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The Dominican Republic (DR) and Haiti are two Caribbean countries that share the same island, Hispaniola, and a tumultuous history. Both countries’ historical relationship is ridden with geopolitical conflict stemming from the DR creating an unwelcoming environment for Haitian immigrants. This dissertation is an interdisciplinary study that investigates how Dominican thinkers play a significant role in creating the intellectual impetus that encourages anti-Haitian sentiment throughout Dominican society in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake. In this dissertation I examine how Dominican anti-Haitian ideals, as delineated by Dominican nationalist intellectuals, that I refer to as Defensive Dominican Nationalists (DDN), continue to resonate amongst “everyday” Dominicans and within the recently amended 2010 Dominican constitution that denies citizenship to Dominicans of Haitian descent in the aftermath of the earthquake. I conclude that although the new constitution reinforces the anti-Haitian ideals espoused by conservative Dominican elite thinkers, “everyday” Dominicans, in the post 2010 earthquake timeframe, rejected some of the DDN’s beliefs concerning the true definition of Dominican-ness and how the Dominican government had recently amended its constitution.

My methodology, consists of literary analysis, a survey, and focus group interviews conducted on both Dominicans and Haitians residing in the DR. Unexpectedly, I found that documented Haitians and second generation Dominicans of Haitian descent actually oppose the new influx of Haitian immigrants adopting some of the anti-Haitian attitudes of the DDN. In essence, this dissertation diagnoses a racial
problem emanating from geopolitical conflict and the tumultuous history between Dominican and Haitian society.
I dedicate this dissertation to my ancestors victimized by slavery, colonialism, post-colonialism, racism, the Trujillo dictatorship, and the Balaguer regime. This dissertation is also dedicated to all those who stood up and rebelled against the aforementioned atrocities affecting the African Diaspora. I also dedicate this dissertation to my mother, father, brother, and supportive friends for backing me, loving me, and remaining in my life.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The Dominican Republic (DR) and Haiti are two Caribbean countries that share the same island, Hispaniola, and a tumultuous history. Most of Hispaniola’s recent geopolitical conflict emanates from the DR’s creation of an unwelcoming environment for Haitian immigrants. Dominican thinkers play a significant role in creating the intellectual impetus that encourages anti-Haitian sentiment throughout Dominican society. Since the demise of the DR’s Trujillo dictatorship (1961) a plethora of Dominican writers have surfaced to promote anti-Haitian sentiment in their books.\(^1\) The 2010 earthquake that struck the island of Hispaniola and devastated the Haitian capital Port-au-Prince created a massive influx of Haitian immigrants into the DR, leading to a heightened backlash by Dominican society.\(^2\) This backlash manifests in the ever-increasing massive deportations of Haitian immigrants, the recent amendments to the Dominican constitution, and a plethora of anti-Haitian articles and opinion pieces

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\(^1\) I refer to these writers *Defensive Dominican Nationalists* (DDN). The DDN are anti-Haitian Dominican intellectuals/elites in the DR who publicly endorse anti-Haitian sentiment and influence Dominican public opinion. The DDN believe that, since the colonial era, Haiti aims to take over the DR, either militarily or through peaceful immigration. I use this term because I believe that it is unfair to categorize all Dominicans as anti-Haitian. However, anti-Haitian Dominicans, particularly those with social and political power will be identified as DDN throughout this work.

\(^2\) According to Doocey et. al, “the magnitude 7.0 earthquake that struck on January 12, 2010, and devastated the city with a reported 222,750 deaths, 300,000 injured, 1.5 million displaced, and more than 3 million affected” (1).
emerging in Dominican newspapers. This dissertation examines how the Dominican anti-Haitian narrative, as delineated by Dominican nationalists, continues to resonate amongst “everyday” Dominicans and within the recently amended Dominican constitution, especially in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake.

I argue that the 2010 earthquake intensified public expressions of anti-Haitian sentiment at higher levels of Dominican society, further exposing the ongoing racist ideology of the Dominican ruling class. Furthermore, it exposed the ambivalence of “everyday” Dominicans, who embrace and simultaneously rebuff some of the DDNs’ ideas and policies regarding the Haitian presence in the DR. In the summers of 2010 and 2011 I conducted fieldwork in the DR, and I noticed that Dominicans at times expressed a contradictory consciousness when articulating their views on Haitian immigration. Even amidst contradictions, in the post 2010 earthquake timeframe, “everyday” Dominicans rejected some of the DDN’s beliefs concerning the true definition of Dominican-ness and how the Dominican government had recently amended its constitution.

Immediately after the earthquake, the Dominican government initially reacted positively by granting Haiti assistance. Yet, weeks after the earthquake the Dominican government altered its constitution to highly restrict Haitian immigration into the DR.

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3 The 2010 constitution does not recognize persons born in Dominican soil to non-Dominican citizens as Dominican nationals. Not long after the earthquake the Dominican government implemented a program “that offers migrants cash as an incentive”, to leave the DR and return to Haiti permanently (Associated Press, “Haitian Migrants Leave Dominican Republic With Cash Incentive”).

4 I define contradictory consciousness as a schism between beliefs and actual practices. For instance, I encountered some Dominicans who professed disdain for Haitians, yet claimed Haitians as either relatives or friends that they embraced.
Robles informs us that, “In January 2010, two weeks after the quake, a new constitution took effect denying citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants” (*Miami Herald*). In the DR, Dominicans of Haitian descent (Dominico-Haitianos) currently struggle to attain Dominican citizenship. As a result, international critics accused the DR of refusing to recognize Dominico-Haitianos as legitimate Dominicans. The 2010 proceedings were implemented in a retroactive manner. The Dominican government suddenly required its citizens to use cedulas (Government issued ID card) when applying for various conveniences such as “(cellular) phone” purchases and “marriages.” Dominico-Haitianos experienced an abrupt “cut-off” by Dominican society as a result of the unexpected constitutional changes.

In March 2011 former President Leonel Fernandez hired a member of one of the DDN’s political parties to take official charge of patrolling of the Dominican-Haitian border for undocumented Haitian immigrants. According to *Dominicantoday.com*, “The new Immigration chief assumes the post amid ongoing friction along the country’s porous, 300 mile border, where contraband, people trafficking and drugs and gun smuggling are rampant.” Such a statement reflects how the Dominican media views the Dominican-Haitian border as a site for criminal activity, thereby justifying Fernandez’ hiring of a conservative official to take charge and “protect” the nation. Archibold tells us that Haitians in the DR are also the scapegoat for diseases and the earthquake only managed to exacerbate anti-Haitian stereotypes, which led to their deportations in droves. Unfortunately, the 2010 earthquake led to the cholera epidemic outbreak.

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Hernandez reports that, as a result, the Dominican government closed its borders to Haiti because it perceived the DR was susceptible to the outbreak of diseases.\(^7\)

The DR, unlike other countries of the West that attained their independence from European colonial powers, achieved its independence from Haiti by ending a Haitian occupation that lasted from 1822 to 1844. This occupation led to the founding of the Dominican nation on the basis of anti-Haitian sentiment. In 1937, the Dominican dictator Rafael Molina y Trujillo conducted a genocidal attack against Haitian immigrants residing in the Dominican borderlands roughly killing 25,000 victims; essentially a “Dominicanizing” project. The 1937 slaughter is the greatest instance of anti-Haitian violence, sanctioned by the Dominican government, in Dominican history. As a result, the Trujillo regime grew and strengthened itself with the assistance of Dominican intellectuals who created an anti-Haitian based narrative for the country and the regime. One aspect of this narrative is its racial component, which denies African heritage any place within the Dominican nationalist conscience, with Haitians being presented as Dominicans’ racial *other*. Intellectuals such as Manuel Arturo Pena Batlle and Joaquin Balaguer are known as the main players in constructing an anti-Haitian narrative of Dominican history during the Trujillo regime.

