



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

Lund University
Department of Sociology
BIDS

POLITICIZING PREJUDICE

An Investigation into the Historic use of Anti-Haitian Prejudice and
Antagonism as a Political Tool in the Dominican Republic

Author: Josefine Lund Schlamovitz

Bachelor Thesis: UTVKO3
15 hp Spring semester 2016
Supervisor: Axel Fredholm

ABSTRACT

Author: Josefine Lund Schlamovitz

Title: Politicizing Prejudice: An Investigation into the Historic use of Anti-Haitian Prejudice and Antagonism in the Dominican Republic

Bachelor Thesis: UTVK03, 15hp

Semester: Spring 2016

Supervisor: Axel Fredholm

Department of Sociology/BIDS

In the Dominican Republic, residing Haitians and their descendants, emigrated from the neighboring country Haiti, occupy the lowest societal strata. A societal position ascribed to the long and fraught history between the two countries. Their presence has for decades caused great aversion and has officially been labeled anti-Haitianism. Described as a viable political tool for conservatives and nationalists, its early origin, anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism, is said to go back to colonialism. This thesis investigates the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism in two distinct periods of the Dominican Republic's history. The thesis is carried out as a research overview. As such, existing literature has been subjected to a secondary analysis, where an eclectic theoretical framework encompassing multiple theories and concepts that all approach the research area from different perspectives, have been applied. The thesis finds that politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism originated during the inception of the Dominican national identity, when Haiti was conceptualized as the necessary different 'Other' from which Dominicans could define their difference. This was among other things done through narratives encompassing representational strategies of stereotyping and naturalization which would later be reproduced and exaggerated by the dictatorial regime of Rafael L. Trujillo, who further institutionalized these as a state ideology. The thesis further finds that in both time periods, the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism was a means to reach the objective of two distinct racial projects.

Keywords: Dominican Republic, Dominican-Haitian relations, Anti-Haitianism, Prejudice, Politicization, National identity, Trujillo

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Hispaniola

6

Obtained from <http://www.britannica.com/place/Hispaniola/images-videos>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	2
1.2 SIGNIFICANCE	3
1.3 METHOD AND MATERIAL	3
1.4 DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS	5
1.5 TERMINOLOGY	6
1.6 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT	6
1.5 DISPOSITION OF THESIS	9
2.0 LITERATURE OVERVIEW	10
2.1 DOMINICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY	10
2.2 ANTI-HAITIANISM	13
2.3 DISCRIMINATION AND OPPRESSION OF HAITIANS AND DOMINICO-HAITIANS	14
3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	16
3.1 A NARRATIVE APPROACH TO NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION	16
3.2 RACIAL PROJECTS	17
3.3 REPRESENTATION	17
3.4 THE SOMATIC NORM IMAGE	19
3.5 LINKING THE THEORIES AND CONCEPTS	19
4.0 ANALYSIS	20
4.1 THE DOMINICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE HAITIAN 'OTHER'	20
4.2 ANTI-HAITIANISM – THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	25
4.3 RACIAL PROJECTS	30
4.4 THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL LEGACY	31
5.0 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION	34
6.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY	38

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the Dominican Republic, Haitians and their descendants residing in the country is a highly contested issue evoking many conflicting feelings. Emigrated from the neighboring country Haiti, Haitians and their descendants have for decades constituted the backbone of the Dominican economy. Traditionally they have been a source of cheap labor willing to employ the generally unwanted labor-intensive jobs such as sugar cane cutters but have in recent times also entered domestic work and tourism (Ferguson, 2003; Wooding & Moseley-Williams, 2004). Notwithstanding, they are an unwanted segment of the population, which is largely due to the fact that they are Haitians or have Haitian ancestry. While immigrants from other countries historically have succeeded in becoming an integrated part of the Dominican community (Chen, 2008; Hoetink, 1970), Haitians and their descendants have not. Their presence has for decades caused antipathy resulting in an extremely socially stratified society where Haitians and their descendants occupy the lowest strata. The aversion has been labeled ‘anti-Haitianism’ and is by some scholars described as a constructed discourse permeating every aspect and level of the Dominican society and culture (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008).

Although anti-Haitianism in its current discursive form is attributed to the dictatorial regime of Rafael L. Trujillo in the twentieth century during which the regime propagated it as a state ideology, its early origin can according to scholars be dated back to the time of colonialism. More specifically is it said to have been a contributing factor in the formation of the Dominican national identity (Derby, 1994; Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a). Even though the Dominican Republic has officially distanced itself from anti-Haitianism as a state ideology, many still consider it a viable political instrument used by conservatives and nationalists to influence the political discourse (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993b; Torres-Saillant, 1998). Consequently, it has enabled a highly criticized context, or culture, of acceptance with regard to individual and institutional discrimination and oppression of Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent (Amnesty International, 2007; Howard, 2001a; Inter-American Commission of Human Rights [IACHR], 2013; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008).

1.1 AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the extent of which, and through what means, the Dominican ruling powers have used prejudice against Haitians and Haitian antagonism politically in two distinct periods in the Dominican Republic's history. The first period of examination is during the inception of the Dominican national identity, which due to Dominican Republic's intricate history spanned over a several decades during the 18th and 19th century. The second period of examination is during the dictatorship of Rafael L. Trujillo who rules between 1930-1961. It is the hope that an analysis such as this can offer insight into the political use of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism vis-à-vis these two significant historical periods in Dominican history as well as into the social stratification of Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent currently prevalent in the Dominican Republic.

In order to operationalize the research aim, the main questions guiding this study are:

- ❖ What role did anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism play in the construction of a Dominican national identity?
- ❖ How was anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism used by the dictatorial regime of Rafael L. Trujillo?
- ❖ How were Haitians represented by the Dominican ruling powers in the two historical periods under examination?

When combined, these questions formulate the necessary framework for examining and analyzing the set aim. The thesis is based on secondary material and the findings are compared, discussed, analyzed and synthesized within the bounds of an eclectic theoretical framework. The theoretical framework comprises of different theories and key concepts which all take, either explicitly or implicitly, a constructionist stance to the ontological or epistemological issues and social phenomena that they seek to explain. They are as such all grounded in the perspective that everything from meaning to knowledge is individually or collectively constructed by social agents in the interplay with the social world within which they are situated. Thus nothing is fixed but is in fact situational and historical relational.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE

In the found literature anti-Haitianism is described as a central component of the Dominican society and inherent to the Dominican national identity. It is furthermore being used as an explanation for the existence of overt discrimination and social stratification of Haitians and their descendants in the Dominican Republic. Yet anti-Haitianism is seldom the focal point of an analysis. In the found literature only one study is an actual exploration of anti-Haitianism. In the literature there is furthermore a tendency to associate the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism primarily to the dictatorial regime of Trujillo. Notwithstanding it is generally acknowledged that the early origin of anti-Haitianism can be traced back to the inception of the Dominican national identity, it is rarely recognized as having been politicized during this time. This thesis therefore hopes to offer insights into the social phenomenon of anti-Haitianism as well as contribute in filling the apparent research gap in the existing literature in regard to the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism.

1.3 METHOD AND MATERIAL

This study is carried out as a research overview, applying secondary data as the main empirical foundation of analysis. The materials comprise of academic books and articles, a PhD thesis, literature reviews and grey literature. The data is subjected to a secondary analysis (Bryman, 2008) whereby it is compared, analyzed, reinterpreted and synthesized using tools provided by the theoretical framework to discover new modes of explanation and understanding.

Conducting a study based upon secondary data has both advantages and disadvantages for the research process and the produced outcome. Starting with the former, using secondary data enables the researcher to dedicate more time to an in-depth analysis and interpretation. A reanalysis of existing literature therefore has the possibility of providing enhanced clarifications and/or new interpretations of the social phenomenon in question (Bryman, 2008). The main disadvantage is however that another researcher collected the data, and probably for a different purpose whereby important information and data relating to the secondary analysis could be absent. Source criticism is therefore vital to enhance the validity of the secondary analysis (Bryman, 2008).

The material used in this thesis can be divided into two categorizations: key sources and complementary sources. Key sources comprise of the works by two of the most prominent voices in the field of anti-Haitianism and its early origin, anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism, geographer Dr. David Howard (Howard, 2001a; 2001b; 2007) and political scientist Dr. Ernesto Sagás (Sagás, 1993a; 1993b; 1994), the author of the before mentioned exploration solely focusing on anti-Haitianism. They are considered the key sources because their analyses and descriptions of anti-Haitianism and its early origin are the ones most often cited by other scholars seeking to describe and/or explain anti-Haitianism. Complementary sources comprise of two types; sources that are either explicitly critical of the key sources' view on anti-Haitianism or sources that have different understanding of it without necessarily being overtly critical. Also included in this categorization are sources that does not revolve around or make use of anti-Haitianism as a concept. Instead these sources are analyses and examinations of the Dominican and the regional history around the time of the inception of the Dominican national identity and the dictatorship of Rafael L. Trujillo. Complementary sources are introduced partly to enhance the overall analysis and partly because some of the sources interpret the historical contexts in question differently from the key sources thereby opening up for important and interesting discussions.

At this stage it is furthermore necessary to outline some of the main limitations and possible biases of the key sources. A general issue is the challenge of addressing a culture scientifically. Culture is a very fluid concept, subject to change and not necessarily homogeneous throughout a geographical territory. Positing anti-Haitianism to be an inherent Dominican cultural phenomenon ascribed to historical events such as the era of colonization and the era of Trujillo thus requires an extensive historical analysis crosscutting time and space. This in itself deserves special attention, but it furthermore opens up for another aspect of source criticism that needs addressing, namely the potential of reductionist analyses. In the case of the thesis' key scholars, both revolve their analyses of the Dominican society and anti-Haitianism around the concept of racism. This need not be a problem in itself, but it can potentially skew the analysis whereby other possible factors and explanations may be overlooked or neglected. Michael Hall (2004) echoes this concern when he openly criticizes David Howard's focus and emphasis on racism in his study on Dominican race and ethnicity as being an oversimplification of a complex issue. It is

on the basis of these concerns, coupled with the fact that other sources with no such pre-intent have come to understand anti-Haitianism, the time around its origin and politicization differently, that this thesis will not solely rely on the key sources. The incorporation of complementary sources should therefore be seen as an attempt to achieve an accurate, balanced and nuanced analysis and understanding of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism's political usage and its ensuing effect on the Dominican society.

