

**THE SECURITIZATION OF MIGRATION: THE CASE OF
HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS SINCE THE 1970s**

Honors Thesis

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in Political Science**

In the Department of Politics, Policy and International Relations
at Salem State University

By
Gamael Chalvire

Professor Vanessa Ruget
Faculty Advisor
Department of Politics, Policy and International Relations

Commonwealth Honors Program
Salem State University
2023

Acknowledgments

I want to thank my friends and family for inspiring me through their migration stories to the United States to do the research for this paper. My mom and grandmother's journey to the United States was the first story to inspire me to want to pursue a career in immigrant rights advocacy.

I am grateful to my thesis advisor, Professor Ruget, for constantly pushing and inspiring me to complete my thesis project. Thank you for helping me be a better student, writer, and researcher. I am incredibly grateful for my interviewees, who trusted me with their stories. This paper would not have been possible without you.

Lastly, I am thankful to the Honors program and the Political Science department for allowing me to do this project. Writing this thesis paper was my most academically challenging task so far, and I am grateful to both departments for continuously supporting me and believing in me.

Abstract

US immigration policies have negatively impacted Haitian migrants for decades, including, most recently, through policies like Title 42 and the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP)--also called the Remain in Mexico Program. My paper argues that laws like these and how they are enforced are problematic and unjust because they negatively impact immigrants of color, especially Black immigrants. They exemplify the extent to which racism continues to affect immigration policy. The paper also shows how Haitian refugees as a group are systematically discriminated against based on their intersecting identities of being both migrants and Black. The paper makes a contribution to the securitization theory of migration, which argues that governments increasingly frame migration as a security threat, in part to scapegoat migrants and to distract from other issues. Relying on in-depth interviews with five Haitian migrants, the paper also shows how immigrants are forced to embark on a dangerous journey through the Mexican border because existing policies have made it impossible for them to come via other ways.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	i
Abstract	ii
Introduction	1 - 2
Literature review	3 - 12
Methodology	12 - 13
Interview Results	13 - 14
Analysis & Conclusion	14 - 16
Works Cited	17 - 23

Introduction

Immigration has always been a prominent story in the United States. It has also often been politicized for electoral gains. This was particularly evident during Donald Trump's presidential campaign and his promise to build a wall along the Mexican border to stop undocumented immigrants from coming to the United States (Belew & Gutierrez, 2021, 222).

This paper looks at how immigration has been not only politicized but also “racialized.” The United States has historically racialized immigration policies, as demonstrated by the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), the Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (1996), and Executive Order 13769, or the Muslim Travel Ban (2017) (Somin, 2020). Today, similar policies disproportionately affect immigrants of color, as has been the case with Title 42 and the Migrant Protection Protocols. Discriminatory policies have continued under the Biden administration, despite his campaign promise to implement more humane immigration policies. For this paper, I borrow from the securitization of migration theory to explain the mistreatment of Haitian migrants in the United States. Securitization of migration means that immigration is not being looked at from a humanitarian point of view but as a threat to the nation (Ibrahim, 2005). The paper explores this theory through the stories of Haitian migrants seeking refuge in the United States over the past 50 years. Specifically, it analyzes how racism has explained Haitians' immigration challenges in the United States over the last 50 years. Increasingly, some politicians in Western countries are framing immigration as a security issue and portraying immigrants as a menace (Ibrahim, 2005). This securitization of migration might impact public opinion on immigration, for example by increasing the percentage of people who believe that “migrants are coming to steal our jobs,” or who perceive immigrants as criminals or uneducated—all claims used against Haitian immigrants over the years. Specifically, though a

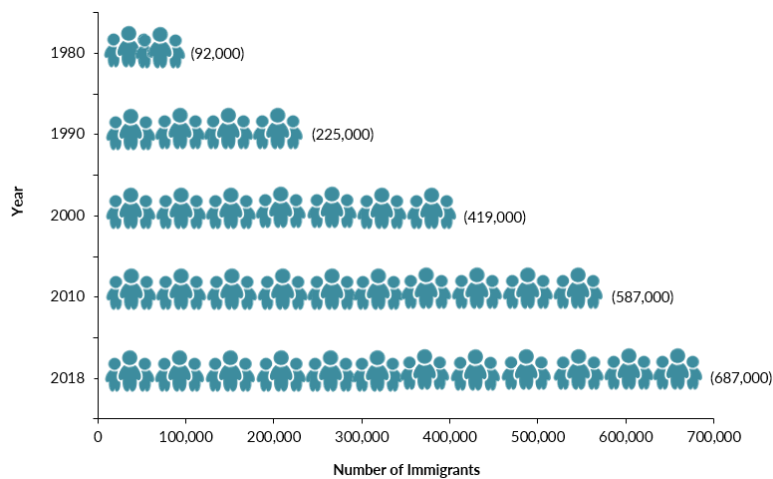
majority of Americans view immigrants favorably, there are important differences according to party affiliations (Budiman, 2020). This might lead to restrictive and discriminatory migration policies.