In the last 30 years, a new conservative Dominican nationalist intelligentsia has emerged largely descendant from the predecessors, previously mentioned, who partook in the Trujillo regime. Balaguer, for example, succeeded Trujillo as head of state and continued to write books reiterating the anti-Haitian prejudices he spewed during the

Trujillo era. This “new” intelligentsia set out to ensure that anti-Haitian sentiment remained entrenched in Dominican society. I refer to this intelligentsia as Defensive Dominican Nationalists (DDN) because they strive to propagate the legacy of anti-Haitian sentiment as the appropriate means for saving the Dominican nation. The DDN believes that the DR needs “saving” from the increasing influx of the Haitian immigrant-neighbors whose presence disrupts Dominican society. One example is Manuel Núñez, asserts that Haitian immigration is to blame for the DR’s gradual and eventual collapse as a nation.

A great amount of scholarship examines Dominicans’ disparaging sentiments toward Haitians’ migration to the DR. Yet, seldom does the research investigate how the Dominican anti-Haitian intellectual discourse that preceded the 2010 earthquake continues to influence Dominicans’ attitudes and perceptions at a crisis moment. Much of the scholarship investigating Dominican-Haitian relations reiterates how Dominicans define Haitians as their other. Dominicans, who at times acknowledge that their population is composed of people of mixed African and European ancestry, generally acknowledge that they culturally identify as a people detached from an African heritage. Dominicans, for the most part, tend to express a greater cultural identification with Hispanic culture and, in turn, define Haitians as their cultural opposite—a wholly African people.

Dominicans de-emphasize their African heritage as a way to distance themselves from Haitians. For the DDN, Hispanic heritage (consisting of Catholicism, the Spanish

8 See Ernesto Sagas’ Race and Politics…, David Howard’s Colouring the Nation, Franklin Franco Pichardo’s Antihaitianismo…, and Silvio Torres-Saillant’s Introduction to Dominican Blackness.
language, and Hispanic customs, etc.) and African culture (composed in Haiti of Vodou, Haitian creole, etc.) are dichotomous. The DDN rejects all that is considered “Haitian”. Yet, Dominicans, for the most part, identify as a black people, but of a different kind—not Haitian. Throughout this dissertation I will discuss the concept of *Dominican ethnicism*\(^9\), simply because Dominicans tend to deny racism against Haitians and instead argue that their biases are not racial but cultural.\(^10\)

My desire to pursue this scholarship is influenced by my Dominican background and personal experiences witnessing Dominicans profess extreme disdain for blackness in general and Haitians in particular. The fact that I am a bi-lingual Dominican also influenced and facilitated my ability to read and translate Dominican Spanish books into English. I am convinced that since I am indigenous to Dominican culture that I can offer an insider’s perspective that contributes to this work’s uniqueness. I took to task learning about Dominican history in order to clarify for myself Dominicans’ problematic relationship with blackness. While pursuing my master’s degree in Africana Studies at Cornell University, I came to the realization that Dominicans’ disdain for blackness did not occur overnight, but instead is a result of centuries of turmoil affected by European

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\(^9\) I borrowed the term ethnicism and applied it to the Dominican-Haitian context. Dominican ethnicism refers to the notion that Dominicans deny racism influences their perspective of Haitians and instead argue that their prejudices are cultural and/or economic. Dominican ethnicism is essentially racism in disguise. In the end, modern anti-Haitianism espoused by the DDN consists of accepting a biologically-rooted blackness while denying racism against Haitians by using a subtle racist approach disguised as ethnicist rhetoric. Dominican ethnicism is employed to justify the prohibition of Haitian migration into the DR while serving as a defense mechanism that permits Dominicans to malign Haitian immigrants.

\(^10\) I believe Garner’s Wikipedia quote defining racism best suits this dissertation. His citation states that “Racism is a belief system or doctrine which postulates a hierarchy among various human races or ethnic groups. It may be based on an assumption of inherent biological differences between different ethnic groups that purport to determine cultural or individual behavior. Racism may be described as a strong form of ethnocentrism, including traits such as xenophobia (fear and hate of foreigners), views against interracial relationships (anti-miscegenation), ethnic nationalism, and ethnic stereotypes” (7).
colonialism. At the doctoral level, I wished to delve into Dominicans’ attitudes and beliefs in order to comprehend where the problems lie with hopes of proposing practical solutions. This project is also my personal quest for self-fulfillment. Although I am aware that it may appear idealistic, I believed that if I could dissect anti-Haitianism through scholarship, perhaps I could “build” a bridge to assist Dominicans in consciously embracing an African-centered identity.

Significance of the Study

This dissertation unearths ways in which peoples of the African Diaspora, particularly those of the island of Hispaniola, continue to relate to one another on nationalist terms and to use colonially oriented European-based notions of peoplehood and other to define each other and themselves. Since it is the duty of Africana Studies to challenge racism, this project serves to uncover how the DR (its writers and legislature) continues to promote racist ideals in a generally subtle fashion. More importantly, this project utilizes ethnicism to bring out the under current of self-hatred among Dominicans. Dominican ethnicism denotes one example of black-on-black racism in the Caribbean. I write this dissertation with hopes that readers will support and generate a counter discourse to Dominican racism. If more anti-racist movements rise and succeed in debunking racist rhetoric through academia, perhaps such movements will compel racist thinkers to alter their arguments. Such pressure will force racist thinkers to concede, furthering the demise of their toxic beliefs.
Although many Dominican nationalists believe anti-Haitianism is fundamental to being Dominican, they are mistaken. To be anti-Haitian is to be anti-Dominican. Dividing Dominicans and Haitians on account of colonial definitions and pretending that the binary social constructs that the DDN embraces (Catholicism vs. Vodou, White vs. Black, Hispanic vs. African) are impermeable and absolutely separate is an illusion that refuses to acknowledge the important similarities in both groups. Permeability exists. Acknowledging both groups’ cultural similarities is key towards dissolving Dominican xenophobia. Dominicans barely comprehend, nor are familiar with Haitians and their culture. They do, however, rely on vilifying stereotypes handed down to them from the elite and their media. The twentieth century Dominican elite, especially Trujillo, succeeded in doing what Junot Diaz claims—they took European colonialism, “that very old record and remixed it”.¹¹

Dominicans cannot blame all of their domestic problems on Haiti and/or Haitians. I challenge anti-Haitianists to hold their country accountable for its own problems, without bringing Haitians into the discussion. If Dominicans cannot, then that is most certainly a definitive example as to how Dominican society uses Haitians as a crutch to keep themselves from facing their true selves and confronting the nation’s social problems in earnest.

¹¹ http://www.bostonreview.net/BR37.4/junot_diaz_paula_moya_2_oscar_wao_monstro_race.php
Methodology

Modern anti-Haitianism in the DR is visible in Dominican literature, society, media, and law. This dissertation will illustrate how ethnicism functions by decoding ethnicist language. Ethnicism, as a concept, reveals how Dominican intellectuals deny racism. This dissertation relies on a methodological approach that emphasizes how:

1) The Dominican intellectual (anti-Haitian) discourse preceding the earthquake resonates with Dominican attitudes and perceptions in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake; and

2) How Dominican ethnicism emerges and functions in Dominican media, particularly newspaper opinion columns and legislature (e.g., the newly amended constitution) subsequent to the earthquake.

