Raids on the Haitian community represent only one side of the enforcement necessary to stop the migration motor. Both supply and demand must be constrained if word is to get back to Haiti that it is no longer possible for illegal migrants to regularize their stay after they arrive.

Table 4.20: A list of employment activities indexed by the type of permit the respondent held. Numbers in bold indicate a clear match between occupation and permit.

	Work permits										Residence	Spousal permit
	Do not have	For a water truck	Unstated	Gardener	Farm labourer	Fruit vendor	Handyman	Labourer	Maid	Expired		
Current employment												
All types							X					
Anything	X						X					
Barbershop operator											X	
Businesswoman									X			
Butcher/cleaner			X									
Carpentry			X		X		X					
Cleaner			X				X					
Construction	X		X	X	X	X	X					
Cooking			X									X
Cuisine			X									
Delivery			X									
Domestic work			X						X			
Dressmaking			X									
Driving		X										
Farm work					X							
Fence Maker							X					
Gardener	X		X	X			X					
Gardener, construction	X											
Gardner/handyman							X					
General worker			X									
Handyman				X			X					
Housekeeper									X		X	X
Janitorial cleaning				X	X		X				X	
Journalism, concrete finisher											X	
Kitchen helper			X									
Landscaping			X	X			X					
Landscaping, Mason	X											
Landscaping/painter							X					
Lottery, game of chance			X									
Maid			X				X		X			X
Maid/caregiver			X									
Maid/Restaurant worker											X	
Maintenance worker							X				X	
Making blocks			X									
Mason			X		X		X		X			
Not stated	X		X	X	X		X		X		X	X

Table 4.20 cont.

	Work permits										Residence	Spousal permit
	Do not have	For a water truck	Unstated	Gardener	Farm labourer	Fruit vendor	Handyman	Labourer	Maid	Expired		
Current employment												
Painter, construction	X											
Painter							X	X			X	
Private company worker									X			
Profese			X									
Pump Attendant			X									
Sales									X			
School	X											
Security	X											
Selling food			X									
Selling Merchandise			X									
Selling vegetables								X	X			
Street vendor											X	
Taxi driver							X					
Telephone card vendor			X									
Truck driver							X					
Warehouse Delivery											X	
Yard work			X	X				X				

While many Haitian nationals have permits, these are not always used to obtain permitted employment and **so the** level of illegal activity is greater than that indicated by solely looking at the percentage of Haitian nationals with work permits. It should be noted that while Haitian nationals are breaking the law by working in areas outside of that allowed by their documentation, their employers are also breaking the law; thus both employer and employee are at fault.

Despite the fact that having a work permit is only an indicator and not a guarantee of legal employment, , it is noted that respondents who were working and arrived by air, are less likely to have reported having a work permit than those who arrived by boat (Fisher's exact test: $n=187$, $p=0.01$), Table 4.21. It should be borne in mind that many migrants who arrive without a work permit obtain one later. Of those respondents who were working, those who reported having a work permit had been in the country longer (nine years) than those respondents who did not (six years) (Median test: $df=1$, Chi-square= 7.918, $N=179$, $p=0.008$).

Table 4.21: Percentage of air and sea arrivals currently working and having a work permit.

Having a work permit	First arrived by:	
	Air	Sea
Yes	50.0%	69.6%
No	50.0%	30.4%
N	62	125

Of respondents looking for work, 81.7% (N=175), were asked by employers for identification documents in order to get work. To some extent the lack of a work permit does prevent people from obtaining work (Binomial test, N=150, p=0.018) (Table 4.22), but 40% of working respondents were employed without a permit.

Table 4.22: Source of support of respondents possessing a work permit.

Having a work permit	Means of support	
	Own work	Other means of support
Yes	60.0%	29.9%
No	40.0%	70.1%
N=	150	177

Of those unable to support themselves, at least 36% of respondents depended upon the community for support, and 19% on relatives. It will be seen that few members of the Haitian community access social security benefits and so the resources of an already poor community are further strained by providing its own support for unemployed members.

Does the work permit policy increase poverty in the Haitian community?

Some employers require cheap, manual labour. Although employers may be unwilling to employ an immigrant without a work permit, once that person has a work permit they will employ them.

For the migrant, the key to employment, in the manual tasks open to him, is a work permit. However, migrants do work without permits, at least when they first arrive, but in time, the illegal migrant is able to obtain a work permit from the authorities.

In **the interim**, migrants may not get employment and so must be supported by a community which is already living in poverty. With some migrants unemployed for over a year at a time, this must place a severe strain on the resources of the community.

While there is the hope of regularising their stay, and so increasing their chances of employment, migrants will continue to arrive and so depress the level of development within the Haitian community.

Case Study: Regularising the stay of illegal immigrants

A pastor identified a “hard working Haitian” to assist in the building of their church.

“Do you know how much work he gets through? He works so much faster than my [Bahamian] nephews who started to help. He got caught again in the raids this weekend but somehow he paid \$300 and got let out. I cannot have him being caught like that again. I am going down to Immigration to get him sorted out.”

Reported to a Research Team Member, August 2005.

Citizenship status

None of the respondents in the study were, by definition, Bahamian citizens, even though they may have been born in The Bahamas. Most (90.7%) study respondents had been born in Haiti and 8.5% born in The Bahamas. It should be noted that the target group of our study was adults (18 or over) so these figures should not be applied to the wider Haitian community. In the wider Haitian community of today, a larger percentage of children may have been born in the country; 33% of the population in this study were under 18 years and some of these would probably have been born in The Bahamas.

Of the respondents, whether or not they were born in The Bahamas, almost all had parents who were born in Haiti, Table 4.23. This observation points to little inter-marriage between the Haitian and Bahamian communities up to *at least 18 years ago*. It should **also** be noted that some parents had nationalities other than Haitian or Bahamian, hence the totals in Table 4.23 do not sum to 100%.

Table 4.23: Percentage of respondents classified by place of their birth and that of their parents.

Country of birth of respondent	Father born in:	Mother born in:	
		The Bahamas	Haiti
Born in Haiti	The Bahamas	0%	1.1%
	Haiti	0.9%	96.6%
		N=436	
Born in The Bahamas:	The Bahamas	0%	2.5%
	Haiti	2.5%	92.5%
		N=39	

Case study: Who is Bahamian?

Historically, all living Bahamians are migrants. So the observations in this section should be viewed in the wider context of Bahamian citizenship. The on-going debate about who is a “true-true Bahamian” and who are “paper Bahamians” may reflect an unwillingness by some to accept naturalised citizens as Bahamians. This was illustrated in one of our interviews with a senior government official who consistently referred to a “Haitian”. On further questioning it was found that the “Haitian” had a Bahamian passport, and so was a Bahamian. However, in the mind of the official, this Bahamian citizen was still a “Haitian”. This lack of acceptance, at all levels, may discourage the integration of new citizens into the mainstream of Bahamian society, and from participating in matters relating to The Bahamas and their “fellow Bahamians”.

When the place of current residence of parents is considered, it can be seen that many respondents born in Haiti still had both parents living in Haiti (40.2%). Likewise, the living parents of respondents born in The Bahamas are both presently in The Bahamas (47.4%), Table 4.24. Table 4.24 also suggests that the fathers and mothers of children born in The Bahamas are more likely to be living in a third country (usually the USA), rather than the mothers and fathers of children born in Haiti. This may suggest that such parents had children while passing through The Bahamas on their way to North America, and so may be indicative of flow-through migration. The data also suggest that those born in Haiti still have family ties in Haiti (parent(s) still there) and so may be likely to return to Haiti once they have met their economic objectives.

Table 4.24: Percentages of respondents, classified by place of their birth and current residence of their parents. (Percentages within country of birth of respondent)

		Current residence of respondent's mother				
Country of Birth of respondent			Mother deceased	The Bahamas	Haiti	Another country
Haiti	Current residence of respondent's father	Father deceased	14.9%	4.0%	16.8%	1.2%
		The Bahamas	1.0%	2.6%	5.9%	0.2%
		Haiti	6.6%	1.5%	40.2%	0.9%
		Another country	0.9%	0.5%	2.1%	0.7%
N=423						
The Bahamas	Current residence of respondent's father	Father deceased	0.0%	5.3%	2.6%	0.0%
		The Bahamas	2.6%	47.4%	2.6%	2.6%
		Haiti	0.0%	2.6%	7.9%	0.0%
		Another country	0.0%	7.9%	10.5%	7.9%
N=38						

Many respondents in this study had only children who had been born in Haiti, but 23.5% of households had some children born in Haiti and others born in The Bahamas (Table 4.25). This indicates a movement of parents while in the process of developing their own families, resulting in families becoming fragmented across national boundaries with at least 5% of children living outside of The Bahamas and Haiti.

Table 4.25: Percentages of respondent households with children classified by their country of birth and their current place of residence (N=391).

	Country of birth	Country of residence
All in Haiti	45.3%	39.9%
All in The Bahamas	26.6%	30.2%
Some in Haiti & some in The Bahamas	23.5%	19.4%
Other	0.8%	4.9%
N=	391	

One result of this fragmented family structure is that not all children of resident Haitian nationals are in The Bahamas. Therefore, any decision which would allow Haitian nationals to regularise their stay through an “amnesty” could be expected to result in the size of the Haitian community increasing when children from abroad join their parents. It is not possible from this study to determine what proportion of children live outside of the country, but Table 4.25 crudely suggests somewhere in excess of 40% and may be as high as 65%. However, some of these “children” will now be adults and settled overseas and may not wish to reside in The Bahamas, so the actual numbers could be less than those in Table 4.25.

Bahamian certificates of identify were held by 84.2% (of 19 respondents) of those born in The Bahamas, compared to 5.7% (of 175 respondents) who were born in Haiti. As issuance of this certificate is a step to obtaining Bahamian citizenship, it would appear that children born to Haitian parents in The Bahamas wish to regularise their position within the country.

According to a pilot study in Abaco by Rolle (2005), of 27 people who had applied for residency status, eight (30%) had been waiting for more than ten years for approval; the median time respondents in his study had been waiting so far was 2.7 years. It is not known what the expected interval is between application and granting residency, citizenship etc. Comments in Appendix 2 raise several concerns which the Haitian community had regarding citizenship, particularly as they relate to ethnic Haitians born in The Bahamas.

Case Study: Children born in The Bahamas to Haitian parents

“It's the same true-life tragedy told by the many thousands of children born to Haitian immigrants in the independent Bahamas...”

"Growing up, you feel inferior and segregated."

But although the 25-year-old construction worker and musician loves and pledges full allegiance to this land, he still feels like a foreigner here.

Despite earning a 3.9 grade point average throughout high school and qualifying for entry to The College of The Bahamas Marc was unable to attend. He couldn't afford the higher non-Bahamian student fees and charges.

Marc applied for the first time [for a Bahamian passport] in 1996, two years before he turned 18. Then he applied again after his birthday before trying for a third time in 2001. All he has received to date is notice that the applications have been received.

Since he lacked the passport needed to legitimately open an account at banks Marc has had to pay someone just to sort out the problem.

"Even when we work we can't save our money," he said. "We are being forced to have animosity for this system."

Raymond Kongwa. (2005, August 9). "Searching for a homeland". *The Nassau Guardian*. Retrieved August 17, 2005 from http://www.thenassauguardian.com/national_local/337392705554806.php.

Education level

In some cases the precise level of education was not reported. When this happened, the highest level which the respondent could have attained was recorded. This means that the education data are likely to be biased upward. The levels provided by respondents were converted using the equivalency of school grades between the Haitian and Bahamian school systems (Table 4.26).

Table 4.26: Equivalency of the education system of the Republic of Haiti and The Commonwealth of The Bahamas.

HAITIAN SYSTEM OF EDUCATION			
<u>PRIMARY SCHOOL</u>			
Old System (before 1980)	<i>Reforme Bernard</i> (1980's...)	New System (Continuation of Reform)	Bahamian System
8e - Enfantine I	14e	Prescolaire I	Kindergarten I
7e - Enfantine II	13 ^e	Prescolaire II	Kindergarten II
6e - Préparatoire I	12e	1ère année	Grade 1
5e - Préparatoire II	11e	2ème année	Grade 2
4e - Elémentaire I	10e	3ème année	Grade 3
3e- Elémentaire II	9e	4ème année	Grade 4
2e - Moyen I	8e	5ème année	Grade 5
1er - Moyen II (Official Exam)	7 ^e (Official Exam)	6ème année (Official Exam)	Grade 6
<u>SECONDARY SCHOOL</u>			
Old System (before 1980)	<i>Reforme Bernard</i> (1980's...)	New System (Continuation of Reform)	Bahamian System
6 ^e	6e	7e	Grade 7
5 ^e	5e	8e	Grade 8
4 ^e	4 ^e	9e – Official Exam	Grade 9
3e	3 ^e	3e	Grade 10
2e	2e	2e	Grade 11
1ère - bac. I – Rhéto (Official Exam)	Rhéto - bac. I (Official Exam)	Bac. I - Terminale I (Official Exam)	Grade 12
Bac. II - Philo (Official Exam)	Bac. II – Philo (Official Exam)	Bac. II - Terminale II (Official Exam)	Grade 13

Source: Embassy of the Republic of Haiti, unpublished.

Overall 18% of respondents had not attended school, and nine percent had continued their education beyond high school, Table 4.27. Most respondents (61.7%) were only educated in Haiti (if they had been educated at all) and 8.5% had received some or all of their education in The Bahamas. Some respondents stated that they “did not complete school”; this might mean that they did not complete either primary or secondary school at one of many levels, and so no attempt was made to assign these respondents to a highest grade. These observations confirm those from the Census that members of the Haitian community have limited education. As a

result of this schooling, it is understandable why many members of the Haitian community are employed in manual and semi-skilled occupations.

Table 4.27: Highest education attained by gender of respondent.

Education level	Gender		%
	Male	Female	Total
Did not complete school	17.5%	10.7%	14.9%
Did not attend school	17.5%	24.9%	20.5%
Kindergarten I	0.7%	0.6%	0.7%
Kindergarten II	0.4%	1.2%	0.7%
Grade 1	0.7%	0%	0.5%
Grade 2	1.8%	0.6%	1.4%
Grade 3	1.1%	1.2%	1.1%
Grade 4	3.6%	3.0%	3.4%
Grade 5	0.7%	0%	0.5%
Grade 6	6.9%	13.0%	9.2%
Grade 7	4.0%	1.2%	2.9%
Grade 8	2.9%	2.4%	2.7%
Grade 9	4.4%	3.6%	4.1%
Grade 10	8.7%	7.7%	8.3%
Grade 11	10.6%	10.7%	10.6%
Grade 12	5.5%	10.7%	7.4%
Grade 13	4.0%	1.2%	2.9%
College	5.5%	7.1%	6.1%
University	3.6%	0.6%	2.5%
N=	275	169	444

While almost all members of the Haitian community can speak Creole (Table 4.28), the ability to read and write English is more limited. Analysis of Table 4.28 indicates that proportionately more males than females were able to read English, read and write Creole, speak French and speak another language (Fisher's exact tests, $n > 200$, $p < 0.039$). Language difficulties may explain, apart from cultural aspects, why fewer female respondents were currently working (31.4%) compared to male respondents (61.1%) (Fisher's exact test: $n = 479$, $p < 0.001$). As might be expected, the ability to communicate in English depended upon the country of birth of the respondent. Those born in The Bahamas were more likely to be able to read and write English than those born in Haiti (Fisher's exact tests, $n > 440$, $p < 0.001$).

