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Major Research Project: Race, culture, and identity: An exploration of Dominican
identity and race-based discriminations against Haitians in the Dominican Republic

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Abstract:

In the Dominican Republic Haitians have historically been discriminated against because of their “negritud” (blackness) and are not seen as part of Dominican society. Social media, popular culture, and the state’s governmental structure have all built them as a historical threat. This can be traced as early as 1822 when Haitians (predominantly of African origin) sought to unify the island of Hispaniola by invading the Dominican Republic (called Santo Domingo at the time and predominantly composed of persons of mix “race” origins) (Espy, 2015). The Dominican Republic and Haiti share the Caribbean island of Hispaniola and racial-ethnic tensions are a common theme in the socio-political discourse of both countries. This “racial” discrimination is known in the DR as “anti-haitianismo” (to be against Haitians). This concept was expanded during the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo that lasted from 1931 to 1961. It identifies Haitians as foreign, uneducated, violent and other pejorative terms that essentially classified them as an underclass. “In the Dominican Republic, European and indigenous heritages in the country have been celebrated at the expense of an African past” (Howard, 2001, p. 1). It is important to understand how in the Dominican Republic this belief deeply influenced the Dominican elites in their search for a “whiter” country but also how Human Rights organizations in the country continue to work to defy these trends and the way the law and the state structure marginalizes Haitian migrants and their descents.

Keywords: Race, culture, identity, anti-haitianismo, education.

Introduction:

The historical buildup of relations between Dominicans and Haitians in the Dominican Republic (DR) has been marked by continuous racial, cultural, and identity-based conflicts between both groups. "Conflict is any situation in which two or more "parties" (however defined and structured) perceive that they possess mutually incompatible goals" (Demmers, 2012, p. 5). The Haitian-Dominican encounter has involved both violent and nonviolent events, started during the XIX century, and even before. This conflict increased in the XX century during a brief occupation by the United States and during the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo (1931-1961), known for its whitening policies and its anti-Haitian stand. During this time, the Haitian population was institutionally constructed as an "inferior race" that was considered only worth for their labor in the sugar fields. Trujillo's policies continued after his assassination in 1961, mostly because the state maintained an active policy of treating Haitians like an "inferior culture" in the country. As a recent response to these state policies, numerous Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) battle minority discrimination. For example, the NGO called "honor and respect" (ONE Respe) is one of those organizations that deals with racial and educational discrimination against Haitians.

This paper will discuss the historical construction of race, culture, and identity against Haitians living in the DR, during the colonial and post-colonial periods. It will explore on how the cultural, racial and identity discrimination against the Haitians was structured by the State and reproduced by the Dominican society at large. It will also explore the roles that media play when it comes to the construction of Dominican identity and Haitian stereotypes. Finally, it explores the current situation analyzing how local non-governmental organizations are helping in organizing the Haitian community to face discrimination.

This research paper will be divided into five chapters. The first will present a theoretical framework on race, culture, and identity as a social construction in reference to the Hispanic Caribbean. The second chapter will be on the history of race relations and it will explore, in a chronological order, how Haitians were referred as a threat in the DR, in both colonial and post-colonial periods. The third chapter will explore the current situation of Haitians in the DR. It will examine Haitian migration to the DR, patterns and its demographics, from the early XX century on. It also analyzes how the Dominican state created some citizenship and migration laws that affect Haitian directly to this day. The fourth chapter will be an exploration of social media, newspaper images and the radio and how they keep reinforcing stereotypes on Haitians. Finally, chapter five explores the role that some non-governmental organizations in the DR have played in order to integrate the Haitian minority and advance its battle against racial, cultural and identity discrimination.

In the field of International Development, it is important to have in mind cultural trends and differences in each country. A developer, or any investigator, that is respectful of a people must research the area and customs of a country if they are to engage in a project. For example, in a violence management project, a developer should consider the historical reason behind conflict. As well, they should consider how the State governmental structure, local clans and the media are working around the certain conflict. It is important to learn what actors are active in the conflict or are trying to mediate. As well, in the DR they are numerous examples on how NGOs keep playing a fundamental role in the expansion of human rights education and multiculturalism and on how a developer can work with them to expand on this.

Methodology

This is a qualitative desk-based research project done following an inductive reasoning method. The research is focused on gathering documentation -articles, data from NGO's- on research done on race, culture and identity based discrimination in the Dominican Republic. It has the goal of doing an analysis on the historical consequence behind race based discrimination against Haitians in the DR, as well as to examine how these consequences continue to affect the Haitian population. I gathered news articles, videos and interviews to get an insight into what continues to happen at the local level. Many of these documents are in Spanish (The official language of the DR) and translated them into English. Additionally, by gathering and analyzing reports from different nonprofit organizations I advanced my understanding of how they are working to tackle discrimination and racism in the country.

Chapter 1) Race, culture, and identity

This chapter explores how race is a social construct and how it is perceived in a cultural context. Race has been constructed since the colonial experience, and sustained as a social reference, especially by the State-structure during post-colonial times (Wade, 1997). As a “racial imaginary” it is related to different forms of resistance, negotiations, affecting relations between Dominicans and Haitians in the Dominican Republic, cultural production, and educational demands (Ricourt, 2016).

It must be considered that Race in Latin America, especially in the Hispanic Caribbean, has been built in a different form from how is understood in the context of northern countries, such as the United States. In the northern hemisphere, there was the belief that people of mix race where a genetic step backward and only people of “pure white descent” were considered a

sign of progress in society. However, In Latin America post-independence leaders (during the XIX century) were looking for different ways to tackle racial tension in their countries with the belief that to achieve the unity of the nation this one must be represented as one (Wade, 1997). The type of racism that took root in Latin America, coming mostly from the creole elites, was somehow different from the one in the northern hemisphere. They believe that if the population would continue to mix with “white genes” these would have a stronger influence on the individual and thus people of mixed race, but still with light skin, were considered a sign of greater improvement in their societies (Yashar, 2015).

The ideas on race, culture and identity that developed in Latin America have an origin in the colonial ideology that emerged during the Spanish era. This, of course, includes their perception on race and how history is part of a complex process of continues interactions that create and idolizes these different systems of thought. Additionally, for a general signification of culture, this one can be understood as “the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capability and habit acquired by men as a member of society” (Tylor, 2006, p. 29). Therefore, culture plays a vital role in how society, but precisely the dominant groups, build up their beliefs and ideology inside the State structure.

Race, as pointed out by Wade (1997), does not exist only as an idea, is a complete social structure of great tenacity and power. Therefore, power as a category of governmental structure influences and categorizes how race is understood and taught. Foucault (1976) talks about how a biopolitics of power can even influence on the creations of racism, not only because the state is actively participating on how society should see others, but also because is actively creating an interpretation on how they should perceive their identity. Foucault (1976) see biopolitics as the extension of state power over the physical and political body of a population, therefore, the way

the State governmental structure manipulates a civilization into its own way of thinking. Homi Bhabha (1994) points out that we position ourselves versus a created other. In this created otherness, lies everything that does not fit in into the dominant culture, their opposite in moral and belief and, therefore, it becomes a threat. Under these interpretations, the elites manipulate the state structure and construct an ideology of a “clear” unified identity and everything that does not fit in this ideology becomes an “invader”. An imaginary of otherness emerges and a myth is constructed. Inside this myth, a conception on an enemy is imagined and the elites incorporate this system of thought into the governmental and school curricular systems of the country.

Many times, because of this social construction, violent conflict emerges, particularly from the dominant group to the minorities. Both Fanon (1961) and Freire (1972) argue that even when the long colonized and excluded gains its “freedom” there will be a call from inside the State structure to eliminate their otherness in the world stage. In this case, that otherness becomes blackness, and the now dominant group would recall into the methods of the old colonizer and reach for its own “whiteness”. Therefore, it would look to create it owns discourse on culture, identity and race, excluding those who do not fit into their role. This is a case that has constantly been repeated throughout Latin America.

In colonial Latin America, a caste system was developed by the Spanish government to distinguish and categorized the population of the different colonies. During the first years of the Spanish colonial government, there was a debate on how to treat the local indigenous population. They were trying to clarify the humanity of these new populations and their value as workers. It became clear that they would fall at the end of the social ladder. As the new Spanish population started to move to the new colonies it was common for men of lower classes to travel alone and eventually intermix with the indigenous population (Martínez, 2010). A new racial category

emerged called the mestizos (people of mix indigenous and white heritage). These groups would be seen below the white population but above the indigenous and black populations.

For this analysis, it must be pointed out that in the islands of the Spanish Caribbean, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, while there was a caste system in place, it did develop in a different pattern than in the mainland. Each country saw whiteness as the final goal of the state and as the skin color of the privileged classes. However, in countries such as the Dominican Republic, where most of the population was black, mulatto or dark skin, the system saw more dark skin people in power, but light skin was still the desired skin tone when it came to the administration of the colony.

Further in this paper, the specific on race demographics in the Dominican Republic will be touch on, however, for now, it must be pointed out that in this country mulattos are most of the population. The systematic way of privileging light skin people was enforced by the caste system that developed in each colony and the concept of “limpieza de sangre” (cleansing of the blood). This was a concept that emerged in Spain as a way for people to prove their Christian and Spanish peninsular heritage (Cadena, N.D.). However, it was common for people to pay so their documents would be forged, this would be done to indicate that they had a Christian and Spanish descent and it would improve their status in the country. In the islands of the Hispanic Caribbean, a similar system was created for someone to prove their Spanish and Christian heritage, this was done because whiteness and religiosity played a vital role for them to climb the social ladder (Wade, 2007). “Limpieza de Sangre” would become an ideology by which a person would seek to marry white and light skin individuals in order to improve their genealogy and standing in society. This ideology would become part of the systematic racism of the elites of Latin America and the state and educational structure that developed after independence.

The colonial period started coming to an end, in most of Latin America, at the start of the XIX century. However, the notions of race that were born during the Spanish period would continue to play a vital role in how the elite classes perceived their identity. Throughout the new states that emerged slavery was abolished. The caste system was abolished, but it will still play a role when it came to social positioning and heritage. It is argued by Wade (2007) that the political elites see race in Latin America as something that does not have an impact on society in the same way as in northern countries, that it is not relevant to national identity. Nevertheless, the elites of the emerging States where lighter skin and belonged to a more privileged class of people. They were part of an elite that belonged to a social class that was only second in command after those born in the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal).

The concept of “Limpieza de Sangre” still maintained a relevance after independence, because it was understood that if a darker person married a light skin person this would improve their descent. Like it was mentioned before, a systematic racial system developed that if combined with the idea of a “white nation” it could construct a unified state where racial divisions would not be an issue. For these new states to have a claim in the international stage they would have to hide their blackness and uphold their Hispanic heritage. In fact, it was a Napoleonic notion of state building where the State was represented in all its notions as one, a united culture in language and race (Bello, Rangel, 2000). The idea of “purity” that emerged out the Spanish colonial system would continue exerting an influence on how this new republic would identify and how the new elites would build their ideal country.

On the other hand, the XIX century is also known for the emergence of scientific racism and the start of eugenic politics. This was an ideology and political practice that stated that society is divided between “superior” races and “lower” races from a scientific standpoint.

Therefore, white Europeans, particularly of Anglo and Germanic descent, are at the top (Wade, 1997). However, like already mentioned before, Latin American countries are mostly composed of peoples of mix descent. Therefore, they reinterpreted this belief in their contexts. They saw mixing as the best way to improve themselves but mixing with light skin individuals. This combines the idea of “limpieza de sangre” with scientific Darwinism. They justified from a scientific standpoint that mixing with light skinned people would improve the genes of their descent and their standing in society. Therefore, a mestizo light skin state would be the goal of the elites, this could be called the creolization of race (Ricourt, 2016). The idea was to create a society that was represented as one, and that was perceived and imagined as light skin.