My methodology draws from various intellectual sources. However, I must point out that this project is heavily influenced by Ernesto Sagas’ argument, that “contemporary or post-Trujillo antihaitianismo has stronger nationalist and cultural overtones, while down-playing the racial issue” (Race and Politics... 70). According to Sagas, ideologues publishing in the DR throughout the last 30 years decreased their racist approach as a result of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement in the US, which challenged scientific racism. These authors altered their arguments because they were unwelcomed
by a variety of critics. Yet, I extend his argument, by asserting that in order for 
*antihaitianismo* to adapt to and subsist in current times, these anti-Haitianists not only 
deny racism but also admit that Dominicans are also of African descent. The significance 
of this acknowledgement is that it serves the DDN’s purposes of dodging accusations of 
racism and it suggests anti-Haitian intellectuals distanced themselves from the term 
*indio*—a term that was officially used during the Trujillo dictatorship, to classify 
Dominicans.\(^\text{12}\) Using “Indio” to classify Dominicans no longer suppressed any form of 
black identity within the country. Anti-Haitianists, therefore, defined Dominicanness, or 
what it means to be Dominican, based on Trujillo’s standards. The DDN now admits that, 
on the island of Hispaniola, African ancestry is no longer solely attributed to Haitians. 
Their public acknowledgment that Dominicans, too, are of African descent further 
demonstrates that anti-Haitianism is losing credibility. In order for the old ideology to 
remain alive, various anti-Haitian Dominican power-holders must emerge from the 
various strata of Dominican society and pump the ideology through various Dominican 
media. According to them, if Dominican intellectuals stop promoting anti-Haitianism 
then anti-Haitianism dies and the long-dreaded Haitian take-over ensues.

Some scholars consistently point to five Dominican writers whose books endorse 
anti-Haitian Dominican nationalism. These five men, whom I refer to as the DDN, are 
Joaquin Balaguer, Carlos Cornielle, Luis Julian Perez, Federico Gratereaux, and Manuel 
Nuñez. Their influence in the DR reflects Van Dijk’s criteria of how symbolic elites 
operate in affecting public discourse about immigration. According to Van Dijk:

\(^{\text{12}}\) The term *Indio* (Indian) in the DR refers to the Native Americans who resided the island in pre-
Columbian times. During the Trujillo era, the term was officially used as a way to create a new racial and 
national identity for Dominicans.
Journalist, writers, professors, and other symbolic elites thus have a primary role in setting the agenda, and hence have considerable influence in defining the terms and the margins of consent and dissent for public debate, in formulating the problems people speak and think about, and especially in controlling the changing systems of norms and values by which ethnic events are evaluated. (47)

These authors’ influence over the media gives them the advantage of swaying Dominican public opinion. Balaguer, for example, worked for the Trujillo regime and was the president of the Dominican Republic for 22 years subsequent to the regime’s collapse. Balaguer, a lawyer by trade, was one of the intellectuals Trujillo hired to help redesign anti-Haitian rhetoric and assist in ensuring it was manifested in Dominican policies. Throughout his lengthy political career, Balaguer produced books, some which denigrated African heritage while uplifting European culture.13 Carlos Cornielle, who was also a lawyer, worked for Trujillo during his regime and after its collapse participated in efforts to secure the borderlands. Luis Julian Perez was also a Dominican politician, scion of the Trujillato, who led a conservative political party that supported the deportation of Haitians. Federico Gratereaux, however, comes from a younger generation. He is a well-known journalist in the Dominican Republic who still actively writes for the Dominican newspaper Hoy. His nationalist rhetoric is more “politically correct” than his predecessors, but nevertheless continues the tradition of antihaitianismo. Manuel Nuñez, a professor at a prestigious Dominican university, is probably the most controversial of all of the writers, particularly because he is currently the most vocal. He

13 The most anti-Haitian books are Balaguer’s The Dominican Reality and La isla al reves.
is a black Dominican who ardently opposes Haitian immigration and praises the anti-Haitian thinkers of the Trujillo era.

As previously mentioned, the DDN engage in what Van Dijk calls ethnicism. Dominicans emphasize their cultural differences from Haitians in order to justify the anti-Haitianists’ opposition to Haitian immigration into the Dominican Republic. Ethnicism, in effect, leads anti-Haitianists to define Haitians on essentialist terms. The DDN has established cultural characteristics for Haitians as naturally inherent to them and their culture. Essentialism, according to Garner, emerges:

> When nature is employed to account for behavior, the idea that this behavior is unchanging, and therefore unchangeable, accompanies it. Identities are, in this perspective, constructed around an essence which cannot change. (12)

The Dominican ethnicist’s bias is based on the allegation that Haitians have a pathological culture. The perceived pathology lies in the African component within Haitian culture. Treating African-ness as pathological is racist, whether the DDN is willing to admit it or not. Their failure to associate racism with defining African culture as pathological, demonstrates the extent of their denial. Suffice it to say, the predominant African heritage in Haitian culture is one of the primary reasons why Dominicans believe Haitians should be prohibited from entering or remaining in the DR.

By the same token, the DDN associates Dominican culture (language and religion, for example) with Spanish or Hispanic culture despite the fact that Dominicans are predominantly of African descent. In the conservative anti-Haitian nationalist
imagination, Dominican-ness means detachment from an African-oriented culture, even if a Dominican is dark-skinned. Anti-Haitianists further justify this belief by providing historical accounts, dating back to the colonial era, in which black Dominicans blatantly proclaimed themselves “internally white” since they opposed Haitian foreigners in Dominican territory. For instance, Gratereaux argues that since the founding of the DR as a nation Dominicans proclaimed themselves as “the whites of the land” in attempt to distance themselves from Africa and Haitians (209).

Hispanic culture, however, is perceived as normative and is credited with placing the Dominican nation on the path towards civilization. Haitian culture, on the other hand, is a threat since it could potentially make the Dominican nation veer off the “civilized” path. In this vein, I rely on Ernesto Sagas’ definition of antihaitianismo as a combination of “a legacy of racist Spanish colonial mentality, nineteenth-century racial theories, and twentieth-century cultural neoracism into a web of anti-Haitian attitudes, racial stereotypes, and historical distortions” (Race and Politics… ix).

To further assist unpacking the Dominican ethnicist concept, I borrow the term dislocation from Afrocentric theory to get at the essence of DDN identity. According to Ama Mazama:

it is possible for a group to develop a sense of location that is not congruent with its history, culture, and biology. This often happens when the group identifies, consciously or not, with another group, which it perceives as dominant, and loses sight of itself, thus causing dislocation to occur. This identification with another group may occur at two related levels: It may involve the adoption of the dominant group’s attitudes and/or the partial or total adoption of the dominant group’s culture. (220)
Dislocation, in the Afrocentric sense, refers to the idea that some people within the African diaspora may identify with European culture to the extent that they embrace racist colonial ways of interpreting their reality, themselves, and others. When a person utilizes a racist European colonial lens to interpret their own reality, they automatically view all that comprises African culture as pathological. Dislocation calls for “relocation” which entails substituting one’s European-centeredness with Africa as one’s cultural center. According to Mazama, debunking European colonialism can lead Africans\textsuperscript{14} to “embrace their own culture, history, and physical appearance in order to move from a state of chaos to one where harmony and peace may prevail” (221). Embracing dislocation, however, comes with negative consequences since:

The result of dislocation has been massive confusion, disorientation, and self-destruction. Indeed, dislocated Africans tend to dissociate themselves from their own history, culture, and biology and may thus engage in actions that run contrary to the best interest of the African people…it is important to realize that, given the racism that has been endemic to most of European thought, African dislocation has meant not simply total or partial acculturation but also, quite often, self-hatred. (220)

*Research Questions:*

1. How has anti-Haitian sentiment been expressed for the last 30 years in the Dominican Republic?

\textsuperscript{14} The term African is used to signify continental Africans as well as the African Diaspora.
2. Which group or groups of Dominicans specifically express these attitudes?