1.4 DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Many interesting and insightful approaches can be chosen when investigating the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism from a historic perspective, and it is therefore important to note some of this thesis' delimitations. Although anti-Haitianism at times will be described as a discourse and that this thesis will comment on some of the ways in which anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism has been used discursively, this thesis does not intend to conduct a discourse analysis on anti-Haitianism. Furthermore, within the found literature, a general tendency has been to study or regard anti-Haitianism vis-à-vis racism, and it is therefore important to note, that not doing so in this thesis has been a deliberate choice. This choice is made because it is found that such intent can possibly obscure other equally important elements in an analysis. Additionally is it the hope that this thesis can contribute with new insights by refraining from such an approach. While some discussions will revolve around the ways in which the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism is believed to be affecting the Dominican society today, it is beyond the scope of this study to thoroughly analyze how anti-Haitianism is currently manifesting itself in Dominican society and politics. Instead this thesis will rely on accounts, studies and reports made by scholars and organizations alike that have analyzed and examined this issue, and attempt to contribute to this matter by offering insight through the appliance of theory linking the past to the present.

An important limitation of this study is the author's lack of Spanish fluency. As a consequence it has unfortunately not been possible to include materials written in Spanish, the official language of the Dominican Republic. Instead the thesis has had to rely on English written sources that themselves have drawn on Dominican Spanish written sources.

1.5 TERMINOLOGY

In this thesis ‘Dominicans of Haitian descent’ and ‘Dominico-Haitians’ refer to all people born in the Dominican Republic with Haitian ancestry, regardless of whether they are or ever have been registered in the civil registry and thus officially recognized as citizens by the state. The two terms will be used interchangeably.

Part of this thesis’ analysis revolves around the inception of the Dominican Republic as a sovereign state and the at the time ruling elite. For the sake of simplicity, this thesis will use the term ‘Dominican elite’ to cover the then ruling elite irrespectively of whether the elite at certain times technically had not become the Dominican elite yet and therefore officially still were the elite of Santo Domingo.

1.6 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The history Hispaniola, home to what later became known as Haiti and the Dominican Republic, is highly complex and encompasses a multitude of territorial disputes, occupations as well as annexations between many different actors. Hence, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a full historical account of Hispaniola; rather, the following provides a simplified overview of the most important historical events that influenced and impacted the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism.



Figure 1. Map of Hispaniola

The island of Hispaniola was initially a Spanish colony named Santo Domingo. It was established in 1492 by Christopher Columbus and was in fact the first permanent settlement in the Americas. Initially, the colony had multiple sources of income including sugar production, gold mining, and cattle ranching, which later became the colony's main economic activity. These activities were primarily labored by the indigenous Taíno Indians together with an estimated 13,000 enslaved Africans who were brought to the island in the beginning of the 16th century (Derby, 1994; Howard, 2001a; Moya Pons, 2007; Sagás, 1993b).

Status quo however changed during the latter half of the 17th century when French colonists began to occupy the western half of the island, eventually establishing the colony of Saint-Domingue (Moya Pons, 2010). The two colonial regimes were marked by stark economic and social disparities and the French colony quickly became a powerful economic and political rival to the Spaniards. During this time, the Spanish colony declined which in turn made the colony struggle economically (Torres-Saillant, 1998), which was in stark contrast to the French counterpart that had succeeded in establishing an affluent sugar plantation. In Saint-Domingue, the labor-intensive work was carried out by approximately 500,000 enslaved Africans (Sagás, 1993a) many of whom fled to the Spanish part of the island in the pursuit of a better life. The reason why slaves fled to Santo Domingo was in part because of the possibility to establish relatively isolated Maroon communities in the rural areas of the colony (Howard, 2001a; Mintz, 1996), and in part because of the great social differences between the two colonies. In Santo Domingo, even though the elite was predominantly white and lighter-skinned mulattoes, and skin color did indicate a person's social and economic position, miscegenation was both accepted and promoted in the colony, and the population thus comprised of many people who were racially mixed. This had enabled a system of relative racial fluidity and minimal class differentiation in comparison to the exceedingly stratified class and color hierarchy prevalent in Saint-Domingue, where African slaves and French colonizers rarely entered inter-racial marriages (Derby, 1994; Sagás, 1993a).

In 1791 a slave revolt began in Saint-Domingue resulting in the abolishment of slavery in 1793 before Haiti emerged as the first black independent state in 1804. Spain had a few years prior to Haiti's independence ceded its territory to France, whereby the island of Hispaniola with this

newly gained independence experienced its first moment as a unified state. This was however only momentarily as France soon claimed the eastern part of Hispaniola, only to lose it shortly after to Spain who held it until Haiti regained control in 1822. This marked the beginning of a twenty-two yearlong Haitian occupation that came to be known as the Haitian unification project (Moya Pons, 2007; Santiago, 2004). Consequently, when Santo Domingo declared its independence as the Dominican Republic in 1844, they did so not from a metropolitan colonial power but from the neighboring country Haiti (Howard, 2001a). The following two decades were marked by political strife and violence, including several unsuccessful re-annexation attempts by Haiti, before the Dominican Republic officially sought Spanish protection in 1861 by annexation. Fearing the resurrection of colonial oppression by European settlers, Haiti accepted that the two nations would never become one, and furthermore helped Dominican patriots restore Dominican independence from Spain, which was regained during the War of Restoration in 1865 (Howard, 2001a; Moya Pons, 2007; Moya Pons, 2010; Santiago, 2004). Although the period preceding the War of Restoration had led to mutual suspicion and mistrust, these differences were set-aside in the following decades and Dominican-Haitian relations thus remained cordial up until the early 20th century (Sagás, 1994). During this time Haiti's economy deteriorated, partially due to an imposed reparation to France for loss of capital during the revolution, which in turn induced an influx of Haitian migrant laborers to the Dominican Republic, the majority of whom would come to work at the nation's sugar plantations (Ferguson, 2003; Martínez, 1995).

The two countries however entered yet another era in their turbulent history during the right-wing dictatorship of Rafael L. Trujillo from 1930 to 1961. In 1937, Trujillo ordered the military to kill Haitians residing primarily in the northwestern borderlands, and although estimates of the number of victims vary significantly, it is generally accepted among scholars that approximately 15,000 Haitians and perceived Haitians were killed during this massacre which henceforth would be known as the Haitian massacre (Moya Pons, 2010; Sagás, 1994; Turits, 2002). The massacre symbolized the beginning of Trujillo's anti-Haitian policies and reproduction of Dominican nationalism, which further meant that the Dominican Republic in the following years would be subjected to constant anti-Haitian propaganda (Sagás, 1994). Paradoxically, the Dominican economy was already dependent on cheap Haitian labor at this time, and the influx of Haitian

laborers did therefore not end with the Haitian massacre. It has been a dependency that the Dominican Republic has yet to free itself from.

The massacre marked the beginning of what best can be described as an extremely strained relationship between the Dominican Republic and Haitians and their descendants residing in the country. Today no reliable statistics exist over the exact number of Haitians and Dominico-Haitians living in the Dominican Republic, but different estimates put the number between 500.000 and 1 million (Ferguson, 2003; Martínez, 1995; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2015). Haitians and their descendants thus constitute a significant segment of the Dominican Republic's population of 10.4 million (The World Bank, 2014). For decades scholars and various organizations have called attention to the societal position of Haitians and Dominico-Haitians as an exceptionally marginalized group vulnerable to abuse and discrimination (Amnesty International, 2007; National Coalition for Haitian Rights, 1996; Human Rights Watch, 2002; Wooding, 2008).

1.5 DISPOSITION OF THESIS

In the first chapter this thesis has framed and presented the area of research while further presented a contextual background. The methodology and materials have furthermore been discussed and this thesis' limitations and delimitations have been outlined. The following chapter consists of the literature review, which has been organized into three themes that all relate to the research area, namely, the Dominican national identity, anti-Haitianism and discrimination and oppression against Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent. The third chapter presents the theoretical framework consisting of various theories and concepts that will be applied: narrative approach to national identity construction, an expanded version of the concept of racial projects, representation and representational strategies of difference and 'the Other' and lastly the concept of the somatic norm image. These have all been chosen because it is believed that they in synthesis can help explain and shed light on the ways in which anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism have been used politically in the two time periods under study as well as offer insight into the social stratification of Haitians and Dominico-Haitians currently prevalent in the Dominican society. The fourth chapter is the analysis. Here the key and complementary sources together with the research overview are connected and analyzed with the help of the theoretical

framework. The analysis is divided into four sections. The first section of analysis will focus on the inception of the Dominican national identity and examine the role Haiti and Haitians played in this process. The second section will examine how anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism was used politically during the dictatorial regime of Rafael L. Trujillo before proceeding to the third section which will provide a possible way to understand the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism through the concept racial projects. The thesis will then conclude the analysis with a section that attempts to connect the past with the present through the theoretical framework in an attempt to offer insight into how the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism possibly have affected the Dominican society today. Lastly, the final chapter is the concluding discussion which will summarize and conclude the analysis whilst also discuss the main findings of this study.

2.0 LITERATURE OVERVIEW

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the extensive body of literature existing on the Dominican Republic's history and society and interrelated issues within which anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism and the politicization hereof is present. Instead, the selected literature has been thematically categorized and represents common themes, understandings and also discrepancies that are deemed most relevant for this study.