The Latin American Republic would continue to have a social ladder that benefited the light skin individuals and marginalized the indigenous and dark skin population. Native Americans that lived during the start of the colonial era were seen in most of Latin America as noble warriors, however, contemporary indigenous population would not be part of the state narrative of the “noble Indian”. Black and dark populations would mostly be forgotten and be seen as cultures that needed to be assimilated and whitened. However, the way they influenced Latin American cultures cannot be denied, especially in areas like popular culture, language, and cuisine. Nevertheless, blackness was understood as a backward element of the state and in its “purity” it was thought that it could only harm the final goals of the desired state structure; therefore, they most whiten.

The case of the Dominican Republic inside this discourse is quite particular. Chapter 2 will expand on the specifics of the historical relations of race development and the Dominican caste system. However, it must be pointed out that in this island, shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic, there was no indigenous population since the XVI century. The Indigenous

workers, that were exterminated during the first century of the conquest, were substituted by black slaves. They would come first from the south of Spain and then from west Africa. A mulatto population was the dominant group in the island and lighter skin individual, mulattos and Spaniards, were the ones who usually managed the colonial economy. Some of the reasons for this mixing was the lack of white women in the colony. It should also be pointed out that the colonist saw these women as property and sexual labor was seen as part of their duties. The caste system that developed on the island would still benefit the lighter skinned population and the system of “limpieza de sangre” was not necessarily about color, but blood, especially when color was not as defined in the case of some mestizos and mulattos who could have a light skin. That is why documents could change the racial status and they would be used to point out those with light skin as superior. Light skin is understood as the main component of beauty and power in the Dominican Republic, however, it must be kept in mind that this comes from a population that is majority dark skinned (Candelario, 2007).

The islands of the Hispanic Caribbean are composed of cultures with a great influence from the African slaves that were brought by the Spaniards and other European powers. However, even though these fusions are present it has never been common to place them in a central position when it comes to representing the nation. In the Dominican Republic, for example, African culture has been more associated with Haiti and are not seen as a central part of their culture. Africanism is a feature of language or culture regarded as characteristically African (Merriam Webster, n.d.). Haiti is associated with Africanisms and they are seen as an outside culture in the Dominican Republic and, therefore, because of their supposed otherness they are attacked. Even in the educational system perpetuated by the State the African part of their history has been mostly hidden and the history of slavery and racism is not widely debated (Oné Respe.

2007). In fact, it has been common to use the school curriculum in all Latin America to represent their countries as a Hispanic culture that is composed of one united people, while discussions about slavery and racism are not widely debated (Bello, Rangel, 2000).

Hispaniola, (today's Dominican Republic and Haiti), is an island that was shared by two colonial powers that were in permanent conflict, France and Spain. This has played deep in the imaginaries of both countries. In the French side, it was not common for slaves to mix with the white population since the colonial authorities were deeply against this. However, in the Spanish side, it was more common, as explained before. This has been one of the first layouts that marked how the slaves in one side of the island saw the slaves in the other side. In the other islands of the Spanish Caribbean, Cuba and Puerto Rico, blackness was an inside force, perpetuated by the elites and maintained by a population that was in its majority mix and light skin. Blackness was an inside issue that would be treated from the inside. However, in the Dominican Republic, while racism is present when it comes to the treatment of darker skin Dominicans, this issue was treated differently. Haiti became their representation of blackness and otherness, it became a threat to their mix Hispanic culture, because of their "pure" Africanism.

Dominicans might be majority dark skinned, but this is not the main issue. Their construction of otherness placed Haiti as their main problem and the presence of Haitians in the Dominican Republic is seen as a threat to their "hegemony". These significations of race relations between Haitians and Dominicans will be expanded in chapter 2. The concept of "limpieza de sangre" will continue playing a vital point in how these ideas developed and how the Dominicans elites constructed their identity.

Chapter 2 History of race relations in the Dominican Republic

Colonial era

The collective memory has been manipulated by the state structure to create only one “official” state history, as it will be expanded in this chapter, but having in mind how they constructed Haitians as a threat to the well-being of the Dominican people. How history is taught continuously manipulates how Dominicans understand and see Haitians. As well, the media in the country has played a role in the stereotypical construction of Haitians, as it will be explained in following chapters. The DR has a complicated history with race and is a topic that is hardly talked about, seeing it as not important in a nation that is mix. “Race and class have been closely intertwined issues since the creation of the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo” (Sagas, 2000, p. 21).

The topic of blackness and racism has been widely ignored in the country. The DR is the only country in Hispanic America where most of the population is mulatto, but this is not represented in the government and the popular culture. Instead, they had built an identity that says that they are everything that Haiti is not

Trouillot (1995) talks about how historicity continues to fold our views and create how we shall see and understand our identity, therefore, it is important to revisit history. History is built from the views of an elite class and mended in the school and governmental structures. Also, media, religion and many other sources. It is also parts of a mythologize history that does not necessarily rely on fact, but on the word to word at the local level. To understand the topic of race, identity, and culture in the DR it is important to also understand this. The elites of the DR created the notion of a Hispanic culture with deep roots in Europe while forgetting an African past. Associating Haiti with an aggressive country that is defying Dominican culture and identity

and threatening their existence. In this context, black would become a pejorative word associated with Haiti and Haitians in general. This chapter will further explore these created notions of superiority and race. However, like the history of the rest of the Caribbean, everything started with colonialism and expanded with slavery.

It is important to realize that when Columbus arrived at the island in 1492 it was inhabited by an indigenous population that they named the Taino. During the initial years, they would subjugate these people and make them work in the mines. Over time this population would fall to extinction, however, a new class of people was born in the island, the mestizos (people of mix indigenous and Spanish descent). The lack of Spanish women in the colony opened the circumstances for the mixing of Spaniards with the local women. They would take these women as wives, or even force them into having sexual relations with them. The new mix populations were considered a “class” away from the people of the peninsula but still treated better than the Taino’s and the soon to come African slaves.

At first, African slaves were imported to work in the gold and silver mines and on tobacco and sugar plantations after the indigenous Taino and Carib populations declined precipitously, but importation was halted early on since colonial planters were too poor to buy new slaves; by the seventeenth century freedmen already outnumbered slaves.

Colonial poverty meant that slave ownership was typically intimate and small scale—a couple of slaves engaged in wage labor alongside family labor on small farms. (Derby, 2009).

By the mid XVI century the population of the colony was already majority black and mulatto (Paulino, 2016). The Spanish government stated that to avoid a black revolt they needed to increase migration from the Hispanic peninsula. However, the importance of the colony of

Santo Domingo (the name of the DR during colonial times) was substituted by “richer colonies” in South America and much of the creole and white population started migrating to the other colonies. By the start of the XVII century, the colony was mostly ignored. The economy changed from one based on sugar and mining to trafficking and pirating. The northern and western part of the island, especially on the island of Tortuga, were dedicated to this informal economy. The Spanish authorities eventually decided to depopulate the west to put a stop to illegal trade. However, this would create the conditions for the eventual French invasion of the western part of the island. They would establish the colony of Saint Domingue (modern day Haiti) under the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 that was signed at the end of a war between France and Spain (Baud, 1992).

During the XVIII century, the economy of the French side, Saint Domingue, continued to be a slave-based sugar exporting economy. In the French colony slavery was based on a master-slave relationship where the slaves were nothing more than property. They did not have the right to buy their own freedom like in Santo Domingo and were expected to be slaves until their deaths. “In the Spanish side, colonial Santo Domingo, there was a close relationship between economic activities and the treatment of slaves” (Sagas, 2000, p. 23). In this economy, those who worked as house slaves and in the cattle industry, were treated better than those that worked in the sugar cane fields. However, most slaves in Spanish Santo Domingo worked in the cattle sector of the economy. This sector mostly exported meat to the French side of the island. Slavery worked in a different manner in the Spanish side of the island and by the start of the XIX century, a free slave and mulatto (mix black and white) class were most of the population in Santo Domingo. It is noteworthy that the Spanish side was so impoverished that they stopped importing slaves during the XVII century (Candelario, 2007). In the Spanish side of the island, slaves viewed themselves

different from their counterparts in Saint Domingue. Relations between slave and masters evolved differently in both countries and the slave population in Santo Domingo was mostly born in the island. However, in Saint Domingue, the mortality rate was higher and the slave population was constantly brought from Africa (Sagas,2000, p. 25). In Santo Domingo, it was also common to raise slaves with the Spanish language and under a Hispanic catholic culture.

The relative freedom enjoyed by slaves in Santo Domingo did contribute to the arrival of escaped slaves from Saint Domingue. The Spanish colonial government did guarantee runaways their freedom and did not honor French fugitive slave laws (Candelario, 2007). Through the century the rivalry between Spain and France would continue and play a role on how both societies viewed each other. During the colonial era, it was Dominican meat that fed the slaves in Sant Domingue. Because cattle ranching did not require heavy labor slaves in Santo Domingo understood that they had easier lives than in the French side. Narrators from the time mentioned that the population in Santo Domingo, free and slaved, referred to those on the French side as “esos Negros en el otro lado de la isla” (those negroes in the other side of the island) (Sagas, 2000). Additionally, because of the higher number of free colored people and lighter skinned people, it was common for them to see themselves as the whites of the land (Candelario, 2007). These conceptions developed an ideology in the Spanish side that would see this population as superior and better off than on the French side. In fact, in combination with the Spanish caste system the colony developed its own system of classifying its people. Identifying the population by the quantity of black, indigenous or white descent in them.

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TABLE 3.7

Racial Labels Assigned to Racially Mixed People

Spanish + Taino = Mestizo

Spanish + African = Mulatto

African + Taino = Zambo

Mulatto + African = Grifo

Mestizo + Spanish = Cuarterón

Grifo + African = Saltapatras

Taino + Grifo = Cabra

Sources: Juan Jorge and Antonio Ulloa, *Relación Histórica de un viaje a la America Meridional*, vols. 1 and 2, (1764; repr., Madrid: Dostin, 2002); Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

This system would eventually evolve through the XIX and XX centuries. However, it would continue to influence the elites as they were looking to whiten the population. The system relates dark skin as something not desirable. If someone mixes with too much black blood he is a “saltapatras” which translates to that one who jumps backward. Meaning that he would be reversing, going back instead of “improving”. The final goal is after all “limpieza de sangre” to “purify” and create a light skin family.

At the end of XVIII century, the French side was in open revolt. They would eventually become independent as the Republic of Haiti in 1804 (Ricourt, 2016). Haiti would be the first successful slave uprising in the Americas and the first Black Republic in the continent. Because of this, the European power did not want to recognize the new nation. They were afraid of

similar revolts in other colonies. In the year, 1821 Santo Domingo would also declare its independence as the Republic of Spanish Haiti under a creole elite lead by Jose Nuñez (Candelario, 2007). They had the eventual goal of joining la Gran Colombia that was led by Simon Bolivar. However, it was not widely supported, especially by the darker skin population and the remaining slaves. Many started supporting an eventual annexation by Haiti.

Haitian occupation and the years after independence

In 1822, the Republic of Haiti invaded the Spanish side with the purpose of unifying the island. “The Haitian occupation lasted from 1822 to 1844 and has continued to be the key historical referent for anti-Haitian sentiment in the DR” (Howard, 2001, p. 28). The Haitian occupation at a start was supported by the dark skin population of the DR. Haiti abolished slavery as soon they occupied the country and gave positions of power to dark skin Dominicans (Paulino, 2016). However, this support would eventually disappear, because of the higher taxes that Haiti placed in the now unified island. After independence, France was constantly being hostile toward Haiti and eventually, the new nation created a deal with the French government. Under this deal they would pay heavy war reparations and France would recognize Haitian sovereignty. These taxes and the added cultural differences between both peoples fueled an independence movement.

By the end of the XVIII century, the first glimpses of Dominican nationalism emerged. “It was part of the struggle by which the Dominicans sought to differentiate themselves from the French side” (Sagas, 2000, p. 29). During the occupation, they would recall on these differences and call upon a Hispanic pride in their call for independence. However, most of the elites that led the independence movement were light skin creoles and mulattos that did not consider themselves African. They considered Hispanic culture over the African Haitian culture.