3. Since conservative nationalist elites are the vanguard (the leading voice) for expressing anti-Haitian attitudes, through which media have they expressed these attitudes?

4. How have Dominicans’ attitudes been impacted by the earthquake and its aftermath?

Methods

My dissertation is an interdisciplinary and transnational study that employs a mixed-methods approach. First, I analyze the books of five conservative Dominican writers who in the DR hold or once held considerable influence in the political arena, a great deal of access to the Dominican media, and are well-known public figures. The writers (and their books) consist of the following: Carlos Cornielle (1980), *Proceso historico dominico-haitiano: una advertencia a la juventud dominicana*; Joaquin Balaguer (1984), *La isla al reves*; Luis Julian Perez (1990), *Santo domingo frente al destino*; Federico Gratereaux (1996), *Un ciclon en una botella*; and Manuel Nuñez (2001), *El ocaso de la nacion dominicana*. I analyze these writers’ books since they demonstrate how ethnicism functions. In addition, I conduct content analysis as a way to compartmentalize the different themes that emerge in their discourse. My analysis explains how these writers construct their arguments in order to highlight their reasons for believing that the Haitian immigrant presence in the DR is detrimental to the nation.
These writers rarely disagree in their arguments. In fact, they represent a continuum, an unbroken chain from one to another’s ideas. Balaguer takes on an ethnicist approach. Nuñez believes that Dominicans should hold Haitians accountable for Haiti’s own national self-destruction and/or poverty. Perez attempts to “save-face”, while continually making economic and cultural excuses for the DR’s inability to accept any more Haitian immigrants. Cornielle is an old guard and a blatant racist—colonial rhetoric saturates his arguments for opposing Haitian migration, and Gratereaux eloquently explains in a politically correct manner why Haitians are culturally incompatible with Dominicans.

In the literature, the DDN expresses what I refer to as nationalist paranoia. This paranoia is the fear that the DR will become denationalized with the overabundance of Haitian immigrants entering the country. Denationalization for the DR means that Haitians will do away with Dominican culture. These nationalists are under the impression that the Haitian government neglects the border issue, and does nothing to encourage its citizens to respect Dominican sovereignty. In fact, they believe that the Haitian government is behind the uncontrolled influx of Haitian immigrants, since Haiti’s secret and malicious agenda is based on imperialism—emanating from the colonial era—of absorbing the DR and merging both countries. The other themes I address are economically based, for the DDN blame Haitians for suppressing the national wage. Furthermore, the DDN views poor Haitians who migrate into the DR as an economic burden because they allegedly consume social resources that are primarily designated for Dominican use, particularly Dominican hospitals (i.e., pregnant Haitian women enter the Dominican Republic to give labor at no cost to them).
In the cultural arena, the Dominican writers under consideration hereunder consider what I refer to as cultural contagion. They argue that Haitian culture is disruptive to Dominican culture due to the former’s ability to obliterate the latter. The heavy Haitian presence in the DR supposedly leads Dominicans to eventually embrace Haitian Vodou and art in addition to other cultural elements, which, in turn, supposedly supplants Dominican culture in the DR.

As previously mentioned, these defensive nationalists also deny that racism influences their arguments and instead argue that their views are based on the patterns they observe among incoming Haitians. These writers then redirect the conversation by labeling Haitians (and their supporters) as the real racists. This is a Dominican form of reversing the racism, or of reverse-racism. Not only do the defensive nationalists blame Haitians for disrupting Dominican culture and society, but they also blame Dominicans who “shun” Dominican national interests by sympathizing with Haitians. I refer to the DDN’s depiction of these Dominicans as “the internal problem”. The internal problem refers to the complaints that these writers have of Dominican Marxists, especially those who defend Haitians for being a poor and exploited people. Not only do Dominican Marxists side with Haitians, but also NGOs who reside within the Dominican Republic, along with everyday Dominicans who do not take a militant anti-Haitian approach towards Haitians and instead opt to sympathize with them.

The next component of this dissertation consists of a survey that I constructed and conducted along with a series of focus groups. I patterned my survey after Ernesto Sagas’ survey found in his 1993 dissertation “Antihaitianismo in the Dominican Republic.” My survey draws upon a random sampling of Dominicans, and interrogates how they believe
Haitian immigration and/or immigrants affect the country in the wake of the earthquake. Its questions reflect the themes I previously described, and establish a connection between the writers’ arguments and “everyday” Dominicans’ attitudes. From the focus groups, I extract anecdotes that reflect Dominican ethnicism and relate them to the writers’ arguments. To further uncover how ethnicism functions in the DR, I also draw on various sources of information, such as the recently amended Dominican constitution and articles from popular Dominican newspapers.

Limitations of the Study

In terms of ethnography this study is limited mainly to Santo Domingo, geographically speaking. My study is also limited due to Haitians refusing to participate out of fear of deportation and our mutual linguistic barriers. Since I do not speak Kreyol I encountered difficulty in getting Haitians to ‘open up’. Dominican men, however, expressed most eagerness to discuss their views on Haitian immigration.

Literature Review

As previously mentioned, anti-Haitianism is central in Dominicans’ unwelcoming reaction towards their immigrant neighbors. As David Howard contends, “Anti-Haitianism is a virulent component of Dominican intellectual history, and Haiti lies at the
foundation of Dominican nationalism” (161). The Trujillo regime can be credited for theoretically reconstructing the DR’s history, the country’s “relationship with Haiti, and the Hispanic ancestry of the people” (Torres-Saillant, 29). Howard is absolutely correct when he affirms that dominicanidad is nothing more or less than “a celebration of whiteness” (2).

As part of this “celebration” Trujillo hired Manuel Arturo Peña Batlle and Joaquin Balaguer as part of his inner circle. Their appointment called for their backing the regime by making Trujillo appear to be the savior of the Dominican nation. These two men wrote books that provided a nationalist and racist interpretation of Dominican-Haitian historical relations.

Unfortunately, the elite’s ideas have often been in tune with “everyday” Dominicans’ opinions. Dominican national surveys denote Dominicans’ anti-Haitian attitudes towards Haitian immigrants. Sagas substantiates this claim by linking popular Dominican opinion with the Dominican elite’s influence, suggesting that:

In the Dominican Republic, elites control policy making and the media, therefore exerting considerable influence on public opinion. Therefore, beliefs, opinions, and ideologies held by Dominican elites permeate popular opinion by way of the media and authoritarian power structures […]. It would not be an exaggeration to say that elite attitudes in the Dominican Republic regarding the Haitian-Dominican relationship are fairly representative of the general population’s views, given their control (and manipulation) of information sources (new media, education, politics, etc.). That fact alone justifies and demands the study of Dominican elites. (“Antihaitianismo in the Dominican Republic”, 67)
The most criticized DDN are Joaquin Balaguer and Manuel Núñez. Many scholars denounce Balaguer for referencing scientific racism in his discursive opposition to Haitian immigration. Manuel Núñez, however, has been distinguished as a modern-day Trujillista since his anti-Haitianist approach emulates the style of the anti-Haitianists of the Trujillo era. Many critics are baffled with Núñez’s ideological stance, primarily because he is of a younger generation and, unlike the other writers, he never worked for Trujillo. Silvio Torres-Saillant even describes Núñez as “an intellectual spokesman for the sectors that repudiate the Haitian influence and the African presence in Dominican society” (26).