2.1 DOMINICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

Well in line with the Dominican history, the formation of the Dominican national identity was both at its inception and later reproduction a very complex process. This process further spanned over a significant period of time, initially during the Spanish colonization where small, but not insignificant steps were taken, before entering its main phase which were during and after the Haitian occupation. Here the Dominican national identity would be consolidated before finally being settled after the last declaration of independence from Spain after the War of Restoration.

The following is attempt to outline the most common understandings of the Dominican national identity while simultaneously give voice to the less accentuated, in the hope of providing a balanced and nuanced understanding of a complex phenomenon.

In the found literature it is generally acknowledged that the Dominican national identity must be understood within a broader context of the perception of the roots of the nation itself (Baud, 1996). Ernesto Sagás (1993b) argues that the first initial sign of nationalism, and thus a glimpse of self-differentialization from other inhabitants of Hispaniola, was seen during the colonization of the island when Santo Domingo continuously struggled to uphold cultural and territorial integrity against Saint-Domingue. Notwithstanding, scholars agree that it was not until the time around the Haitian occupation, that the Dominican national identity would emerge as an elitist construct. The main objective of this construct was according to scholars to establish social cohesion, while further being a means for the elite to reestablish themselves as the elite, as this position and the privileges that goes with it, had promptly been taken away from them during the Haitian occupation (Howard, 2001a; Moya Pons, 2010; Sagás, 1993b; Santiago, 2004). The Dominican elite, majority of whom were Spanish colonists and their descendants, thus created a nationalistic Eurocentric discourse where they emphasized and affiliated *dominicanidad* [that of being Dominican] with Hispanic heritage and culture (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a; Torres-Saillant, 1998). This stood in stark contrast to Haiti, whose black population, according to the Dominican elite, represented primarily African culture and heritage with only subtle traces of the European culture of their former colonizers (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993b). While some scholars predominantly ascribe the elite's affiliation to Hispanic heritage and culture to blatant racism grounded in the colonial thought of white superiority (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a) and furthermore an attempt to remain 'Spaniards' and thus 'civilized' in the wake of Spanish colonial retreat from Hispaniola (Baud, 1996), a few others however argue that a broader geopolitical perspective must also be taken into consideration. From this less voiced perspective, the Dominican national identity was not constructed in a sole vacuum of self-identification by the elite, but was also influenced by the powerful nations upon whom the emerging nation was political and economically dependant. From this understanding, Dominicans therefore had to negotiate their (racial) identity not only amongst themselves, but had to also include the global prevalent racial paradigm in such a discussion, which at that time in history were grounded in white superiority with little acceptance of black independent states (Baud, 1996; Maingot, 1996; Torres-Saillant, 1998).

Notwithstanding of how one interprets the historical context, the forged national heritage and identity meant, that gradually blackness came to be associated exclusively with Haitians and

slavery (Torres-Saillant, 1998). Race became a fluid concept, and in this socioracial structure, a racial continuum (as opposed to division) had developed (Howard, 2001a; Oboler & Dzidzienyo, 2005; Oostindie, 1996). To this was coupled a Dominican understanding of 'white' as different from the American and European understanding. Because the Dominican elite was a mix of whites and lighter-skinned mulattoes, they adopted a less strict understanding of what constitutes 'being white'. Consequently, the Dominicans expanded the concept of being white to also include individuals who would have been defined as 'light colored' by American or European standards (Oostindie, 1996). This socioracial structure further fostered a conceptual space that allowed blacks and mulattoes to deracialize themselves when configuring their identities (Torres-Saillant, 1998), and they could thus, by disassociating themselves from blackness, become accepted as socially distinct using a plethora of color-coded terms to describe their exact position on this continuum (Howard, 2001a; Oboler & Dzidzienyo, 2005; Sagás, 1993a). The deracialization of the black and mulatto population is by some described as an expression of anti-Haitian feelings, as the population in the wake of the Haitian occupation and the subsequent Haitian attempts to re-annex the territory, disassociated themselves from Haitians by negating their blackness (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a). Others however note that this choice should also be regarded as a choice of self-protection. By adopting deracialized identities, whereby inducing indifference to the elite's negrophobia, the black and mulatto population protected themselves from the affliction and societal alienation that would prevail if they had continued to openly claim their African heritage (Torres-Saillant, 1998). Scholars do however point out, that as the years progressed, the mentality of Dominicans turned increasingly whiter regardless of color. This meant that eventually many blacks and mulattoes would describe themselves using the term *blancos de la tierra* [whites of the land] (Moya Pons, 2010; Torres-Saillant, 1998).

Another historic event that came to influence the Dominican national identity was the War of Restoration, the final battle for independence fought against Spain after a short-lived re-annexation in 1865 (Sagás, 1993a). In the search for a new national identity, a myth was created that remains influential to this day. It was the creation of the term *indio/a* [Indian] to describe ethnic heritage (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a). The Dominican elite expanded the Dominican heritage to further include the indigenous Taíno population, despite the fact that they had practically been exterminated after just a few years of Spanish colonization (Moya Pons, 2010).

Nevertheless, claiming Indian heritage became yet another way to explain and accept phenotypic characteristics often associated with blacks without societal alienation (Howard, 2001a). Although this was a constructed identity and as such a distorted, exaggerated and invented interpretation of Dominican national history, it nonetheless became a societal fact once it was generally accepted among the population (Baud, 1996).

2.2 ANTI-HAITIANISM

Anti-Haitianism is a term that covers a constructed discourse of entrenched aversion and prejudice against Haitians. It is portrayed as a central element of the Dominican national identity and is by many scholars explained as a consequence of the charged relationship between the two countries which is said to be due to their different colonial experiences. Haitians came to represent everything that the Dominican elite was rejecting and they therefore came to perceive Haiti as the Dominican antithesis (Baud, 1996; Howard, 2001a).

Being described as an integral component of Dominican history as well as a significant component of the Dominican national identity, the notion of anti-Haitianism is found in most literature on the Dominican Republic. While the term anti-Haitianism was not coined until later in history, it is generally acknowledged that its early origin, Haitian prejudice and antagonism, can be traced back to the 18th century during the joint Spanish and French colonization (Bartlett, 2012; Derby, 1994; Keys et al., 2015; Sagás, 1993a). It is generally discerned that anti-Haitianism was not institutionalized until Rafael L. Trujillo promulgated it as a nationalistic ideology for political gain during his dictatorship from 1930 to 1961 (Bartlett, 2012; Hazel, 2014; Howard, 2001a).

An aspect of anti-Haitianism that does not foster coherence within the existing literature is in regard to its precise conceptualization. Some scholars regard anti-Haitianism as being inherently racist, a discourse founded upon perceived racial differences between Dominicans and Haitians and thus an expression of racial prejudice. From this perspective, Dominican national identity is largely equated to a collective racial identity (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a). Others however argue that anti-Haitianism, as a construct, must be understood as more than racism directed towards Haiti (Derby, 1994). From this point of view, it arose as a consciousness of colonial difference (Derby, 1994) and has been influenced by both political, economic, cultural,

sociological and historical factors that characterize the relationship between the Dominican Republic and Haiti as well as to other influential global actors such as the United States (Baud, 1996; Human Rights Watch, 2015; Torres-Saillant, 1998; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008). Another debated issue on the topic of anti-Haitianism is that of its current prevalence in the Dominican Republic, especially amongst the general population. Some believe, including this thesis' key sources, that anti-Haitianism is an intrinsic part of the Dominican society and culture and therefore also a widespread discourse among the general population (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1994; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008). Others are however not convinced of this and instead believe that it exists among the Dominican elite but that its influence on the general population is relatively limited (Baud, 1996; 2002; Torres-Saillant, 1998).

2.3 DISCRIMINATION AND OPPRESSION OF HAITIANS AND DOMINICO-HAITIANS

Previous literature examining the situation of Haitians and Dominico-Haitians all emphasize their position as a marginalized group vulnerable to discrimination and abuse. Haitians living either permanently or as seasonal workers in the Dominican Republic have in practice close to no rights and are therefore often exploited by the labor market. Numerous reports dating back to 1983 have documented the horrific working and living conditions endured by Haitians and their descendants working in the country's sugar plantations. The conditions surrounding these plantations have on several occasions been referred to as 'slave-like' or 'near-slavery' (Americas Watch, 1992; Ferguson, 2003, p.11; IACHR, 2013; Tavernier, 2008, p.101). Freedom of movement is further an obstacle for both Haitians and Dominico-Haitians as the police, military and immigration authorities are notoriously known for arbitrary street arrests and deportations, and at times irrespectively of whether they are able to provide documents proving their Dominican nationality or residency (Human Rights Watch, 2015; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008).

Haitians and Dominico-Haitians are often treated as an undifferentiated mass despite the fact that many Dominico-Haitians were born under a constitution that granted citizenship *jus soli*, and despite research showing, that they perceive themselves as Dominican. Loyal to the Dominican Republic and, insofar as they have not already acquired it, eager to obtain Dominican citizenship and further be regarded as an equal member of society (Wooding, 2008). Described

as one of the most common and detrimental discriminatory practices facing Dominico-Haitian is arbitrary refusal by government officials to issue birth certificates to children perceived to be of Haitian descent, resulting in de facto statelessness (Amnesty International, 2007; Human Rights Watch, 2015). The denial of national identification documents consequently impedes Dominico-Haitians in accessing many of the fundamental economic and political rights otherwise enjoyed by Dominican nationals. These include access to housing, higher education, healthcare services, equal protection from the law as well as political participation (Amnesty International, 2007; Morgan et al., 2011; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008; Wooding, 2008). The ground for refusal is highly inconsistent ranging from Haitian sounding names, certain phenotypical characteristics often associated with Haitians such as dark skin, accented Spanish or parents providing none or improper identification documents (Wooding, 2008). In some cases, children have even been refused issuance of birth certificates despite having one recognized Dominican national parent (Human Rights Watch, 2015). What has been identified as the latest major development in terms of systemic discrimination and oppression of Dominico-Haitians was a 2013 Constitutional Tribunal Court ruling. This ruling retroactively denationalized an estimated 200,000 people born in the Dominican Republic between 1929 and 2010, on the grounds of their parents' (or grandparents') irregular migratory status, which in effect rendered them stateless. The vast majority of those affected were Dominicans of Haitian descent, and critics have therefore argued that this ruling was a legalization of the discriminatory practices for decades endured by Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent (Gamboa & Reddy, 2014; Hazel, 2014; Inter-American Commission of Human Rights [IACHR], 2013; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015).