Therefore, they did not tolerate being ruled by Haiti. Since the treaty of Aranjuez in 1777, a treaty that was signed between France and Spain to establish an official border between both colonies, when the Spanish government established a border with the French side the Dominicans elites feared that the dominating African presence there would spill over their part of the island (Eller, 2016). With the invasion of 1822, their collective fears realized. Many in the elite class left the island and moved to Puerto Rico and Cuba. Those that stayed were not willing to adapt to the Haitian Constitution.

During this era, the European powers and the Dominicans elites agreed that Haiti was getting blacker and blacker, basically Africa, but Santo Domingo was getting lighter (Candelario, 2016). In 1844, the country would become independent as the Dominican Republic. The elites that gained power favored Hispanic culture and saw Haiti as their rival. African culture and blackness came to signify Haiti. Their first goal was to be recognized as an independent nation and dissociate themselves from Haiti because of their relative whiteness. They would present themselves as a country that was victimized by the Haitians. Haiti was the savage man of the Caribbean, while the DR a calm nation with a desire for progress. They would not present themselves as black, rather, as mix and dominated by a light skin class. Though the XIX century they also created projects to bring white migration to the country and disallowed black migration. They continued the campaign of “limpieza de sangre” and they created an interpretation of race influenced by the scientific racism that was emerging at the time, as mentioned in chapter 1. Their identity and culture were based on the importance of their Hispanic heritage, their language and their catholic values.

Blackness was not seen as a Dominican problem. The discourse of Hispanic superiority would continue to be used by the elites to our time. Haiti was the threat that had to be contained.

During this time, the first wages of institutionalized anti-haitianismo (to be against Haitians) were born. It was not a complete part of the state structure, but it was present. However, there was not much violence between both groups. The government did build Haiti as a continuously close threat to their culture, identity and sovereignty. Because of these policies, the country shortly re-annexed itself to Spain in 1861 implying that because of the threat of the more populated Haiti they needed protection from a European power (Eller, 2016).

The annexation came during a time when the DR was looking for protection from a more powerful country, such as Spain, France or the United States. After independence one of the leaders of the independence movement known as the triumvirate, Juan Pablo Duarte, called for racial harmony in the island. He claimed that the constitution should include a clause favoring the unity of race as one of the fundamental principles of the new political system (Eller, 2016). However, it was not supported and eventually it was torn up. After that, Pedro Santana, who would become the first constitutional president of the country, conspires with the elites to re-annex the country to Spain. They argued that the new Republic could not govern itself and that the ever-present Haitian threat was a “reality”. This annexation, however, was not supported and was very unpopular. Soon after a re-independence movement emerged in the rural areas of the country. In the other hand, the elites, that widely supported the move, kept communications open with Spain discussing that these movements were only supported by Haitians and the darker skinned populations (Eller, 2016). The Haitian government was widely critical of the situation. Making statements that assured that the Dominicans people had been tricked and they even supported the rebel groups. “The annexation would not last and the country would become independent again in 1865” (Howard, 2001, p. 30).

The XIX century continued to be marked by political instability and fragmentation in the country with the development of different factions, each one trying to control the country, particularly in the military sector. The caudillos (military strong men) would rise in the country (Eller, 2016). It was in the border area where the richest of these concentrated. The area was still dominated by the cattle ranching industry and trade with Haiti was the norm. The border was a very mix place and it was common to speak Haitian and Spanish. The Haitian currency was also the typical money used. The populations also intermarriage. The elites of the capital, Santo Domingo, did not like this. However, the country lacked centralization and they did not intervene. The Republic would continue to struggle as they try to define their identity and a new economy. The rise of writers such as Manuel de Jesús Abreu Galván, where trying to define Dominican identity. He wrote the novel *Enriquillo* a story that depicted a Taino that rose against the Spanish government during the XVI century (Garcia, 2016). However, it depicts a Taino that was hispanized and was not against Spanish and Hispanic culture. Rather, he was against tyranny and he would agree with the Spanish government, but not with colonial injustice. This novel still promoted Hispanic and an idealized indigenous culture over an African past. Hispanic culture was still the only way to gain “culture”, identity and “civilization”.

Race and racism is a defining part of Dominican culture. While the government did not widely talk about the subject it was still a reality. They would be against anything considered “too black” and whiteness was the goal of the state structure. Haiti was a threat and Hispanic culture had to be protected from them. Sugar would become the main economic output of the country by the end of the XIX century and the start of the XX century and the opening of trade relations was vital. Their main market was the US and with the need of labor, more Haitians started immigrating to the DR to work in the sugar fields. The next sub-chapter will expand on

how the US would play a role in the formation of modern Dominican identity and the institutionalized rise of anti-haitianismo.

United States occupation of the Dominican Republic

The United States (US) started the occupation of the island of Hispaniola with Haiti (1915-1934), and then the DR (1916-1924). The importance of this period is how sugar came to signify and become the most important part of the Dominican economy. As well, with the rise of institutionalized anti-haitianismo. The expansion of the sugar cane industry under US occupation incorporated the first large scale program that hired Haitians to work in the sugar cane fields. Haitian migration happened during the XIX century, but it was during the US occupation when it became much more regulated and common (De Jesus and Dilla, 2004).

US interest over the island of Hispaniola existed since the XIX century. After Dominican independence from Haiti, they sent various diplomatic missions to the island. "These missions would investigate the administration of the new country and the makeup of the population. They tried to define if the DR should be recognized by the US" (Ricourt, 2016, p. 68). These diplomats reported that there was a fear toward Haitian blackness in the DR. They defined Dominicans as light skin in comparison to Haiti and led by a white and light skinned elite. These statements by US diplomacy would continue to be discussed and enforced by the Dominican elites. Stating that US diplomacy considered the DR a more civilized country than its neighbor to the west (Ricourt, 2016).

These arguments would create a desire in the elite class of the DR to be annexed by the US. Elite figures such as Americo Lugo argued that a majority mulatto country could not rule itself (Derby, 1994). Whiteness must come to the DR by one way or another, in this time, migration was their main strategy after the failure of Spanish re-annexation. "Laws and policies

would continue to be created with a constant goal of attracting more white migration” (Sagas, 2000, p. 38). However, the US would come to play the main determinant role on how the DR created their policies and they eventually would also influence Dominicans visions of race. “Limpieza de sangre”, scientific racism and US eugenic would play a key in the formation of Dominican identity and the spread of anti-haitianismo.

When the US occupied the country in 1916 their ideas on race would be cemented in the Dominican consciousness. The US did consider the DR “less black” than Haiti, however, they still did not see them on the same ground as whites. They occupied the DR under the excuse of bringing stability to the country after this one had been under a civil war for a few years. In reality, they were seeking to secure the Caribbean trade routes and to ensure that European power would not intervene in the region under the guise of the Monroe doctrine (Garcia, 2016). As well, they wanted to control the sugar trade coming from the DR. The DR was the US biggest sugar market at the time. They placed the country under a military regime lead by the US army. They were responsible for the first bracero programs that brought black workers from other small Caribbean island and Haitians in large numbers to the DR to work in the sugar industry (Mayes, 2006). Most of these workers would stay living in the DR and raise their families there. This created tensions between the new populations and Dominicans. It was common for DR authorities to arrest them for any kind of crime, especially if they were dark skinned.

While the US occupation is responsible for the mass migration of Hattian into the DR they are also responsible for a new Dominican relation with race. Dominican were aware of the racist mentality that the US government had against them. However, the elites did not back away from this anti-blackness beliefs, even in their own country. This was especially true when it came to identifying Haitians as Africans that were less than them. The US created an ideal of the

sick Haitian. Haitians were identified as sick and polluted people that are capable of transmitting diseases to the Dominican people (Derby, 1994). These ideas entered the Dominican psyche and to this date, it is common to relate Haitians as bringers of diseases such as cholera and HIV (Garcia, 2016). Not only, but during the US occupation, many Haitian women started participating in the sex industry to bring an income to their houses. They were typically present in the streets of Santo Domingo and the border areas. Haitian women are still identified with the sex industry and it is a common stereotype that persists (Mayes, 2014).

Haitians have always been seen different from Dominicans in the DR, particularly after independence. However, the US government, both with the occupation and the diplomatic missions of the XIX century, were looking to cement these differences. The occupation government did widely criticize Haitian culture trait and the way they identified. They consider anything African as a threat, in particular, religion. Voodoo and African style religious practices were seen as “barbaric” (Baud,1994). Even before the occupation, the Dominican elites were against these practices in Dominican territory. The myth of Haitians as sorceress that practiced blood rituals was common. In fact, the elites use rumors of dark magic and evil spirits summoners to scare the Dominican population away from these practices and Haiti (Derby, 1994). The US went as far as making many practices illegal in both countries.

The US administration also paid attention to border issues. They were looking to establish a definite border between the two states. For much of the DR history, the border was a place of mixture and trade. Both Spanish and creole were common tongues in both sides. At point end, the US was looking to define the identity of the border. They agreed with the Dominican elites that it had to be defined to keep both groups in their side (Baud, 1992). During

the occupation, they placed some of the first post-independence definitions of the border. During the dictatorship of Trujillo, the border would finally be defined.

The occupation government saw Haitians favorably when it came to the sugar industry. However, their blackness was never desired, to be Haitian was to feel like an outsider. Even if born in the DR and, therefore, Dominican by birth, they were considered Haitians by descent. In this context, dark-skinned Dominicans had to act outside Africanism to not be considered Haitian. The sugar industry, for example, was identified as the work of Haitian and black people. A Dominican should not work in this industry unless he is a manager or an owner. To be Haitian was to be poor, anti-Catholic, and anti-Hispanic and, therefore, “purely” African. Whiteness and blackness are not stable cultural and racial classifications, they are processes. A Dominican saying states “a black man with money is a mulatto, while a mulatto without money is a black man”. These words continue to resonate in the Dominican imagination and they would keep shaping the country generation after generation.

While the US occupation is not completely responsible for the rise of institutionalized anti-haitianismo they did influence on its expansion. The eugenic politic that they put in place viewed one race over the other from a scientific and political stand point and they would constantly attack African culture. They played a role in the expansion of seeing blackness and Haitians in the spectrum of otherness. Meaning that Haitians are seen as a people that will never be part of DR culture. Haitians were “dangerous” and a threat now more than ever, because of their expanded presence inside the DR. The US expansion of the DR sugar industry and their eventual takeover of the industry is responsible for the emergence of this new conflict between them. Now deeply related to work security and Dominican sugar industry. Finally, during the last years of the occupation, the US decided to create a national guard. The future dictator of the DR,

Rafael Trujillo started his career there. He would eventually rise in ranking and gain the support of the main leader of the guard. At point end, he gained enough power to simulate a coup and take control of the country in 1930, beginning the Trujillo era (Derby, 2009).

Trujillo Era

The Trujillo era lasted from 1931 to 1961 and is known as one of the most brutal dictatorships in Latin America. This era is known for the development of the previously mentioned concept of anti-haitianismo as an institutionalized part of the governmental system. As well, for the creation of a racial classification system which began classifying Dominican as indigenous people instead of Black or mix race. Before hand, it is important to realize that Trujillo is a consequence of the politics that have been surging since the colonial era and expanded after independence and under US imperialism. In the past anti-blackness and anti-haitianismo were ever present in Dominican society. However, it was under Trujillo when they became a vital part of the political apparatus. Haiti more than ever became a symbol of corruption and the Haitian presence in the country had to be controlled, categorize and contained.

Trujillo rose to power in an era plagued with violence. While the DR was under US occupation the eugenic politics that were present in US also came to the island. The military government that controlled the entire island had an idea that associated Haitians as barbaric and menacing, while Dominicans as more able to eventually govern themselves because of the presence of light skin populations in the country. However, this did not stop the military from acting violently against the Dominican population, particularly dark skin Dominicans.