Balaguer’s Portrayal as a Racist and Archaic Thinker by Anti-racist Critics

Balaguer is mainly criticized for his book La isla al reves (The Backward Island). Scholars such as Baud and Marquez argue that Balaguer’s book proposes archaic ideas. Michiel Baud, for example, affirms that Balaguer’s ideas are outdated to the extent that they revert back to the “late nineteenth-century” and are saturated by “social-Darwinist and eugenicist thinking” (Baud, 137). Carlos Dore Cabral’s article “La inmigracion Haitiana y el componente racista de la cultura dominicana (apuntes para una critica a ‘La Isla al Reves’)” joins the conversation by proclaiming that Balaguer clings to “scientific works completely disqualified in the beginning of this century” (Cabral, 64).

Roberto Marquez, in “Anatomy of Racism”, describes Balaguer’s methodology as “a triad of race, demography, and eugenics” (32). Fennema and Lowenthal, in La
Construcción de Raza y Nación en la República Dominicana, supplements Baud and Marquez’s argument when they say that “Balaguer relies on studies that inhale nineteenth century scientific racism that was conceived [and] served to rationalize imperialism of the era and whose representative was Count Gobineau” (52-53). Interestingly, Balaguer admits in La isla al reves that his opposition to Haitian immigration is not racially based; yet, his reliance on Gobineau (the father of “scientific racism”) clearly suggests a contradiction. Marquez even argues that Balaguer represents the thinking of a “slavemaster” in modern times. He describes Balaguer as a “colonial”, “pretentious”, conservative “octogenarian” who provides a “thesis [that] has the delusive partiality of a planter’s fallacious syllogism” (32).

Cabral breaks down Balaguer’s text thematically noting the following as the most salient themes: “blood inheritance, pure homogenous races, psychosocial characteristics pertaining to race(s), somatic degeneration, racial miscegenation, racial instincts, and racial Hispanic origins” (Cabral, 64). The critic’s analysis of Balaguer’s book affirms that Balaguer believes that in order for Dominicans to improve their race, they should racially “mix” with whites. Balaguer believes that cultural traits are directly linked to one’s genes. Cabral refutes this argument, countering that there is no racialized blood, but instead different blood types.

Critics contend that Balaguer posits a “static” and fixed interpretation of Dominicans denoting them as culturally Spanish and an unchanged people since the colonial era. Balaguer is noted for blaming any non-Spanish aspects of Dominican culture on Haitians’ cultural influence (Baud, 137). In addition, the politician attacks Haitians by arguing that in order for Dominicans to secure their country they must
beware of Haitians’ primitiveness and hyper-sexuality, implying that the uncontrolled growth of the Haitian population may pose a threat for the Dominican Republic (Baud, 138). Over and above Balaguer’s blatant xenophobia, Marquez asserts that the politician uses Haitians as a scapegoat for all of the problems and challenges facing the Dominican Republic, for:

Balaguer holds Haitian immigration responsible for everything from the deterioration of his *homo Dominicans’* sense of loyalty to traditional Christian family values, the native working class increasing lack of nationalist solidarity, and the middle class’s meager strength, to the discouraging state of the country’s overall health, its economic instability, and the general failure of current development strategies. (Marquez, 33)

Howard reports that Balaguer believes that Haitians can never become Dominican; since, “Nationality, in Balaguer’s terms, can never be granted or exchanged, only inherited” (161).

Furthermore, Howard contends that in the Dominican Republic “Race and nation are effectively entwined. […] The national territory is racial territory; national belonging denotes racial belonging” (154). This argument resonates with Fennema and Lowenthal’s argument that Balaguer uses race and nation interchangeably when ascribing cultural definitions to Dominicanness. As a matter of fact, the politician defines Dominicans in cultural terms and Haitians in biological terms. Balaguer approaches Dominicans differently than Haitians, alluding that the former have characteristics “that distinguish them from the latter. Haitians are more relegated to biological essentialism and Dominicans [to] ‘cultural heritage’” (Fennema and Loewenthal, 52). Fennema’s
interpretation of Balaguer’s racial classification of Haitians suggests that, “Haiti is dominated by the African race, while Santo Domingo has a population that is of Spanish origin” (204).

In the political realm, however, Baud acknowledges that the anti-Haitianism Balaguer espouses never “spoiled his chances” in losing elections (139). Fennema and Lowenthal extend this proclamation by affirming that Dominicans are as time warped (i.e., trapped in the past) as Balaguer:

Indeed, Doctor Balaguer’s racism, is quite outdated and can easily be refuted by more recent investigations. We could, then, conclude, that by voting for a president of 78 years of age with ideas more ancient, even older ideas, a forty percent of the Dominicans have demonstrated that they live in the past. (37)

However, to address Fennema and Lowenthal’s quote, Balaguer was known for rigging elections. Therefore, the notion that many Dominicans voted for him—and that by extension demonstrate that they too live in the past—is questionable. Sagas also complements Fennema’s argument, when he states that Balaguer:

is not an obscure writer but an individual who has the power, prestige, and influence to reproduce these views among the Dominican people. La isla al reves became an instant national best-seller, which suggests that the topic of the book appealed to the public and that many educated Dominicans share Balaguer’s views. (72)

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15 http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/dominican/balaguer-obit.htm
Similarly, Baud argues that Dominican elites’ anti-Haitianism is evident in the social policies they espouse. In addition, they erroneously refer to themselves as speaking on behalf of the Dominican masses when, in actuality, they do not (139). Franklin Franco Pichardo, in Sobre racismo y antihaitianismo (y otros ensayos), contends that racism is most strongly pronounced among the Dominican elite that is composed of about 20 families (129). The critic claims that racism in the Dominican Republic decreases as one goes down the racial ladder; for “Within the middle class it is less intense, and even much less in the framework of the working class” (129).

Odalis Perez, in Nacionalismo y cultura en Republica Dominicana and in La ideologia rota, vigorously attacks Manuel Núñez’s infamous book El ocaso de la nacion dominicana. Perez argues that up until the late 20th century the production of anti-Haitian Dominican literature simmered. However, anti-Haitian literature was revived once politician Peña Gomez16, who was of Haitian ancestry, attempted to run for presidency (Perez, Nacionalismo…, 20). Balaguer vilified Gomez during the presidential campaign and accused him of wanting to merge Haiti and the Dominican Republic into one country (Howard, 161).17

In La ideologia rota, Odalis Perez refers to anti-Haitianism (especially as it manifests in Manuel Núñez’s El ocaso de la nacion dominicana) as a broken ideology, as

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16 Peña Gomez was a Black Dominican whose Dominicanness was consistently questioned as a result of his black skin. Although he was born in the Dominican Republic, some Dominicans claim that Gomez’s parents were Haitians who were killed during the Trujillato during the 1937 Haitian/Parsley massacre.