Throughout the paper, I use the following definitions. An immigrant is someone who leaves their country of origin to live in another country for various reasons, including better job opportunities (Amnesty International, undated). More specifically, a refugee is someone who leaves their country of origin for political reasons like persecution because of race, gender, and more (Amnesty International, undated). An asylum seeker is someone who left their country because of persecution but has yet to be declared a refugee by their host country (Amnesty International, undated). In most of the sources and this paper, immigrant, and migrant are used interchangeably but they mean slightly different things. To seek asylum in the United States, someone must already be in the country or by the port of entry (International Rescue Committee, 2022).

The paper relies on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected from interviews with five Haitian immigrants who recently came to the United States. Through their stories, the paper reviews the two waves of Haitian migration to the United States to identify similar themes in their story. The paper starts with a description of the history of Haitian immigration in the United States. Then, I identify both waves of Haitian migration and discuss their similarities and uniqueness. With my findings from this research, I conclude that Haitian migrants are more likely to experience systemic racism than interpersonal racism.

Migration from Haiti to the United States

The United States has always been a top destination for Haitian migrants. In 2020, a total of 705,000 Haitian migrants lived in the United States—their top destination, with the Dominican Republic coming second (Yates, 2021). Existing migrant networks probably explain the persistence of migration flows over time. Additionally, the image of America as a “welcoming place for immigrants” might incite immigrants to come. The proximity of both countries could also be a factor, as the two countries are only about 1,900 miles of air travel distance to each other (DistanceFromTo, undated).



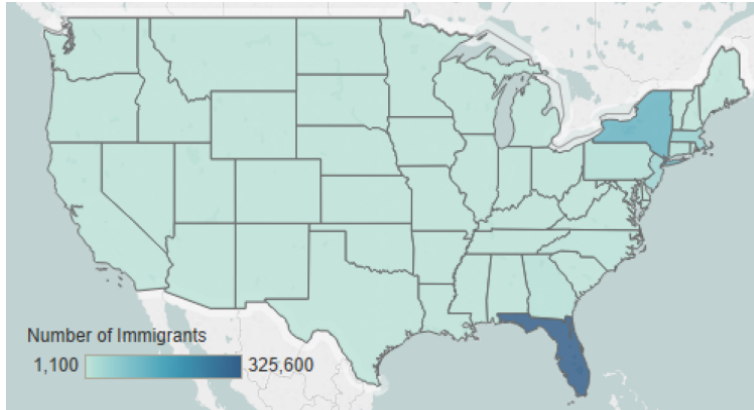
This graph from the Migration Policy Institute shows the number of Haitian immigrants in the United States from 1980 to 2018 (Olsen & Batalova, 2020).

One of the most popular ways to travel to the United States is through a temporary visa. Some of these visas are given for tourism, pleasure, or business purposes. When people come to the United States with a temporary visa, they sometimes stay longer than they are legally allowed to, which creates visa overstay. According to data provided by U.S. Customs and Border Protection, Haiti had approximately 11,335 visa overstays in 2020, a 9.54% overstay rate (U.S.

Customs and Border Protection, 2021). Another common way to migrate legally is through family reunification visas, which allow a family member who is a US citizen or a legal resident to sponsor a member of their family to come to the United States. Family reunion provides permanent residency (a green card)--a direct pathway to citizenship. There are also humanitarian programs like TPS (Temporary Protected Status) that give temporary legal stay to immigrants from countries declared unsafe for their citizens to return to (B., 2023). Haiti has been one of the countries under TPS since the 2010 earthquake. There are currently an estimated 56,453 Haitian immigrants under TPS (National Immigration Forum, 2023).