Table 4.28: Language skills of male and female respondents.

	English			Creole			French	Another language
	Read	Write	Speak	Read	Write	Speak	Speak	Speak
Male	39.5%	37.6%	65.5%	83.5%	82.2%	99%	59.8%	28.7%
Female	30.4%	27.9%	59.2%	71.9%	70.6%	100%	34.0%	6.2%

Fourteen respondents indicated that they were currently studying. Named institutions at which some were studying were: Bahamas Baptist Community College, The College of The Bahamas,

C. V. Bethel and St. Francis, a Catholic Church school. This indicates that few adult members of the Haitian community are involved in extending their education.

Occupational skills

As noted above, Haitian nationals are primarily engaged in manual labour. (A list of occupations provided by respondents is given in Table 4.29.) Not only does their education limit their ability to be occupied in more skilled occupations but limited language skills serve as an additional barrier to preventing them from participating in more complex employment.

Table 4.29: List of current occupations of respondents.
(Respondent descriptions used)

Airport-loading	Gardener	Painter
All types	Gardener, construction	Plumber
Anything	Gardner/handyman	Post Office
Baby sitting/cashier	General worker	Private company worker
Barbershop operator	Hair braiding	Profese
Build mattresses	Handyman	Pump Attendant
Businesswoman	Handyman/gardener	Receptionist
Butcher/cleaner	Hotel Functions	Restaurant
Buying and selling things	Hotel worker	Sales
Carpentry	Housekeeper	Sales Marketing
Cashier/secretary	Ironing, house cleaning	Salesman
Clean at Hotels	Janitorial cleaning	School
Clean fish	Janitorial/carpenter	Seafood Processor
Clean Yard	Journalism, concrete finisher	Secretary
Cleaner	Juice company	Security
Computers, cleaning boats	Kitchen helper	Selling food
Construction	Landscaping	Selling Merchandise
Cooking	Landscaping, Mason	Selling vegetables
Cookman/carpenter/painter	Landscaping/auto-mechanic	Shop work
Cooks for persons in home	Landscaping/painter	Street vendor
Cuisine	Lottery, game of chance	Street vendor/ maid
Cutting grass	Maid	Taxi driver
Dairy Manager	Maid/caregiver	Teacher, clerk
Delivery	Maid/Restaurant worker	Teaching
Dish washer	Maintenance worker	Telephone card vendor
Doing business & driving	Making blocks	Truck driver
Domestic work	Manager and business	Waitress
Dressmaking	Mason	Warehouse Delivery
Driving	Mason and yard work	Was schooling/economics
Electrician	Mason, auto-mechanic	Welding/fencing
Farm work	Mason/landscaping	Woodwork
Fence Maker	Mechanic	Yard work
Fixing stove	Painter, construction	Yard work and Farming

It should be noted that respondents did not always state their occupation.

While many in the Haitian community were currently working, many did not feel that their employment utilizes their skills (Table 4.30).

Table 4.30: Relevance of work to educational skills

Is work related to skills?	%
No	36.8%
Do not work	26.9%
Never studied	8.1%
Yes	6.3%
Very little	1.8%
N=	404

However, the type of work being sought (Table 4.31) was similar to that being currently done which suggests that the mismatch between skills and employment may be less than reported. However, the jobs being sought may be a reflection of what respondents felt “qualified” to do or an improvement to what they currently do, or they may be seeking improved positions within their current occupation.

Table 4.31: List of occupations being sought by respondents irrespective of their current employment status

Accounting	Gardener/mason	Mason, carpentry
Any type of housework	Gas Co/Construction	Mason, educator
Any type of job	Hair braiding	Mason, painter, computer
Artist, roofer	Handyman	Mason/landscaping
Barber	Handywoman	Mason/other things
Beauty Salon	Helper, Education	Mason/painter
Boat tech, mason	House keeping or labourer	Mason/welder
Carpenter	Housekeeper	Masonry, painting
Cashier, Waitress	Housekeeper/janitorial	Masonry, Restaurant
Chef	Housekeeping, cleaner	Mechanic
Clean yard & farming	I can do fibre glass	Mechanic/chauffer
Cleaner/Maid	Informal merchant	Painter
Cleaning	Janitorial cleaning	Painter, carpenter
Computers, shops, hotels	Janitorial, landscaping	Painter/mason
Construction	Kitchen Helper/Cashier	Painter/mason/barber
Construction/Gardner	Kitchen helper/cleaner	Plumber's work
Cook	Landscaping / mason	Plumber/painter
Cook/ baby sit	Landscaping, construction	Primary school teacher
Cookman/carpenter/painter	Landscaping, Mason	Restaurant worker
Domestic work	Maid work	Sewing
Driver/Landscaping	Maid work/housekeeper	Store Clerk/Maid
Electrician – mechanic	Maid, restaurant	Store Worker
Electrician	Maid, whatever I can find	Taylor/carpentry
Electrician, Plumber	Maid/caregiver	Teacher, Country Rep
Farming and gardening	Maid/caregiver etc	Woodwork
Gardener	Maid/Cleaner	Work in a shop
Gardener, construction	Manager of a gardener	Yard Work
Gardner, mason, painter	Mason	Yard, Mason

Work

Given that the main reason for Haitian nationals to settle in The Bahamas is to work, working is of prime importance to them. Therefore we consider issues related to Haitian migrants at work.

It should be noted that employment is not a simple issue. Respondents may have a source of income, yet feel that they are not “employed” as the income source may be occasional and so at the same time as earning money they may be seeking “employment”. This complicates interpretation of some of the “employment” information. For simplicity of presentation of the employment data, only replies from respondents who considered themselves as “working” or “not working” were included.

As indicated earlier, the lack of documents can prevent Haitian nationals from obtaining employment. Obtaining employment can take time. Of the respondents (N=243) not working, 16.9% were not looking for work and 37.4% had been looking for work for 12 months or more.

The language of the workplace is English; 59.3% of respondents currently working spoke English at work (N=236), and Creole only was spoken by 18.6%. This confirms the importance for migrants to have knowledge of English if they are to gain a place in the workforce. The language barrier may also explain why Haitian nationals thought that their level of relations with their Bahamian co-workers was lower than with their countrymen, Table 4.32.

Table 4.32: Perceptions of working respondents of their relationships with co-workers (N=236).

Level of relations with co-workers	Haitians	Bahamians
Very good	50.0%	41.9%
Good	26.3%	24.6%
Poor	7.6%	11.8%
Very poor	1.7%	3.0%

In the workplace, 35.6% of respondents indicated that they had no preference for co-workers of a particular nationality, but 12.3% preferred the company of only Haitian nationals, 5.1% the company of Haitian-Bahamians, 26.1% the company of only Bahamians and 13.6% the company of Haitian nationals and Bahamians. The reasons for these preferences would be a useful topic for further research.

Of the respondents who were currently working (N=236), 16.9% said that they got paid the same as Bahamians who did the same work, and 40.7% said that they got paid less; 40.3% thought that their working situation was worse than that of Bahamians who performed the same activity and 7.2% thought that it was better; 54.4% reported that there were no Haitian nationals having the same job title as their supervisor and 17.8% stated that there were.

It is important to highlight that this study is not able to verify these responses, but if accepted at face value they suggest that Haitian migrants may be discriminated against. These replies suggest that employers may take advantage of the precarious status of Haitian nationals by paying them less than their Bahamian counterparts while knowing that the migrants are in no position to complain. In addition, as there are many unemployed members of the Haitian community, there is competition for jobs which allows employers to offer lower wages to Haitian nationals than

would be accepted by others. It might be inferred that if the working conditions of Haitian nationals are worse **than those** of others in the workforce this may be a result of Haitian nationals being assigned the least desirable tasks. The lack of promotion for Haitian nationals may be a function of many factors. These could include: their illegal status, their lack of education, language difficulties or simply that employers may be unwilling to promote someone working on a yearly permit and who could be leave the workplace without warning.

The most common ways respondents, who were currently working, got their jobs was by personally visiting the employer (36.9%) or being recommended by a Haitian relative or friend (24.6%). Less than one percent was hired by the employer while living in Haiti. This observation probably shows how rare it is for migrants to arrive in the country with a job already arranged. It also suggests that disorderly migration is widespread.

Employment contracts were held by 5.5%, 34.3% were weekly workers, 14.0% were day workers and 22.0% had no written contract but considered themselves fully employed. Most commonly, employed workers described their work as “steady” (46.6%) while 26.7% described their work as “occasional”. At least 17% of working respondents had a second job. The lack of contracts indicates that the employment of many Haitian nationals is probably precarious and may lead to economic instability in the household.

The first occupation of migrants indicates that many were employed in landscaping/gardening and construction, Table 4.33. This again highlights the illegal employment of Haitian nationals in construction, as was seen in Section 3.

Table 4.33: First occupation of respondents, percentage of those currently working.

Occupation	%
Construction industry	20.3%
Landscaping	19.1%
Private company employee	17.0%
Tourism sector	6.8%
Worked for myself	5.5%
Farming	3.4%
Formal commercial sector	1.3%
Public employee	0.9%
Fishing	0.4%
Other	9.3%
N=	236

The mean length of time in the first job was 2.7 years (SE:0.31) (median 1 year, range 0-30 years). This contrasts with the mean period of 10.7 years time since working respondents first came to The Bahamas. (SE:0.64) (median 7 years, range:0-42 years). Replies from 223 respondents indicated that 56.1% of them had left their first job within the first year. Low wages was the most common reason for leaving the first job (26.3% of those currently working), following by the end of the work (13.6%). Long hours and very difficult working conditions were cited by 10.2% and 10.6% of respondents respectively. Police raids had made 0.8% of respondents leave their first work place. These replies confirm the idea that when migrants first

arrive they will take any employment they are offered as at this stage they probably have no work permit. Once they regularise their status, they are able to move to better paid jobs which are less unpleasant. The movement of respondents from their first area of employment can be seen in Table 4.34. However, such a movement of labour means that some employers may depend upon new arrivals for the profitable operation of their enterprises. If this is so, it may be expected that policies which reduce the numbers of illegal migrants will be greeted by protests from some quarters. Further research is required to find out if Haitian nationals are employed by established members of the Haitian community or by Bahamians, as this may have implications for the policies required to halt the demand for migrant labour.

The unstable nature of the employment of Haitian nationals has implications for the conditions attached to work permits and policies concerning migrant labour. Over 13% of those currently employed had to leave their job because the work ended. What should happen to the workers under these conditions? Should they leave, or be allowed to seek another employer?

Table 4.34: Movement of currently employed respondents from their first area of employment. Entries in bold probably indicate no change from the first area of employment

	First area of employment										
	Landscaping	Construction	Farming	Tourism	Fishing	Formal commercial sector	Public employee	Private company employee	Worked for myself	Other	Household
Current employment											
Construction	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	
Domestic Servant		X	X					X	X	X	X
Driver, taxi driver				X					X		
Established informal merchant	X	X		X				X			
Formal commercial sector	X					X		X	X	X	
Gardner	X	X	X	X			X	X			
Hair braider, other tourism activity									X	X	
Lottery tickets, games of chance		X									
Other formal		X						X		X	
Other informal	X	X	X					X	X	X	
Private company employee	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	
Public employee		X		X					X	X	
Sales of food, beverages, clothing etc.									X	X	
Street vendor		X				X					
Tourism sector	X	X		X					X		
Farming	X	X	X	X							

A lack of interaction between Haitian nationals and Bahamian workers is indicated by the fact that 54.2% of respondents currently working never got together with co-workers outside of the workplace.

Case Study: Haitian nationals will do jobs Bahamians refuse

“Straw market stall owners were warned on Sunday to stop hiring illegal immigrants or risk losing their licences....

One vendor, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said time and time again Bahamians were offered jobs but turned them down.

"You could do a survey around this market and I don't think within the last five years they had 10 Bahamians coming in and asking for a job," she said. "Just last week Tuesday my mother offered to pay a lady \$175 to work and she refused. So what are we left to do when we can't find Bahamians to work and we need the help?"

Keva Lightbourne. (2005, August 15). “Absentee' straw vendors warned”. *The Nassau Guardian*. Retrieved August 16, 2005 from http://www.thenassauguardian.com/national_local/372395110618586.php.

Remittances

The ability of a household to send money or other items to friends/relations depends on its capacity to generate resources in excess of those required by the household. Relatively few respondents provided information on their income. Of the 130 respondents who did (omitting those who earned nothing), the mean monthly income was \$766 (SE: \$49.7); 19.2% reported that this was less than the month before. This translates to a yearly income of about \$9,200 per year for a respondent. Interestingly, this amount is not much different to that quoted in the Case Study Box above. If the respondent is the sole earner in a household of size four, the household would be living in poverty.

At least 10% of respondents sent money to Haiti each month, and only 16.8% never sent money back (Table 4.35). These responses should be viewed against the background that employment is short-term and that respondents may have wished to down-play the sending of remittances; this latter observation was made by the data collectors. Nonetheless, it is clear that there is a widespread flow of funds from the Haitian community in The Bahamas to Haiti. Further research is required to find out more details of remittances.

Table 4.35: Frequency of remittances sent to Haiti, percentage of all households

Frequency of remittances	%
Never	16.8%
Weekly	1.0%
Every two weeks	0.6%
Monthly	9.7%
Every three weeks	8.9%
Every six months	7.9%
Occasionally	29.6%
Other	3.4%

The most common way of sending money to Haiti was with friends (45.7%), followed by remittance services (31.2%). Only 3% of respondents took their remittances personally. This is probably because of the infrequency with which respondents themselves returned to Haiti. Allowing friends to take money to Haiti either highlights the level of trust within the Haitian community or the inability of respondents to use alternative means, possibly as a result of their illegal status.

When asked about the proportion of their income which was remitted to Haiti, respondents were thought by data collectors to give conservative answers by data collectors. The explanation given for this reluctance to give a true estimate of the amounts remitted was that respondents did not wish to be seen to be well-off. This reluctance is also seen in the large number of respondents who did not provide information to this question. Therefore, the figures in Table 4.36 should be viewed as being on the low side.

Table 4.36: Proportion of income remitted to relatives in Haiti in the last three months by respondents.

Proportion of income	%
More than 90%	0.2%
50%-89%	5.9%
25%-49%	16.6%
Less than 24%	35.4%

The most common non-money items sent to Haiti were food (24.9%), furniture (8.5%), clothing (5.1%) and medicines and kitchen items (4.7% each). We understand that furniture is shipped to Haiti on boats that dock at Arawak Cay.