17 Some Dominican politicians feared that Gomez would take revenge on the Dominican Republic upon taking power or even worst, merge the Dominican Republic with Haiti.
reflected in the books’ title. For Perez, the anti-Haitian nationalism that conservative Dominicans promote is inherently flawed due to its fallacious reasoning. He blames anti-Haitian Dominican nationalists for preventing the rise of more progressive thinkers in the Dominican Republic (Perez, *Nacionalismo*..., 61). In addition, Perez accuses Núñez of attempting to come across to readers as an authority on historical discourse when in fact he is not, due his lack of scholarly training in historiography (*La ideologia rota*, 25). Yet, Sagas, on the other hand, argues that Manuel Núñez takes on a cultural approach towards interpreting the effects of Haitian immigration by attempting to “rescue” the Dominican Republic’s “cultural homogeneity” from the Haitian immigrant threat (72). Other scholars, however, have criticized Núñez for having a limited conception of Dominicaness by simply reducing the concept to European heritage (Alvarez-Lopez, 192).

Luis Julian Perez, another Dominican nationalist whose book will be analyzed for this project, is “the leader of a small, extreme right-wing party, the Union Nacionalista” (Howard, 158). Howard contends that Perez justifies the 1937 genocidal attack against Haitians, and comparably to Balaguer, portrays Haitians as an “uncultured” people who threaten the Dominican Republic. In addition to Perez’s listing a barrage of stereotypes, the politician calls for Haitians’ repatriations and the permanent closing of the borders (Howard, 158). Torres-Saillant worries that men like Manuel Núñez and Luis Julian Perez, who are affiliated with Dominican higher education, will leave black Dominicans students obliged to succumb to the anti-Haitian rhetoric spewed by these conservative Dominican nationalists.
When Sagas interviewed Dominican elites, he divided them into two camps—the conservatives versus the liberals. The conservative elites expressed anti-Haitianism based on “history, culture, or the Dominican national interest” (Sagas Race and Politics…, 91). The liberals, however, expressed tolerance due to their Marxist orientation and humanitarianism towards interpreting Dominican-Haitian relations. In addition, they interpreted immigration, overall, as a typical phenomenon in the Caribbean (Sagas Race and Politics…, 91-92). Yet, the conservatives’ objections could be narrowed down to the following:

1) opposing Haitian immigration since they competed with Dominicans in the labor market;
2) disagreeing with the Dominican Republic engaging in trade with Haiti; refusing to acknowledge Dominicans of Haitian descent as actual Dominican nationals;
3) holding Haiti accountable for mismanagement Haiti’s environment;
4) and disapproving of Haitian culture’s supposed domination of Dominican culture (Sagas Race and Politics…, 91).

Though some conservative elites express overt racism, bigotry is now regarded as, nevertheless, politically incorrect. Anti-Haitian Dominican elites have resorted to expressing their racism in newer ways, which Sagas labels “renovated antihaitianismo” (Sagas Race and Politics… 92). In fact, the old guard has been substituted with a new guard of conservatives, indicating that the conservative sector has managed to continue to find its replacement, for:
This traditional elite, which for decades has occupied positions of power and carried out policy decisions in the Dominican Republic, has been responsible for creating, nurturing, and reproducing antihaitianismo ideology. Even though the members of the elite do not comprise a very large group, from their positions of power they have for decades influenced education, popular culture, and the Dominican popular culture. Particularly during the Trujillo dictatorship and the Balaguer administrations, they imposed their particular brand of nationalism and transformed antihaitianismo into an ideology for popular consumption. (Sagas Race and Politics…, 93)

Anti-Haitianism essentially justifies social inequalities, fuels Dominican nationalism, and instills in “everyday” Dominicans illusions of superiority to Haitians who are at the bottom of the social ladder of Dominican society. Oftentimes, these sentiments are reflected in national surveys conducted on Dominicans in the DR. For example, Bernardo Vega in an article entitled: “Etnicidad y el futuro de las relaciones dominico-haitianas,” discusses nation-wide surveys performed on “everyday” Dominicans investigating their views on Haitians. In a 1982 survey “55% of Dominicans said that Haitians should be returned to their countries and that, consequently, only Dominicans should cut cane” (Vega, 36). Yet, “65%” of the respondents believed that “Haitian braceros were treated worse than Dominicans” and “48%” believed international sources “that suggested Haitians were treated like slaves” (Vega, 36). Ten years later in 1992, “Another survey at the national level” evinced that within the last ten years Dominicans had become all the more anti-Haitian going from “51% to 74%”, the latter suggested Haitians should be repatriated to Haiti (Vega, 36).

Richard Middleton in “Institutions, Inculcation, and Black Racial Identity: Pigmentocracy vs. the Rule of Hypodescent” investigates “the effect political institutions
have on Black racial identity” on peoples of African descent, particularly Dominicans in the DR and African Americans in the US Mississippi (567). He describes both places as sites where “institutions institutionalize either of two forms of racial structures—a *pigmentocracy* (Dominican Republic), or the rule of hypodescent (US South) on its citizens”.

Middleton surveyed approximately 200 people. His survey consisted of statements based on an attitudinal scale that attempted “to capture each respondent’s feelings about his/her sharing a common racial heritage with other people of black African ancestry” (577). When Dominicans were asked if Black people all over the world “share a common identity” and if Black people “experience discrimination” more so than others of different races, Dominicans agreed more than Mississippians. Middleton suspects that these results can be attributed to Dominicans viewing Haitians as the real Blacks of the island and may not necessarily be referring to themselves; especially after taking into consideration that the majority of the Dominicans surveyed could barely articulate their race or skin color.

Sidanius, Peña, and Sawyer interviewed 234 Dominicans in Santo Domingo over the age of 18. Their survey questions ranged from patriotism to anti-blackness to self-racial identification. The study found that whites, mulattos, and blacks ascribed to whites “higher social status” (840). Surprisingly, their study resulted in “no evidence that Dominican patriotism increased the more one disliked Haitians” (Sidanius, Peña, and Sawyer, 844). The researchers admit that their sample size was small and therefore not representative of overall national reality (Sidanius, Peña, and Sawyer, 848).
Gabriela Hoberman’s dissertation “The Absence of Race in Democratic Politics: The Case of the Dominican Republic” presents us with her interpretation of the survey conducted by Demometrica Barometer in 2005. She reports that in the DR, “almost 80% of the population considers that the Haitian immigration represents a damaging event for the Dominican Republic” (Hoberman, 189). In addition to: “the perceptions that Haitians ‘steal jobs from nationals’ (59.3%); followed by the belief that they ‘carry illnesses’ (41.5%) and that they ‘increase the levels of delinquency’ (29.7%)” (Hoberman, 189-190). Hoberman also reports that in this same survey “only 19.4% of the Dominican interviewees” do not believe that Haitians’ “human rights are violated in [their] repatriations” to Haiti (191-192). Hoberman’s conclusion on surveys investigating Dominicans’ views on the Haitian presence in the DR indicates that the majority of the Dominican population opposes “granting work permits for undocumented Haitian immigrants” and “citizenship rights to children born to Haitian parents” (Hoberman, 200). Her focus groups indicated that Balaguer’s ideas continue to resonate with Dominicans since many proclaimed that Haitians’ reproductive abilities are a threat to the DR.