Modern migration from Haiti to the United started in the 1950s. These immigrants usually traveled legally by plane with a visa to come to the United States and were mostly from the Haitian middle class. Many settled in New York (Mitchell, C., 1994). Between 1951 and 1960, a total of 4,442 Haitians came to the United States legally (Mitchell, C., 1994). In the following 10 years, 34,499 migrated to the United States legally (Mitchell, C., 1994). A large group of Haitian immigrants started fleeing the regime of Francois Duvalier between the 1970s and 1990s traveling by boat to Florida. This was the first major modern migration wave from Haiti to the United States. Many migrants from Cuba and other Caribbean countries took similar routes during that time. Due to geographical proximity, migrants were able to arrive in Florida fairly quickly to seek asylum. Thus, between 1991 and 1992, at least 37,000 Haitian migrants made the voyage by sea to the United States (Mitchell, C., 1994).

A second wave of migration started in 2010 and continues through today, as many Haitian immigrants are seeking refuge in the United States; they do so by traveling throughout South America to arrive at the Mexican-United States border.



This map shows that the top destinations for Haitian immigrants in the United States between 2014 and 2018 are Florida and New York (Olsen & Batalova, 2020).

While Haitian migrants have utilized many ways to come to the United States over the years, the pathways that each migrant uses depend on different factors like their economic situation, the country they are transiting through, if they have immediate family in the United States, and the urgency of their situation. Each migrant has a different story that determines the amount of risk and resources it will take to get to the United States. Throughout the years, Haitian immigrants have experienced significant hardships such as mass detention and deportation and negative stereotypes that show how racism continues to shape migration to the United States. The next sections describe the two waves of Haitian migration to the United States in more detail.

The first Wave of Haitian Migrants

As noted above, the first significant waves of Haitian migration happened between the 1970s and 1990s when President Jean-Claude Duvalier's "Baby Doc" was in power. During that era, political persecution was widespread in Haiti, and the dictator (Duvalier) had his militia

army (“Tonton Makout”) acting under his rule and terrorizing Haitian citizens. As a result, many people started fleeing Haiti to the United States to escape the brutality of the Duvalier regime. Such large flows of Haitians coming by boat or overstaying their visa led the US government to adopt restrictive migration policies (Lindskoog, 2019).

These policies were accompanied by the spreading of negative stereotypes about migrants. For example, government officials started spreading the idea that Haitian migrants were poor, likely to spread disease, uneducated, unskilled, and a burden to their community (Lindskoog 2019: 17). In the 1980s, Haitians were even stopped from being able to donate blood because it was believed by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) that they were “a risk for AIDS”--thus propagating the false narrative that Haitian migrants were carriers of diseases. In response, on April 20, 1990, more than 50,000 Haitians and allies protested on the Brooklyn Bridge against this racist policy (Galarneau, C., 2010; Lambert, 1990).

Crucially, during the first wave of Haitian refugees, the US government undertook the mass deportation and detention of Haitian migrants, who were often held in unsafe and inhuman conditions. In *Detain and Punish: Haitian Refugees and the Rise of the World's Largest Immigration Detention System* (2019), Lindskoog interviewed a refugee, Jean-Paul George. George was imprisoned for three months in Haiti for speaking out against Duvalier and came to the United States seeking refuge. He was then imprisoned for ten months in the United States because he could not pay the \$500 bond that the immigration officials asked of him. In his interview with the author, he noted: “I seek refuge in the US, and instead of freedom, security, justice, I find worse repression here” (Lindskoog 2019:12). His story exemplifies the criminalization of asylum seekers, especially Black immigrants. If the act of seeking asylum in another country is portrayed negatively by the government and the media, then the public will

agree with anti-immigration policies and the cruel treatment of those migrants. Yet, it is legal to apply for asylum and to apply for it while on American soil (Legal Information Institute, undated). Asylum seekers from Haiti are therefore following the law; they are also individuals who have abandoned everything they know and love to look for freedom and prosperity in the United States. Once captured, they are held in jail-like facilities for prolonged periods of time, where they are treated like criminals.