From Poverty to Paradise – why Haitian migrants come to The Bahamas

Examination of the basic indicators of development listed below highlight the gulf between Haiti and The Bahamas and helps to explain why Haitian nationals leave their country to migrate to The Bahamas.

	Haiti	The Bahamas
Probability at birth of not surviving to age 40 (% of cohort) 2000-05	34.4%	13.4%
Adult illiteracy rate, 2003 (% ages 15 and above)	48.1%	4.5%
Population without sustainable access to an improved water source (%) 2002	29%	3%
Population (%) below income poverty line:	65%	9%
2005 World ranking of UN Human Development Index (1 high)	153	50

Sources: United Nations. Human Development Report 2005 & Bahamas Conditions of Living Survey, 2001.

Living conditions

The most popular reason for choosing the area in which respondents lived was because it was suggested by friends/relations (50.6%) and 25.1% chose the area because it was a Haitian community. Only 11.5% choose the area on the basis of cheap rents, and 9.9% because of its proximity to work. Less than 5% (4.6%) chose their neighbourhood in order to avoid police raids. Consequently it is understandable that 24% of respondents live in all-Haitian communities compared with 6% living in all-Bahamian communities (Table 4.37). This observation is confirmed by the fact that 68.3% reported that there were “many” Haitian nationals in their neighbourhood. These replies point to Haitian nationals living in communities with few neighbours from the Bahamian community. This segregation may be due to the fact that Haitian nationals spend less on rent than their Bahamian counterparts (Section 3). One result of this segregation is that Haitian nationals are seen to live in “Haitian areas”. This clustering of Haitian households was seen in the Census data in Section 3.

Table 4.37: Percentage of respondents living in neighbours with different Bahamian-Haitian mixes

Nationality of neighbours	%
Mostly Bahamians with some Haitians	31.2%
Mostly Haitians with some Bahamians	30.4%
All Haitians	23.7%
All Bahamians	5.9%
Mostly Bahamians	3.6%

Most respondents lived in households with relatives (70.8%), 19.8% lived with friends, 14.2% lived alone and 1.2% lived with co-workers. This points to a family oriented household structure, which may indicate that this sample included members of a relatively static (established?) community. However, this observation may be an artefact of the sample as flow-through migrants would **easily be** invisible, even to gate keepers.

Almost two-thirds of respondents (63.4%) lived in rented accommodation and 20.4% lived in their “own home”. About 5% (4.9%) lived in parents’ or friends’ homes and 4.2% reported to be squatting. These figures suggest that few members of the Haitian community have invested in the country to the extent of buying their own home. However, interpretation of “own home” should be made with caution as the structure may have been built illegally. The best interpretation of this statement is probably that they live in a home for which they pay no rent. It should also be noted that obtaining banks loans is difficult without proper documents and this would make it hard for migrants to formally own land, if they wished to invest in real estate.

Most respondents lived in wooden homes (54.7%) and 35.2% lived in structures with concrete walls. This suggests that in the event of a disaster, many Haitian nationals would be at risk of suffering damage to their home.

The services/items accessible to Haitian households confirm the findings from the Census. A number of homes do not have access to indoor toilets, electricity and city water, Table 4.38. The lack of televisions, refrigerators and computers is related to the availability of electricity (Fisher's exact test: $N > 425$ and $p < 0.001$ for each item) and probably points to the limited income of these households or their illegal status. Language barriers and a lack of Creole programmes may also explain why some households did not own a television. One result of not having a television is that residents are unable to fully participate in the issues of the day, both locally and nationally and may engender a feeling of isolation. The lack of computers at home suggests that children living in these homes will be handicapped as education requires ever more access to computers.

Table 4.38: Prevalence of services/items in homes of Haitian nationals

Services/items in household	%
Beds with mattresses	85.4%
Gas stove	74.1%
Garbage collection service	72.7%
Electrical service	66.6%
Cellular telephone	62.6%
Refrigerator	61.1%
Television	60.3%
Indoor toilet	50.4%
City water	50.0%
Latrine	43.1%
Land telephone	35.4%
Motor vehicle	31.0%
Computer	10.7%
Beds without mattresses	10.3%

Access to a car is a visible indicator of likely poverty in The Bahamas⁸. From the Census it can be shown that the median household income for a household without a motor vehicle is 2.65 times less than when a motor vehicle is present. The presence of cars in about one third of the homes in our study indicates that about 66% of these households were probably living below or near the poverty line. (In the 2000 Census, 74.8% of households in the Haitian community did not have access to a motor vehicle.) This observation is in line with the median income of employed respondents of \$9,200 per year which is below the poverty line for a family of four.

Respondents appeared to have a balanced diet with all the major elements of a healthy diet included in their meals, Table 4.39. Despite the limited dataset, it is hard to ignore that respondents at the Detention Centre, who were detained at sea, appear to have a different diet, Table 4.39. This contrast may be a reflection of the different economic conditions of The Bahamas and Haiti and be indicative as to why Haitian nationals migrate to The Bahamas. This observation suggests that more work could be done in this area.

⁸ In the 2000 Census, households without a motor vehicle had a median income of \$13,900, while those with a motor vehicle had a median income of \$36,900, unpublished data.

Table 4.39: Types of foods respondents generally ate on a daily basis, all respondents and those detained at sea

Element in diet	All respondents	Respondents detained at sea (N=8)
Water	93.3%	100%
Starch	89.5%	100%
Meat	85.0%	50%
Fish	83.6%	25%
Fruit	80.8%	25%
Other drinks	68.0%	100%
Cakes/cookies	62.8%	12.5%
Vitamin supplements	53.2%	12.5%

In the case of a natural disaster (hurricane), 42.9% of respondents would stay at home, 32.0% would go to a hurricane shelter, 10.1% would go to another home and 17.2% would go to a church. With many respondents living in wooden homes, these actions may result in the Haitian community being in danger during a major storm. The lack of televisions in the Haitian community suggests that Creole radio broadcasts would be an important medium for reaching the community in times of national emergencies.

Health services utilized

As noted in Section 3, Haitian nationals are unlikely to use private clinics because of the cost.

At least 67% of households had at least one member who had received attention at a health clinic. Table 4.40 shows that many respondents used public hospitals and clinics, but as many as 12% use private clinics.

Table 4.40: Choice of health service provide by respondents

Health service provider	%
Government hospitals	45.9%
Government clinics	38.6%
Private clinics	11.9%
Private hospitals	0.4%
Return to Haiti	0.2%
Not specific	4.9%
N=	412

While many households use government health services, particularly hospitals, the Haitian community also makes use of private doctors. The named service providers are given in Table 4.41. The use of public hospitals is probably primarily for maternity purposes, based on official statistics.

Table 4.41: List of named clinics and hospitals used by the Haitian community for health care.

Abaco Clinic	Eleuthera Doctor	Princess Margaret Hospital
All clinics	Elizabeth Estates	Private Clinic Carmichael Road
All hospitals	Flamingo Gardens Clinic	Private West Medical
Anne's Town Clinic	Go back to Haiti	Public & Private clinics
Blue Hill Road Clinic	Government Clinic	Rand Memorial Hospital
Carmichael Clinic	Governor's Harbour Clinic	Rock Sound Clinic
Carmichael Medical	Haitian Doctor	Savannah Sound
Carmichael West Medical	Hawksbill Clinic	South Beach Clinic
Clinic, Prince Charles Drive	Jackson Memorial Hospital	South Beach Medical Centre
Coconut Grove Clinic	Jagadeesh, Village Rd	Spanish Wells Clinic
Collins Avenue	Javon Medical	Tarpum Bay
Dean's Lane	Lucayan Medical	Walk-in Clinic
Dentist/Prince Charles Drive	Lyford Cay	West End Clinic
Doctors Hospital	Marsh Harbour Clinic	West Medical Centre
Dr. Kavala Medical Services	Nassau Clinic	
Eight Mile Rock Clinic	Palmetto Point Clinic	

When all the children of Haitian nationals had been born in The Bahamas, almost all the respondents (or their spouses) had used Bahamian hospitals for delivery (98% of 102 households). Overall, 62% of respondent households (318 households) had used Bahamian hospitals for deliveries.

When a household member was sick, 50.6% would obtain medicine from a pharmacy and 20.8% would visit a doctor. Some respondents would seek assistance from within their community by visiting a Haitian doctor or even go back to Haiti (5.0%) while some respondents indicated that they would use traditional cures (7.1%).

These replies confirm the reliance of the Haitian community on public healthcare services. While this may cause comment in the media, it is better for the country that Haitian nationals seek medical attention rather than become a reservoir of disease which could then be a public health hazard. This is particularly important due to the unregulated migration process. Currently there is no barrier to prevent new migrants importing diseases into the country. While unregulated migration continues, new migrants in particular should be encouraged to engage the health services so that any introduced diseases can be contained early.

Utilization of social services

In Section 3 it was seen that the Haitian community receives little in benefits from the National Insurance Board. The *Bahamas Conditions of Living Survey, 2001* indicated that 98% of recipients receiving social benefits were Bahamians and so pointed to a limited use of these services by the Haitian or other communities. This study confirms that the Haitian community made little use of the social services in 2004, Table 4.42. Again the figures in Table 4.42 should be considered bearing in mind that the official estimate of the Haitian population is 7%, so this would mean of all households in The Bahamas accessing the National School Lunch Programme, that 0.07% of them (0.07x0.01) would be from the Haitian community.

Table 4.42: Percentage of respondents accessing social programmes in 2004.

Social programme	% using
Food assistance	6.3%
Hurricane relief	4.5%
Work assistance	2.6%
Financial assistance	2.0%
Housing repair allowance	1.6%
Medical card	1.6%
Burial assistance	1.2%
Disability allowance	1.0%
National school lunch programme	1.0%
Rent assistance	0.8%
School uniform assistance	0.6%

Only one respondent indicated that s/he was supported by social security benefits. Further research would be required to ascertain the reasons why a poor community does not engage the social services more.

Educational services utilized

As noted previously, relatively few respondents had been educated in The Bahamas, but this is a function of the study target group, Haitian nationals aged 18 years or older. Official statistics indicate that about 8.8% of all school children are Haitian nationals. In our sample, non-adults (those aged under 18-years) made up 30.6% of all household members (Table 4.5). Of this group, we could expect 68.8% to be aged between 5 and 17 years and therefore at school (based on the age distribution of Haitian nationals in the Census). Therefore we would estimate that 21% of the Haitian community in our study is of school age.

Children of respondents studied at a range of public and private institutions. It is clear from the schools listed in Table 4.43 that children participate in both public and private school systems, and that they start their education at pre-school. It should be noted that some parents clearly indicated that their children did not attend school (“None”), even though they were over five years of age. If we assume that respondents did not name the school which their school-aged children (5-17 year olds) attended because these children were not attending any school, we can estimate the percentage of children in the Haitian community who may not be attending school.

We estimate that possibly eight percent of children are not receiving an education between the ages of 5-17 years. One possibility is the language barrier. If children are brought up in Creole speaking homes and communities, they may not be able to participate in an education system using the English language. If this is true, this may suggest that English lessons for Creole speakers **are** needed to enable these children to be integrated into the school system. Further research is required to find out why not all children within the Haitian community attend school and what their needs may be⁹.

⁹ Unsolicited comments received from the Haitian community suggest that some schools refuse to accept the children from Haitian nationals illegally living in the country. Also see the comments in Appendix 2.

Table 4.43: Named schools at which respondent's children were being educated (any age)

A.F. Adderley Junior High	Freeport Primary	W.H.Patton
Abaco Primary	Galilee College	Palmdale Primary
Adelaide Primary	Garvin Tynes Primary	R.M.Bailey Senior High
Albury Sayles	Gerald Cash Primary	S.C. McPherson Junior High
BFM Pre-School	Golden Gates Academy	Sadie Curtis Primary
Bahamas Technical & Vocational Institute	Government High School	Sandilands Primary
C I Gibson	Government Primary School	Sir Gerald Cash Primary
C V Bethel Senior High	Government School	Spanish Wells All Age
C.C Sweeting	Government School Nassau	St. Agnes
C.H.Reeves Junior High	Grace Baptist Marsh	St. Francis de Sales
C.I.Gibson Senior High	H.O. Nash Junior High	St. George's High
Carlton E. Francis Primary	Head Start	St. George's Pre-School
Carmichael Primary	High School	St. John's College
CC Sweeting Junior	Kidsway Academy	St. Michael Preschool
CC Sweeting Senior High?	Kindergarden	St. Thomas Aquinas
Christian Academy	L.W.Young	Success Training College
College of The Bahamas	Lewis Yard Primary	T.G. Glover Primary
College, un stated	M.R.F. Christian Academy	Thelma Gibson Primary
D.W.Davis Junior High	Macedonia	Toddlers Basic
Desir Pierre	Martin Town Primary	Walter Parker
Doris Johnson Senior High	Mde. Willy Augustine	Wilton Albury
Eight Mile Rock High	Naomi Blatch Primary	Yellow Elder Primary
Emma E. Cooper Primary	None	York University
Freeport High	Orion	

Some school-age children were reported as working. The jobs of these children (aged 12 to 17 years) which were given are listed in Table 4.44. It is possible that some of these occupations could be considered as “child labour”. As this area is sensitive, under-reporting is to be expected, so rather than concentrate on the numbers found from this study, it should be a concern that any cases were reported. Children in poor migrant households may be more likely to have to work than children in other homes, so any indications of child labour should be treated seriously.

Table 4.44: List of occupations by age of working children in the Haitian households

Age of worker	Occupation				
	Bodywork	Cashier	Gas night attendant	Packing boy	Tattoos
12				1	
16	1		1		
17		1			1

Interaction with officials

As mentioned before, because of the illegal status of many Haitian nationals, members of the community are wary of government officials. Despite this concern, 41.3% of respondents said that they have never been bothered by the authorities and 22.1% had been asked for their identification documents. Some respondents reported instances of verbal and physical abuse while others said that they had been asked for money in order to continue their journey (Table 4.45).

Table 4.45: Nature of “bother” by the authorities reported by respondents.

Type of activity	%
Never bothered	41.3%
Asked for ID	22.1%
Verbal abuse	11.3%
Searched me roughly	10.1%
Asked me for money in order to continue the trip	7.9%
Made me go back	7.7%
Made me get off the bus	6.5%
Door broken down by immigration	6.2%

Many respondents had never been asked for their papers (41.7%), and 22.9% had been asked between one and five times. However, as can be seen in Table 4.45, over 20% of respondents had been caught in police raids at some time and others had to pay officials to be released or be well treated. Some respondents complained that doors were broken down and their homes raided by immigration officers (6.2%).