“The "unnecessary harshness" of the military during the US occupation of the Dominican Republic reflected the eugenicist-fueled racial ideology of the early twentieth-century

United States in which whiteness was perceived as a sign of civility and in turn, barbarity was a racialized characteristic of those who were perceived as other than white.” (Garcia, 2016)

Eugenics would continue to influence policies that were born during the Trujillo era. However, there is also the presence of the concept “of “limpieza de sangre” and the Hispanic heritage overall. These ideas commanded the man known as “el Caudillo” to create politics favoring the migration of white skin populations to the country and always favoring mixing and whitening. It is also interesting to argue that during this time fascism was on the rise in Europe. While Trujillo was not a complete fascist he still was influenced by their ideas. For example, he championed a state ideology that would define the nation by a Hispanic character and under a nationalistic discourse. Fascism being an interaction between culture, the political system and a shift to action of a state agenda combining these (Sternhell, Sznajder, Asheri, 1994). Trujillo was looking to combine the arguments of Hispanic culture, Catholicism and anti-haitianismo as one inside the state structure.

It is curious to see that race was widely absent when it came to explicit Trujillo’s discourses (Derby, 2009). However, his failure to recognize and speak specifically about the subject was also part of his personality. When it came to talking about race he would argue about the Dominican race (la raza) and not on a particular skin color. However, when it came to represent a “common” Dominican he would choose light skin and white individuals. It must be pointed out, “that rather than translated directly as race, “la raza”, in this context, refers more openly to race and nation. When Dominicans talk of “la raza” it may include color, phenotype, nationality, or cultural traits” (Howard, 2001, p. 17).

Certainly, skin color was associated with the discourse of “La Raza”, but perceptions of skin color could be relative to the individual. For example, they might use the following words to describe skin color: “trigueño” (brownish), “moreno” (can refer to black hair or black skin), coffee (light brown). These are part of a system of classifying skin color and are a way by which a person tries to dodge the use of the word “negro” (black), sometimes the use of the word mulatto (a person of mix ancestry that could be dark skinned). These terms can be ambiguous to people that are not from the DR, but they are part of a system of self-identification that is common in the country and is associated with a discourse of not recognizing a person blackness or racial background. In the DR, this specific system was build up during the Trujillo regime as a way to distance themselves from their Haitians neighbors and from their culture. However, it is part of the legacy of the previous classification system that existed during the Spanish era that was already mentioned. Additionally, it should be considered that according to the latest report by the World Factbook 73% of the Dominican population identifies as mix race, 16% white and 11% black, on the other hand, in Haiti 95% identify as black and 5% mix race and white (The World Factbook, 2017).

Table 1 Dominican Racial Categories

Racial Category	Racial Types Included
White	<i>Rubio</i>
	<i>Blanco</i>
	<i>Pelirrojo</i>
	<i>Blanco jipato</i>

White-mulatto range	<i>Blanco jojoto</i>
	<i>Indio lavado</i>
	<i>Indio claro</i>
	<i>Trigüeño claro</i>
	<i>Trigüeño</i>
Mulatto	<i>Pinto</i>

	<i>Pintojovero</i>
	<i>Jabao</i>
	<i>Indio canelo</i>
Mulatto-black range	<i>Trigüeño oscuro</i>
	<i>Indio quemao</i>
Black	<i>Moreno</i>
	<i>Mulato</i>

	<i>Prieto</i>
	<i>Negro</i>
	<i>Cenizo</i>
	<i>Cocolo</i>

Source: Guzmán, "Raza y lenguaje en el Cibao," 41.

Images depicting the different racial categories that emerged during the Trujillo era. Source: Candelario, Black behind the Ears: Dominican Racial Identity from Museums to Beauty Shops

“Traditionally, color differences had been assumed to give rise to subordination and severe conflict” (Sagás, 2000, p. 10). Trujillo and the political elites tried to eliminate a past in which the DR was a slave colony with a population composed of ex-slaves and mix race people. “Exaggerated fears that the Hispanic culture would be swamped led to subsequent attempts to “lighten” the population by encouraging white immigration preferably directly from Europe” (Howard, 2001, p.23). During Trujillo’s dictatorship, the state agenda of whitening was intensified as a solution to their supposed “black problem”. It is argued by Sagás (2000) and Howard (2001) that during the dictatorship of Trujillo racial tensions were intensified. Trujillo is responsible for the popularization of “Indio” as a racial category as a way of saying we are not black like Africans; we are brown like the native Americans. However, as mentioned before, the Natives of the Hispanic Caribbean came to extinction during the colonial era.

The figure of Trujillo was accompanied by certain characteristic to make him look, both like a member of the common people and as an elite. In fact, he was the son of a Cuban migrant and the daughter of Haitian migrants (Candelario, 2016). However, he was constantly hiding he was Haitian part, looking to cover it up. Many of the elites of the capital, Santo Domingo, did not like a mulatto leading the nation, even if he was light skin. However, Trujillo held firm control over the national guard and the country. Everything from how Dominicans should dress and how the army should act came from him. He was trying to create a nation as far away from Africanism as possible. He had a style that evoked a patriarchal sense of being and he viewed himself as the new father of the nation. Symbolism was a vital part of his personality, everything from his uniform and the way ceremonies were held had to appeal to a Eurocentric and Hispanic sense of style (Derby, 2009). Chanting “viva Trujillo” and creating music and poetry with his name was common.



Image depicting Trujillo, it reads, in this house Trujillo is a national symbol.

“Myth” and “ideology” are closely related conceptions which enjoy a wide, and accordingly, a very loose usage of our time” (Halpern, 1961). The nationalistic discourse in the DR has established the independence from Haiti -on 1844- as their focus of the celebration of “La Patria” (homeland) (Espy, 2015). In the contemporary political arena, it can be seen how they still use the Haitian occupation of the country as an excuse to see Haitian as “invaders” and “dangerous” people that want to destroy Dominican culture. In the mass medias of the country, they refer to Haitians as “strangers” on the other side of the island that only come to the DR to take local jobs and make trouble.

He created a charade of the state structure, particularly by trying to mimic the styles of Europe and other superpowers. In reality, the country was still affected by deep poverty and his rule was sustained by violence. Such violence like the one enacted against Haitians. An event that illustrates the violent racial conflict between the Dominicans and the Haitians during Trujillo was the “perejil” (parsley) massacre of 1937. This massacre was ordered by Trujillo and was effectually an ethnic cleansing campaign in the northern border of the country against the Haitian migrant worker population in that area. It was looking to “whiten” the region and eliminate the Haitian presence there. It ended with the death of over 15000 thousand Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent (Perez, 2016). During the massacre, there were some groups of Dominicans looking to protect the Haitian population, however, it did not extend to the whole border population and there is no account of Haitian armed resistance. Additionally, there was no support from the Haitian government and because of the remoteness of the area much of the country did not know everything that was going on (Perez, 2016).

However, the violence enacted against Haitians did not stop the presence and the work programs that were created to bring Haitians to the country to work in the sugar industry. However, the massacre did work to bring the border into a wider nationalist discourse of “dominicanidad” (to be Dominican). As mentioned before the border was a mixed place of Dominicans and Haitians, after the massacre it became a place designed for white migration and the authorities were looking to whiten the area. Under Trujillo more than ever the border came to signify Dominican nation and its virtues. Therefore, the border had to be an example to the rest of the country and the Haitian presence had to be eliminated, and anything related to deep Africanism had to disappear as well.

On the hand, the Haitian presence in the country would not disappear. Trujillo would continue to make treaties with the Haitian government to bring Hattian sugar workers, however, they had to stay in their communities. The bateyes are small town that would grow beside the sugar fields, populated by people of Haitian descent, Haitian migrants and dark-skinned Dominicans (Blacken,2015). Because of the massacre Haitians stop migrating illegally in great numbers to the DR until the death of Trujillo. As long as he ruled, they were the exemplification of everything wrong with the country and they were seen as less than human (Hood, 2012).

Post-Trujillo era

In the year 1961 Trujillo was assassinated and a new era began in the country. However, many of the policies left behind on migration and race continued to play a role on how the government worked and how Dominicans would continue to perceive their culture and Haitians. The political elites prolonged Trujillo's legacy and still widely respected his ideas on Hispanic culture and the nationalist discourse that he left behind. They still created campaigns against Haitians and were more open to white migration than black. However, the sugar cane programs continued and thousands of Haitians were living in the bateyes. Nevertheless, the elites were against Haitians seeking a life outside of these areas. In fact, it was common in times of economic turmoil to blame the Haitians for the less availability of jobs in the country. During these periods, the government would start expelling Haitians and people of Haitian descent that could not prove that they were born in the country (Derby, 1994). They would do this to gain political support from poorer and elite Dominicans as a way of signaling that they are looking to open more jobs for them. In reality, not many Dominicans wanted to work in the sugar industry, because of the low wages and because it was a profession that was expected of only Haitians.

One of the leaders that would emerge after the Trujillo dictatorship was Joaquín Balaguer. He occupied the presidency of the country for three consecutive terms, 1960-62, 1966-1978 and 1986-1996 (Balaguer, 2008). He is well known for his nationalistic policies that would constantly elevate the character of the Dominican people over Haitians. However, he did look to improve relations with Haiti, at least at the diplomatic level. During the Trujillo era, he was actually one of his main advisors. He was also recognized for being an adept writer that supported the regime and its policies. He did shy away from the less democratic notions of Trujillo and he would use his writing skills and charisma to keep power. When it comes to the relation between Haitians and Dominicans in the DR he was as harsh as Trujillo in the way he saw them.

However, he did keep many of the programs that were in place. Particularly, the programs to bring sugar cane workers from Haiti. During the 60s Haiti was governed by a dictator, Francois Duvalier. “He’s administration made huge profits from the practice, while the Dominican government was provided with a stable and guaranteed source of cheap labor, at a time when sugar was still the mainstay of the Dominican economy” (Sagas, 100, p. 2000). “In a deal done in 1966 it was agreed that part of the salary would be retained by the Haitian government as a saving fund that would be returned when they go back, however, this money was never given back” (100).

In the 1970s another obstacle for the Haitian population emerged. Lower sugar prices meant fewer cane-cutters and the country was in desperate need of more workers. The government resorted to the use of *amba fil* (illegal) workers. However, there was still the need for more workers and the government sugar corporation resorted to forced recruitment (that is, roundups and forced relocation) of Haitians living in the DR, regardless of their legal status.

“The Dominican military oversaw the operation and they developed a highly profitable traffic of forced laborers, a situation denounced in international forums by the International Labor Organization and the Anti-Slavery Society” (Sagas, 101, p .2000). Haitians and any dark skin individuals who could not prove that they were Dominican were rounded up in the country and taken to the sugar mills or “sold” to private sugar mills (101). With the fall of the Duvalier dynasty in Haiti also came the end of the bilateral agreements between both countries.

These continuous acts only come to show the way the Dominican government saw Haitians. They were valued only for their low paid jobs in the sugar mills. They were allowed to stay, but only if they concentrated in the bateyes. In one of the many books that Balaguer published “*la isla al revés*”, he constantly argued about the superiority of the Dominican race over Haitians. His argument would continue the political discourse that placed Hispanic culture over African culture and on the dangers that Haiti posed to the DR. He would mention the Haitian invasion of the country and the importance of protecting and controlling the border and the Haitian population. Taking notes on the Haitian invasion of the country, calling those years “the black years of the nation” (Duany, 2010). Blackness, Africanism and the anti-haitianismo discourse were a constant part of his discourse. From an institutional standpoint, he would argue on the superiority of Dominicans and the legacy of the European and indigenous cultures, always placing African culture at the end. He would talk about “the silent invasion” as a way of referring to the influx of Haitian into the country in an illegal way. Making sure that the Haitian as a threat would always be present.

In the early 1990s with a worsening economic climate and an election coming up the government started deporting Haitians from the Bateyes (Camejo, 1992). Haitians would be treated once again as scape goats to get favor from the people. They would deport anyone

without “proper” documentation. Nevertheless, many of them lacked documentation. because they were denied such or their parent never registered them out of fear of being discriminated or deported. The government does not recognize many Haitians born in the DR as true Dominicans, but the DR is the land they call home, they hardly know anything about Haiti (Crespo, 2015). Fear of being deported is a reality in the bateyes and because of this many Haitians families do not register their sons when they are born. Although the Constitution of the country, during this time, did grant citizenship to anyone born in the DR that is not a diplomat or in transit.