The situation of Haitian refugees during the first wave stands in clear contrast to the opportunities extended to Cuban migrants fleeing the regime of Fidel Castro starting in the 1970s. Cuban refugees were welcomed with open arms because they were classified as escaping from a dictatorial regime. They were welcomed in refugee centers created just for them, where they received medical and financial aid. Congress even passed a law, the Cuban American Adjustment Act (1966), that granted residency to Cubans who lived in the United States for more than a year (Library of Congress, undated). In contrast, Haitians who came under similar circumstances were rejected at a high rate and treated horribly by the public, the media, and the government. According to one source, “Fewer than 100 of the approximately 50,000 petitions for asylum that Haitians fled from 1972 to 1980 were granted” (Lindskoog 2019: 16).

Political vs. Economic Migrants

The argument that the United States uses to justify this unfair treatment and clear preference for Cuban immigrants is that Haitian immigrants are economic, not political, migrants. Government officials were worried during the first large wave of arrivals from Haiti that any relaxation of the strict and unfair treatment of the Haitian asylum seekers would bring more economic migrants from the Caribbean (Lindskoog, 2019)--thus using Haiti to set an

example for other countries. An economic migrant is someone who moves for financial reasons, so they are not considered a refugee, while a political migrant is someone who is fleeing persecution in their country for reasons like race, gender, religion, and more (Ghoshal & Crowley, 1983). Prior to the Refugee Act, the United States rejected practically anyone seeking asylum who did not come from a communist country or from the Middle East (Ghoshal & Crowley, 1983). Cubans and Haitians both were fleeing the dictatorship taking over their country. Haitians had to suffer decades of this dictatorship regime because both “Papa Doc” and “Baby Doc” took their turns ruling. Asylum seekers from both Haiti and Cuba have reported similar types of persecution in their home countries.

The Second Wave –Haitian migration since 2010

Over the past couple of years, Haiti has been going through a lot of political, economic, and security issues. President Jovenel Moise was assassinated in 2021 in his private residence by a group of mainly Colombian mercenaries (BBC News, 2022). His death has compounded many other crises faced by Haiti. In particular, the death of Moise created a political vacuum since the length of his term was unclear and no election was scheduled (Al Jazeera, 2022). Haiti was already struggling with ongoing gang violence, so kidnappings and security worsened after the assassination of the president (Walker, 2022).

All these are more than enough reasons for Haitian people to flee their country. That said, many Haitian immigrants who are currently coming through the Mexican border are people who fled to South American countries during the 2010 earthquake and other natural disasters (Yates, 2021).

It is challenging to decide to come to the United States because the journey is lengthy, expensive, and unsafe. It takes years of saving and planning to decide to take the trip. The actual route takes months of traveling in dire conditions. The most dangerous part of this journey is the Darién Gap, the jungle in the Colombia-Panama border (Yates, 2021)--represented in the map below. While crossing it, migrants risk injuries, diseases, or worse, from walking in dangerous environments and from exhaustion. They also risk being raped, assaulted, trafficked, or beaten (Lauvergnier, 2016). Crucially, migrants are generally unable to stay in countries like Brazil and Chile due to discrimination and lack of access to legal stay. “About 47 percent of Haitians reported feeling discriminated against while living in Chile” (Yates, 2021).



The Darién Gap at Colombia–Panama border (Zimmerman, 2022).

Title 42 and MPP

The COVID-19 pandemic directly impacted US immigration policies. For example, many court hearings were canceled, increasing the backlog of cases, and forcing migrants to spend more time in Mexico in unsafe conditions.

Crucially, during the Trump administration, two policies were enacted to allegedly protect public health: Title 42 and the Migrant Protection Protocols (MPP)--also called the “Remain in Mexico” program. Notably, these policies are reminiscent of similar discriminatory practices adopted at the height of the AIDS/HIV pandemic, which heavily impacted Haitian and African migrants (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

Title 42 is a section of the U.S. code from 1944 that allows federal health authorities to prevent migrants from coming to the United States to stop the spread of infectious diseases (Gramlich, 2022). When this policy is active, US border patrol agents can legally deport migrants to their home country, or the country they traveled from, without due process and any assessment of whether they are at risk upon return (Human Rights Watch, 2021).