Table 4.46: Extent which respondents had involved in enforcement activities

Interaction with enforcement agencies	%
Caught in a police raid	20.8%
Jailed	18.8%
Returned to Haiti	10.5%
Had to pay money to Bahamian officials to be released or well treated	7.9%

If the allegations were to be substantiated, the replies indicated in both Tables 4.46 & 4.47 suggest that some officers may seek to prey upon the Haitian community for their own gain. The release of Haitian nationals on the basis of a payment directly to enforcement officers may suggest a continuing form of financial leverage exercised over vulnerable individuals. Such actions on the other hand, also send a signal to the Haitian community that it is possible to bribe oneself out of trouble. If true, this, together with the surcharges on permits, could be evidence of exploitation of migrants. One 39 year-old respondent, who had a work permit (and so may have been a legal resident), claimed that officials had beaten and raped female members of the community, a charge, which if true, indicates a misuse of power and may suggest disrespect for migrants by some law enforcement officers. Comments in Appendix 2 include allegations concerning the behaviour of enforcement officers towards the Haitian community as offered by respondents. It should be noted that only two respondents (of the 506) made allegations of physical abuse by the authorities in their comments, so these events, if true, would appear to be

exceptional. It should be appreciated that verification of reports of abuse by respondents is beyond the scope of this study, and must necessarily remain as allegations.

Activities of the sort mentioned above, may explain why 51.2% of respondents felt “not very welcome” or “unwelcome” in The Bahamas.

Integration

Earlier, it was seen that Haitian nationals prefer to live in neighbourhoods which mainly consist of their countrymen. It is this concentration of the Haitian community (as see in Section 3) which can lead to the perception of certain areas being “a little Haiti”. Despite this preference, only 13.2% of respondents participated “regularly” in events organised by their social groups or fellow countrymen, and sometimes this participation was limited to “church only”; 29.1% of respondents never participated in events. Outside of work, 51.2% of respondents would “interact most” with Haitian nationals, 14% with Bahamian-Haitians and 4.2% with Bahamians which suggests little interaction between the Bahamian and Haitian communities beyond work.

However, 40.7% of respondents expressed no preference with regard to the nationality of their neighbours, and 15.4% expressed a preference for Bahamian only neighbours. This lack of preference extended to the nationality of employees; if respondents ran their own business only 5.1% would prefer only Bahamians as their employees, Table 4.47. A different preference pattern emerged when respondents were asked about the preferred nationality of their spouse, if they were getting married now. No preference was expressed by 27.9% of respondents, compared to 29.6% who would wish to marry a Haitian national and 14.2% who would wish to marry a Bahamian. Respondents reported that their best friends came from Haiti only (63.4%) rather than The Bahamas (8.7%) only, but some respondents (12.6%) reported that their best friends came from both countries and 7.1% indicated their best friends were Haitian-Bahamians.

Table 4.47: Respondents’ preferences on the nationality of neighbours, employees and spouses.

Preferred nationality	Neighbours	Employees	Spouse
Bahamians	15.4%	5.1%	14.2%
Bahamian-Haitians	2.6%	1.6%	7.5%
Haitian nationals	20.8%	19.2%	29.6%
Haitians and Bahamians	15.8%	22.1%	7.3%
No preference	40.7%	45.8%	27.9%
Other	0.2%	0.8%	0.8%

Respondents reported that the two most popular religious groups in the Haitian community were the Catholics (32.4%) and Baptists (29.1%); voodoo was practiced by about 6.6% (Table 4.48). Some respondents (16.4%) had changed their denomination since arriving in The Bahamas. This change may have been made in an attempt by them to fit into society.

Table 4.48: Percentage of respondents indicating religious affiliation in the Haitian community

Religious affiliation	Religions practiced most frequently in your social group	Current religion of respondent
Catholic	32.4%	27.7%
Baptist	29.1%	25.3%
Others	9.9%	3.6%
Catholic & Protestant	8.1%	0.8%
Voodoo	4.0%	1.2%
None	4.0%	2.8%
Pentecostal	2.6%	2.2%
All with the same frequency	2.4%	1.4%
Voodoo & Catholic	2.2%	0.0%
Anglican	1.6%	1.6%
Voodoo & Protestant	0.4%	0.0%

While 56.5% of respondents reported that they have never been insulted by Bahamians in their neighbourhoods, others had. The actual words reported are listed in Table 4.49.

Table 4.49: List of insults respondents reported from Bahamians in their neighbourhoods.

Insults given by respondents		
Call Immigration	Filthy, damn Haitian	Leave the country
Carry your Haitian ass	Filthy words	Many names
Damn Haitian	Filthy, damn	Nasty Haitian
Damn Haitian, leave	Foreigners	Not human, leave
Damned and filthy	Fuck Haitian	Parasite
Damned Haitian ass	Go home	Parasite, damned
Don't want to see you	Haitian	Smell bad
Dumb ass Haitian	Haitians are dumb	Stink Paboom
Dumb Haitian	Haitians no good	Stupid
Dumb Haitian ass	Idiot	Stupid Haitian dog
Dumb, stupid Haitian	Idiot, not human,	Terrible words
Filthy, damn	Leave country, idiot	Various names

The majority of insults reported were variants of “Damn Haitian” (20.8% of respondents) and “Leave the country” (6.3%).

Respondents identified with their Haitian “roots” with feelings of pride, attachment and loyalty in being a member of the Haitian community, Table 4.50.

Table 4.50: Feelings of respondents about belonging to the Haitian community

Feelings about belonging to the Haitian community	%
Pride	70.9%
Attachment	56.5%
Loyalty	53.6%
Other positive feeling	7.5%
Shame	6.2%
Confusion	5.1%
Indifference	4.2%
Threatened	3.6%
Disgust	2.4%
Other negative feeling	0.4%

Given the strength of feelings expressed in Table 4.50 it is understandable that overall 81.2% of respondents considered themselves “Haitians”, 6.9% “Bahamian-Haitians”, 3.8% Bahamians and 0.4% something else. It should be noted that one respondent expressly stated that s/he did not know what nationality s/he was. Additional perspectives on integration can be obtained from the comments in Appendix 2. However, this perceived nationality was associated with the country of the respondent’s birth. Those who had been born in Haiti were more likely to consider themselves “Haitian” than those born in The Bahamas (Table 4.51) (Likelihood ratio=103.51, df=2, N=464, p<0.001).

Table 4.51: Perceived nationality of respondents by country of birth

Perceived nationality	Country of Birth	
	Haiti	The Bahamas
Haitian	94.4%	23.7%
Bahamian	1.9%	28.9%
Bahamian-Haitian	3.8%	47.4%
N=	426	38

This perceived nationality of Haitian nationals may explain the comments regarding citizenship in Appendix 2 and also suggests the difference in outlook between migrants and their children born in their adopted homeland.

Overall, 54.3% of respondents were “happy” or “very happy” to be living in The Bahamas. This response may be interpreted as indicating that despite the difficulties which respondents face while living in The Bahamas, they felt better off compared to their situation in Haiti prior to migrating.

Further analysis

Due to the richness of the data set collected from this study, more-detailed analysis is possible. This report has focused on the basic information required by the terms of reference of the study. It is hoped that additional reports will be produced which will explore the data.

Further study

In common with many research studies, while this study has shed light on many aspects of the Haitian migrant in The Bahamas, it raises a number of additional questions which the current study cannot answer. Therefore, it is hoped that this study will stimulate other research projects to examine other aspects relevant to all migrant communities in the country.

Lessons learnt from the survey

The success of the data collectors to engage so many members of the Haitian community was a direct result of bringing the leaders of the community into the planning of the data collection. The use of ethnic Haitians to collect data and the use of Creole were also important. In short, if we had been unable to gain the trust of the Haitian community we would not have been able to complete the study.

Although the pilot indicated few problems with the survey form, the survey itself identified a number of issues. Employment was more complex than had been realised and allocating employment to formal and informal sectors probably was over-ambitious.

Where field supervision was lacking, the level of completion of the forms was not always to the desired level. Although it is desirable and necessary to include communities outside of New Providence, data collection costs per interview become prohibitive if a visiting field supervisor is used. However, it is clear, that when volunteers are used to collect data, the role of field supervisor becomes essential.

(5) Estimating the Size of the Haitian Community

What is the size of the Haitian community?

It is generally accepted that communities which feel threatened by government officials will avoid contact with them, irrespective of the purpose of the meeting. Consequently, determining the population of any community which declines to participate in enumeration reduces the reliability of whatever data can be collected.

However, while being aware that undercounting of the Haitian community may exist, analysis of the census figures is still instructive provided that we assume that the level of undercount is similar from one census to the next.

During the period 1963 to 2000, the size of the resident Haitian community has increased from 4,170 to 21,426, which represents approximately a decennial increase of approximately 39% from one census to the next (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Population counts for the resident Haitian community and the entire population from census enumeration.

Year	Haitian nationals	All Bahamas
1963	4,170	130,220
1970	6,151	168,812
1980	10,337	209,505
1990	16,567	255,049
2000	21,426	303,611

Source: Census data, 1963 to 2000

During the period, 1963-2000, the percentage of Haitian community in the all Bahamas population increased from 3.2% to 7.1%, which indicates that the size of the resident Haitian community has increased above that of the overall increase in the population of The Bahamas (Figure 5.1). It is this disproportionate increase in the size of the Haitian community which could be the basis for some of the comments reported in Section 1. This increase in the population should also be seen in the context of Haitian females being more productive than their Bahamian counterparts as well as the addition of new migrants.

Although this analysis may explain some of the reasons for the concerns about the Haitian community, it still does not provide a reliable estimate of the number of Haitian nationals in The Bahamas. Indeed, putting great effort into estimating the size of the Haitian community may not be particularly useful if the population is dynamic with many short-stay or flow-through members. Clearly, as far as policy makers are concerned, it is the long-stay members of the Haitian community who are of most interest as it is these who will utilise the services of the country. Thus, a distinction should be made between the total size of the Haitian community and the size of the resident Haitian community.

Indirect evidence of flow-through might be seen in the statistics regarding returns. From 2000-2004, 106% of the resident Haitian community was returned. Further, the fact that our study identified a direct route between Haiti and Grand Bahama suggests that this would be the route

used by migrants intending to make North America their final destination. About 5% of all our respondents had travelled directly to Grand Bahama. In our study 16.5% of respondents had been in the country for one year or less and 57% of respondents had been in the country five years or less. So recent arrivals may be here awaiting the opportunity to move on and others will replace migrants who leave, for whatever reason. Our survey suggests that relatively few of them would have been individuals being returned multiple times as relatively few respondents in our study had been returned or had had to leave Haiti more than once in order to successfully reach The Bahamas. The returns data suggest that if no returns had taken place the Haitian community would have doubled since 2000. Examination of the historical data suggests that this is unrealistic.

Clearly, census estimates relate to resident communities and omit the flow-through component of the Haitian community. It is also likely that relatively few flow-through persons would have been included in our survey as they would be unknown to even gate-keepers. However, when discussing the size of the Haitian community, it must be remembered that it is made up of resident and flow-through members, and that it would be useful to estimate the sizes of both these populations. Clearly this would require additional research.

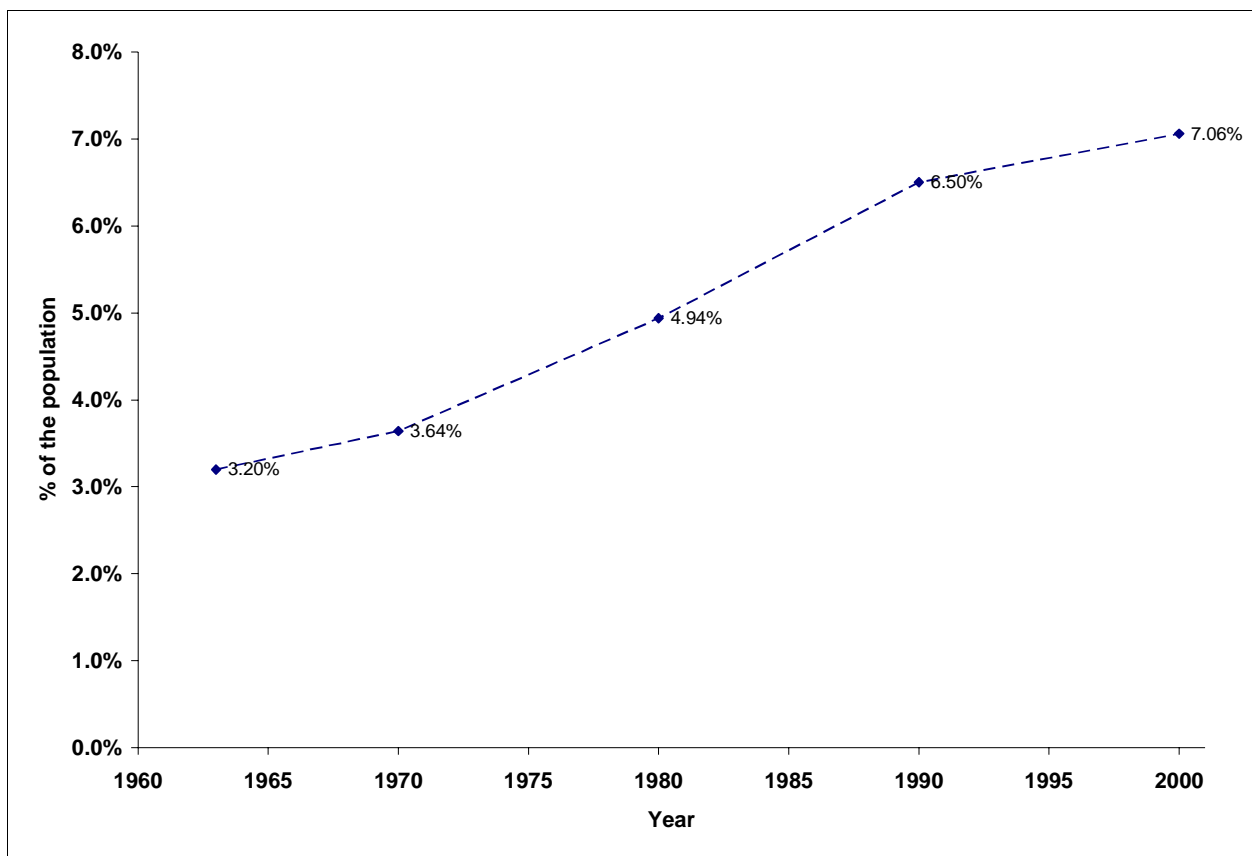


Figure 5.1: Percentage of the resident population of The Bahamas comprised of Haitian nationals. Source: Census figures from 1963-2000.

Because of concerns that censuses have undercounted Haitian nationals, many people have provided estimates, or “guesstimates”, few of which have any basis (Table 2.1). The range of

estimates offered to the public has ranged from 15,000 (70% of the number in the 2000 Census) to 400,000 (151% of the Bahamian population in the 2000 Census) and show how unsure people are of the size of the Haitian community. Below, we offer some indirect estimates of the Haitian community and one estimate based on the historical growth of the Haitian community in The Bahamas.