Moreover, random civilian violent attacks targeting anyone believed to be ethnic Haitian are not uncommon, and can range from verbal abuse to murder (Amnesty International, 2007; Howard, 2001a; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008). Studies and reports have shown how Haitians and Dominico-Haitians express these manifestations of discrimination that they face with a sense of frustration, vulnerability, humiliation and isolation, and cases are known where people have tried to disguise their origin by changing their names (Keys et al., 2015; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008). The sense of feeling isolated is backed by organizations and individuals engaged in fighting against these discriminatory practices. They express profound difficulties in carrying out their work while getting no support from the

political and economic elite who instead consider them national traitors (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008).

3.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework suggested for this thesis is eclectic as the theories and concepts derives from different sociological schools of thought and engages in different topics, yet can operate together to create a more holistic analysis. It is believed, that they combined will yield a better mode of explanation than if used separately. The last section of this chapter will elaborate further on this matter and attempt to provide an understanding of how the theories and concepts help enhance each other.

3.1 A NARRATIVE APPROACH TO NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

This thesis situates the analysis in the overall perspective that nation and national identity are not fixed entities but are socially and symbolically constructed categories of meaning and practice in historical and political processes (Kane, 2000; Somers, 1994). To this foundational constructivist perspective is coupled a *narrative* approach to national identity construction. From this constructivist view, the construction of collective identity does not take place in a vacuum, but in a relational setting of political struggle between the dominant power holders and the contending movement, as well as people's reproduction, understanding and narratives of this struggle (Kane, 2000). Employing a narrative approach to national identity thus means an incorporation of the destabilizing dimensions of time, space and relationality (Somers, 1994). National identity is hence understood as a shared sense of belonging to a particular community, constituted in symbolic conceptualizations of similarity among social agents (Kane, 2000; Somers, 1994).

Narratives, or the collective memories of a nation's history, often mythicized, are the constellations of connected parts, made up by a process of selective appropriation of historic events. These are then emplotted to provide meaning to the nation itself, its origin and to give purpose and unity among actors otherwise differentiated by interests and identities. Social actors are however not free to create narratives at will. The narratives that will socially predominate in a specific historical relational setting are politically contested and thus determined by the

distribution of power at that given time (Somers, 1994). Especially important for the consolidation of a cohesive collective identity is the conceptualization of the 'Other', those excluded from the (imagined) community or nation on the grounds of difference. Narratives provide a practice whereby a group can develop symbolic boundaries and a construct of the 'Other' and an 'us' as opposed to a 'them' (Kane, 2000). It is as such through this configurative capacity that narratives provide a practice through which actors can come to understand and make sense of the social world, collectively.

3.2 RACIAL PROJECTS

A concept developed by Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994) as part of their racial formation theory, *racial projects* are the interplay between the interpretation, representation and explanation of racial dynamics within a greater social structure as well as the societal effort to reorganize and redistribute resources vis-à-vis particular racial lines. Arguing that race is predominantly a political phenomenon, racial formation is then the socio-historical process whereby racial categories are constructed, understood, transformed and abandoned through competing racial projects in their attempt to provide the dominant meaning of race and racial categories within society (Omi & Winant, 1994).

While this concept can be very valuable when analyzing structures of domination in which resources are redistributed among certain characteristics that signify inclusion as opposed to exclusion, its foundation of having race as the sole basis for this categorization and division is however too narrow for this thesis' analysis. This thesis will therefore expand the ideational rationale of race as the sole foundation for categorization and division to further include ethnicity, class and nationality. In this revised understanding of racial projects, a racial project can be categorized as such, if it creates or reproduce structures of domination and division based upon any or multiple of the above mentioned essentialist categories.

3.3 REPRESENTATION

From a sociological perspective, the notion of culture is about shared meanings and values among actors belonging to the same imagined community. Explicating culture thus becomes an explication of shared meanings grounded in shared values within the community constituting that

culture (Hall, 1997a). From a constructionist view, meaning is constructed and exchanged in and through language by *representational strategies*. Language as a representational system provides meaning to persons or objects by how they are represented among actors; the words chosen to describe them, the stories affiliated with them as well as the conceptualizations of them and values attributed to them. Meaning then regulates and organizes societal conduct and practices as well as help shape the rules, norms and conventions within a given culture or society and is as such highly historical contextual (Hall, 1997c). Additionally is it argued, that the creation of meaning is dependent on difference between opposites and can only be achieved through a construction of the ‘Other’ in whatever shape that ‘Other’ might take (Hall, 1997b).

A representational strategy characteristic of representing racial difference is *stereotyping*, a practice emanating from European colonization of the African continent. Stereotyping is an excluding signifying practice whereby social and symbolic order can be maintained by establishing a symbolic frontier between the acceptable and unacceptable and in turn, what belongs or does not belong within a given, culture, community or society. People subjected to stereotyping are reduced to a few essentials, either real or imagined. These can be, and often are, *naturalized* whereby they become fixed in Nature rather than being cultural thereby signifying incapability of change. These practices are intrinsically linked to the establishment and preservation of power of a dominant group over a subordinate group within a culture, community or society (Hall, 1997b). In continuation hereof is it important to note, that representation should not be regarded simply tools for the production of linguistic meaning. In itself, representation also has the ability to produce social knowledge, elucidating its nexus to power. At certain times, some people have more power than others to speak or produce meaning and social knowledge about a specific subject or object. The ability to represent someone or something in a certain way is thus a manifestation of that person’s, or group of people’s, symbolic power in relation to the subordinate, which is exercised through various representational practices (Hall, 1997b; Hall, 1997c).

3.4 THE SOMATIC NORM IMAGE

Coined by Harry Hoetink in 1967, the concept of *somatic norm image* was developed to improve on the explanatory concept of race when examining race relations in the predominantly segmented societies of the Caribbean. Defined as “the complex physical (somatic) characteristics which are accepted by a group as its norm and ideal” (Hoetink, 1967, p.120, original brackets), the concept of somatic norm image encapsulates the fluidity of color distinctions prevalent especially in the Hispanic Caribbean and Latin America, as opposed to the rigidity of a racial white-black division found in the non-Hispanic Americas and Europe. The main argument underpinning Hoetink’s thesis and in turn the concept of somatic norm image is, that the same person can be considered ‘white’ in some countries while be considered ‘colored’ in others. This difference in perception of race must therefore be sought explained by socially determined somatic norms and is thus a product of socialization (Oostindie, 1996).

3.5 LINKING THE THEORIES AND CONCEPTS

Combining multiple theoretical perspectives into one theoretical framework serve the purpose of a broader and more holistic understanding and analysis. The theories and concepts can without difficulty be used separately, however, it is held that they collectively help in enhancing each other and in turn the analysis. They do so because although they consider and focus on different aspects and social phenomena, they intersect in that they all either explicitly or tacitly, revolve around the same or interrelated themes as some of the others. Some of the proposed theories do for example make use the notion of the ‘Other’, most commonly associated with the works of literary theoretician Edward Said¹. However, they do so from different perspectives: a narrative approach to national identity construction and representation of difference, respectively. So although they attempt to explain different social phenomena, their underlying commonality is that they both make use of the construct of the ‘Other’ and how it creates symbolic boundaries of belonging and unity. Seeing as this thesis in part revolves around the construction and upholding of the ‘Other’, is it incredibly valuable for the analysis that these theories revolve around and explain this construct from different perspectives. Another common theme relating to all the

¹ See Edward, S., 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.

theories and concepts comprising the theoretical framework is power. By this is not only meant the coercive aspect of power but also its constitutive capacity, the symbolic power to construct meaning, representation, norms and knowledge as well as the power to produce cultural discourses. Understanding the implicit power dynamics of societies is especially important in analyses of historical moments, as this is key if to properly understand the knowledge and discourses produced at that time in history.

4.0 ANALYSIS

4.1 THE DOMINICAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE HAITIAN ‘OTHER’

Being a construct by the Spanish settlers and their descendants, the Dominican national identity came to echo that of the Spanish while purposely being sought distanced from the neighboring country Haiti. Ernesto Sagás (1993a, p.1) explains the underlying logic as follows:

The Santo Domingo colonists not only saw themselves as different, but they preferred to be anything but Haitian /.../ [The] elites emphasized the Hispanic culture of the Santo Domingo colonists versus the French and, later, the Haitians. According to them, the colonists of Santo Domingo were white, Catholic, and had a Hispanic culture. The Haitians, in particular, represented the opposite and the worst; they were black voodoo practitioners who had an African culture with a thin French veneer.