Title 42 was invoked in March 2020 under the Trump administration in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. While the goal of Title 42 was purportedly to prevent the virus from spreading in the United States, its provisions felt more like an attack against migrants seeking refuge through the Southern border (Human Rights Watch, 2021). For example, former President Donald Trump stated on Twitter, “We cannot allow all of these people to invade our Country. When somebody comes in, we must immediately, with no Judges or Court Cases, bring them back from where they came. Our system is a mockery to good immigration policy and Law and Order” (Belew & Gutierrez, 2021, 223). This illustrates the portrayal of immigrants as potential threats who do not deserve due process.

As noted by the American Immigration Council (2022): “Through the end of April 2022, the Border Patrol carried out more than 1.87 million expulsions.” While the law was adopted during the Trump Administration, it has been kept in place under President Biden (Kohli, 2022). According to Human Rights Watch (2021), “Since March 2020, Customs and Border Protection

has carried out more than 642,700 expulsions under the order, typically without conducting the required screenings” (Human Rights Watch, 2021). These expulsions have happened with increased frequency at the southern border, disproportionately affecting asylum seekers of color. “From April 2020 through April 2022, 60.5% of encounters at the U.S.-Mexico border led to an expulsion” (American Immigration Council, 2022).

The Migration Protection Protocols (MPP), sometimes called the “Remain in Mexico Program,” is a government program that started in January 2019 under the Trump Administration as a way to restrict migration. MPP meant that people seeking refuge at the border were taken back to Mexico to await their court date. Since the MPP program was implemented, 70,000 migrants were sent back to Mexico—before the program was temporarily suspended after President Biden took office (American Immigration Council, 2022). MPP was then reestablished in December 2021 to continue sending immigrants back to Mexico despite criticisms from pro-immigration groups (American Immigration Council, 2022).

As noted above, discriminatory policies have by and large endured under the current administration, despite a few positive steps. In January 2023, the Biden administration announced that TPS would be extended for 18 months for a select number of Haitian migrants (Moslimani et al., 2022; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2023). The administration concurrently announced a new humanitarian parole program, which will allocate up to 30,000 visas monthly to Cubans, Nicaraguans, Haitians, and Venezuelans (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2023). However, Haitians seeking asylum at the border will continue to be immediately sent back without a chance for a hearing—effectively taking away their right to due process (Ordoñez & Keith, 2023).

As of October 2021, policies like Title 42 and MPP had caused the expulsion of more than 7000 Haitian migrants (Fabi, Rachel, et al., 2022). Following a journey that takes months or even years, Haitians are deported without the chance to make their case—and sent back to Haiti, even if they have not been there for years or were not born there. Migrants are often treated terribly and bound to the deportation planes like criminals (Neusner, 2022). In September 2021, a picture of a border patrol agent chasing Haitian asylum seekers with its horse reign became infamous and underlined the plight of Haitian migrants (Chappell, 2021).

Additionally, when migrants are sent back to Mexico, they do not have legal papers. Therefore they can not legally work, seek healthcare and shelter, and, in some cases, they can not speak the language, which creates significant hurdles (Fabi, Rachel, et al., 2022). An article published by the *American Journal of Public Health* features the testimony of Celina, who was sent back to Mexico, where she was kidnaped and consequently missed her hearing. She could not reopen her case when she was released because of Title 42. Crucially, she was pregnant but could not receive proper care in Mexico because she did not have healthcare and could not afford the medical bills. Celina was able to find legal support, but most people are not as lucky. “More than a million expulsions of migrants and asylum seekers occurred at the US border in the fiscal year 2021 alone, contrary to international law” (Fabi, Rachel, et al., 2022).

Methodology

I used the qualitative method to accompany my research by interviewing several Haitian immigrants who recently sought asylum in the United States. After securing IRB approval, I anonymously interviewed five immigrants who all arrived between 2019 and today.

I faced a number of obstacles during data collection. My original goal was to interview two immigrants who came during the first wave, and two who arrived recently, in order to compare their experiences. However, I was only able to interview recent migrants. The first wave of migration started in the 1970s, over 50 years ago. That means that such migrants are likely older and difficult to find. Second, immigration is a very sensitive topic, especially in the United States. People are often scared to disclose their immigration status and potentially jeopardize their future in this country. So I had to build trust with them and follow the IRB protocol. I am thankful for my respondents who have trusted me with their stories.