In the 1990s there was to be an election where Balaguer was contested by a dark skin Dominican that had some Haitian descent, Peña Gomez (Howard, 2001). This man enjoyed some popularity and eventually, Balaguer decided to drop his campaign because neither got the required 51 percent of the vote to win the elections. Balaguer and his party gave their support to another candidate and Peña Gomez was defeated. However, this only came after a campaign that involved contact threats against him and the denunciation of he’s Haitian descent. In the end, “Dominican Identity is constructed Vis-à-vis Haiti, most notably with respect to race and nation, and through the ancillary variables of religion and language” (Howard, 2001, p. 1). Language and religion play a very important role for Dominican identity. Christian catholic values and the Spanish language are celebrated in contrast to Haitian voodoo and Haitian creole. It has been common for the DR elites to disassociate Dominican society from the religious practices of Haiti -which they consider witchcraft- and from the Haitian language which they do not see as a real language. The Dominican government has continuously participated in sanctions and discrimination against those of Haitian descent because they are not considered part of their Hispanic culture and are viewed as antichristian, poor, uneducated and corrupt (Reina, 2015).

In conclusion, this chapter has expanded on the historical formation of discrimination against Haiti, Haitian migrants, Dominican of Haitian descent and blackness in the DR. It takes deep notes on how “limpieza de sangre” is a conception that is deeply rooted in the colonial era and became a part of the systematic racist thinking of the Dominicans elites after independence. Because of the scientific racism of the time and the colonial heritage of a Hispanic catholic culture they constructed Haiti and Haitians as threats to their own beliefs. Haiti would become the opposite of the DR. Out of this anti-haitianismo as a systematic way of thinking would be formed in the country and expanded under Trujillo. The Haitian presence in the country would expand under US occupation and they would place them under a eugenic system that would see them as a lower culture in comparison to Dominican society, thus, expanding the ideas that the elites had about them. This conception would be fully embraced by Trujillo and the government that came after him as Haitians would continue to be seen as the enemy, however, their cheap labor would continue to be needed in the sugar field. Nevertheless, they would be used as escape goats when the country faced economic turmoil. “Limpieza de sangre” and state manipulation of historical “facts” would be the main arm of the elites and the governmental structure when it came to attacking Haitians and their progeny. Haitian culture and Africanisms are seen as the opposite of the elite’s goals of a whiter country, anything that is seen as “purely” African would be marginalized. As the next chapter summarizes some studies and reports on the current situation of Haitians in the DR it will be seen how under the pretext of the law they continue to discriminate against them.

Chapter 3) The current state of Haitians in the Dominican Republic

It must be noted that the elaboration of this chapter came out of the limited information that is currently available on the current situation of Haitians in the DR. There is only one study done on the situation of migrant in the DR (Primera encuesta nacional de inmigrantes, 2012). This survey was elaborated by the Jesuit sponsored organization, Centro Bono. As well, the Supreme Court decision which will be introduced in this chapter is an ongoing process and the information on the situation comes mostly from international news outlets and human rights organizations in the country. *Reconoci.do* a local organization led by Dominicans of Haitian descent reports that some studies on the current situation are currently being done, but the information is not fully disclosed yet (Reconoci.do, 2017). Therefore, this chapter would focus on summarizing some of these reports and short studies that talk about Haitian migration and their status in the DR. As well, on the current responses by the international community and the information that news outlets have done on the Supreme Court decision that will be explained in this chapter.

Migration and demographics

Movement between the Dominican Republic (DR) and Haiti has always been common. Haitians have mainly migrated to the DR to work the sugar cane plantations (Blacken,2015). Migration intensified during the early XX century, because there was a need for labor in the sugar fields of the DR and Haitians were seen as cheap labor and productive in the sugar industry. Haitians mainly left Haiti to get a better standard of living in the stronger Dominican economy. They mainly concentrated in the “bateyes” (Sugar towns), these are shanty towns that grew around the sugar cane plantations as the Haitian migrated to the territory. They are located

in the rural areas of the country and a few near the capital, Santo Domingo. Some bateyes have access to water and electricity, but the reality is that it is not efficient or a reality for all of them. The need for migrant labor in the Dominican Republic was first seen when the sugar industry in the DR reached a higher standard of development and the price of sugar dropped. Because of the lower wages, rural Dominicans stopped working in the sugar cane field and other laborers were needed (Veras, N.D). During the US occupation of both countries it was common for Haitians to move to the DR to work in the sugar industry and many took residence in the country. US corporations took control of part of the sugar industry furring an occupation in the early XX century and accelerated Haitian migration.

The DR is a middle-income economy, while Haiti is a poorer low-income country (World Bank, 2015). There is no exact figure on how many Haitians and Haitians of Dominicans descent are living in the Dominican Republic. “The Estimates vary from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights figure of 500,000– 700,000 in 1999, while, according to Human Rights Watch, the head of the Dominican army referred in 2001 to ‘a million or so’ (Ferguson, 2003). According to the World Bank, the Dominican Republic has a population of 10,528.39 and Haiti has a population of 10,711.07. The Haitian embassy in the DR proposes a similar figure, but the number can still be ambiguous, especially because of the mixing between Dominicans and Haitians. “A census by the DR government announced that Haitians numbered 458,233 and represented 87.3 percent of the DR’s immigrant population. It further reported the existence of 209,912 Black Dominicans of Haitian ancestry” (Chery, 2013). These surveys are estimates, mostly because the Haitian minority, migrant and born, do not report out of fear that the government might use this data to have them deported. Fear of deportation to Haiti is a reality that the Haitian community, born and migrant, continues to face in the DR. Discrimination

continues to be part of their daily lives and because of this many continue to live in fear. It must be pointed out that first generation Haitian migrant mostly speak Creole and Spanish as second language. However, second and third generation, therefore Dominicans of Haitian descent, speak Spanish, and most of them do not speak Creole.

According to Bissainthe (2002), Haitian migration to the DR comes mostly from a homogenous class, mostly composed of farm workers. However, it must be pointed out that the region where they come from in Haiti, rural or urban, will greatly influence in what sector of the economy they will work in. For example, agriculture for migrants from rural Haiti and tourism for migrant of urban Haiti. Nevertheless, the largest sector works in the sugar industry or other sectors of the agricultural industry. The first large wave of migration from Haiti to the DR, during the US occupation, came mostly from the rural areas of Haiti and dedicated themselves to the sugar cane industry. The sugar industry is known for low wages that Dominicans usually will not accept, however, these wages are still higher than those in Haiti and Haitians were more than willing to work in the sector (Veras, ND).

Haitian migration in the XIXth century occurred mostly because of the uniformity of the border as the Haitian population was looking for new lands to settle and cultivate (Derby, 1994). Haiti is a smaller country with a bigger population, therefore, there was the need for space. The border was not well defined for most of the history of both countries. Recent migration from Haiti comes from the urban regions of the country and they tend to work more in the construction and tourism sectors of the Dominican economy (Bissainthe, 2002). As mentioned before the historical significance of migration from Haiti to the DR has come mostly from the need of labor in the sugar cane industry, yet it must be pointed that there were different agreements between the Dominican and Haitian government that arranged for the temporary

transport of laborers from Haiti (Veras, ND). Nevertheless, even though this program were supposed to be temporary many did stay in the DR and ended raising their families in the Bateyes. The government of the DR never actually acted against those that stayed inside these designated areas if they would keep dedicating themselves to the sugar cane industry. However, every time the country entered an economic turmoil the government would start pointing fingers to these groups and incite mass deportation and even violence.

Migration laws and the constitution of the DR

“The 1908 constitution was based on the U.S. model, but, on the assumption that the citizenry was not yet ready for democracy, it placed more power in the executive...” (Derby, 2009, k. 351-353). The laws and the Constitution of the DR have come through lots of scrutiny over the years and it was common to amend them every time there was a regime change. Under an amendment in 1966, the Dominican Constitution regulated that persons born in Dominican territory were entitled to Dominican nationality unless their parents were diplomats or foreigners in transit (Hannam, 2014). However, the interpretation of this law would come under various interpretation when it to figuring what “in transit” meant.

In the DR, laws to control the entrance of Haitians and other black populations from the Caribbean where common. The officials of the capital, Santo Domingo, rejected the entrance of afro-Antillean laborers into the country. “In 1911, they created the Law of Agricultural Enterprise and its article 9 prohibited any agricultural enterprise from bringing “immigrants who were not of the white race” ...except, if they situation was dire and the help was urgently needed” (Mayes, 2014. P.80). Additionally, in that same year, the first law of “aduana and puertos” (ports and border) was passed to control the border (Baud, 2012). This law established a border guard with the purpose of controlling the border and minimizing contraband. Another law

in 1912 proclaimed Spanish as the official of the DR in their search to minimize the usage of Haitian Creole (Derby, 1994). Additionally, both during the US occupation of the country and during the Trujillo era various censuses laws were done. In these censuses, it was common to alter the information so the country would look “whiter” and to minimize blackness. During the Trujillo era, new racial classifications were used to avoid referring them as black in the census, these classifications will be looked at in the next chapter.

“In 2007, the Dominican government issued Circular 17 and Resolution 12, which effectively eliminate birthright citizenship and were aimed almost exclusively at Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent” (Hood, 2012). Anyone born in the DR after this date officially would fall into jus sanguinis citizenship, or citizenship determined by the nationality of one’s parent or parents, instead of Juris soli citizenship, or citizenship determined by place of birth. Different NGO’s, international and in the country, determined that this was done to control the future entrance of Haitians in the country and to ensure that if they give birth in the country their offspring could not claim citizenship.

The 2013 Supreme Court ruling on citizenship

In September 2013, the Dominican Constitutional Tribunal summarily denationalized—or removed citizenship from—tens of thousands of Dominicans with the TC-168-13 ruling on citizenship Juris Solis birthright. This decision, based on a retroactive reinterpretation of Dominican nationality law, violated international human rights law, curtailed fundamental rights, and made people vulnerable to expulsion (humans right watch, 2015). They were declared citizens “in transit” and the ruling applied to whoever does not have at least one parent of Dominican blood -with or without proper documentation” (Rojas, 2013). The main argument from religious and human right organizations is that this is a discriminatory act against the

Haitian community. Haitians compose the main migrant force in the DR with close to 88 % (Vice News, 2015). According to Crespo (2015), over 200 thousand Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent were left stateless. Many do not want to leave the “Bateyes” out of fear of being deported to Haiti, a country that they do not consider home -especially those who were born in the DR because they identify as Dominican. One of the main issues with the decision is that many young dominico-haitians would lose access to education because this would invalidate their status in the country. Most of the population of Haitian descent and Haitian migrants have difficulty when it comes to accessing public services, either because of their status in the country or because public servants deny access to them. The statistics show that the prevalence of Haitians that have migrated to the DR have done it on a search for better paid labor, better education, and in general the hopes of gaining a better standard of living (Primera encuesta nacional de inmigrantes, 2012).

Just before the law was promulgated, in 2008 Juliana Deguis Pierre visited the Central Electoral Board office to request a voter identification card. However, her request was denied and her birth certificate was confiscated because both her last names were Haitian. “The Supreme Court ruling (TC-168-13) came about when they decided that she did not have a right to Dominican citizenship because she was born from Haitian parents that were not citizens of the country and it was a mistake to give her a birth certificate” (Canton, McMullen, 2014). This ruling retroactively overturned citizenship norms that have been in place in the country since 1929. Before this ruling citizenship in the DR was a constitutional birth right, “jus soli”. Furthermore, the court commanded the central electoral board to produce a list of all “foreigners” in a similar position as Juliana.