Indirect estimates of the Haitian community

It is clear that direct attempts to count the size of the Haitian community are likely to be unsuccessful. Given the difficulty in enumerating the Haitian community directly, or making estimates via surveys based upon the number of households (Haitian homes can be temporary structures) it is necessary to make indirect estimates of the size of the community. The basis of these estimates is to use data from the survey results (for example: the percentage of the community at school and official statistics as to the number of Haitian students in school) to estimate the size of the resident Haitian community. It should be noted that all these estimates require assumptions to be made about the figures and so if the assumptions are false, the estimate may well be incorrect. However, if a number of estimates can be made, it is hoped that they will cluster and so provide a plausible estimate. As pointed out in the methodology in Section 4, it should be noted that when data from our study is used in conjunction with official statistics, we are assuming that the survey results do reflect the situation in the wider Haitian community.

A) An estimate using decade growth estimate

From Section 5 it was seen that the Haitian community grows by almost 40% per decade. Therefore, using the 2000 Census figure as our base we would expect the size of the *resident* Haitian community to be about 26,000 in 2005 and 30,000 by 2010.

B) An estimate using school enrolment data -1

There were 49,847 enrolled in The Bahamas in 2005 (Bain, 2005), of which 4,304 were Haitian. If this figure is inflated to allow for the fact that only 75% of the school population was included in that study, then as many as 5,740 Haitian students could be at school. If we allow for the 8% of school age children not in school (see Section 4), then this would suggest that there are 6,250 school age children. From the 2000 Census, we could expect about 5,000 children to be aged 5-17 years in the enumerated Haitian population attending school. Therefore, we would estimate that the size of the *resident* Haitian population in 2005 to be about 26,800.

C) An estimate using school enrolment data - 2

In our survey, students made up 21% of the Haitian community. Therefore, if 21% of the Haitian community corresponds to 6,250 persons, then the size of the *resident* Haitian community would be estimated as about 30,000.

D) An estimate using the number of Haitian passports issued in The Bahamas

In our study at least 60.2% of respondents had a Haitian passport issued in The Bahamas. Respondents accounted for 34.8% of household members. If these respondents correspond to about 11,668 people issued passports (to those aged 18 and over), the size of the Haitian community could be 56,000. However, the assumptions in this calculation (such as: none of those issued passports had left the country) could mean that this estimate is on the high side.

Working estimates

Extrapolating from the above, this would seem to suggest a population range of perhaps 30,000-60,000 within the Haitian community in The Bahamas. Such a range is not unusual in an exercise of this nature given the inherent parameters and dynamic circumstances under which the estimates are made. For example in the USA where more extensive and longer-term research has been conducted, working estimates of the migrant population still operate in a range of between 7-20 millions (“Where they come from”, 2005).

Flow-through and resident populations

It is probably useful to make an adjustment to some of these estimates to account for the fact that a proportion of the community is resident and a proportion is transient (flow-through). This distinction is important as short-term flow-through is at least 2% and longer-term flow-through, or cyclical migration may be as much as 90% as only about 10% said that they came to The Bahamas in order to live. Only about 48% of respondents were here for five years or more. It should be noted that about 17% of respondents had been in the country for one year or less, and these may be the ones who are also seeking to move on. Additionally, five percent of migrants travel directly to Grand Bahama; this suggests that there is a flow of persons passing through The Bahamas seeking to reach North America. This then might mean that if there is a population of 60,000 Haitian nationals, 17,400 may be flow-through (comprising 10% passing through Grand Bahama. Twice what we noted, 2% who openly said they wanted to reach a third country, and 17% who had been in the country for one year or less; total 29%) only 51,800 might be intending to reside here for about 10 years and the rest are flow-through. If the lower estimate is used, then 21,000 would be residents and 9,000 might be flow-through.

An estimate of the legal/illegal Haitian community

From our study it was found that at most 44% of the adults were here legally. However, some adults break the terms of their documents so are here illegally. In 2003, 4,546 work and 708 residency permits were issued (Section 2). These figures would suggest that despite what respondents said, less than 6,000 Haitian nationals may be here legally. This in turn might imply that between 15% and 30% of the adults are here legally (assuming a population of 60,000 and 30,000, of which 66% are adults, respectively). Most children born in the Bahamas to Haitian parents are probably here legally, but probably not those born in Haiti; consequently, no more than 46% of the children may be here legally. Overall, it is estimated that between 25% and 45% of the Haitian community is here legally.

When more official statistics are indexed by nationality it will be possible to obtain more estimates of the Haitian community.

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Survey form (English version)

Questionnaire No.

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**The College of The Bahamas
(COB)**

**INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION
(OIM)**

HAITIAN IMMIGRATION IN THE BAHAMAS

Nassau, The Bahamas
2005

Good morning/afternoon. My name is _____ and I work for The College of The Bahamas. At this time we are carrying out a study of important issues concerning the population of Haitian origin residing in this country. You have been selected as part of the sample to answer this questionnaire. Your identity and personal information shall remain anonymous. Your responses will be confidential, and will be tabulated as part of a statistical analysis along with the responses given by the other persons being interviewed. Over 500 persons will be interviewed for this study. This interview will take approximately 25 minutes. If you feel uncomfortable answering a particular question, you have the right not to respond. Would you like to participate in this interview?

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Interview Number: _____ _____	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 20px;"> <tr><td style="width: 25px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 25px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 25px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 25px; height: 20px;"></td></tr> </table>				
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Interview Location and Language

Interview Location: _____

Interviewer: Select correct code

Language:

- Residence 1
- Area under construction 2
- On the street (street vendor) 3
- On the street (pedestrian) 4
- Harvest labourer 5
- Church 6
- Gardener 7

- English 1
- Creole 2
- English and Creole 3

Others: _____
(Specify)

Interviewer Name and Code Number: _____

Interview date (day/month): _____

Interview start time: _____

Interview end time: _____

Interview duration (minutes): _____

DETAILS OF THE INTERVIEW

Yes No

- No Interview Completed:1.....2
- Residence with no foreigners:1.....2
- Location to which access was denied (explain):1.....2
- Subject refused to be interviewed:1.....2
- Subject does not understand the language:1.....2
- Interview was interrupted:1.....2
- Subject does not fulfill sample criteria: 1 2

(For Encoding purposes) Total Losses:

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SUPERVISION

Name: _____

Code Number: _____

--	--

Date: _____
(Month/Day/Year)

CODING

Name: _____

Code Number: _____

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<p>Opinion of the Supervisor:</p> <p>Accepted by supervisorYes No</p> <p>Signed:.....</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Supervisor</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Code Number</p> <p>DATA ENTRY</p> <p>Name: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Code Number: _____ <input style="width: 40px; height: 15px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 40px; height: 15px;" type="text"/></p> <p>_____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Code Number</p>
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**SECTION I
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS**

Q-100 Where in The Bahamas do you live?	Subdivision: _____
Q-101 How old are you?	Years of age: _____ <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> Don't know 96
Q-102 Sex (Observe and mark answer.)	Male 1 Female 2
Q-103 How many people (including yourself) live in the same household? (Non-adults those under 18) (Family members are those who are related by blood to one or both parents or cohabitating adults.)	Total number in household:..... <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> Number of adult family members:..... <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> Number of non-adult family members:..... <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> Number of adult non-family members:..... <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> Number of non-adult, non-family members:..... <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Q-104 Where were you born?	Haiti 1 The Bahamas 2 Other: _____ 3 (Specify) <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Q-105 What is your marital status?	Married 1 Cohabiting 2 Widow(er) 3 Single 4
Q-106 How many living children do you have?	Number of Children: _____ <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> _____ None 99
Q-107 In what country were your children born?	All born in Haiti 1 All born in The Bahamas 2 Some in Haiti and some in The Bahamas 3 Other: _____ 4 (Specify) <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 30px; height: 20px;" type="text"/>
Q-108 If you had children born in The Bahamas, were they born in a hospital?	Yes No 1 2

Q-109 Where are your children currently living?	All in Haiti 1 All in The Bahamas 2 Some in Haiti and some in The Bahamas 3 Other: _____ 4 (Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td></tr></table>																
Q-110 Would you say that you are "happy" living in The Bahamas?	Very happy.....1 Somewhat happy.....2 Not very happy.....3 Unhappy.....4																
Q-111 Would you say that Haitians are welcome in The Bahamas?	Very welcome.....1 Somewhat welcome.....2 Not very welcome.....3 Unwelcome.....4																
Q-112 Have you ever lived in Haiti? (IF the subject has only visited Haiti on holidays etc. answer 'No')	Yes 1 No 2																
Q-113 Where did you live in Haiti just before coming to The Bahamas?	Department: _____ _____ City: _____ _____ Section: _____ _____ Always lived in The Bahamas _____ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr><td style="width: 15px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 15px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 15px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 15px; height: 15px;"></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>																
Q-114 How many times have you left Haiti intending to live or work in The Bahamas?	Never had to leave Haiti..... 0 Once 1 Twice 2 Three times 3 Four times 4 Five or more times 5																

Q-115 What has been the main reason why you have had to leave The Bahamas and then return to Haiti?	Never left The Bahamas..... 0 My family has stayed in Haiti 1 Found myself without work 2 Problems with official documents 3 Visa expired 4 No documents..... 5 Deported..... 6 Other: _____ 7 (Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td></tr></table>								
Q-116 How long ago (years, months, or days) did you come to The Bahamas for the first time? (Interviewer: Write answer in only one time unit.)	Was born here <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td></tr></table> Days: _____ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td></tr></table> Months: _____ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td></tr></table> Years: _____ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 15px;"></td></tr></table>								

	Code Numbers																																						
<p>Q-117 What was the main reason for your first trip to The Bahamas?</p> <p>(Read the choices and mark only one answer.)</p>	<p>Was born here..... 0 Pleasure 1 To live in The Bahamas 2 Shopping trip 3 To sell merchandise 4 To find work 5 To escape political persecution..... 6 To move to a country outside of The Bahamas and Haiti..... 7 To join family..... 8 To start work in previously arranged job..... 9 Other: _____ 10 (Specify)</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table>																																						
<p>Q-118 How long have you been in the country (The Bahamas) since the last time you came here to live?</p> <p>(Interviewer: Write answer in only one time unit.)</p>	<p>Was born here</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table> <p>Days: _____</p> <p>Months: _____</p> <p>Years: _____</p>																																						
<p>Q-119 Why did you leave Haiti the last time you came to The Bahamas?</p> <p>(Read the choices, wait for a response, mark the answer, and continue with the interview. Give a response to each option.)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Code Numbers</p> <table style="width: 100%;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Was born here.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lack of work</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Low income</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Working conditions</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Political instability</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To study</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To be with my family</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Economic difficulties</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>My parents brought me</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To move to a country outside of The Bahamas and Haiti.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other reason: _____</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p style="text-align: right;">(Specify)</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table>		Yes	No	Was born here.....	1	2	Lack of work	1	2	Low income	1	2	Working conditions	1	2	Political instability	1	2	To study	1	2	To be with my family	1	2	Economic difficulties	1	2	My parents brought me	1	2	To move to a country outside of The Bahamas and Haiti.....	1	2	Other reason: _____	1	2		
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Other reason: _____	1	2																																					
<p>Q-120 Who came with you to The Bahamas?</p> <p>(Wait for response and mark only one answer.)</p>	<p>Was born here..... 0 My employer 1 On my own or alone 2 With friends 3 With others whom I did not know..... 4 With family members 5 My parents brought me 6 Other: _____ 7 (Specify)</p> <table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </table>																																						

<p>Q- 121 What mode of transport did you use to get to The Bahamas, the first time?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Was born here.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Commercial airplane.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Commercial boat.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Private airplane.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Own boat.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Someone else's boat.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other:.....</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Specify</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Was born here.....	1	2	Commercial airplane.....	1	2	Commercial boat.....	1	2	Private airplane.....	1	2	Own boat.....	1	2	Someone else's boat.....	1	2	Other:.....			Specify																	
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<p>Q-122 From which port/location did you leave Haiti the first time?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Was born here</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="border-top: 1px solid black; padding-top: 5px;">Write down the name of port/location</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Was born here	1	2	Write down the name of port/location																																			
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<p>Q- 123 How much did you pay to get to The Bahamas, the first time?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Was born here</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="padding-top: 10px;">\$ _____</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Was born here	1	2	\$ _____																																			
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<p>Q-124 Where did you first arrive in The Bahamas, the first time? (Give Port/area and island name)</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Was born here</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="padding-top: 10px;">Location</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="text-align: center;">(Write textually what the subject says)</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="padding-top: 10px;">Island</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="text-align: center;">(Write textually what the subject says)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Was born here	1	2	Location			(Write textually what the subject says)			Island			(Write textually what the subject says)																										
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<p>Q- 125 If you are not on the same island which the subject arrived first (or was born); through which islands did you get to the island in which the interview is being conducted?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Never left first island:</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3" style="border-top: 1px solid black; padding-top: 5px;">(Write textually what the subject says)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Never left first island:	1	2	(Write textually what the subject says)																																			
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<p>Q- 126 Would you like to settle permanently in The Bahamas?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 33%; text-align: center;"><u>Yes</u></th> <th style="width: 33%; text-align: center;"><u>No</u></th> <th style="width: 33%; text-align: center;"><u>Not decided</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Not decided</u>	1	2	3																																				
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<p>Q-127 Which of the following identification documents do you possess? (Read the choices, wait, mark a response, and then continue with the survey. Tick all that apply)</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Bahamian birth certificate</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bahamian certificate of identity.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Haitian birth certificate</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bahamian Driver's license</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Haitian ID card</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Haitian passport, issued in The Bahamas</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Haitian passport, issued in Haiti</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Haitian baptismal certificate</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bahamian baptismal certificate</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bahamian work permit.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other: _____</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">(Specify)</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Lacking documentation</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Bahamian birth certificate	1	2	Bahamian certificate of identity.....	1	2	Haitian birth certificate	1	2	Bahamian Driver's license	1	2	Haitian ID card	1	2	Haitian passport, issued in The Bahamas	1	2	Haitian passport, issued in Haiti	1	2	Haitian baptismal certificate	1	2	Bahamian baptismal certificate	1	2	Bahamian work permit.....	1	2	Other: _____	1	2	(Specify)			Lacking documentation	1	2
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<p>Q-128 In the community in which you would live, how many would you say have any of the following identification documents ?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 60%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">None</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Some</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Many</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Most</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">All</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Bahamian birth certificate</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bahamian certificate of identity.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Haitian birth certificate</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bahamian ID card</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Haitian ID card</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">5</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		None	Some	Many	Most	All	Bahamian birth certificate	1	2	3	4	5	Bahamian certificate of identity.....	1	2	3	4	5	Haitian birth certificate	1	2	3	4	5	Bahamian ID card	1	2	3	4	5	Haitian ID card	1	2	3	4	5						
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(Read the choices, wait, mark a response, and then continue with the survey. Tick all that apply)	Haitian passport, issued in Haiti1.....2.....3.....4.....5		
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	Other: 1.....2.....3.....4.....5		
	(Specify)		
	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>		
	Lacking documentation 1 2		