I used Whatsapp to communicate with my respondents because it is one of the most common platforms used by the Haitian community. This also allowed me to interview migrants living in other states. Interviews were completed over the phone, using Whatsapp calls. All the forms required by the IRB for the respondent to consent were sent via messages. Interviews lasted between 15 and 30 minutes. One drawback of conducting interviews that way was the lack of face-to-face interactions, preventing a more natural conversation from taking place. This sometimes prevented me from getting detailed answers, and I sometimes received relatively short answers to my questions.

Interview results

The most common theme brought up by interviewees is that the journey to the United States was very difficult. All respondents described their extensive journey by stating the number of countries they crossed by foot, boat, bus, and more. In almost every case, they faced multiple hardships. One of the interviewees explained that the wood the boat was made of was visibly broken while they were crossing over water under bad weather conditions. Another described

crossing a large body of water so high that it covers his head. Respondents talked about crossing the Darien Gap between Columbia and Panama (Yates, 2021)--the most dangerous part of most migrants' journeys. They shared witnessing death, rape, and other violent acts that no one should witness or experience. They all mentioned experiencing intense hunger, to the point where each had to resort to eating nonfood items such as a piece of paper they found in their pocket, dirty water, toothpaste, salt, leaves, and more to survive.

When asked why they made this difficult decision to undertake this journey, all had similar answers: for their family, to get a better job, and more. One person described their brother being kidnaped and their husband being shot as the reason they left Haiti. Another mentioned their husband being persecuted by gangs. Most were living in countries like Brazil and Chile before trying to cross the border. They said they left these countries to come to the US because of difficulties obtaining legal papers, insufficient wages, and discrimination. When asked how the US could make their journey easier, an interviewee answered, "I wish the United States would give more work and embrace the Haitian refugees more so they can take care of their families back home."

Finally, my respondents reported that they did not personally experience prejudice due to their race or nationality when trying to enter the United States. However, most said that they did experience discrimination in the countries that they crossed, such as Mexico, Chile, or Brazil. Interestingly, one of my interviewees mentioned that they had a somewhat better experience than other migrants because of their older age: "No, I didn't encounter any issues because of my race. I believe that is because I am older, so people were more likely to help me."

Analysis and Conclusion

This paper shows that Haitian immigration to the United States is a complex and ongoing phenomenon. My interviews suggest that Haitians seeking asylum do not necessarily experience racism personally, but my analysis of policies indicates that it is a leading factor in how immigration policies are designed and enforced in the United States. In particular, Haitian migrants face racism through policy because Black immigrants face disproportionate asylum denial rates, higher bond rates, and harsher detention conditions (DenUyl, 2022). These harsher conditions place migrants at a disadvantage, as we see in the cases described in the literature review.

Sometimes racism is more than face-to-face interactions. Most of the time, it is systematic and embedded in history. For example, this study shows that racism and securitization have affected migration policies, as well as how the media and elected officials portray immigrants today. For example, punitive policies like Title 42 and practices like detention centers have persisted over time. “In 2017, Border Patrol apprehended a total of 454,001 noncitizens, held 323,591 migrants at detention facilities, and deported 226,119 people from the United States” (Belew & Gutierrez, 2021, 230). During the Trump administration, new rules made it harder for immigrants to apply for visas and green cards if they had used public benefits like food stamps or Medicaid (Belew & Gutierrez, 2021, 223). Policies like these predominantly affect poor immigrants of color. Some elected officials like former president Donald Trump also propagate xenophobic views by saying that Haitian asylum seekers trying to enter the US “probably have AIDS” (ABC7 Los Angeles, 2021). Donald Trump also once described Haiti as a “s—hole” country and asserted that the United States needed immigration from countries like Norway instead (Jackson & Williams, 2018).

In 2021, the image of a border patrol officer chasing Haitian asylum seekers using the reins of his horse (Rose, 2021) shocked many people, including me. Many drew parallels with the United States history of slavery. There is also a parallel with how Haitian asylum seekers were treated during the first wave of Haitian migration described in this paper. It is our responsibility to identify these injustices, call them out, and vote accordingly. My purpose with this project was to try to shed light on an issue often overlooked by popular media that deserves equal attention, especially in an era where elected officials are promising more humanitarian immigration policies. I believe in particular that the story of each Haitian immigrant to the US is rich and powerful, and that it deserves to be told.