Sagás is not alone in this interpretation of the Dominican national identity (see Derby, 1994; Duany, 2006; Tavernier, 2008; Torres-Saillant, 1998). In his study of Dominican race and ethnicity, David Howard also mirrors this position when he posits that the Dominican national identity was constructed *vis-à-vis* Haiti (Howard, 2001a, p.1). As mentioned in the literature review on the Dominican national identity, scholars describe how the Dominican elite created the discourse of *dominicanidad* [that of being Dominican] which aimed to assert the emerging nation’s Hispanic origin and white racial identity (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a). Its meaning was created and exchanged based on the representation of what it meant *not* to be Dominican, which had been determined by the elite was being Haitian. Being Dominican thus came to mean that one was not Haitian nor any of the characteristics associated with Haitians. As

a result, blackness became a term used exclusively for Haitians and slaves, irrespectively of one's skin tone (Howard, 2001a; 2001b; Sagás, 1993a; 1993b; Tavernier, 2008; Torres-Saillant, 1998). As further described in the literature review, David Howard (2001a) theorizes that in order to succeed with the implementation of *dominicanidad*, the elite had to negate the omnipresent African heritage of the black and mulatto population. Silvio Torres-Saillant (1998) contributes to this understanding by explaining how this was sought done through a conceptual deracialization of the population by creating a space within which they could disassociate themselves from their blackness. Scholars describe how this process was partly enabled by adopting a definition of 'being white' which differed from the American and European understanding, and partly by the creation of a socioracial structure that allowed the development of a racial continuum (Howard, 2001a; Oboler & Dzidzienyo, 2005; Oostindie, 1996; Oboler & Dzidzienyo, 2005). One way to analyze and perhaps better understand this deracialization and socioracial continuum is by applying Harry Hoetink's concept of the somatic norm image (Hoetink, 1967). The Dominican elite's choice of expanding the meaning of whiteness to include darker features and phenotypic characteristics that by others quite possibly would have been markers of exclusion or non-acceptance (Oostindie, 1996), can from this perspective be seen the epitomization of constructing a somatic norm image. Race, or the somatic norm became a socially determined construct where white constituted a greater range of skin colors. This socially determined construction of white then became the somatic norm and thus the most desirable and aesthetically appreciated. Following this argument the benefits of this construction were two-fold. First, it gave the lighter-skinned mulatto elite the opportunity to truthfully call themselves white. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, it enabled that the racial vision of the elite became attainable for the black and mulatto population. As such it can be argued, that these processes were a way to validate the meaning of the discourse of *dominicanidad*.

As illustrated above, the found literature all stresses that Haitians and what they represented was paramount to the process of forming the Dominican national identity. To better understand why this is, why the elite made the deliberate choice to disassociate themselves and the entire population from the French, and later on, Haitians, it might be insightful to turn to some of the other concepts and theories presented in the theoretical framework.

According to Stuart Hall (1997b), difference, being between objects or people, is an essential part of constructing relational meaning. As such, it is through a dialogue with the ‘Other’, signified by difference, that relational or contextual meaning is constructed. There can therefore be no ethnicity without a different ‘Other’ (Mintz, 1996), and consequently, there could be no Dominican meaning of nation or self without an ‘Other’ from which it defined its difference. Once established, this marking of difference, often founded upon binary opposites, becomes the basis of a symbolic order called culture, thus laying the foundation for further classification of things, people and behaviors not yet classified (Hall, 1997b). Conceptualization of the ‘Other’, those excluded due to difference, is thus intrinsic to the configuration of a cohesive national identity (Kane, 2000). From this perspective, the elite *needed* an ‘Other’ in order to create and consolidate a cohesive national identity, and to create the meaning of *dominicanidad*.

In regard to *why* the Dominican elite chose Haiti as the primary ‘Other’, the aforementioned notion of difference being founded upon binary opposites might offer a partial explanation. Once independent, Haiti created a constitution within which they declared all residents, regardless of skin color, black (Howard, 2001a; Santiago, 2004; Tavernier, 2008). This exemplify how, as noted by Sidney Mintz (1996), Haiti was a nation heavily rooted in their identity as the first black sovereign state founded by former African slaves. The Haitian ethnic and racial identity thus differed greatly, if not to say was a binary opposite, to the white Hispanic identity that the Dominican elite upheld for themselves and further had envisioned for their emerging nation. Thus, as described by David Howard (2001a; 2001b), the elite came to view Haiti as the Dominican antithesis, symbolizing everything that they did not, or wanted to, represent.

Attempting to explain the choice to opt for Haiti as the primary symbolic excluding ‘Other’, solely on the basis of binary opposites would however be reductionist. Scholars emphasize different and often multiple possible partial explanations according to their analytical focal point: racial prejudice grounded in an inherited colonial worldview of white supremacy (Howard, 2001a; 2001b; Sagás, 1993a), colonial rivalry (Baud, 1996; Derby, 1994; Sagás, 1993b) and geopolitics including the prevalent global racial paradigm have all been ascribed as contributory factors. Yet another factor common to all the literature, is the Haitian occupation and attempted island unification. This has been stressed as a particular significant historical event because it meant that it was from Haiti, and not their former colonizers, Spain, that the

Dominican Republic would gain its independence (Baud, 1996; Derby, 1994; Howard, 2001a; 2001b; Sagás, 1993b; Santiago, 2004; Tavernier, 2008).

A way to further increase the understanding of Haitians role in the construction of the Dominican national identity can be done by examining this long and complex process through the lens of a narrative approach to national identity construction as presented by Anne Kane (2000) and Margret Somers (1994). Kane and Somers argue that the construction of a national identity takes place in relational backdrops of political struggles between the dominant power holders and the contending movement in which people's narratives and reproduction of these struggles are highly influential. From this perspective it can be argued, that three different struggles of varying significance, helped form the Dominican national identity. The first struggle refers to Santo Domingo's political and cultural struggles against Saint-Domingue, as this can be seen as the first mark of self-differentiation between the inhabitants of Hispaniola. Furthermore, given these struggles between the two colonies, it is not inconceivable, that some of the old feelings of colonial rivalry were projected onto Haiti when they began their quest for island unification. This in turn leads to the main and most influential political struggle, which therefore can be interpreted as the consolidating struggle, namely the fight for Dominican independence against Haiti during the Haitian occupation. In this struggle, Haiti was the dominant power holder attempting to establish a unified nation between two former colonies. The inhabitants of the eastern part of the island, the former Santo Domingo, were therefore consequently the contending movement rejecting the unification. The last and arguably less influential struggle, which can be said to have settled the Dominican identity, was the final fight for independence again Spain during the War of Restoration.

Because identities from this theoretical perspective are not static but changeable constructions (Somers, 1994), a way to understand the varying influence of these struggles is to regard them as layers partially forming the Dominican nation and national identity. If following this argument, it makes sense why the Dominican elite would construct the national identity in opposition to initially the French, and then later, Haitians. Given the struggles differential importance in relation to the actual establishment of the Dominican nation, and thus also national identity, it is understandable why Haiti came be so influential to this construction, especially if

one couples this understanding with their perceived binary difference to the Dominican elite's understanding of self.

Turning then to narratives, or the collective memories of a nation. Narratives are partly formed on the basis of people's understanding and reproduction of the aforementioned struggles, and help provide meaning to social agents, explaining who they are and why they are experiencing relationships of solidarity and opposition (Kane, 2000). They are therefore a practice by which a group can come to recognize themselves and create symbolic boundaries of unity. They produce a discourse through public and social interaction within which social agents can define and identify those included, the 'us', as well as the excluded, the 'Others' (Kane, 2000; Somers, 1994). Following this argument, the above mentioned discourse of *dominicanidad* can thus be interpreted as part of the nation's narratives that helped the population understand and recognize themselves in relation to the people around them, and to ascribe meaning to things and people. In line with the understanding of what narratives typically encompass in relation to a national identity, *dominicanidad* included narratives of a mythicized past, articulated initially as the population's white Hispanic heritage, and later also modified to include Indian heritage. *Dominicanidad* also included narratives or stories defining the symbolic boundary of inclusion between the 'us', the Dominicans and the Haitian 'Other'. These narratives both accentuated Haitians' differences from the Dominicans as well as reproduced the political struggle for independence, which had been fought against Haitians.

An additional way to enhance the understanding of these narratives of the Haitian 'Other' and to offer insight into how anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism was used politically, is to look at how these narratives or stories were constructed and given meaning. Analyzing the representation of Haitians from the perspective that meaning is socially constructed through strategies of representation (Hall, 1997b) can help elucidate how various representational strategies and signifying practices were employed by the Dominican elite, in order to generate meaning and social knowledge.

Ernesto Sagás transmits the Dominican elite's representation of Haitians using the following words and expressions: 'truly black', 'voodoo sorcerer' and 'sons and daughters of African slaves' (Sagás, 1993a, p.2). David Howard mirrors these words and expressions and

furthermore contributes with the words: ‘barbarism’, ‘witchcraft’ and ‘backwardness’ (Howard, 2001a, p.27; Howard, 2001b, p.25). By representing Haitians using these or similar words and expressions, the Dominican elite arguably reduced Haitians to a few simplified essentials fixed in Nature. This is according to Stuart Hall (1997b) called ‘stereotyping’. Stereotyping is a reducing, simplifying practice, central to the representation of racial difference that helps binding people into a unity of those who belong within an imagined community while simultaneously symbolically exiling the ‘Others’ that do not belong. (Hall, 1997b). Another representational strategy employed by the elite was ‘naturalization’ (Hall, 1997b). By creating the stereotypes around essentials that were fixed in Nature, such as black, African and barbaric, the elite naturalized the difference between the Haitian ‘Other’ and the Dominican. By doing so, Haitians became intrinsically linked to Nature and thus incapable of change.

A way to understand the role of these narratives, and in turn also the role of the representational strategies used to narrate these narratives, is to look at their usage. Faced with an imposed unification in which the Dominican elite lost their position as the highest societal class, these narratives were employed to facilitate the bonding of an otherwise ethnic and racial divided society so that they together, could resist the Haitian occupying force. From this understanding, it can be argued that they were a means to create, and possibly later maintain, social and symbolic order, by creating a unified past and accentuate the difference between the constructed identity of Dominicans and the Haitian ‘Other’.