Q – 129 If you have a Bahamian identification document how much did it cost you? (Tick at most one 'yes' only).	<u>Yes</u> <u>No</u>
	I do not Bahamian identification..... 1 2
	I or another paid \$.....
	I did not pay for it.....1 2
	Some else got it for me for free.....1 2

Q – 130 IF YOU know the cost of your Bahamian document , describe as precisely as you can the type of document you obtained. (E.g.: A permit to work as a handyman for 2 years)	_____

	Write textually the type of document/permit the respondent obtained

Q-131 Have you been bothered by the authorities in The Bahamas? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark an answer, and then continue with the survey.)	<u>Yes</u> <u>No</u>		
	Never bothered..... 1 2		
	Verbal abuse 1 2		
	Made me get off the bus 1 2		
	Searched me roughly 1 2		
	Asked me for money in order to continue the trip 1 2		
	Made me go back 1 2		
	Asked for ID..... 1 2		
Other: 1 2			
	(Specify)		
	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>		

Q-132 Do you travel to Haiti?	Yes 1
	No 2

Q-133 How long has it been since your last trip to Haiti? (Interviewer: Write down the answer in terms of a single unit of time.)	Days: _____	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table>		
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	Yes No Never been to Haiti 1 2			

Q-134 How often do you travel to Haiti? (Read the choices, wait for a response, and mark an answer.)	Weekly 1
	Two times a month
	Every two months
 2
	Monthly 3
	Every three months 4
	Every six months 5
	Once a year 6
Occasionally 7	

	<p>I have not been to Haiti 8</p> <p>Other: _____ 7 (Specify)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Code <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p>Number</p>																								
<p>Q-135 What are the main reasons why you travel to Haiti? (Read the choices, wait, mark a response, and then continue with the interview.)</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>I have not been to Haiti.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To visit my children and spouse</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To visit other relatives</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>For business</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To take back money and food</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>My work requires it</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other reasons: _____ (Specify)</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p style="text-align: right;">Code <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p>Number</p>		Yes	No	I have not been to Haiti.....	1	2	To visit my children and spouse	1	2	To visit other relatives	1	2	For business	1	2	To take back money and food	1	2	My work requires it	1	2	Other reasons: _____ (Specify)	1	2
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My work requires it	1	2																							
Other reasons: _____ (Specify)	1	2																							
<p>Q- 136 When you returned to Haiti the last time, how did you travel to Haiti?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>I have not been to Haiti.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Commercial airplane.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Commercial boat.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Private airplane.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Own boat.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Someone else's boat.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other method: _____ (Specify)</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	I have not been to Haiti.....	1	2	Commercial airplane.....	1	2	Commercial boat.....	1	2	Private airplane.....	1	2	Own boat.....	1	2	Someone else's boat.....	1	2	Other method: _____ (Specify)		
	Yes	No																							
I have not been to Haiti.....	1	2																							
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Private airplane.....	1	2																							
Own boat.....	1	2																							
Someone else's boat.....	1	2																							
Other method: _____ (Specify)																									
<p>Q- 137 Is this your usual way or returning to Haiti?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No.</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>I have not been to Haiti.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Usual way.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No.	I have not been to Haiti.....	1	2	Usual way.....	1	2															
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Usual way.....	1	2																							
<p>Q-138 How much did you pay for the return trip when you last went to Haiti?</p>	<p>\$......</p> <p>If paid in kind, what was the payment? _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Specify)</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No.</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>I have not been to Haiti.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No.	I have not been to Haiti.....	1	2																		
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I have not been to Haiti.....	1	2																							

SECTION II
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE INTERVIEW SUBJECT

Q-200 IF THE SUBJECT WAS NOT BORN IN THE BAHAMAS ASK:

Before coming to The Bahamas in what sector did you work?

Formal Economy

- State-run sugar industry..... 1
- Private sugar industry..... 2
- Non-sugar farm industry..... 3
- Construction industry 4
- Tourism sector 5
- Free zone 6
- Formal commercial sector 7
- Public employee 8
- Private company employee 9

Other: _____ 10

(Specify)

--	--

Informal Economy

- Sales of food items, beverages, clothing, and fake jewelry 11
- Lottery; games of chance 12
- Driver; taxi driver 13
- Currency exchange; lender, etc. 14
- Hair braider or other tourism activity 15
- Beauty salon 16
- Established informal merchant 17
- Artisan: painter, cobbler, jeweler, etc. 18
- Construction 19
- Street vendor 20
- Domestic servant 21
- Work on small farm parcels 22

Other: _____ 23

(Specify)

--	--

Q-201 Are you currently working?

- Yes 1
- No 2

Q-202 If you compare your working situation with that of Bahamians who perform the same activity, do you feel your working situation is:

- Better than the Bahamians 1
- Worse than the Bahamians 2
- The same as the Bahamians 3

Q-203 How often do you get together with your Bahamian coworkers outside of the workplace?

(Read the choices, wait for a reply, and mark only one response)

- Never..... 0
- Daily 1
- Weekly 2
- Monthly 3

(Do not read this choice.)

Other: _____ 4

(Specify)

--	--

Q-204 IF NOT WORKING ASK: How long have you been looking for work?

- Not looking for work..... 0
- Less than a month 1
- 1 to 2 months 2
- 3 to 5 months 3
- 6 to 8 months 4
- 9 to 11 months 5
- 12 months or more 6

Q-205 IF LOOKING FOR WORK ASK: Why do you think you haven't found any work?	<hr/> <p>(Write down textually what the subject says.)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Code Number</p>
Q-206 IF LOOKING FOR WORK ASK: What type of work do you think you could do?	<hr/> <p>(Write down textually what the subject says.)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Code Number</p>
Q-207 IF LOOKING FOR WORK OR ARE WORKING ASK: Have you ever been asked for identification documents in order to obtain work?	Yes 1 No 2 No response 3 Subject does not want to respond 99
Q-208 How do you currently support yourself?	<hr/> <p>(Write down textually what the subject says.)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Code Number</p>
Q- 209 What formal qualifications do you have which would help you get work? (e.g.: Teaching certificate, university degree, professional qualification)	<hr/> <p>(Write textually what the subject says)</p>

Q-210 IF WORKING ASK: What kind of work do you currently do?	<hr/> <p>(Write down textually what the subject says.)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Code Number</p>
---	--

<p>Q-211 IF WORKING Interviewer: Determine what sector the subject works in and write down the code number in the preceding question (Q-207).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Use this information to </p> <p>Determine if the subject is working in the formal or informal economy</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Formal Economy</p> <p>Construction industry 4 Tourism sector 5 Formal commercial sector 7 Public employee 8 Private company employee 9</p> <p>Other: _____ 10 (Specify) <input type="text"/></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Informal Economy</p> <p>Sales of food items, beverages, clothing, and fake jewelry 11 Lottery; games of chance 12 Driver; taxi driver 13 Currency exchange; lender, etc. 14 Hair braider or other tourism activity 15 Beauty salon 16 Established informal merchant 17 Artisan: painter, cobbler, jeweler, etc. 18 Construction 19 Street vendor 20 Domestic servant 21 Work on small farm parcels 22 Gardener..... 23</p> <p>Other: _____ 24 (\$ <input type="text"/></p>																				
<p>Q-212 IF WORKING IN THE FORMAL ECONOMY ASK: How would you best describe your work?</p> <p>(Read the choices, wait for a reply, and mark only one response.)</p>	<p>Steady Occasional On contract</p>																				
<p>Q-213 IF WORKING IN THE FORMAL ECONOMY ASK What type of labour contract are you under?</p> <p>(Read the choices, wait for a response, and mark only one answer.)</p>	<p>Have formal written contract..... 1 Fully employed by no written contract..... 2 Day worker Weekly worker</p> <p>Other: _____ (Specify) <input type="text"/></p>																				
<p>Q-214 IF WORKING IN THE FORMAL ECONOMY ASK How did you find your current job?</p> <p>(Read the choices, wait for a reply, and mark only one response.)</p>	<p>Visited the employer personally Recommended by a Haitian relative or friend Recommended by a Bahamian relative or friend Recommended by a Bahamian-Haitian relative or friend Recommended by an institution (church, NGO, etc.) Recommended by a prior boss or company Hired by employer while living in Haiti</p> <p>Other: _____ (Specify) <input type="text"/></p>																				
<p>Q-215 IF WORKING IN THE FORMAL ECONOMY ASK For your main job, what is the mix of employees by nationality?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;">None</th> <th style="text-align: center;">Some</th> <th style="text-align: center;">Most</th> <th style="text-align: center;">All</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Haitians</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bahamians</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Bahamian-Haitians.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		None	Some	Most	All	Haitians	1	2	3	4	Bahamians	1	2	3	4	Bahamian-Haitians.....	1	2	3	4
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Bahamian-Haitians.....	1	2	3	4																	

	Other nationalities1.....2.....3.....4 <hr/> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">(Specify)</p>
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Q-216 IF WORKING IN THE FORMAL ECONOMY ASK Are there Haitians who have the same job title within the company as your boss or supervisor?	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 96 Not applicable 98
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Q-217 IF WORKING IN THE FORMAL ECONOMY ASK How long (days, months, or years) have you been working for this organisation? (Interviewer: Write answer in only one time unit.)	Days _____ Month(s) _____ Year(s) _____ <div style="float: right; border: 1px solid black; width: 60px; height: 60px; margin-top: 10px; display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> </div> <p style="text-align: right; margin-top: 5px;">Code Numbers</p>
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Q-218 IF WORKING IN THE FORMAL ECONOMY ASK Do you get paid the same wage as Bahamians who do the same work as you do?	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 96 Does not apply 97
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Q-219 IF WORKING IN THE FORMAL ECONOMY ASK Besides your regular work, do you receive payment for any other work that you do on the side? (Interviewer: Make sure the response refers to work other than the subject's regular work.)	Yes 1 No 2
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Q-220 IF WORKING IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY ASK What type of business or labour activity do you perform currently (or in addition to your regular job)? (Interviewer: Ask if applicable. Verify the response to the preceding question.)	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <p style="text-align: center;">(Write down textually what the subject says.)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Code Numbers</p>
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Q-221 IF WORKING IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY ASK With whom do you currently work? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark an answer, and then continue with the survey.)	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Work alone</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Work with my spouse</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Work with my spouse and children</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Work with friends</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Work with other relatives</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Work with mainly Haitians I did not know when I started work.</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Work with mainly Bahamians I did not know when I started work</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Work with a mixture of nationals I did not know when I started work</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Other: _____</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> </tbody> </table> <p style="text-align: right; margin-top: 5px;">(Specify)</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 60px; height: 20px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"></div>		Yes	No	Work alone	1	2	Work with my spouse	1	2	Work with my spouse and children	1	2	Work with friends	1	2	Work with other relatives	1	2	Work with mainly Haitians I did not know when I started work.	1	2	Work with mainly Bahamians I did not know when I started work	1	2	Work with a mixture of nationals I did not know when I started work	1	2	Other: _____	1	2
	Yes	No																													
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Other: _____	1	2																													

Q-222 IF WORKING IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY ASK How long have you been in this work place? (Interviewer: Write down the answer in only one time unit.)	Days _____ Month(s) _____ <div style="float: right; border: 1px solid black; width: 60px; height: 60px; margin-top: 10px; display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> <div style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 100%;"></div> </div>
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	Year(s) _____ Numbers	Code
Q-223 IF WORKING IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY ASK What nationality are the customers? (Read the choices and mark only one response.)	All Haitians	1
	Mostly Haitians with some Bahamians	2
	Mostly Bahamians with some Haitians	3
	Equal number of Haitians and Bahamians	4
	Tourists.....	5
	No answer	6
	Other: _____	7
	(Specify)	<input type="text"/>

Q-224 IF THE SUBJECT HAS EVER WORKED IN THE BAHAMAS ASK In which sector did you first work in The Bahamas?	Landscaping.....	1
	Construction industry	2
	Farming.....	3
	Tourism sector	4
	Fishing	5
	Formal commercial sector	6
	Public employee	7
	Private company employee	8
	Worked for myself	9
	Other: _____	10
	(Specify)	<input type="text"/>

Q-225 IF THE SUBJECT HAS EVER WORKED IN THE BAHAMAS ASK: In your first job in The Bahamas, how long did you work for that company or that supervisor or in that business?	_____
	(Write down textually what the subject says.)
	<input type="text"/>

Q-226 IF THE SUBJECT HAS EVER WORKED IN THE BAHAMAS ASK: Why did leave your first job in The Bahamas? (Interviewer: Read the choices, wait for a response, and then continue with the interview.)		Yes	No
	Still in same job.....	1	2
	Low wages	1	2
	Long hours	1	2
	Very difficult working conditions	1	2
	Dangerous work activity	1	2
	Health reasons	1	2
	Had problems and left the area	1	2
	Work ended (harvest, construction, etc.)	1	2
	To start my own business	1	2
	The business went bankrupt	1	2
	Fired or laid off	1	2
	Other: _____	1	2
	(Specify)	<input type="text"/>	

SECTION III INCOME AND EXPENSES

**The following questions are for all interview subjects.
“Now I would like to ask you some questions about your income and expenses.”**

Q-301 Roughly how many dollars did you earn last month May , including all income from work, tips, gifts, work done on the	_____
--	-------

side, etc? (Interviewer: Have the subject respond concerning the total amount of his/her income.)	(Write down textually the amount indicated by the subject.) Subject does not want to respond 98	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Q-302 Would you say that your income last month (May) was the same, higher, or lower than the month before (April)?	Higher 1 The same 2 Lower 3					
Q-303 How often do you send money to your spouse, children, relatives, or friends who live in Haiti? (Interviewer: Read the choices until the subject chooses one.)	Never 0 Weekly 1 Every two weeks 2 Monthly 3 Every three months 4 Every six months 5 Occasionally 6 Other: _____ 7 (Specify)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>			
Q-304 IF THE SUBJECT SENDS MONEY TO HAITI ASK: What means do you use to send money? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark an answer, and then continue with the survey.)	Friends who travel 1 2 Remittance service 1 2 Take the money personally 1 2 Other: _____ 1 2 (Specify)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>			
Q-305 IF THE SUBJECT SENDS MONEY TO HAITI ASK: As a portion of your income, would you say that what you have sent to your relatives in Haiti in the last three months has been almost all of your income, more than half, half, less than half, some, or another portion?	Almost all (more than 90%) 1 More than half (50%-89%) 2 Less than half (25%-49%) 3 Some (less than 24%) 4					
Q-306 In the last year, have you sent any of the following items to your spouse, children, relatives, or friends who live in Haiti? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark an answer, and then continue with the survey.)	Food 1 2 Medicine 1 2 Appliances 1 2 Furniture 1 2 Clothes 1 2 Kitchen items 1 2 Other: _____ 1 2 (Specify)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>			