My most significant limitation with this project relates to my methodology: I was only able to interview people who came recently and not during the first wave. That limited my analysis because I could not systematically compare both eras. Future research should fully explore the ways that different immigrant policies have affected Haitian immigrants over the decades. For example, there is a lot of focus on the impact of immigration policies under the Trump administration, because of how publicized it was, but previous administrations adopted equally severe policies against Haitian immigrants, especially during the 1970s to early 2000s. Future research should also explore how Haitian migrants have responded and adapted to changing policies.

Works Cited

- ABC7 Los Angeles. (2021, October 10). Trump slams Haitians attempting to enter U.S., says they 'probably have AIDS'. ABC7. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://abc7.com/haitian-migrants-donald-trump-former-president-immigration/11108741/>.
- Al Jazeera. (2022, February 7). *Haiti faces more instability as Moise's term officially ends*. Al Jazeera. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/7/haiti-faces-more-instability-as-moise-term-officially-ends>.
- American Immigration Council. (2022, May 25). A Guide to Title 42 Expulsions at the Border. American Immigration Council |. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/guide-title-42-expulsions-border>.
- American Immigration Council. (2022, January 7). The “Migrant Protection Protocols” | American Immigration Council. American Immigration Council |. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/migrant-protection-protocols>.
- Amnesty International. (n.d.). *Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Migrants*. Amnesty International. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-migrants/>.
- BBC News. (2023, February 1). Haiti president's assassination: What we know so far. BBC. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-57762246>.

- Belew, K., & Gutierrez, R. A. (Eds.). (2021). *A Field Guide to White Supremacy*. University of California Press.
- Budiman, A. (2020, August 20). Key findings about U.S. immigrants. Pew Research Center. Retrieved February 15, 2023, from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/>.
- Chappell, B. (2021, September 21). U.S. Border Agents Chased Migrants On Horseback. A Photographer Explains What He Saw. NPR. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.npr.org/2021/09/21/1039230310/u-s-border-agents-haiti-migrants-horses-photographer-del-rio>.
- DenUyl, S. (2022). The Particular Harms of the “Good Immigrant” versus “Bad Immigrant” Construction on Black Immigrants in the United States. *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal*, 36(2), 755–774.
- Distance From To. (n.d.). Distance from Haiti to United States. Distance from to. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.distancefromto.net/distance-from-haiti-to-united-states>.
- Fabi, R., Rivas, S. D., & Griffin, M. (2022). Not in Our Name: The Disingenuous Use of “Public Health” as Justification for Title 42 Expulsions in the Era of the Migrant Protection Protocols. *American Journal of Public Health*, 112(8), 1115–1119. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2022.306887>.
- Galarneau, C. (2010, January 1). ‘The H in HIV Stands for Human, Not Haitian’ 1: Cultural Imperialism in US Blood Donor Policy. *PUBLIC HEALTH ETHICS*, 3(3), 210–219.
- Ghoshal, A., & Crowley, T. M. (1983). POLITICAL VERSUS ECONOMIC REFUGEES. *Review of Social Economy*, 41(2), 124–136. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29769160>.

- Gramlich, J. (2022, April 27). Key facts about Title 42, the pandemic policy that has reshaped immigration enforcement at U.S.-Mexico border. Pew Research Center. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/04/27/key-facts-about-title-42-the-pandemic-policy-that-has-reshaped-immigration-enforcement-at-u-s-mexico-border/>.
- Human Rights Watch. (2021, April 8). Q&A: US Title 42 Policy to Expel Migrants at the Border. Human Rights Watch. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/04/08/qa-us-title-42-policy-expel-migrants-border>.
- Ibrahim, M. (2005). The securitization of migration: A racial discourse. *INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION*, 43(5), 163–187.
- International Rescue Committee. (2022, November 15). Is it legal to cross the U.S. border to seek asylum? International Rescue Committee. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.rescue.org/article/it-legal-cross-us-border-seek-asylum>.
- Jackson, H., & Williams, A. (2018, January 12). Trump referred to Haiti and African nations as 'shithole' countries. NBC News. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/trump-referred-haiti-african-countries-shithole-nations-n836946>.
- Kohli, A. (2022, December 3). Here's What Title 42 Ending Could Mean for the U.S. *TIME*. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://time.com/6238508/what-is-title-42-biden-administration/>.
- Lauvergnier, C. (2016, September 8). Migrants journey from the Caribbean to the USA, via Brazil (Part Two). *The France 24 Observers*. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://observers.france24.com/en/20160908-migrants-journey-haitia-cuba-usa-brazil-part-two>.