Lastly, Morgan and Espinal, in Cultura política de la democracia en República Dominicana, 2010, conducted a national survey in the DR. This survey investigates Dominicans’ perceptions of Haitian immigrants. They note that from 2006 to 2010 there has been a slight increase of Dominicans who believe that “the children of Haitians born in the Dominican Republic should be Dominican citizens” (235). This number increased from “43.3” to “48.3” out of a total of 100 points (235). Yet, more Dominicans, than in previous times, agree that, “the Dominican government should grant work contracts to
undocumented Haitians” (235). According to Morgan and Espinal, “the people who express the most support for democracy and greater political tolerance, are those who have more wealth, are younger and who identify as black or afro-Dominican” (236). In addition, “60%” of the population “believes that Haitians perform the work that Dominicans have no interest in performing and the average, “42.9 points”, believe “that the government should not offer public services to the immigrants” (Morgan and Espinal, 238). The elderly and Dominicans who have a pessimistic outlook on the Dominican economy look unfavorably upon extending to Haitians “social services” (Morgan and Espinal, 239).

*Summation of Dominican Legislature Preceding the Earthquake*

Haiti’s geographical proximity to the DR provides Haitians the convenience of easily migrating into the DR. The DR finds itself in a complex predicament since Haiti’s economy depends on steady Haitian emigration of “at least 100,000 Haitians” annually in order to help the Haitian economy improve (Corten, et al., 98). According to Corten, et al., the Haitian presence (because of their cheap labor supply) is necessary in certain sectors of the DR to the extent that those sectors (e.g., cane fields) cannot survive without them. Corten’s study also contends that Dominican legislature has been struggling to address Haitian immigration to the extent that laws have been inconsistently applied when addressing Haitians residing in the DR.
The Dominican constitution preceding the constitution of 2010 was subjected to considerable debate, for: it extended “citizenship to persons born in Dominican Republic, but not to children born to parents who are ‘in transit’ in the Dominican Republic” (Martin, Midgley and Teitelbaum, 579). The words “in transit”, as stated in article “285-04 Immigration Law” of the Dominican constitution, discloses the law on transit births (Hoberman, 156). The Dominican constitution considered Haitians as people “in transit” and not permanent residents. The ways in which the word transit is interpreted, is where the disagreements surface. Thus, inconsistencies have emerged in that some Haitians have been granted Dominican citizenship; meanwhile others have not. (Martin, Midgley and Teitelbaum, 579). Rosario Espinal believes that:

Those who advocate for a constitutional reform consider that \textit{jus soli} permits children of undocumented immigrants, or all those that constitute a threat to Dominicanness, to acquire or reclaim the right to a Dominican nationality. Therefore they want to eliminate the \textit{jus soli}. Those that advocate for the constitutional text to remain intact consider that the legislators will utilize the occasion to modify the Constitution as they please…. (241, translation mine)

James Ferguson, in \textit{Migration in the Caribbean: Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Beyond}, supplements Espinal’s argument when he suggests that the “in transit” phrase is a “loophole” in the Dominican Constitution (21). He contends that:

The Dominican Constitution recognizes, in principle, that in keeping with the legal principle of \textit{jus soli} ‘all persons born in the territory of the Dominican Republic’ are Dominican citizens. But a loophole allows the
authorities to deny the children of undocumented Haitians such citizenship, since they are judged to be ‘in transit’. This exclusion, normally applicable only to diplomats or tourists, is cynically extended to undocumented Haitians despite the fact that many parents may have been in the country for years rather than the 10 days specified elsewhere in the Constitution as a reasonable period to be in transit. If Haitians are considered to be in transit, it follows, that their Dominican-born children are not entitled to Dominican citizenship. (21)

Since, Haitians born in the DR are not given proof of Dominican citizenship (documentation), furthermore they will have difficulty accessing “education and health facilities,” the “political arena”, any “civil rights”, and are liable to be subjected to deportation “without appeal to a country they have never seen” (Ferguson, 21).

Bridget Wooding, in an article entitled “Contesting Discrimination and Statelessness in the Dominican Republic,” affirms that the Dominican government refuses to acknowledge children born to Haitian parents in the DR as full-fledged Dominican citizens, but instead as Haitian citizens. The Dominican government believes that it is the Haitian government’s responsibility to grant Haitians born in the Dominican Republic Haitian citizenship (Wooding, 24). Haiti’s elite, on the other hand, has done little to ameliorate the political chaos and destitute conditions of Haitians to keep them from emigrating from Haiti. Ferguson, argues that the Haitian government refuses to recognize Haitians “born in the Dominican Republic as it would increase the burden of the Haitian State if the people were then deported” from the neighboring country (22).

The Dominican government has failed to adequately address (via legislature) the migration problems of the DR, particularly Haitian deportations. Espinal argues that the Dominican government has to prioritize creating a “definition and implementation of a
migratory policy with juridical parameters that are clear and accord with human and labor rights” (237). She believes that “It is indignant, for example, accepting [Haitians] to perform hard jobs of low pay, to later submit them to abrupt and indiscriminate repatriations” (Espinal, 235).

In 2008, Dominican President Leonel Fernandez submitted a proposal to reform the constitution and not give Dominico-Haitianos Dominican nationality. According to Bridget Wooding, “President Fernández put before the Congress in September 2008 a proposed reform of the Constitution which includes a new clause stating that Dominican nationality cannot be acquired by children born to those parents who are residing illegally on Dominican soil” (25).

Non-governmental organizations’ protests against Haitian human rights violations against Haitian migrants have led both countries to have “established a migration commission” (Martin, Midgley and Teitelbaum, 585). In 1998, they agreed “on the management of migration flows, contracting, repatriation, regularization, and unauthorized migration” (Martin, Midgley and Teitelbaum, 586). A year later, they established a cooperation agreement on “reforms” for “repatriation only during daytime hours, removals of families as groups, and the designation of four specific border points or crossings for repatriations” (586). In 2001, both countries agreed on supplying Haitian laborers with working contracts as a means to curb illegal migration. Lastly, in 2002 each party consented to supplying “documentation to its nationals in the other country” (586).

Wooding reiterates the previous argument as to Dominican politicians performing poorly at regulating and dealing with Haitian migration, while pointing out that Haiti has
not granted citizenship to Haitians born in the DR. She also contends “the Dominican government continually repeats the fallacy that all descendants of Haitians who live in the Dominican Republic have access to Haitian nationality” (Wooding, 24). Espinal believes that if the Dominican “Supreme Court” were to “interpret the jus soli in an ample manner, many Dominicans will be bothered and perceive this measure as treachery to the homeland, as it will give nationality to all the children of Haitians living in the country” (243).

International organizations have also intervened and criticized the Dominican government’s treatment of Haitian residents. Wooding notes that:

in September 2005, an important legal ruling from the Inter-American Human Rights Court (IACHR) made it binding for the Dominican Republic to comply with Article 11 of its Constitution which guarantees the right to Dominican nationality to all those born on Dominican soil (jus soli) unless they are the legitimate offspring of diplomats or born to persons in transit. (24)

Yet, the DR’s “2007 Supreme Court ruling backed up a migration law defining anyone who lacked legal residency as ‘in transit’ -- regardless of how many decades they had lived in the country” (Robles, Miami Herald). 18

Robles informs us that “In January 2010, two weeks after the quake, a new constitution took effect denying citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants” (Miami

18 http://www.miamiherald.com/2010/07/16/v-print/1734536/six-months-after-the-earthquake.html#ixzz1EDI7fPsX
Dominicans of Haitian descent in the DR can no longer attain Dominican citizenship. In effect, the DR has been subjected to massive criticism from international detractors for their refusal to recognize Dominicans of Haitian descent as actual Dominicans.