SECTION IV
ONLY ASK THESE QUESTION TO MARRIED AND COHABITATING SUBJECTS

Q-401 Where was your spouse born?	Haiti 1 The Bahamas 2 Other: _____ 3 (Specify)	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Q-402 What nationality would you say your spouse is?	Haitian 1 Bahamian 2		

	Bahamian-Haitian 3 Other: _____ 4 (Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr></table>																																																														
Q-403 Where does your spouse currently live?	Haiti 1 (Skip to Q-407.) The Bahamas 2 Other: _____ 3 (Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr></table>																																																														
Q-404 How long has your spouse lived in The Bahamas?	Days: _____ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr></table> Months: _____ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr></table> Years: _____ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr></table> He/she has always lived in The Bahamas 1 Don't know 96 Not applicable 98																																																														
Q-405 Has your spouse traveled to Haiti during the time he/she has resided in The Bahamas?	Yes 1 No 2																																																														
Q-406 IF THE SPOUSE HAS TRAVELED TO HAITI ASK: What is the main reason why your spouse travels to Haiti? (Interviewer: Read the choices until the subject chooses one.)	To visit children and relatives 1 For business 2 To take money and food items 3 His/her work requires such travel 4 Other: _____ 5 (Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr></table>																																																														
Q-407 Which of the following identification documents does your spouse hold? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark the answer, and continue with the interview.)	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Yes</th> <th>No</th> <th>Don't Know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Bahamian birth certificate</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian certificate of identity.....</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian birth certificate</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian driver's license</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian ID card</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian passport, issued in The Bahamas</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian passport, issued in Haiti</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian passport.....</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian work permit.....</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian baptismal certificate.....</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Baptismal certificate or document from the Bahamian Church.....</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Other: _____</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>(Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr></table></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Has no documentation.....</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Don't Know	Bahamian birth certificate	1	2	3	Bahamian certificate of identity.....	1	2	3	Haitian birth certificate	1	2	3	Bahamian driver's license	1	2	3	Haitian ID card	1	2	3	Haitian passport, issued in The Bahamas	1	2	3	Haitian passport, issued in Haiti	1	2	3	Bahamian passport.....	1	2	3	Bahamian work permit.....	1	2	3	Haitian baptismal certificate.....	1	2	3	Baptismal certificate or document from the Bahamian Church.....	1	2	3	Other: _____	1	2	3	(Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr></table>						Has no documentation.....	1	2	3
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<p>Q-408 In what area does the spouse work?</p> <p>Interviewer: Determine what sector the subject's spouse works in and codify the preceding question (Q-408) here.</p>	<p>Spouse does not work 1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Formal Economy</p> <p>Agricultural 2 Construction industry 5 Tourism sector 6 Formal commercial sector 8 Public employee 9 Private company employee 10</p> <p>Other: _____ 11</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(\$ <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Informal Economy</p> <p>Sales of food items, beverages, clothing, and fake jewelry 12 Lottery; games of chance 13 Driver; taxi driver 14 Currency exchange; lender, etc. 15 Hair braider or other tourism activity 16 Beauty/nail salon 17 Established informal merchant 18 Artisan: painter, cobbler, jeweler, etc. 19 Construction 20 Street vendor 21 Domestic servant 22 Work on small farm parcels 23</p> <p>Other: _____ 24</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Specify) <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></p>
<p>Q -409: What ages are your children who are living in The Bahamas? (There are no children living in The Bahamas, write none) If more that six children, add to this list. Include children for whom the subject is guardian.</p>	<p><u>Child 1.....</u></p> <p><u>Child 2.....</u></p> <p><u>Child 3.....</u></p> <p><u>Child 4.....</u></p> <p><u>Child 5.....</u></p> <p><u>Child 6.....</u></p>
<p>Q-410 Which schools/Colleges do they attend? If none write "None", if interviewer has no children with him/her in The Bahamas write "NA"</p> <p>After X put number of children at that school</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">X _____</p> <p>(Write down textually the name of the place)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">X _____</p> <p>(Write down textually the name of the place)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">X _____</p> <p>(Write down textually the name of the place)</p>

(Interviewer: Make sure the subject responds in terms of years, months, days, etc.)	Years: _____	
	He has always lived in The Bahamas	1
	(Skip to Q-507.)	
	Don't know	96
	Not applicable	97

Q-506 Did or does your father work in The Bahamas?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	96

Q-507 Where does your father currently live?	No father (father deceased or unknown)	1
	The Bahamas	2
	Haiti	3
	Another country	4
	Don't know	96

Q-508 Did or does your father have any form of official documentation? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark an answer, and then continue with the survey.)			
	Yes	No	Don't Know
Bahamian birth certificate	1	2	3
Bahamian certificate of identity.....	1	2	3
Haitian birth certificate	1	2	3
Bahamian driver's license	1	2	3
Haitian ID card	1	2	3
Haitian passport issued in The Bahamas.....	1	2	3
Haitian passport, issued in Haiti.....	1	2	3
Bahamian passport.....	1	2	3
Haitian baptismal certificate.....	1	2	3
Bahamian baptismal certificate.....	1	2	3
Bahamas work permit.....	1	2	3
Has no documentation.....	1	2	3
Other:	1	2	3
(Specify)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>		

Q-509 Where was your mother born?	The Bahamas	1
	Haiti	2
	Another country: _____	3
	(Specify)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
	Don't know	4

Q-510 Where does your mother currently live?	No mother (mother deceased or unknown)	1
	The Bahamas	2
	Haiti	3
	Another country: _____	4
	(Specify)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

Q-511 Did your mother ever live in The Bahamas?	Yes	1
	No	2
	Don't know	96
	Not applicable	97

Q-512 IF MOTHER WAS NOT BORN IN THE BAHAMAS ASK: Under what conditions did your mother come to The Bahamas? (Interviewer: Read the choices, wait for a response, and then mark only one answer.)	Came as a hired worker	4
	Came on her own	5
	Came with husband.....	6
	Other: _____	7
	(Specify)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>

	Don't know 96 Not applicable 97																																																														
Q-513 IF MOTHER WAS NOT BORN IN THE BAHAMAS ASK How long has your mother lived (or how long did she live) in The Bahamas? (Interviewer: Make sure the subject responds in terms of years, months, days, etc.)	Days: _____ Months: _____ Years: _____ <table border="1" style="float: right; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table> She has always lived in The Bahamas 1 Don't know 96 Not applicable 97																																																														
Q-514 Did or does your mother work in The Bahamas?	Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 96																																																														
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Q-516 Did or does your mother have any form of official documentation? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark an answer, and then continue with the survey.)	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">Yes</th> <th style="text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">No</th> <th style="text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">Don't Know</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Bahamian birth certificate</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian certificate of identity.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian birth certificate</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian driver's license</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian ID card</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian passport issued in The Bahamas</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian passport, issued in Haiti.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian passport.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian baptismal certificate.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian baptismal certificate.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamas work permit.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Has no documentation.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Other:</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td><td style="text-align: center;">3</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: right;">(Specify)</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table> <table border="1" style="float: right; margin-left: 20px; width: 60px; height: 20px;"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>		Yes	No	Don't Know	Bahamian birth certificate	1	2	3	Bahamian certificate of identity.....	1	2	3	Haitian birth certificate	1	2	3	Bahamian driver's license	1	2	3	Haitian ID card	1	2	3	Haitian passport issued in The Bahamas	1	2	3	Haitian passport, issued in Haiti.....	1	2	3	Bahamian passport.....	1	2	3	Haitian baptismal certificate.....	1	2	3	Bahamian baptismal certificate.....	1	2	3	Bahamas work permit.....	1	2	3	Has no documentation.....	1	2	3	Other:	1	2	3	(Specify)					
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SECTION VI			
HEALTH AND EDUCATION			
Q-601 Have you or any of your family, gotten sick since you came to The Bahamas?	Yes 1 No 2		
Q-602 Have you or any of your family received attention at any health clinic?	Yes 1 No 2 (Skip to Q-604.)		
Q-603 What is the name of that health clinic that you last used and where is it located?	_____ _____ _____ (Specify) <table border="1" style="float: right; margin-left: 20px; width: 60px; height: 20px;"> <tr><td> </td><td> </td></tr> </table>		

<p>Q-604 How do you normally cure a family illness?</p>	<p>Buy medicine in a pharmacy 1 Go see a person who knows such things 2 Drink potions 3 Go back to Haiti 4 See a Haitian doctor in my community..... 5 Go to see a medicine man from Haitian community 6</p> <p>Other: _____</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Specify </p>									
<p>Q-605 Can you read? (Show card and ask the respondent to read the words)</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>English</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Creole</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	English	1	2	Creole	1	2
	Yes	No								
English	1	2								
Creole	1	2								
<p>Q-606 Can you write? (Ask the respondent to write "It is a sunny day")</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>English</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Creole</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	English	1	2	Creole	1	2
	Yes	No								
English	1	2								
Creole	1	2								
<p>Q-607 What was the highest grade you attended in school? (If respondent went to college or university, put grade as "College" or "University")</p>	<p>Did not attend school.....1</p> <p>Grade: _____ </p>									
<p>Q-608 IF THE SUBJECT WAS EDUCATED ASK: What technical courses have you taken?</p>	<p>Have not taken any technical courses 1</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Write down textually what the subject says.)</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> </p>									
<p>Q-609 Is your work related to what you have studied?</p>	<p>Yes 1 No 2 Very little 3 Never studied..... 4 Do not work..... 5</p>									
<p>Q-610 IF THE SUBJECT WAS EDUCATED ASK In what country were you educated?</p>	<p>The Bahamas 1 Haiti 2 Both The Bahamas and Haiti..... 3 Another country 4</p>									
<p>Q-611 Are you currently studying?</p>	<p>Yes 1 No 2 (Skip to Section VII, Q-700.)</p>									
<p>Q-612 IF THE SUBJECT IS STUDYING ASK: Are there Haitians or Bahamian-Haitians at the place where you are studying?</p>	<p>Yes 1 No 2 (Skip to Section VII, Q-700.)</p>									
<p>Q-613 IF THE SUBJECT IS STUDYING ASK: Where do you study?</p>	<p>_____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Write down textually what the name of the place)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"></p>									
<p>Q-614 Generally, which of these types of food do you eat on a daily basis? (Tick all which apply)</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center; border-bottom: 1px solid black;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Meat.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Fish.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Meat.....	1	2	Fish.....	1	2
	Yes	No								
Meat.....	1	2								
Fish.....	1	2								

	Fruit.....	1	2
	Rice/potato/pasts/bread/etc.....	1	2
	Cakes/cookies.....	1	2
	Vitamin supplements.....	1	2
	Water.....	1	2
	Other drinks.....	1	2

**SECTION VII
PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND LIVING CONDITIONS**

<p>Q-701 How long have you lived in the neighborhood or area where you now live?</p> <p>(Interviewer: Write down the amount in terms of a single unit of time.)</p>	<p>All my life: _____</p> <p>Days: _____</p> <p>Months: _____</p> <p>Years: _____</p> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; margin-top: 10px;"> <table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr> <tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr> </table> _____ </div>								

<p>Q-702 In what neighborhoods or area did you live before coming to where you live now?</p>	<p>First _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table></p> <p>Previous _____</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Specify, if none write "None") <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table></p>				

<p>Q-703 Why did you come to the neighborhood or area where you live now?</p> <p>(Read the choices, wait for a response, and then continue with the interview.)</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 5%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 15%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Close to work</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Suggested by friends/relatives</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Because other people from my country live here</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>The services are better here</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>To avoid police raids against Haitians</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Cheap rent.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Born here.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other: _____</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p style="text-align: center;">(Specify) <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"><tr><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td><td style="width: 20px; height: 20px;"></td></tr></table></p>		Yes	No	Close to work	1	2	Suggested by friends/relatives	1	2	Because other people from my country live here	1	2	The services are better here	1	2	To avoid police raids against Haitians	1	2	Cheap rent.....	1	2	Born here.....	1	2	Other: _____	1	2		
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<p>Q-704 What nationality are your neighbors?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 80%;">All Haitians</td> <td style="width: 20%; text-align: center;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>All Bahamians</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mostly Bahamian-Haitians</td> <td style="text-align: center;">3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Mostly Bahamians with some Haitians</td> <td style="text-align: center;">4</td> </tr> </table>	All Haitians	1	All Bahamians	2	Mostly Bahamian-Haitians	3	Mostly Bahamians with some Haitians	4
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Q-705 Are there many Haitians in your neighborhood?	Yes 1 No 2																																																			
Q-706 Whom do you live with?	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Spouse and children</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Parents</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other relatives</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Co-workers</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Friends</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>With my children</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Alone</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other: _____</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">(Specify)</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px;"></td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px;"></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Spouse and children	1	2	Parents	1	2	Other relatives	1	2	Co-workers	1	2	Friends	1	2	With my children	1	2	Alone	1	2	Other: _____			(Specify)																							
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Q-707 Which of the following best describes the basis of your occupancy of the house in which you live.	Rental 1 Own home 2 Parents' or friends' house 3 Loaner..... 4 Caretaker..... 5 Squatter..... 6 Other: _____ (Specify) <div style="display: flex; justify-content: flex-end; gap: 20px;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 40px; height: 20px;"></div> </div>																																																			
Q-708 Which of the following best describes the construction of your dwelling?	Wooden house, tin roof 1 Concrete house and tin roof 2 Concrete house and shingle roof 3 Other: _____ 4 (Specify)																																																			
Q-709 Which of the following items does your household have/use? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark one answer, and then continue with the interview.)	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;"><u>Yes</u></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;"><u>No</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Electrical service</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>City water</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Garbage collection service</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Telephone service (land line).....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Cell phone.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Indoor toilet</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Latrine</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Gas stove</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Beds with mattresses</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Beds without mattresses</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Television set</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Refrigerator</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Motor vehicle.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Computer.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Other: _____</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: right;">(Specify)</td><td></td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Electrical service	1	2	City water	1	2	Garbage collection service	1	2	Telephone service (land line).....	1	2	Cell phone.....	1	2	Indoor toilet	1	2	Latrine	1	2	Gas stove	1	2	Beds with mattresses	1	2	Beds without mattresses	1	2	Television set	1	2	Refrigerator	1	2	Motor vehicle.....	1	2	Computer.....	1	2	Other: _____	1	2	(Specify)		
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Q-710 In the event of a disaster, such as a hurricane, where would (do) you go?	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 80%;"></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;"><u>Yes</u></th> <th style="width: 10%; text-align: center;"><u>No</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Stay at home.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Go to a public hurricane shelter.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Stay at friend's home.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Stay at family member's home.....</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Other: _____</td><td style="text-align: center;">1</td><td style="text-align: center;">2</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: right;">(Specify)</td><td></td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Stay at home.....	1	2	Go to a public hurricane shelter.....	1	2	Stay at friend's home.....	1	2	Stay at family member's home.....	1	2	Other: _____	1	2	(Specify)																																
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(Specify)																																																				