International response to the ruling on citizenship

Various organizations like UNICEF, the American Commission of Human Rights and Jesuit Refugee Services have called upon the international community, because of the DR's ruling. UNICEF, for example, made the following statement.

“The ruling by the Constitutional Court of the Dominican Republic depriving Dominican-born persons of Haitian descent of their right to citizenship could have a devastating impact on thousands of children. Without a nationality, stateless children can be denied access to basic social protection programmes, cannot earn education certificates or graduate, or obtain an identity card or a passport. Without these basic protections and opportunities, these children are more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. “The decision contradicts numerous court decisions and treaties to which the Dominican Republic is party, and contravenes basic principles of human rights” (UNICEF, 2013).

As well CARICOM (the community of Caribbean States) made a statement advocating for a resolution to what they consider a crisis. “They consider it as an unresolved human rights crisis that is not getting the attention it deserved from the major countries of the global community. They pointed that the situation could mushroom into a major humanitarian crisis in Haiti and the wider Region” (CARICOM, 2015).

Eventually, “the pressure from the International community led the Dominican government to pass a law that allowed people born to undocumented foreign parents, whose birth was never registered in the Dominican Republic, to request residency permits as foreigners.” (Brodzinsky, 2015). However, human rights groups have called the process of naturalization unfair and expensive for a community that merely makes a living wage in the country. Added to this is the

fact that many of them are unemployed because the sugar industry has become smaller (Jesuit Refugee Services, 2014). There is also the fact that they consider themselves Dominicans and they see a process of naturalization unfair, because they are not “foreigners”. In the other hand, the government of Haiti was initially strong in raising objection to these policies, but they stated that this is not a Haitian issue, but an issue concerning Dominican citizens (Canton, McMullen, 2014). The DR government approved fewer than 5,000 of the 288,000 applications it received over the 18 months since the program went into effect (Brodzinsky, 2015). The reality is that not enough staff was put in place to cover the situation and discrimination continues to happen. Therefore, many in the Haitian community do not even apply. This is an issue that is currently happening in the DR. Many Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent do not see the end of the situation very soon and say the government and the media are against them.

Chapter 4) The ever-present Haitian: an analysis of the press, comic strips and the social media and how they are used to discriminate against Haitians

Trujillo’s dictatorship constructed a discourse around the rejection of blackness and Africanism, categories that they mainly associated with Haitians (Derby, 2009). Regimes before and after Trujillo would continue to see Haitians as “alien” to Dominican society and “invaders” who must be controlled and were only worth their labor in the sugar fields. According to Howard (2001), the Trujillo era was characterized by anti-Haitian government propaganda and by a discourse which emphasized that the DR is everything that Haiti is not. The use of hate language was commonly used by the political elites in the DRs history when they referred to the Haitian minorities. For example, during the Balaguer dictatorship, it was common to refer to the Haitian

minority in the country as silent invaders and uncultured as part of the anti-Haitian discourse of the State (Howard, 2001). Anti-haitianismo, therefore, became part of the institutionalized violence excelled against this group. “Hate language refers to terms which are used to stigmatize, demonize or dehumanize groups defined by their national, ethnic, religious, racial, or political identity” (Richter, et al, 2009; p.4).

Hate language has constantly been used by the DR’s government. However, it is also widely present in the media and more recently in the social media in different manifestations. It has become common to create social web portals where the constant mockery of Haitians is present. Memes (humorous images, videos, pieces of text, etc.) are used commonly to stereotype them and in some cases to incite violence. Some examples will be shown in this chapter. As well, the mass media in the country has been present in the attacks against this group. It is common to see radio and TV host directly attacking the Haitian presence in the country, some of these examples are present in YouTube. In some cases, even inciting violence and sharing videos of these events. The social video sharing site, YouTube, has been used to upload videos showing attack against Haitians in the country, some of these videos will be analyzed in this chapter. This has been done to scare them and show them that they are not welcome in the country. The comment sections in websites such as Facebook and YouTube are usually plagued with comments showing both support and opposition to them.

The denial of racism is a common problem in the DR and the Caribbean, as well as class divisions in accordance with racial/ethnic lines. “The political elites continue to deny racism as a Dominican problem. The African heritage, long neglected or denied by many Dominicans, is denigrated in both elite and popular culture” (Howard, 2001; p. 20-21). The double discourse continues to deny racism and discrimination against Haitians while at the same time they enact

policies that continue to undermine this population. Giovannetti (2015) argues that there is a failure in the Hispanic Caribbean when it comes to the recognition of racism. In fact, the popular culture would never admit about the discrimination against Haitians. They speak of it as a defense of their country's sovereignty. They argue that racism cannot exist in a mixed society.

An example is the Dominican Radio host, Julio Martinez Pozo, who mentioned in 2014 that any decision made by the international court of justice against the DR would be an invasion of their sovereignty. He mentioned that a rule against them by the Court would be like the Haitian invasion of 1822 and that the DR had to protect itself. He also mentioned that Haitian women only come to the DR to give birth so their offspring would have a claim on Dominican citizenship. Recently, in 2017, a television host for channel 9 in the DR was expressing of the dangers of Haitians. He mentioned that in their country and in other countries they go to make trouble. He said that in every country Haitians they always cause trouble and that for example in Chile they disrupt the street markets and do not know how to behave. In another instant, the television host, Joe Diaz, mentioned that the Haitian population in the country is out of control. He mentioned that this population comes to invade and defy the sovereignty of the DR. As well, that the Haitian birth rate in the DR is out of control. They would inflate the number of Haitian migrants and people of Haitian descent in the country by saying that they are over 6 million Haitians presently in the DR (Joe Diaz, 2017).

While the social media now plays a new role in the construction of conflict. It cannot be denied that the classical mass media is still present in the discourses of conflictive development. In the case of the DR, it has been present since at least the XIX century. Eller (2016) mentions that the constant mockery of Haitians and black people was common in the DRs newspaper since the 1850's. While during the US occupation of the country the newspaper, "El cable", and others

would be used to cement even more the division between both groups, by the usage of fake news and comic strips relating Haitians to sickly people and witchcraft (Garcia, 2016). Derby (2009) mentions that the media was one of the main tools of the Trujillo regime. With this one, they could translate their message in a way that could reach every Dominican and make them see their point. It was with the media that anti-haitianismo more than ever became an institutionalized part of the regime and their anti-black discourse. However, it is curious that not a single Dominican newspaper has a permanent correspondent in Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti. "Most of the news they give from Haiti come from secondary sources and reporters tend to have little knowledge of the country itself" (Sagas, 2000, P. 77). At point end, many in the media rely on stereotypes and second-hand knowledge when they translate information from Haiti and Haitians. Comic strips are some of the best ways they illustrate this message. Some of these comics and the previously mentioned memes will now be illustrated to show how they are used.

14 November 2010



This image from the newspaper “El listin diario” depicts how a Haitian couple tells a Dominican that the island is indivisible (Guilamo, 2013). First, it can be noticed, how the fear of a Haitian takeover of the DR is still depicted even after a natural disaster. Whatever happens to one, will also happen to the other, therefore, they are in the same boat. The second thing that it can be noticed is the stereotypical phenotype that is used to depict the Haitians, while the Dominican is depicted as a white man.

15 July 2011

Comment [SLW2]: Source



This image from “el listin diario” depicts the issue with the cholera crisis that started after the Haitian earthquake (Guilamo, 2013). It depicts a Dominican pointing at a Haitian blaming him for the appearance of cholera in the DR, while a Puerto Rican man points to the DR blaming them for the same. It is common to view Haitians in the DR as bringers of disease, as it was mentioned in the last chapter.



Comment [SLW3]:

Comment [SLW4]: Source

This image from el “listin diario” bring into the issues of the border (Guilamo, 2013). As it was mentioned before the border came to signify Dominican sovereignty. However, because of immigration from Haiti, it is common to blame a “lazy” and corrupted guard for not doing their jobs. It says, “this is not my issue, this is the issue of the guard.” It is important to have in mind how all these images depict Dominicans as light skin people, and it is not common to depict the mix diversity and the dark skin people of the DR.



Comment [SLW5]: Source

This is a meme that is typically used to attack Haitians and people of Haitian descent in the social media. This one, for example, was used to attack the Facebook page of the Haitians human rights groups [reconoci.do](https://www.facebook.com/reconoci.do) ("Facebook [reconoci.do](https://www.facebook.com/reconoci.do)," 2017) It says, we are not racist, we are defending the homeland. This statement goes back to the rhetoric's that are constantly being used in the mass media. Not recognizing Dominican of Haitian descent as real Dominicans. Additionally, it labels that a "true patriot" must defend their country from an invasion. The fears of a Haitian invasion continue to play in the Dominican imagination.



Comment [SLW6]: Source

This meme, found in Facebook and google images, depict a black man who could be either Dominican or Haitian. It says, black Haitian, black Dominican. It tries to bring into mind that people in both countries that are very dark skinned can be easily seen as Haitian, even if they are Dominican. This kind of memes are usually used to make jokes about people from rural DR and Dominicans of Haitian descent. Mostly, because of their skin color, because they are seen as “too dark”.

Discussing the comment sections in the social media

Social networks are micro-spaces where both the anonymous and the open interact. While it is common to find spaces where people do not hide their identities when they write, in others, like YouTube, they stay anonymous. Writing from the shadows is part of a growing trend

in the social webs. From discourse analysis position, it is interesting to find many of these comments. Let's take, for example, YouTube. In this site, it is common to upload videos where violence between Dominicans and Haitians are depicted. For example, the video named "sacan haitianos a la fuerza en Moca y destruyen sus pertenencias" (they force Haitians out of their homes and destroy their property) depicts how a Dominican mob attack and destroys a Haitian migrant home (Bardily Lantigua, 2015). In the comment section, it can be found how some comments mention that Haitian should be expelled from the country, but not in a violent way. Other comments mention that if force is needed then it must be done. Other comments even mention the 1822 invasion and how the Haitian massacred Dominican nationals. Therefore, it can be seen how the governmental discourse of a second Haitian invasion, silent or not, is alive in the mentality of many. However, that does not mean that everyone in the DR agrees with this and they are still many fully against these acts.

Another video uploaded to the Facebook page "Acento" called "¿Como se siente ser negra?" (how does it feel to be a black woman?) talks about blackness in the DR. The rhetoric of race and appreciating one's identity are present in the video (Facebook Acento, 2017). However, this message is not appreciated by all, defining the video as unnecessary and dumb. Other speak out saying that being black in the DR is common and that only Haitian hate being called black. While other say that they are a mixed society and African culture should not be their representation. Once again, the invasion of 1822 is mentioned more than once. Calling Haitians racists for their massacres of whites and mulattos in the XIX century. It can be seen how the discourse can be turned against Haitians and African culture. While at the same time not recognizing racism in their words. While some comments do accept the DR as a mulatto republic, other envision these videos as a campaign against their Hispanic culture. The general

discourse can be seen in both support and opposition of blackness, however, always keeping Haiti aside. They can be black, but never Haitian black.

Thinking the context of anti-haitianismo in the press and social medias

It can be seen by the past examples that anti-haitianismo is a constant reality in the Dominican media. The examples are multiple both the constant reality is how Haitians have been built as a threat to the country in the media. The political discourse that was created by the elites and the political parties of the country is ever present in these papers. Haiti is the rival in moral, culture, language and religion of the DR. The media as an example of hate language is constantly being used to continue this discourse. By exaggerating the Haitian presence in the country and stereotyping their culture they continue these discriminatory rhetoric's. Anti-haitianismo has become, therefore, a matter of speech and contextualization that is no longer use by the elites. It has become common as a form of internalized racism in the DR. Dominicans have internalized most of the speech pattern used in the media and the government to attack the Haitian population. This can be evidenced in the comment sections of different social medias. As shown before, many of these comment sections have become grounds to debate and directly attack the Haitian population. Both in an open and anonymous form.

El degüello de Moca



Para fundar la República Dominicana Duarte NO mató a negros y mulatos.

Para fundar Haití, Dessalines mató a blancos y mulatos.