4.2 ANTI-HAITIANISM – THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Domination, power, nationalism and Haitians are all central themes in the found literature on Rafael L. Trujillo and his right-wing dictatorial regime. Their interplay however differs slightly, which makes for small but not insignificant differential understandings of this historic time vis-à-vis the political usage of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism. While there in the literature exist a consensual understanding that anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism intensified significantly both politically and intellectually in the wake of the Haitian massacre in 1937, the main question separating scholars is whether it precipitated the massacre or was a product of it.

The Trujillo regime’s pre-1937 state ideology did according to Frank Moya Pons (2010) revolve around the notion of national reconstruction encompassing territorial unification and economic

development. Moya Pons attributes Haitian permanent settlement within the Dominican borderlands as Trujillo's main reasoning for ordering the genocidal act in 1937. He argues that Trujillo refused to accept that some of these areas practically functioned as an extension of Haiti, as this obstructed his quest for territorial unification and complete dominance over the entire Dominican Republic. From this perspective, the catalyst was Trujillo's incapability to fulfill his objective of complete territorial domination, and not anti-Haitian prejudice. Anti-Haitian prejudice was therefore rather a convenient, and needed, scapegoat to justify the massacre and ensure the legitimacy of the regime. This viewpoint is partially echoed by Richard Turits (2002) who also argues that anti-Haitianism was the product rather than the instigator of the massacre. Turits however argues that many of these settlements were bicultural societies encompassing Haitians *and* Dominicans rather than pure Haitian settlements, and that these societies were known for not owing allegiance to either nation-state. With this in mind, Turits makes the point that the Haitian massacre was not only a conflict between Dominicans and Haitians, but also one between the Dominican elite versus the Dominican peasants living and thriving through cross border trade in these bicultural societies.

Contrary to this interpretation is that of David Howard's (2001a) who instead argues that racism and extreme nationalism based upon Hispanic superiority were essential components of Trujillo's state ideology, also pre 1937. Howard therefore argues that anti-Haitian prejudice was indeed virulent before the massacre and that the massacre itself, because of this, should be regarded as its manifestation. The majority of scholars however position themselves somewhere in-between, arguing that both anti-Haitian prejudice, nationalism and national territorial domination were important components of Trujillo's state ideology both before and after 1937, whereby Trujillo's reasoning for ordering the massacre is understood as a combination of the above (see Derby, 1994; Duany, 2006; Sagás, 1993a; 1993b; Tavernier, 2008).

While these conceptual differences perhaps can seem insignificant, they are however important for an analysis such as this which seeks to examine the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice. The difference in understanding essentially determines whether the Haitian massacre in itself should be seen as a political act grounded in prejudice against Haitians, or the turning point from where anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism henceforth would be used politically.

Although it is not possible for anyone to firmly assert Trujillo's incentive(s), it might prove helpful to look into the historical context surrounding the massacre in trying to examine this issue. While Moya Pons (2010) does not provide an explanation as to why he does not believe anti-Haitian prejudice precipitated the massacre, the main argument put forth by Turits' (2002) is that the regime did not target all Haitians residing in the country but only certain geographical areas in the borderlands. At the time of the massacre, thousands of Haitian migrants were working inland in the country's sugar plantations. If looking at possible explanations to why these Haitian workers were spared, one could very well be plantation ownership. As noted by James Ferguson (2003) in his report on intra-Caribbean migration, at the time of the massacre, these plantations were owned in part by the United States and in part by people belonging to the Dominican elite. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Trujillo had little incentive, regardless of his own personal view of Haitians, to kill the plantation workers as that presumably would have caused an undesired political conflict with the U.S. as well as harmed his relationship with the people most likely to conspire against him. Furthermore is it by scholars described as a well-known fact, that Trujillo acquired a number of the Dominican elite and intellectuals to help further the regime politically (Howard, 2001; Moya Pons, 2010; Sagás, 1993a; Tavernier, 2008). And, as noted by Turits (2002) himself, many of whom were exceptional anti-Haitian thinkers. In this light, it is reasonable to assume that Trujillo was not completely unfamiliar to this inferior view of Haitians and that he furthermore would not remain completely unsusceptible to the view of the people whom he was dependent on to sustain his position in power. Lastly, the two understandings of Trujillo's incentive to order the massacre are not mutually exclusive, as has been suggested by the majority of scholars who believe that anti-Haitian prejudice, nationalism and territorial control all were contributing factors. This majority support should not go unnoticed, and coupled with the possible explanations to Turits' (2002) arguments, it would seem as if anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism were politicized, at least to some extent, before and during the Haitian massacre.

After the Haitian massacre the politicization intensified as Trujillo and his propagandists embarked on what scholars describe as a mission to securitize the frontier, reassert the national and cultural identity as white, Hispanic and Catholic and further bolster Trujillo's territorial domination. This was sought done by developing a nationalistic anti-Haitian state ideology. A

key element to this ideology was creating an enduring myth of a silent Haitian invasion, the ‘Haitian threat’, which were said to constitute a biological, economic, cultural and political threat to the security and continuation of the Dominican Republic. Contrastingly Trujillo was asserted as the true savior of the nation, capable of curbing this threat through his authoritarian governance. The ideology served multiple purposes; it was a mean to institute a clear and perpetual separation between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, a way to internally ensure the regimes legitimacy and continuance while also being a way to justify the Haitian massacre against international outrage and criticism (Derby, 1994; Howard, 2001a; 2001b; Moya Pons, 2010; Sagás, 1993a; 1993b; Tavernier, 2008; Turits, 2002).

Scholars identify several practices initiated to convey and implement the state ideology of anti-Haitianism. These included, *inter alia*, ‘Dominicanization’ programs along the border, official recognition of the complexion category *indio/a* to avoid any semantic allusion to the population’s African heritage (Howard, 2001a), as well as outlawing African voodoo practices (Bartlett, 2012; Torres-Saillant, 1998). Not long into his dictatorship had Trujillo turned the government and its institutions into what Frank Moys Pons (2010, p.361) refers to as an “overwhelming propaganda apparatus, which pervaded all aspects of Dominican life”. Mirroring this description of the Trujillo regime, Ernesto Sagás (1993a) notes how the greatest effort to disseminate the anti-Haitian ideology to the Dominican population was through constant bombardment of state produced propaganda. Examples of such propaganda are seen below in two excerpts by one of the regime’s main apologists, also known to be one of the founding fathers of the ideology of anti-Haitianism, Manuel A. Peña Battle. The first excerpt is an official propagandist text called “Carta al Dr. Mañach” [Letter to Dr. Mañach] and the second is a speech held by Peña Battle to the border town of Elías Piña.

In the Dominican Republic there should not be, there cannot be, a government so uninterested in the use of force that it turns itself, as it has happened many time, into an agent of Haitian expansionism. Democracy, as understood and exercised in some countries, is a luxury that we cannot afford (...) as soon as the Haitian stop fearing us, they will bite us: silently, quietly, without you or anyone knowing about it

(Peña Battle, 1954, cited in Sagás, 1993b, p.215)

There is no feeling of humanity, nor political reason, nor any circumstantial convenience that can force us to look indifferently at the Haitian penetration. [Talking about the typical Haitian migrant] That type is frankly undesirable. Of pure African race, he cannot represent for us any ethnic incentive. Not well nourished and worse dressed, he is weak, though very prolific due to his low living conditions. For that same reason, the Haitian that enters [our country] lives afflicted by numerous and capital vices and is necessarily affected by diseases and physiological deficiencies which are endemic at the lowest levels of that society

(Peña Battle, 1954, cited in Sagás, 1993b, p.214, original brackets).

These quotes adequately illustrates the essence of the anti-Haitian ideology and its representation of Haitians as hostile penetrating intruders, characterized by their African race while further being portrayed as cultural and racial inferior to the Dominican people. Interesting findings emerges when revisiting Stuart Hall's (1997b) notion on representation and representational strategies, and analyze the Trujillo regime's representation of Haitians through this lens. The majority of words and expressions used to represent Haitians are very similar to those used by the Dominican elite during the inception of the national identity. This is interesting because it elucidates how Trujillo's regime made use of the same representational strategies as was employed by the Dominican elite during the inception of the nation and national identity. By also characterizing and reducing Haitians primarily to their African race and alleged physiological deficiencies, Trujillo essentially reproduced earlier narratives and representations using both stereotyping and naturalization in order to generate social knowledge. The narratives used by the regime had however at this time in history been expanded to now also encompass the problems and affliction that the Haitians were allegedly causing by their immigration. From a narrativity point of view this is not unusual given that narratives are constantly produced and reproduced to fit the relational setting in which they are meant to provide meaning to (Somers, 1994).

The production of political propaganda was according to scholars not confined to speeches and official statements. History books also became a medium for the regime to promulgate the anti-Haitian ideology. These books told an altered and distorted version of Haitian-Dominican historic relations, concentrating on, and overemphasizing the Haitian occupation and Haitian violence so that it corresponded with the anti-Haitian ideology. At times these accounts were

accompanied by drawings that portrayed Haitians as ape-like figures in contrast to Dominicans who were depicted as light-skinned people with European features. Being a part of the before mentioned propaganda apparatus also schools were therefore the receivers of these books (Howard, 2001a; Sagás, 1993a; Tavernier, 2008; Turits, 2002). Ernesto Sagás (1993b) furthermore notes, that critics questioning these narratives or putting forth a more nuanced interpretations of history were promptly and systematically shut down by the regime. From the perspective of narrativity, this is a good example of how narratives compete for recognition and that it therefore is the distribution of power within the historical relational setting that determines which narratives will predominate and potentially affect the social agents within this setting (Somers, 1994).

The regime's use of representations and representational strategies embedded in old and new narratives can overall be interpreted as one way in which Trujillo sought to reestablish, and later maintain social and symbolic order, as these helps binding people into a unity of those who belongs within a community while simultaneously symbolically exiling the 'Others' that do not belong (Hall, 1997b; Kane, 2000; Somers, 1994).