	Yes	No
Q-711 Did anyone in the household access any social security benefits in 2004?		
Hurricane relief	1	2
Work Assistance Programme:	1	2
Food Assistance:.....	1	2
Financial Assistance:	1	2
Disability Allowance.....	1	2
Housing Repair Allowance.....	1	2
Burial Assistance.....	1	2
Rent Assistance.....	1	2
School Uniform Assistance:	1	2
National School Lunch Programme.....	1	2
Med card:.....	1	2

**SECTION VIII
ETHNOCULTURAL ASPECTS**

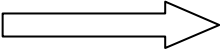
Q-801 What languages do you speak? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark an answer, and then continue with the survey.)		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
	Creole	1	2
	English	1	2
	French	1	2
	Other: _____	1	2
	(Specify)		
	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		
Q-802 What was the first language you learned to speak as a child?			
	Creole		1
	English		2
	French		3
	Other: _____		4
	(Specify)		
	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		

Q-803 What language do you use at home to communicate with your family members?			
	Creole		1
	English		2
	French		3
	Other: _____		4
	(Specify)		
	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		
Q-804 In general, what language do you speak at work?			
	Creole		1
	English		2
	French		3
	Other: _____		4
	(Specify)		
	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>		
Q-805 Do you participate in parties or activities organized by your social group or fellow countrymen?			
	Regularly		1
	Some times		2
	Never		3

Q-806 What religion or religions are practiced most frequently among the members of your social group?	Voodoo 1 Catholic 2 Anglican 3 Catholic and Protestant 4 Voodoo and Catholic 5 Voodoo and Protestant 6 Baptist..... 7 Pentecostal..... 8 All with the same frequency 9 Others 10 None 11																																	
Q-807 Have you changed your religion since you left Haiti?	Yes..... 1 No..... 2																																	
Q-808 IF THE SUBJECT HAS CHANGED THEIR RELIGION ASK: What is your religion now?	Voodoo 1 Catholic 2 Anglican 3 Catholic and Protestant 4 Voodoo and Catholic 5 Voodoo and Protestant 6 Baptist..... 7 Pentecostal..... 8 All with the same frequency 9 Others 10 None 11																																	
Q-809 How many of your relatives live in the neighborhood or area were you live?	Number of relatives: _____ <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> _____ Code Number																																	
Q-810 Where are your best friends from?	Bahamians 1 Haitians 2 Bahamian-Haitians 3 From both countries 4 Neither of these countries..... 5																																	
Q-811 How do you feel about belonging to the Haitian population? (Read the choices, wait for a response, mark an answer, and then continue with the survey.)	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;">Yes</th> <th style="text-align: center;">No</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Attachment</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Loyalty</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Pride</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Disgust</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Shame</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Confusion</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Indifference</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Threatened.....</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other: _____</td> <td style="text-align: center;">1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">(Specify)</td> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;"><input type="text"/> <input type="text"/></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Yes	No	Attachment	1	2	Loyalty	1	2	Pride	1	2	Disgust	1	2	Shame	1	2	Confusion	1	2	Indifference	1	2	Threatened.....	1	2	Other: _____	1	2	(Specify)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
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(Specify)	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>																																	
Q-812 What nationality do you consider yourself to be?	Haitian 1 Bahamian 2 Bahamian-Haitian 3 Other: _____ 4 (Specify) <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>																																	

**SECTION IX
SOCIABILITY AND SEGREGATION**

<p>Q-901 The people you interact with most outside of work are:</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Haitians</td><td style="text-align: right;">1</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamians</td><td style="text-align: right;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian-Haitians</td><td style="text-align: right;">3</td></tr> </table>	Haitians	1	Bahamians	2	Bahamian-Haitians	3										
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<p>Q-902 IF THE SUBJECT IS CURRENTLY WORKING ASK: In general, how would you describe your relations with your co-workers? (Interviewer: Read the choices.)</p>	<p><u>Haitians</u></p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Very good</td><td style="text-align: right;">1</td></tr> <tr><td>Good</td><td style="text-align: right;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Poor</td><td style="text-align: right;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Very poor</td><td style="text-align: right;">4</td></tr> </table> <p><u>Bahamians</u></p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Very good</td><td style="text-align: right;">5</td></tr> <tr><td>Good</td><td style="text-align: right;">6</td></tr> <tr><td>Poor</td><td style="text-align: right;">7</td></tr> <tr><td>Very poor</td><td style="text-align: right;">8</td></tr> </table>	Very good	1	Good	2	Poor	3	Very poor	4	Very good	5	Good	6	Poor	7	Very poor	8
Very good	1																
Good	2																
Poor	3																
Very poor	4																
Very good	5																
Good	6																
Poor	7																
Very poor	8																
<p>Q-903 IF THE SUBJECT IS CURRENTLY WORKING ASK: When you are working, whose company do you prefer? (Interviewer: Wait for a response and then mark only one answer.)</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Haitians</td><td style="text-align: right;">1</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian-Haitians</td><td style="text-align: right;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamians</td><td style="text-align: right;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitians and Bahamians</td><td style="text-align: right;">4</td></tr> <tr><td>No preference</td><td style="text-align: right;">5</td></tr> <tr><td>Other: _____</td><td style="text-align: right;">6</td></tr> </table> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 5px;"> <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; width: 60px; height: 20px; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td style="width: 30px;"></td><td style="width: 30px;"></td></tr> </table> </div>	Haitians	1	Bahamian-Haitians	2	Bahamians	3	Haitians and Bahamians	4	No preference	5	Other: _____	6				
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<p>Q-904 If you had to move, who would you prefer to have as neighbours?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Haitians</td><td style="text-align: right;">1</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian-Haitians</td><td style="text-align: right;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamians</td><td style="text-align: right;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitians and Bahamians</td><td style="text-align: right;">4</td></tr> <tr><td>No preference</td><td style="text-align: right;">5</td></tr> <tr><td>Other: _____</td><td style="text-align: right;">6</td></tr> </table> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 5px;"> <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; width: 60px; height: 20px; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td style="width: 30px;"></td><td style="width: 30px;"></td></tr> </table> </div>	Haitians	1	Bahamian-Haitians	2	Bahamians	3	Haitians and Bahamians	4	No preference	5	Other: _____	6				
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Bahamians	3																
Haitians and Bahamians	4																
No preference	5																
Other: _____	6																
<p>Q-905 If you ran your own business, who would you prefer to have as employees?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Haitians</td><td style="text-align: right;">1</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian-Haitians</td><td style="text-align: right;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamians</td><td style="text-align: right;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitians and Bahamians</td><td style="text-align: right;">4</td></tr> <tr><td>No preference</td><td style="text-align: right;">5</td></tr> <tr><td>Other: _____</td><td style="text-align: right;">6</td></tr> </table> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 5px;"> <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; width: 60px; height: 20px; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td style="width: 30px;"></td><td style="width: 30px;"></td></tr> </table> </div>	Haitians	1	Bahamian-Haitians	2	Bahamians	3	Haitians and Bahamians	4	No preference	5	Other: _____	6				
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<p>Q-906 If you were getting married now, would you prefer your spouse to be:</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td>Haitian</td><td style="text-align: right;">1</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian-Haitian</td><td style="text-align: right;">2</td></tr> <tr><td>Bahamian</td><td style="text-align: right;">3</td></tr> <tr><td>Haitian and Bahamian</td><td style="text-align: right;">4</td></tr> <tr><td>No preference</td><td style="text-align: right;">5</td></tr> <tr><td>Other: _____</td><td style="text-align: right;">6</td></tr> </table> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 5px;"> <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; width: 60px; height: 20px; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td style="width: 30px;"></td><td style="width: 30px;"></td></tr> </table> </div>	Haitian	1	Bahamian-Haitian	2	Bahamian	3	Haitian and Bahamian	4	No preference	5	Other: _____	6				
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<p>Q-907 In what way have The Bahamians in your neighbourhood or at work insulted you for being Haitian? What have they called you?</p>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 20px; width: 100%; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-bottom: 5px;"> <p>(Write down textually what the subject says.)</p> <p>(for coding purposes)</p> </div> <div style="text-align: right;"> <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; width: 60px; height: 20px; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr><td style="width: 30px;"></td><td style="width: 30px;"></td></tr> </table> </div>																

	Never been insulted..... 0 Nigger 1 Witch 2 Filthy 3 Idiot 4 Not human 5 Leave the country 6 Damned Haitian 7 Parasite..... 8 Other: _____ 9
Q-908 Approximately how many times have you ever been asked for your identification papers on the street? (If never write None)	Number of times: _____ <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> _____
Q-909 Have you ever been detained or jailed?	Yes 1 No 2

Q-910 Have you ever been caught in a police raid?	Yes 1 No 2
Q-911 Have you ever been deported to Haiti?	Yes 1 No 2
Q-912 In The Bahamas, have you ever had to pay money in order to be released or to be treated well?	Yes 1 No 2

The interview has concluded. Say goodbye to the subject courteously.

Comments:

Appendix 2

Comments offered by the interviews to supplement the answers to the interview questions

Number	Comments
1	Very difficult to find job. The Bahamians make you pay thousands of dollars for nothing.
2	Haitians here are treated unfairly because they may work but not get paid at all. Further, sometimes the younger police try to intimidate you and take money from you. In school, I know the teachers verbally berate the students. Some kids are turned away from school.
3	Respondent expresses frustration with the slow[ness] in gaining her citizenship which she has applied for over 5 years at Immigration.
4	The government is lousy in giving persons born here by birth their citizenship. They have a right to it because they are born here. It is ridiculous
5	Haitians need to be treated fairly.
6	Subject is awaiting its citizenship for EVER. Why do they refuse us???
7	Although I have documents, many Haitians are maltreated and need assistance to receive respect.
8	The language barrier is an issue when it comes to working for and with Bahamians.
9	The subject is married to a Haitian-Bahamian who recently moved to the U.S. He is living with his four children. He is a permanent resident in The Bahamas and has a night job and a day job.
10	The subject has a work permit/working as handyman. He has two children living in Haiti. He is not married.
11	The subject has applied for a work permit. He came to The Bahamas several times but arrested and deported.
12	The subject has work permit approved but doesn't have the money to pay for it. The subject hasn't paid for his past work permits in full, therefore, he can't find the money to pay for the accumulated fees. He was detained.
13	The subject was arrested at Abaco Airport and was brought to Nassau at the Detention Centre.
14	The subject was here (illegal) was arrested and deported. He made another attempt but was picked on High Seas by defence Force and was to the Detention Centre in Nassau, N.P.
15	The subject made three attempts to come to live in The Bahamas. He has a girlfriend who is the mother of his child. Arrested and deported/picket on High Seas and brought to Nassau at the Detention Centre.
16	Your children have no rights here. Despite the fact they are born here, we are often turned away.
17	I have been out of work for almost two years. I can go days without eating.
18	I think that in some part, that Bahamians treat Haitians badly but sometimes I think that Haitians make themselves get treated badly.

Number	Comments
19	Please help my people, we need help.
20	Would like to see my people treated in a better way especially the Bahamian Haitians who have a Bahamian Birth Certificate and can vote at the age of 18. But yet still they have to wait years to get a Bahamian passport and pay more money for College--this is very unfair.
21	The Bahamas has helped me a lot.
22	Would like to have documents sort out
23	Respondent says that teachers at public school tells the students that Bahamians don't go to Haitians schools so don't try to do what you want in Bahamian schools Teachers abuse students. They treat Haitians like dogs here.
24	I would like to see my people born here given birth right and proper documents by age 18 years.
25	I would like to have Bahamian status and not be turned away and sent home for one document after the other and still not have my passport.
26	Young, smart lady is doing great positive things in this country.
27	An old resident battling with medical issues.
28	It's a problem getting Bahamian status. I would like to see other places and not have to go to the passport office from the age of 18 years and now 24 years and still can't have status to move on with my life e.g. education and travel is just a hassle.
29	The authorities physically abused this person.
30	We are all dogs to Bahamians.
31	We can't make it here like this. We work for no pay!
32	We are here, no jobs!
33	In this area, most are not bothered by Bahamians, but they see mistreatment to other Haitians.
34	I have applied for four years for my citizenship. Still waiting. It is unfair because I was born here and cruelly deported, they make you pay thousands in paper work and then stall on you.
35	I would like to get help to get my documents.
36	I was born here, when I came here the first time they deported me back, they treated me like I was nobody.
37	He said don't come looking for him.
38	The police have ran behind me but never caught me.
39	Police officers arrested him and another young [person] and took them and made them pay \$300 each so that they could be released.
40	Respondent has been awaiting citizenship status for SEVERAL YEARS. FED UP and FRUSTRATED
41	We need help.
42	I would like to know if I could apply for Permanent Residence because I've been in this country for almost twenty years.
43	I would like to know why my wife has been in The Bahamas for 20 years and has applied for permit on many occasions and has never been approved. She has a child born in The Bahamas. The child is 19 years old.

Number	Comments
44	Haitians are not protected by the law. We do not have a voice you cannot do anything if your boss does not pay you. At school, the children are abused at school, mistreated and humiliated by students and teachers. They breakdown your door, rape you, and humiliate us. We stay because we have no choice but to stay. Bahamians loathe Haitians. Treat us like dogs.
45	Haitians have no rights here. Sometimes you are paid, at other times no! If something happens to you here, we have no voice.
46	It is difficult to live with your family because you are constantly harassed by authorities. Children are being prevented from going to school if parents are illegal—this is unconstitutional. Haitian Bahamas who are in authority mistreat Haitians worse than real Bahamas.
47	Respondent very bitter about how Bahamians treat Haitians. Very badly. She resents it and wants no dealing with them.
48	Haitians usually work but the Bahamians they work for don't pay them. Why do they mistreat Haitians in The Bahamas?
49	The person also sells numbers which is an illegal lottery.
50	Subject would like to go to trade school, very intelligent.
51	He says it's a set up after all these questions we will find him and the immigration will pick him up.
52	Subject seems to not want to disclose information. It seems as if she is working but she is afraid to say.

Appendix 3

Areas in which respondents lived

Abaco	Eleuthera	Grand Bahama	New Providence
Cap Haitien	Governor's Harbour	Eight Mile Rock	Adelaide
Government Sub	Palmetto Point	Freeport	Bain Town
Marsh Harbour	Savannah Sound	Hunters	Blue Hills
Mudd	South Palmetto Point	Marco City	Carmichael
Pigeon Peas	Spanish Wells	Pinder's Point	Centreville
Saline		Pinedale	Delaporte
		Pineridge	Detention Centre
			East Street
			Englerston
			Fort Charlotte
			Fox Hill
			Golden Gates
			Grant's Town
			Haitian Village, Nassau
			Holy Cross
			Kennedy Subdivision
			Shirlea
			South Beach
			St Margaret's
			St. Cecelia
			Yamacraw