Los dominicanos NUNCA HEMOS INVADIDO HAITI NI DEGOLLADO A SUS CIUDADANOS CIVILES NI MILITARES.

Los haitianos nos han invadido militarmente en 17 ocasiones y en 1805 a la retirada cometieron el crimen de lesa humanidad del degüello de Moca y la quema de Santiago.

ENTONCES, QUIENES SON LOS RACISTAS?

Evidentemente, **LOS RACISTAS SON LOS HAITIANOS.**

Ej.- Entonces, el pueblo de Moca se vió sumido en el degüello por parte de los racistas haitianos. El degüello de Moca es el mayor acto de barbarie de los racistas haitianos contra los dominicanos.

Comment [SLW7]: Source

This image depicts a famous event during the XIX century in the island. It is a meme used in the social media. It translates to the following: “to establish the DR Duarte did not kill blacks and mulattos. To establish Haiti, Dessalines did kill whites and mulattos. Dominicans have never invaded Haiti and beheaded its civilians and soldiers. Haitians have invaded the DR 17 times and in 1805 when they were leaving the country they beheaded the citizens of Moca and set Santiago on fire. Then who is the racist? Evidently, the Haitians are. Moca is, therefore, the biggest human rights violation committed from the racist Haitians to the Dominicans.” This

is a literal translation of the text in this meme and it is a clear statement of the anti-Haitian rhetoric's that are still alive in the country. It shows how the Haitian invasions of the country in the XIX century are still being used today in the DR as an excuse to discriminate. This argument of a Haitian invasion is widely used in the web. It was mentioned before that during the presidency of Balaguer it was common to refer to Haitians as silent invaders that trying to take over the DR. In contemporary times, this argument continues to be used in meme form.

Additionally, it can be seen how Haitians are seen as racist. It is common in these memes and in the comment sections to see them as racist because in the Dominicans imagination Haitian did not want to mix with the white and mix population of the island. In fact, this conception comes from the Dominican ideal of a mixed society and is deeply rooted in the ideology that came from "limpieza de sangre". As it was mentioned before, mixing with the light population was the ideal and Haitian are understood as a "purely" African culture. Because of their supposed lack of mixture, they are a threat and it does not matter that the events of the invasion happened centuries ago their culture is still a living threat to Dominican society. Most people will not accept that they are discriminating against Haiti and depreciating blackness.

In conclusion, anti-haitianismo is a reality in the Dominican social and press medias. The news, comic strips and memes are constantly being used to spread the State message and stereotyping and discriminating against the Haitian minority in the country. As the world becomes more digital and the use of the social media becomes more common memes have become a tool to attack Haitians in these digital spaces. The Haitian invasion of the country in the XIX century and their presence as a minority in the country are constantly being retold with memes and comic strips to attack and stereotype them. However, the social media is also being used by these groups to organize and battle those that discriminate against them. The rise of

NGOs led by Dominicans of Haitian descent and the use of multicultural education as a tool to teach against discrimination have become solidified in the social media. Therefore, these digital spaces have also become new battle grounds for those against the harsh historical treatment of Haitians in the country. The following chapter will expand on how these NGOs are using the social media and how activism rooted in the belief of multicultural education is being used in the country.

Chapter 5) The rise of Social movements and their use of multicultural education in the Dominican Republic

In the DR, the rise of social movements and non-governmental organizations (NGO) came out of a need for basic human right in the country and the call for the equality of women and minorities. During the Trujillo era, these organizations did not get a chance to act and they were mostly working underground, however, with the rise of Balaguer, the country saw the first movements inspired by the theological school of liberation and the writings of Freire (Bajaj, Valera, 2009).

“Liberation theology is a religious movement arising in late 20th-century Roman Catholicism and centered in Latin America. It sought to apply religious faith by aiding the poor and oppressed through involvement in political and civic affairs. It stressed both heightened awareness of the “sinful” socioeconomic structures that caused social inequities and active participation in changing those structures” (“liberation theology | Roman Catholicism | Britannica.com,” 2011).

These movements inspired by religious organizations, like the Jesuits, would continue to expand in the country. Today they are two main organizations in the DR inspired by the liberation

theology movement, they will be mentioned further in the text. By the turn of the 1970's the women centered movements were born (Bajaj, Valera, 2009). These new movements would focus on the status of women and labor rights, particularly in the rural areas of the DR. Like the movements born in the 1960's, during the presidency of Balaguer, these organizations would appeal to the rural and urban poor. They would work particularly with the subjects of inequality and alcohol abuse. Finally, during the 1980's the first movements centered on human rights and minorities rose in the country. These movies would expand their theoretical notions by teaching that gender and racism are social constructs that can be tackled (Bajaj, Valera, 2009). A new movement would eventually be born out of this that would focus on critical pedagogy and multicultural and human rights education. Grassroot NGO's would form all over the country led by black skinned Dominicans and Dominicans of Haitian descent. They would make alliances with student organizations and other NGO's led by religious organizations to teach against discrimination and racism in the country (ONE RESPE, 2017). Multicultural education would be central to the labor of these originations and their contemporary focuses.

The reasoning behind the topic of multicultural education lies mostly on how some of the social movements in the DR are working with the Haitian minority, migrant and born, and discussing its importance.

Multicultural education, as its major architects have conceived it during the last decade, is not an ethnic- or gender-specific movement. It is a movement designed to empower all students to become knowledgeable, caring, and active citizens in a deeply troubled and ethnically polarized nation and world. (Banks, 1993)

Parting from this definition it can be seen how different NGO in the DR, such as ONE Respe, has been working to educate children of different backgrounds on the importance of multiculturalism and on understanding racism, more information on this NGO would be provided further in the chapter. ONE Respe, for example, has been conducting different research on how the DR's school curriculum is built in such a way that they invisibilized the diversity of African culture and the long Haitian presence in the country (One Respe, 2007). Another NGO called the Dominican-Haitian women's movement is seeking new paths of empowerment for the Haitian minority and they have achieved various goals in terms of educating women and young people. There is also Jesuit refugee services an organization that has dedicated much of their resources to helping displaced Haitian and Dominican of Haitian descent in the country with their papers, particularly after the 2013 Supreme Court decision.

This chapter will dedicate a summary to each of these organizations, however, it must be kept in mind that they are led from both a grassroot and religious level, depending on the NGO. Their memberships are diverse and composed of working men and women, Dominicans of Haitian descent, students, Haitian migrants and others. Their funding comes from both the central Church organization in the case of the Jesuit NGO's and from fund raisers that they celebrate all over the country. They are kept afloat by the support of their members and local allies. They can range from a small student led organization like reconoci.do to a bigger Church based organization composed of hundreds of members like Jesuit Refugee services.

As it was mentioned before, the writings of Freire had a deep influence on the developing of the goals and ideologies of the different human rights and educational organizations that formed in the DR. From the book "*Pedagogy of the oppressed*" from Freire (1972) they took the conception of a State structure that constantly contradict itself and functions to manipulate

society into a State sponsored educational system. These organizations have not taken lightly to a state system that promotes anti-haitianismo and discrimination against black people in the country (One Respe, 2017). Freire promotes an ideology that challenges state sponsored contradictions from a grassroot and local level. When he defines contradiction, he meant a governmental system that systematically discriminates against poor people and marginalizes groups in a country, while at the same time denying these arguments. (Freire, 1972). In the DR, the NGO's argue that the elites have created a governmental and school system that is deeply rooted on anti-haitianismo and the denying of African culture (reconoci.do, 2017). It is argued that the school curriculum in the DR does not openly acknowledge slavery as something that directly affected Dominicans during the colonial era (One Respe, 2007). These NGO's also argue that discriminating against Haitians has become so common in the country that most people do not recognize racism and the way they are discriminating. It is argued that it is thought that being against the Haitian presence in the country is the same as defending the homeland (The DR) from foreign intervention.

These organizations also believe in the Freirean (1972) conception that it is important to keep a language that is understandable by people that do not have a college or school education. To form an NGO from a grassroot level they argue that they must avoid a political language and instead talk from the concrete situation of the people involved. Therefore, an organization must fully participate with those that are marginalized and affected by the systematic system of discrimination created by the State. Additionally, it is important to notice that the goals of these organizations were born directly from the global campaigns on human rights. They see human rights as a reality that is interdependent and indivisible from their goals. They fully understand that in order to reach more people they must keep an active campaign on educational reform and

human rights activism. For example, they are constantly active in the Social media as a way to communicate their message and their work (reconoci.do, 2017). Using web-sites, Facebook, YouTube and twitter is understood as one of the main ways to reach more people, especially the youth. A practical approach to their human rights campaign, therefore, rely on active communication and direct interaction with the affected populations and the aggressors. They fully participate in human rights marches and manifestations in the cities of the DR and work with each other in the country to reach more people (reconoci.do, 2017). As well, they use the social media to communicate their concerns. However, they argued that to put an end t conflict in the country more studies are needed and effort from both the government and the dominant groups. To do this multicultural education is needed because it will also create a context where it is possible to discuss and create an argument against the institutionalized anti-haitianismo that has been present in the country for over a century.

In a study done by the Work Bank (2005), it is argued that conflict constitutes a major obstacle to the achievement of education for all and the Millennium Development Goals. However, it is argued that education is one of the few ways to put an end to conflict. The school system is almost always complicit in conflict development (World Bank, 2005). This is because schools and education, in general, can be constructed as a tool both for peace and conflict by creating a curriculum that can incite violence against a certain group, or vice versa. However, a developer should use education to help reverse the damage done by violent and non-violent conflict. By participating directly with local NGO's and educational reform institutions they can help create new contexts where peace resolution programs are the goal. As mentioned, in the case of the DR, the school system, particularly during the Trujillo era, was incorporated with a governmental message of anti-haitianismo (Derby, 1994).

It is important to have in mind that not all conflict is violent. In the DR, the social movements and NGOs work with a conflict that is mostly in the verbal and political level. However, more than once it has exploded into violence, for example, the Haitian massacre of 1937 and recently with force relocation of Haitians families in the country (Blacken, 2015). Institutional violence against Haitians is ever present with the recent Supreme court decision on citizenship and the media attacks against Haitians. While social movements have always been present in the DR only the recent movements have incorporated multicultural education and human rights education (Bajaj, Valera, 2009). “A recent study in the DR has shown that students that have studied under curriculums that include multicultural and human right education understand better the plight of minorities and feel more comfortable with their own identity” (Bajaj, Valera, 2009, p. 48).

Grassroot NGO's are active in the country when it comes to multicultural education. They are open to the importance of being creative in the educational process and teaching inside and outside the classroom. By creating project induced in the arts, poetry and others they look to reach a new background of people. They are open to the importance of democratic processes that should involve everyone in their society. “Democracy is of vital importance in the creation of a multicultural educational system” (Banks, 1996, p. 5) If a society is open to democracy it should also be open to differences inside its territory and accept them inside the democratic process. The DR is a country that only recently starting opening to democracy as both the Trujillo and Balaguer eras came to an end. With democracy, new groups emerged advocating for their right, particularly groups composed of dark skinned people, Haitian migrants and Dominicans of Haitians descent. Advocating for a national school curriculum that is transformative and that fights against racism and historical stereotypes. As well, they want to see more political

participation from the Haitian minority in the country. Therefore, educating about democratic processes inside a multicultural society is of vital importance. "Citizenship education has historically been constructed by powerful and mainstream groups and has usually served their interest" (Banks, 200, p. 4). Therefore, they want a curriculum to be constructed on the importance of all groups and how they can all contribute to their country. Each NGO has a different method into how they create change. However, they all agree that education is the key. A summary of these organizations will be done to continue the analysis on how they are working in the country and how their projects continue to incorporate multicultural education and human rights.