Trujillo's regime capitulated after his assassination in 1961, and scholars note that with this capitulation so did the explicit use of anti-Haitianism as a state-ideology. It is however argued that it nonetheless persisted, albeit implicitly, in the subsequent governments and therefore continues to exist as a viable political tool for Dominican politicians (Howard, 2007; Sagás, 1993a)

4.3 RACIAL PROJECTS

A possible way to deepen the general analysis and understanding of the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism is to discern it as tool for racial projects (Omi & Winant, 1994), as outlined in the theoretical framework. For both time periods it can be argued that politicizing anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism helped the ruling powers of that time, to create structures of domination and divisions upon which certain characteristics signified inclusion and other exclusion. If following this argument, the elitist construct of the Dominican national identity was a political racial project that sought to create societal structures that would

establish unity and cohesion among an otherwise diverse ethnic and racial population. Moreover was the project as direct response to an attempted unification, and thus a means to achieve a desired division between the inhabitants of the island of Hispaniola, which in turn would enable the Dominican elite to maintain their position as the elite. Once established, these structures would make clear who were to be considered included in this project, and thus eligible to receive societal resources, and who were to be excluded because of difference. Looking then at the era of Trujillo, it can be argued that he too intended to create structures of domination and division. By reproducing the same signifying characteristics of inclusion and exclusion as initially set by the Dominican elite, Trujillo sought to reestablish and perhaps ‘re-purify’ the symbolic boundaries of the Dominican Republic while further asserting his own totalitarian position. From this perspective, narratives of the Haitian ‘Other’ were for both racial projects imperative tools facilitating the project’s implementation and ultimately also its success. In turn, it can therefore be argued that politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism enabled the ruling powers in both time periods to execute their respective visions.

4.4 THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL LEGACY

The previous two sections have analyzed the ways in which anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism has been used politically by the Dominican ruling powers in two distinct periods of the Dominican history. This concluding analytical section will however focus on the present time. It will attempt to offer insight into whether the findings of the previous two sections can provide any possible explanations, or insights into the social stratification of Haitians and Dominico-Haitians currently prevalent in the Dominican society.

As mentioned in the literature review, on the issue of the extent of anti-Haitianism’s intensity among ordinary Dominicans, scholars are divided. This thesis’ key scholars, David Howard (2001a; 2007) and Ernesto Sagás (1993b; 1993a), are among those who seem to share the most common perception, namely that anti-Haitian feelings pervade all levels of Dominican society. Others, such as Michiel Baud (1996; 2002) and Silvio Torres-Saillant (1998) are instead of the opinion that these anti-Haitian feelings are a lot less virulent among ordinary Dominicans than what some scholars will have the public believe.

Silvio Torres-Saillant (1998) openly states that his opinion is a conjecture and does not offer any particular reason for believing that the ordinary Dominican have managed to resist internalizing earlier government's dogma of anti-Haitianism. In the following section he does however state that "negrophobia has endured in the country" (Torres-Saillant, 1998, p.140), which can seem paradoxical since negrophobia by many is seen as an element of anti-Haitianism. But it is difficult to assess without further clarification if Torres-Saillant by this comment means that it has endured within the entire population or only amongst the elite. Not specifying which societal group is under discussion is according to Michiel Baud (1996; 2002) a general problem with the literature on this issue. Baud does however offer an argumentation in defense for his viewpoint. While recognizing anti-Haitianism is a trope in the Dominican society as well as the existence of derogatory remarks targeting Haitians, Baud alludes that this does not necessarily equal a strong or influential presence among ordinary Dominicans. He further speculates on how seriously such remarks should be taken. Baud outlines two reasons for his stance on this issue: the absence of an aggressive anti-Haitian popular movement and the absence of an openly anti-immigrant party. While these are valuable questions that must be asked in a constructive debate on anti-Haitianism's prevalence among the general population, Baud's argumentation however, seems to be a little flawed. While there might not exist an openly anti-immigration party *per se*, many scholars and observers have within the last twenty years reported an increase in arbitrary deportations as well as a tightening of immigration policies targeting especially Haitians and their descendants residing in the country (Howard, 2001a; 2007; Human Rights Watch, 2002; Wooding, 2008). A study on the Dominican parties furthermore concluded that the issue of residing Haitians and their descendants does not divide the parties, because no party is required by the independents or the voters to actively take a pro-Haitian or antidiscrimination position. Instead, the authors found that anti-Haitian rhetoric unites Dominicans regardless of societal class and partisanship (Morgan et al., 2011). It is noted that this study was conducted nine years after Baud's (2002) argumentation; however, this should not necessarily be ground for its exclusion in this debate. In his assessment of the prevalence of anti-Haitian feelings among the population, Baud (1996; 2002) furthermore disregard extensive reports and observations from both scholars and various governmental and non-governmental organizations that, as outlined in the literature review on discrimination and oppression, have demonstrated how Haitians and Dominico-Haitians are targets of systemic *and* civilian discriminatory practices ranging from

refusal of public service by the personal to arbitrary physical violence and at times even murder (Amnesty International, 2007; Howard, 2001a; Human Rights Watch, 2015; IACHR, 2013). Even though these reports and studies do not explore or describe the intensity of anti-Haitian feelings among the general population, it is nevertheless reasonable to regard them as strong indicators that anti-Haitianism is not confined to the Dominican elite and/or political sphere.

In light of this, a way to better understand how it would be possible for the Dominican population to have internalized the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism outlined in the previous three sections, is by examining this issue through the lens of a narrative approach to national identity. Anne Kane (2000) and Margret Somers (1994) posit that it is through narrativity, that we come to understand the social world and further constitute our social identities. Social agents are however as mentioned not free to create narratives at will. These narratives are mediated through the social and political institutions that make up the social world. Important to this understanding is, that the narratives upon which social agents constitute their identities, coupled with their structural and cultural embedment, guide their actions which in turn means that social narratives guide social action.

As has been illustrated in the first two sections of analysis, many of the narratives that initially helped form and develop the Dominican national identity and understanding of the nation itself, revolved around the Haitian ‘Other’, accentuating their difference through among other things stereotyping and naturalization. Later, during Trujillo’s dictatorship, these narratives were reproduced to fit the historical context and exaggerated whereby the narratives then came to denounce the presence and existence of Haitians as an eminent threat to the Dominican culture and nation. From the perspective of a narrative approach to identity construction, by creating new or modified narratives of the nation’s history did the Trujillo regime manipulate with one of the most essential elements that provides meaning of self and nation as well as purpose and unity among the members of that nation (Kane, 2000; Somers, 1994). Because social identities are not fixed categories (Somers, 1994), it is possible to imagine that these changed or modified collective memories would further affect, and possibly change, the Dominican national identity. This can be argued because the configuration of this construction is guided by and dependent on these narratives or collective memories. It is therefore not inconceivable that the Dominican national identity with time, adapted its perception of nation and self according to these new narratives that exaggerated an already established element of the collective identity: the Haitian

‘Other’. This argument seems to be, if not directly supported then at least not disputed by the fact that these narratives were disseminated to the population through the public educational system and thus became institutionalized (Sagás, 1993a; Tavernier, 2008; Turits, 2002). As Ernesto Sagás (1993a) explains, the Dominican public education was a coordinated formative state-supported institution, designed to shape Dominican citizens among other things through the provision of the nation’s historical ‘facts’, which they would then identify with and later reproduce as their own. Thus it must be assumed that at least one generation was brought up with, and identified with, this distorted perception of nation and self and consequently also the anti-Haitian discourse. From this understanding of the importance and significance of public education as an institution, it arguably is a distinct possibility that anti-Haitian feelings have reached, and further been adopted by, ordinary Dominicans. Perhaps this perspective can also serve as a possible counterargument as to why an aggressive anti-Haitian social movement has not emerged. If anti-Haitian feelings have become part of the very foundation of the Dominican national identity, then it is not necessarily strange that such a movement has not emerged. If it is a natural part of the majority of the population’s understanding of nation and self, and furthermore generally entrenched into society, a social movement would perhaps be unnecessary. Such an argument would be further supported by the fact that the political elite does not openly disagree with these views, whereby there would be no need for a social movement to attempt to alter or influence the political landscape.

With that being said, it is important to note that nothing can conclusively be derived from the discussion above. Nor was this the intention. Instead this section has attempted to illustrate that it is possible from an analytical point of view, to connect the findings of the last two sections of analysis, or in other words, the past to the present, which in turn opens up for the possibility to further understand the current social stratification of Haitian and their descendants from this perspective.

5.0 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This study has investigated the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism in two distinct periods of the Dominican Republic’s history. The analysis has illustrated how Rafael L.

Trujillo's official promulgation of anti-Haitianism as a political ideology did not, contrary to common belief, mark the beginning of the political usage of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism. Instead can the ideology of anti-Haitianism be interpreted as a reproduction, exaggeration and institutionalization of practices already established by the Dominican elite during the inception of the Dominican national identity.

This thesis has proposed, that a way to better understand the politicization of anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism for both time periods is by applying the revised concept of racial projects. This allows for anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism to be discerned as a political tool employed to create structures of domination over the population and division between the Dominicans and the Haitian 'Other', which in turn enabled the power holders to achieve their respective objectives. As shown and debated in both the literature review and analysis, there are many different and intersecting understandings of why Haiti was chosen, and later reproduced, as the primary symbolic excluding 'Other'. It is therefore this debate that underlies the reason for having to expand the concept's initial categorization for exclusion to also include ethnicity, class and nationality.