Lambert, B. (1990, March 14). Now, No Haitians Can Donate Blood. *The New York Times*.

Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/14/us/now-no-haitians-can-donate-blood.html>.

Legal Information Institute. (n.d.). 8 U.S. Code § 1158 - Asylum | U.S. Code | US Law | LII /

Legal Information Institute. *Law.Cornell.Edu*. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/8/1158>.

Library of Congress. (n.d.). Crossing the Straits | Puerto Rican/Cuban | Immigration and

Relocation in U.S. History | Classroom Materials at the Library of Congress. *Library of*

Congress. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/puerto-rican-cuban/crossing-the-straits/>.

Lindskoog, C. (2018). *Detain and Punish: Haitian Refugees and the Rise of the World's Largest Immigration Detention System* (1st ed.). University Press of Florida.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvx076dx>.

Mitchell, C. (1994). U. S. Policy toward Haitian Boat People, 1972-93. *The Annals of the*

American Academy of Political and Social Science, 534, 69–80.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1048499>.

Moslimani, M., Cohn, D., & Lopez, M. H. (2022, October 19). How TPS eligibility has

expanded under the Biden administration. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved February 19,

2023, from

<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/10/19/biden-administration-further-expands-temporary-protected-status-to-cover-afghanistan-cameroon-ukraine/>.

National Immigration Forum. (2023, February 1). Fact Sheet: Temporary Protected Status (TPS).

National Immigration Forum. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://immigrationforum.org/article/fact-sheet-temporary-protected-status/>.

Neusner, J. (2022, September 22). A Year After Del Rio, Haitian Asylum Seekers Expelled

Under Title 42 Are Still Suffering. Human Rights First. Retrieved February 19, 2023,

from

<https://humanrightsfirst.org/library/a-year-after-del-rio-haitian-asylum-seekers-expelled-under-title-42-are-still-suffering/>.

Olsen, K., & Batalova, J. (2020, August 12). Article: Haitian Immigrants in the United States |

[migrationpolicy.org](https://www.migrationpolicy.org). Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haitian-immigrants-united-states>.

Ordoñez, F., & Keith, T. (2023, January 5). Biden announces new border control measures and

legal pathways to some migrants. NPR. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://www.npr.org/2023/01/05/1146976334/biden-border-security-immigration>.

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2023, January 26). Extension and Redesignation of

Haiti for Temporary Protected Status. Federal Register. Retrieved February 15, 2023,

from

<https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2023/01/26/2023-01586/extension-and-redesignation-of-haiti-for-temporary-protected-status>.

- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2023, February 3). Processes for Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans. USCIS. Retrieved February 15, 2023, from <https://www.uscis.gov/CHNV>.
- U.S. Customs and Border Protection. (2021, September 30). FY 2020 Entry Exit Overstay Report (Public Version). Homeland Security. https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/2021-12/CBP%20-%20FY%202020%20Entry%20Exit%20Overstay%20Report_0.pdf.
- Rose, J. (2021, November 6). An inquiry into Border Agents clashing with Haitians at the border still ongoing. NPR. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://www.npr.org/2021/11/06/1052786254/border-patrol-agents-horseback-investigation-haitian-immigrants>.
- Salomon, G., Spagat, E., & Taxin, A. (2023, January 6). *Message from US asylum hopefuls: Financial sponsors needed*. AP News. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://apnews.com/article/biden-venezuela-mexico-spokane-violence-0eb316a474baed22f433359b0644320b>.
- Somin, I. (2020, November 24). Immigration restrictions and racial discrimination share similar roots. The Hill. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/politics/527392-immigration-restrictions-and-racial-discrimination-share-similar/>.
- Walker, S. (2022, October 17). Gangs of Haiti: Expansion, power and an escalating crisis. Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from <https://globalinitiative.net/analysis/haiti-gangs-organized-crime/>.

Yates, C. (2021, September 30). Article: Haitian Migration through the Americas: A.. Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haitian-migration-through-americas>.

Zimmerman, N. (2022, June 22). Crossing the Darien Gap: Migrants Risk Death on the Journey to the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved February 19, 2023, from

<https://www.cfr.org/article/crossing-darien-gap-migrants-risk-death-journey-us>.