ONE RESPE

The name of this organization, One Respe, is an expression taken from Haitian creole and its means honor and respect. This is a statement usually use in the Haitian rural areas. The organization is composed of Haitian migrants, migrants from other countries in Latin America, Dominicans of Haitian descent, black and mix Dominicans and numerous allies in the city of Santiago, DR. Their main mission is to educate in a country with a deep social division between peoples. They fight against discrimination and for fair democratic processes in the country. One of their ideas is to inspire more people to become leaders and participate in the democratic processes. Their main prototype is the creation of community schools. In these schools, they invite people from every background to participate in a multicultural environment. Multicultural education is one their main tools when it comes to educating. They believe that a way to put an end to discrimination is to educate on how history can be manipulated by the media and the state. They also believe that an early exposure to diversity is one of the best ways to fight racism. Individual cultural identity is vital in their teachings and they want children to understand that

these differences are good. Their main motto is “racism kills democracy, love and divides nations”.

This organization has done various studies in the DR. Their main study pointed out that racism against Haitians and African people is present in the DR’s school system (One respe, 2007). They also found out that while Spanish culture is widely celebrated in different books in the Dominican school system. However, slavery is only mentioned briefly and they never go into detail. These books also never mention the old caste system that was in place in the country during the colonial era. As well, they hardly ever mention Haiti except when it comes to the invasion of 1822. In the community schools, they want to teach history beyond these points. They want both young and adults to understand how diverse their country is and to participate programs that teach with art, poetry and storytelling. They want more people to understand the diversity of the DR and to question what anti-haitianismo is and how it is manipulated by the state. They also want them to understand the importance of African culture as one of the main contributors to Dominican culture. They believe that multicultural education is for everyone and is needed to change the country.

MUDHA

MUDHA stand for, movement of dominico-haitian women, Inc. This NGO was inspired by the first wages of feminist movements that were born in the DR during the 1960’s and 70’s. They work for the validations of women’s and human rights in the DR. It is an organization composed of women of Haitian descent, but it also incorporates other working women in the country and survivors of violence. Through education and workshops, they bring together women that have been abused or suffered under the human trade. They offer help in different forms. For example, psychologist and social workers offer their services to help these women.

Comment [SLW8]: What MUDHA means?

Workshops on sexual and reproductive health, vocational training and even creative theater. They believe in the fundamental rights of Haitians and people of Haitian descent living in the DR. They fight stereotypes with education, especially to those concerning sexual labor and sexual abuse. Many of these women share their stories and how they have survived to inspire others to continue. They also help them with the creation of community markets where they sell handmade goods and in some cases even books that they have written. Finally, they offer legal assistance to members of the community and are politically active in the movement for minority rights in the DR. They participate in the expansion of multicultural and human rights education by incorporating people of many backgrounds in the organization. Members of the NGO also participate in the project by narrating their experiences and the importance of recognizing diversity in the country.

Jesuit Refugee Service and Centro Bonó

Jesuit refugee service is a branch of the society of Jesus (the Jesuits). They founded border solidarity in 1997 in the border city of Dajabón (Tapia, 2010). Their philosophy is deeply rooted in the theology of liberation and they are the main church based NGO in the country. Their mission is to create human centered programs with the goals of servicing people that have been forcibly removed from their homes. In the DR, they mostly work with Haitian migrants and Dominicans of Haitian descent that have been displaced due to ethnic violence. For example, after the DRs supreme court decision on citizenship violence against the Haitian minority has been on the rise. This has caused many Haitian migrants to leave their homes in the bateyes and head to the border. Here this organization provides services that range from multicultural and human rights education to healthcare.

The organization is centered around the need to educate. From pre-school education to special needs education. As well, they teach peace and reconciliation education and adult literacy. They also provide help when it comes to helping refugee integrate to their new communities and help them in their return home or resettlement. In the case of the DR, most Haitian refugees created tent cities in the border areas and this organization provides them help. However, the situation is found to be critical as entire families look to resettle. Finally, this religious organization provides pastoral services to those seeking it. In the border area, they also look to conciliate the different NGO's in the area in a conjoint mission of helping those in need. Solidarity and the seeking of peace between both ethnicities is their final goal. Both organizations are composed of Haitians, Haitian migrants, Dominicans of Haitian descent, mix and black Dominicans, Jesuits and other allies in the country.

Centro Bonó is a branch of the Society of Jesus and their agency for refugee services, their headquarters is in Santo Domingo. They oversaw the first national poll on migrants in the DR. With this poll, they concluded that Haitians composed most migrants in the country and that they are also the most marginalized group. Racism is still alive and one of the main reason that leads to labor rights abuses in the DR. It could be seen how they are usually underpaid for their labor and their housing conditions are the worst in the country. Many do not have drinking and running water in their homes and lack electricity. The bateyes are usually poor regions plagued with problems, from the lack of access to education to lack of healthcare. The organization has also explored the topic of commercial relations between both countries and how the border markets are beneficial to both groups. They participate in manifestation claiming for the rights of workers, healthcare and access to a more critical education for all.

Reconoci.do

Reconoci.do started as the electoral board of the DR started imposing new restraint into the voting process in 2007. This group is mostly composed of Dominicans of Haitians decent, students of different ethnicities, and other allies, and they are working as social activist and educators to bring their stories to light and fight discrimination. They reclaim that they have put in place new rules that were making it impossible for people of Haitian descent to excel their right to vote. This was done by making people bring their birth certificates, something that the DR government has made impossible for thousands of Dominicans of Haitian descent. Mostly, because past administrations have denied granting this certificates to Haitians families in the past, this was done outside the constitutional law at the time. Fear is recurrent in these communities. They understand that education is needed to help Haitian migrant and their descent understand their rights and value. There is a need for education in the “bateyes”, because many in the Haitian minority do not understand how the law is discriminating against them and that they could be deported (“Citizenship Limbo for Dominican Haitians,” 2015). This organization and the other NGO’s are working with the current case that took citizenship from thousands of dominico-haitians. They have all made statement relating to this case as a complete violation of human rights and the possible start of a humanitarian crisis.

The battle against discrimination in the DR and the roles of the NGO’s

The human rights and educational activism NGO’s of the DR understand the historical discrimination of Haitian and black people in the country. They grasp that the legacy of “limpieza de sangre” and the eugenic politic that emerged during the US occupation of the country are still felt today. The social media, the press, the government and the comment section of different websites in the country still show that there is an argument against the presence of Haitian migrants and Dominicans of Haitian descent in the DR. There is a deep preference for

whiteness and Haitian blackness is regarded as anti-Dominican. The NGO's continue to participate and to create activism promoting multicultural education and its inclusion in the national school curriculum system (One Respe, 2017). The Jesuits and women and student organizations are fighting a difficult battle, but they believe that their activism and work would eventually make a difference (Reconoci.do, 2017).

The biggest challenge that the Haitian minority is facing right now in the DR is the previously mentioned Supreme Court decision on citizenship. The different NGO's that work with education and minorities in the country immediately understood this decision as racist. This is because they are the majority of migrants in the country. Centro Bono and MUDHA, for example, are working against this decision by creating forums and educational workshops on the harms of the decision. They are calling for more pressure from the international community and the government to find a way around a decision that they consider a human rights violation (Centro Bono, 2015). They are openly arguing that the processes that the government put in place to give people of Haitian descent their nationality are not working and make it impossible for them to get all the documents and legal requirements. This, mostly, because these people do not have the economic means and support from the government to get the paperwork done. The argument is that historically the government has discriminated against Haitians in the DR and the laws that they continue to put in place are continuing this systematic discrimination. Anti-haitianismo is, therefore, a reality and the government is to blame for the continuous marginalization of black people, Haitian or not, in the country. They find that the measures that the government took after the Supreme Court decision are a failure as mentioned in chapter 3. Centro Bono is currently working on the creation of a second national survey on the situation of migrants in the DR, however, this has not started yet (Centro Bono, 2017).

Additionally, the organization Reconoci.do in their argument for the recognition of Dominicans of Haitian descent in the DR and their embrace of multiculturalism have been involved in protest against the decision. Leaders of the organization have received death threats and they argued that the police have constantly harassed them in their protests (Centro Bono, 2016). The digital newspaper Acento reported that Genaro Rincón, member of Reconoci.do was assaulted by nationalists in the country's capital (Centro Bono, 2016). As well, digital outlets for human rights such as Acento have reported on the situation and called upon the government for their human rights violations (Acento, 2017). These organizations keep calling upon the government to take responsibility for the rise of violence against Haitians and black Dominicans in the DR. Karin Weyland, PhD, (2010) argues that the human rights organizations in the country are a leveling ground when it comes to fighting discrimination and racism. However, it is argued that more work is needed to reach more people with education on multiculturalism and to teach on racism and anti-haitianismo. Different higher-level institutions in the country have actually banded together to give symposium on the situation of migrant and racism in the country since before the Supreme Court decision (Weyland, 2010).

In conclusion, anti-haitianismo is one of the historical consequences of a system that started with the elites of the DR in the XIXth century. In order to tackle discrimination, these organizations have created a system of multicultural education to deconstruct and teach on the diversity of the country and how the elites and the media continue to manipulate history. To fight against this, they are looking to teach about the old caste system, "limpieza de sangre" and eugenics so the dominant groups of the country and the Haitian minority would start understanding how these conceptions developed since before the mass arrival of Haitians to the country. By teaching from a grassroots level and campaigning for a more critical and

multicultural education they are hoping to reach more people. However, it is challenging precisely because they provide these services from a grassroots level and not many public institutions embrace their models (One Respe, 2007). “The situation of ethnic Haitians and Dominican of Haitian descent in the DR fits the description of a conflict society due to the routine violation of the basic human rights of this sizable population...” (Bajaj, Valera, 2009, p. 43). This is a reality that the human rights NGO’s of the country understand, however they continue fighting for the rights of this population and for their inclusion in Dominican society.

Conclusion

The political elites in the DR have constructed Haitians as a threat to Dominican society. The current discrimination that the Haitian community faces in the DR is rooted in the pages of history. The dictatorship of Trujillo was a consequence of the historical racism against Haitians. These consequences have poured to modern times. Haitians have migrated to the DR in order to obtain a better quality of life and they have continued to migrate and stay with their families even when they face discrimination. It must be understood that 2013 Supreme Court decision is rooted in racist politics and institutionalize anti-haitianismo. More pressured must be put on the DR by civil society, human rights organization and the international community for them to address the situation. The movements that are continuously being born in the DR, especially those in the “Bateyes”, can spark a debate in Dominican society. Education is one of the keys to end oppression and racism against this minority. In the end, field work is needed to better understand the current situation of politics and race relations in the country.

“The purpose of education is to create in a person the ability to look at the world himself, to make his own decisions, to say to himself this is white this is black, to decide for himself...”

(Banks, 2007, p. 4). It is important to have in mind that the problem in the DR is not precisely how they identify themselves. It is more the place in history that they give to certain parts of their descent. A person can identify however he wants, culture and how a person's view skin color is particular to each country. However, the issues here lie on how blackness and Haitians have been identified as foreign and a threat. If a Dominican identifies as Indio, there is nothing wrong with that, it is part of their complexity. Being of mix race is part of the Dominican historical process. However, if they do that because they do not want to admit their blackness then it is problematic. In this context, it has created frustration, racism and violence against Haitians and dark-skinned people.

Part of the process of education in the DR should be to consider their historical processes and create an identity that embraces their differences and appreciate Africanisms. To be black is part of Caribbean and DR culture. To opposed racism, it is important to create a school curriculum and initiatives that work to consolidate this. It is important to see Haitians as part of DR history, and as a people that have lived and influenced them for centuries. Under a Freirean (1972) argument, community-based learning programs in the bateyes are important to educate on historical deconstruction and empowerment in order for these communities to understand their human rights and seek out justice. This is precisely what numerous NGO's in the country are helping to build. History is never linear, it is multiple lines that connect and that can be manipulated in the school system and by the elites of each community. This is precisely what has been building up in the DR. Educating should consider the factors of a diverse identity and how race has been constructed by the elites to incite structured state violence (Farmer, 2006). In conclusion, the hardest part is reaching people or at least looking for a way to reach them.

Epecially, when their entire history has been manipulated to exclude others, but the NGO's and human rights groups of the DR believe that change is possible, step by step.

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