From the analysis it further becomes apparent that the conceptualization and subsequent politicization of Haitians as the 'Others', was a necessity for the Dominican elite in order to create the symbolic boundaries necessary to forge a national identity, and thus reach the objective of their racial project. Utilizing a narrative approach to national identity construction have facilitated a way to better understand how the respective power holders more specifically operationalized anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism politically, to define and establish Haitians as the 'Other'. Creating narratives asserting and accentuating Haitians' alleged, unequivocal and unchangeable difference from Dominicans, together with tales telling the story of the nation's enduring political struggle against the Haitian occupying force, facilitated the creation of a symbolic boundary in which certain characteristics signified inclusions and others, such as blackness or African heritage signified exclusion. Eventually, blackness thus became a construct outside the Dominican somatic norm image.

Analyzing the representation of Haitians in both time periods through the constructionist understanding that meaning and social knowledge is generated in and by practices of representation, have elucidated how the representational strategies of stereotyping and naturalization, initially employed by the Dominican elite, were contextually modified and reproduced by Trujillo's regime. These representational strategies were however not the only measures Trujillo's regime utilized in order to disseminate the ideology of anti-Haitianism in their narratives. It has been shown how selective appropriation of historical facts also was employed to distort and manipulate earlier narratives so that they echoed the state ideology. Furthermore must it be noted, that it can be argued, that the use of politicized anti-Haitian prejudice and antagonism for Trujillo's regime was not confined to discursive practices but also included violence, in which the Haitian massacre from this perspective is the epitome.

A debated issue regarding anti-Haitianism, which further relates to the difficulties of analyzing a culture scientifically, relates as shown in the literature review and analysis, to the intensity and prevalence of anti-Haitian feelings among the general population. And while it has been beyond the scope of this paper to fully examine this issue, the study has however shown that applying a narrative approach to national identity construction can enable a discussion that looks beyond the circumstantial evidence and instead tries to connect the past to the present in an analytical matter. While this thesis does not posit to have found a definite answer to this question, it has however illustrated how the narratives of the past can possibly influence social agent's actions in the present. Further research is therefore suggested to put larger focus on this matter as well as delineate the potential difference of anti-Haitianism's prevalence in the political and private sphere, as this seems to be a blurred line in the existing literature.

Lastly a few remarks must be made on an implicit theme of this analysis, namely power. Albeit not being the focus of the analysis *per se*, the societal power structures during the periods of examination have implicitly been fundamental to this analysis. This because the analysis essentially revolves around issues related to the symbolic power to construct specific meaning and representation, in this case the representation and social knowledge of the Haitian 'Other'. As also mentioned in the analysis, social agents are not free to create the narratives that make up their understanding of self and nation. This is important to remember, because this consequently

means that the dominating narratives of any historic era are products of the power holders' constitutive capabilities at that specific time in history. An understanding that only emphasizes the importance of the before mentioned further studies, so that it can be established just how influential the narratives of the previous Dominican power holders are to the ordinary Dominican today.

6.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Americas Watch, 1992. *A Troubled Year: Haitians in the Dominican Republic*. in cooperation with National Coalition for Haitian Refugees.
- Amnesty International, 2007. AMR 27/001/2007 *Dominican Republic: A Life in Transit - The Plight of Haitian Migrants and Dominicans of Haitian Descent*. Amnesty International. Available at: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr27/001/2007/en/>.
- Bartlett, L., 2012. South-south migration and education: the case of people of Haitian descent born in the Dominican Republic. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 42(3), pp.393-414.
- Baud, M., 1996. 'Constitutionally White': the forging of a national identity in the Dominican Republic. In G. Oostindie, ed. *Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetnik*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd. pp.121-48.
- Baud, M., 2002. Race and nation in the Dominican Republic. *New West Indian Guide/ Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, 3(4), pp.312-321.
- Bryman, A., 2008. *Social Research Methods*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chen, E.W.-C., 2008. "You are like us, you eat plátanos": Chinese Dominicans, Race, Ethnicity, and Identity. *Afro-Hispanic Review*, pp.23-40.
- Derby, L., 1994. Haitians, Magic, and Money: Raza and Society in the Haitian-Dominican Borderlands, 1900 to 1937. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 36(03), pp.488-526.
- Duany, J., 2006. Racializing Ethnicity in the Spanish-Speaking Caribbean. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 1(2), pp.231-48.
- Ferguson, J., 2003. *Migration in the Caribbean: Haiti, the Dominican Republic and beyond*. London: Minority Rights Group International.
- Gamboa, L. & Reddy, J.H., 2014. Judicial denationalisation of Dominicans of Haitian descent. *Forced Migration Review*, (46), pp.52-54.
- Hall, S., 1997a. Introduction. In S. Hall, ed. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications. pp.1-13.
- Hall, S., 1997b. The Spectacle of the 'Other'. In S. Hall, ed. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications. pp.223-90.
- Hall, S., 1997c. The Work of Representation. In S. Hall, ed. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications. pp.13-75.
- Hall, M.R., 2004. Coloring the Nation: Race and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic (Book). *Journal Of Third World Studies*, 21(1), pp.318-21.

- Hazel, Y.P., 2014. Sensing Difference: Whiteness, National Identity, and Belonging in the Dominican Republic. *Transforming Anthropology*, 22(2), pp.78-91.
- Hoetink, H., 1967. *Caribbean Race Relations: A Study of Two Variants*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hoetink, H., 1970. The Dominican Republic in the Nineteenth Century: Some Notes on Stratification, Immigration and Race. In M. Mörner, ed. *Race and Class in Latin America*. New York: Columbia University Press. pp.96-121.
- Howard, D., 2001a. *Coloring the Nation: Race and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic*. Oxford: Signal Books Limited.
- Howard, D., 2001b. Dominican Republic spurns Haitian migrants: Rejection of African heritage fuels anti-Haitian views. *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 35(2), pp.24-28.
- Howard, D., 2007. Development, racism, and discrimination in the Dominican Republic. *Development in Practice*, 17(6), pp.725-38.
- Human Rights Watch, 2002. B1401 "Illegal People": Haitians And Dominico-Haitians In The Dominican Republic. Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3cf2429a4.html>.
- Human Rights Watch, 2015. *We are Dominican: Arbitrary Deprivation of Nationality in the Dominican Republic*. Human Rights Watch.
- Inter-American Commission of Human Rights [IACHR], 2013. *Preliminary Observations From the IACHR's Visit to the Dominican Republic*. Organization of American States.
- Kane, A., 2000. Narratives of nationalism: Constructing Irish national identity during the Land War, 1879–82. *National Identities*, 2(3), pp.245-64.
- Keys, H.M. et al., 2015. Perceived discrimination, humiliation, and mental health: a mixed-methods study among Haitian migrants in the Dominican Republic. *Ethnicity & health*, 20(3), pp.219-40.
- Maingot, A.P., 1996. Haiti and the terrified consciousness of the Caribbean. In G. Oostindie, ed. *Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd. pp.53-77.
- Martínez, S., 1995. *Peripheral Migrants: Haitians and Dominican Republic Sugar Plantations*. 1st ed. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Mintz, W.S., 1996. Ethnic difference, plantation sameness. In G. Oostindie, ed. *Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd. pp.39-52.
- Morgan, J., Hartlyn, J. & Espinal, R., 2011. Dominican party system continuity amid regional transformations: economic policy, clientelism, and migration flows. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 53(1), pp.1-32.

- Moya Pons, F., 2010. *The Dominican Republic: A National History*. 3rd ed. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.
- National Coalition for Haitian Rights, 1996. *Beyond the Bateyes*. New York.
- Oboler, S. & Dzidzienyo, A., 2005. Flows and Counterflows: Latinas/os, Blackness, and Racialization in Hemispheric Perspective. In A. Dzidzienyo & S. Oboler, eds. *Neither Enemies nor Friends; Latinos, Blacks, Afro Latinos*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.3-36.
- Omi, M. & Winant, H., 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York, United States of America: Routledge.
- Oostindie, G., 1996. Introduction: ethnicity, as ever? In G. Oostindie, ed. *Ethnicity in the Caribbean: Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd. p.19.
- Sagás, E., 1993a. A case of mistaken identity: Antihaitianismo in Dominican culture. *Latinamericanist*, 29(1), pp.1-5.
- Sagás, E., 1993b. *Antihaitianismo in the Dominican Republic*. PhD Thesis. Florida: University of Florida.
- Sagás, E., 1994. An Apparent Contradiction? Popular Perceptions of Haiti and the Foreign Policy of the Dominican Republic. In *Sixth Annual Conference of the Haitian Studies Association*. Boston, 1994.
- Santiago, R.V., 2004. Race, Nation-Building and Legal ransculturation during the Haitian Unification Period (1822-1844): Towards a Dominican Perspective. *Florida Journal of International Law*, 16, pp.667-76.
- Somers, M.R., 1994. The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach. *Theory and Society*, 23(5), pp.605-49.
- Tavernier, L.A., 2008. The Stigma of Blackness: Anti-Haitianism in the Dominican Republic. *Socialism and Democracy*, 22(3), pp.96–104.
- The World Bank, 2014. *World Development Indicators, Population, total*. [Online] Available at: <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=2&country=DOM&series=&period=> [Accessed 5th May 2016].
- Torres-Saillant, S., 1998. The tribulations of blackness: Stages in Dominican racial identity. *Latin American Perspectives*, 25(3), pp.126-46.
- Turits, R.L., 2002. A world Destroyed, A Nation Imposed: The 1937 Haitian Massacre in the Dominican Republic. *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 82(3), pp.589-635.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015. *Dominican Republic urged not to deport stateless Dominicans*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/5584221a6.html> [Accessed 13 February 2016].

- United Nations Human Rights Council, 2008. *Promotion and protection of all human rights, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to development : note / by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. A/HRC/10/24*. United Nations General Assembly. available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/49a5223b2.html> [accessed 1 May 2016].
- Wooding, B., 2008. Contesting Dominican Discrimination and Statelessness. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, 20(3), pp.366-75.
- Wooding, B. & Moseley-Williams, R.D., 2004. *Needed but unwanted: Haitian immigrants and their descendants in the Dominican Republic*. London: Catholic Institute for International Relations.