Dominican Media’s Pictorial Depictions of Haitian Immigrants

Anti-Haitian prejudices are promoted through the Dominican media to foment nationalist sentiment amongst the Dominican masses. The Dominican elite, which is mainly white-skinned, is chiefly responsible for infusing racist sentiment in the Dominican media. In fact, the masses’ prejudices are a reflection of the elites’ bias’ “given their control (and manipulation) of information sources (news media, education, politics, etc.)” (Sagas “Antihaitianismo in the Dominican Republic”, 67). Because not everyone has access to the Dominican media, a counter-discourse cannot be funneled onto the Dominican masses. Since, Haitians speak little Spanish, are financially challenged, and fear deportation, they are then prohibited from voicing their struggles through Dominican media and, therefore, cannot challenge the conservative views (Sagas Race and Politics..., 78).

June Rose Richie, in “The Funnies Aren’t Just Funny: Using Cartoons and Comics to Teach”, notes that the funnies have the power “to teach one in a lighthearted way about

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19 http://www.miamiherald.com/2010/07/16/v-print/1734536/six-months-after-the-earthquake.html#ixzz1EDI7fPsX
the real world” (126). In fact, they are entertaining and easy to understand. Dominican newspapers are known for printing comic strips that disparage Haitian immigrants. Haitians are often illustrated in a racist fashion that mimics the (US) South’s depiction of Blacks during Jim Crow. Concomitantly, Dominicans often look white with no variety in skin tone, despite the fact that the DR is one of the countries in the western hemisphere with the highest levels of miscegenation. The comic strips in Dominican newspapers, such as the Listin Diario, continue to disparage Haitians into the 21st century. The funnies have the effect of normalizing anti-Haitianism as a normal aspect of Dominican culture. Sagas notes that:

political cartoons are a relevant part of the written media. Political cartoons usually imply feelings that are too strong or controversial to be printed, and in the case of the Dominican media, they offer an interesting and perceptive insight into antihaitianismo.... Moreover, some of these cartoons are blatantly racist, with black characters seemingly taken from the United States’ ‘Old South’. Haitians are traditionally stereotyped as destitute blacks, whereas Dominicans and the Dominican Republic are portrayed in favorable terms, usually by white figures. The message that these cartoons convey are simple and unequivocal: Haitians are black, Dominicans are not; Haiti is a trouble spot, therefore, the Dominican Republic must always be on the alert regarding Haiti’s potential threat. *(Race and Politics... 78)*

Aside from pictorial images of blackness in Dominican newspapers, Dominican school textbooks also illustrate anti-black images for Dominican children to consume. Sheridan Wigginton, in “Character or Caricature: Representations of Blackness in Dominican Social Science Textbooks”, examines the elementary textbooks of Dominican schools. She found that “various illustrations and activities” within the books present “the
Dominican perspective of ‘blackness’ and how it is portrayed as a part of national identity and ethnicity” (191). Wigginton narrowed down her findings to three different themes where: “blackness” is presented as the “less desirable social status”; “blancamiento” (intergenerational whitening through marriage or improving one’s race by marrying white) is subtly promoted via textbook images; and, blackness is overall denigrated (191). She makes the following observation:

The newest textbooks adopted in the Dominican social science curriculum seem to reflect a stereotyped devaluation of the African-descended population in the Dominican Republic. Although an attempt is made to include that population in the texts, the portrayal is often based on culturally held stereotypes about the severely maligned Haitian population (197)

The textbooks’ purpose serves to convey certain messages to socialize Dominican children’s perceptions on the appropriate roles people of certain “races” are to take in their society.

Torres-Saillant’s *Introduction to Dominican Blackness* explains why the racism in the texts like the ones Wigginton examined should come as no surprise. He argues that there is a deliberate attempt to obliterate any trace of blackness from Dominican textbooks, mainly because there is a history at play that consists of a conservative intellectual tradition that exalts white Dominicans at the expense of the black Dominicans. The Trujillo regime spawned many of the anti-Haitian intelligentsia in the 20th century whose literary productions were consumed in Dominican classrooms. Yet, during the Balaguer presidency, liberal intellectuals were granted more opportunities to submit their books so that they might be added to school curriculums. The Balaguer
administration purposely omitted many submissions since they contained sections that critiqued the conservative sectors of the Dominican government (Torres-Saillant, 48).

The Dominican elite has failed to look at blacks in the historical colonial period as embodying Dominicanness. This conservative intelligentsia has deliberately chosen to side with the slave master as opposed to the slave. Torres-Saillant argues that:

The intellectual elites that have monopolized the conceptualization of Dominicanness are the ideological descendants of the Spaniards and white creoles who directed the colonial system in Santo Domingo. When they imagine Dominican history and the Dominican people only the experience of the [white] ancestors comes to mind, the experience of all others, meaning the majority of the population, receiving only tangential, if any, treatment. (42-43)

Due to this one-sided depiction of Dominican history where the African voice is repressed:

One can speculate on the predicament of black and mulatto students, who lack an appropriate counter-discourse. Though probably not coalescing with the logic promoted by the State, they cannot help but seek to dissociate themselves conceptually from the realm of blackness so as to secure their Dominicanness. (Torres-Saillant, 46)

The next chapter illustrates how Dominican nationalists deliberately dismiss any African influence on Dominican culture. In fact, they portray Dominican and Haitian culture in clear and absolute opposition. The former culture is portrayed as superior and the latter as inferior.
CHAPTER 2

THE DENIAL OF RACISM AT ITS FINEST: PEDDLING THE ILLUSION THAT ANTI-HAITIANISM DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN RACISM

In this chapter I analyze the Defensive Dominican Nationalist’s (DDN) writings by applying literary analysis to examine their arguments, and these are the themes that have emerged: denationalization/ nationalist paranoia, the 1937 Haitian genocide, cultural differences and stereotypes, the denial of racism, appeals to the Dominican youth, Haitianofilos (or Haitianophiles, Haitian sympathizers), and solutions. All of the themes referenced thus far are interrelated since the subthemes that emerge link the broader themes across thematic boundaries.

Throughout this chapter I illustrate how the DDN evinces and exploits their alarmist fears that emanate from their observation of the increasing influx of Haitian immigrants. As a result of such fears, the DDN encourages Dominicans to return to their anti-Haitian “roots”, treats the Haitian migratory presence as a social illness plaguing Dominican society, and poses solutions to counter-act the “invasive” Haitian presence. The DDN argues that if Dominicans want to preserve the well being of their nation, they then should take a defensive posture against Haitian immigration in order to prevent the country from disintegrating.

The very essence of the DDN is fear of “losing” the DR to Haitians not only demographically, but culturally as well. As a result of this imagined loss, a racist discourse emerges. This discourse, although proclaiming itself non-racist, presents
Haitian culture as defective, pathological, and contagious. It also portrays Dominican culture as being in need of “rescuing”, so the DDN urges for the deportation of Haitians. For the DDN, it is impossible for Haitians to ever assimilate into Dominican society due to their strong attachments to Haitian/African culture. As Lauren Derby reminds us, “Anti-Haitianism does not fit most models of race or ethnicity, as it retains traces of its meaning as a species of racialized nationalism” (496). Yet, in the face of their “racial nationalism”, the DDN denies that it is racist as a strategy to deflect attention away from racism’s role in their arguments. Denial serves to suggest that due to Haitians’ cultural differences based on their African heritage, Haitians cannot assimilate into Dominican society. Haitian culture is presented as pathological, contagious enough to obliterate Dominican culture, if left unchecked. As one of many symptoms of nationalist paranoia, the DDN interprets Dominicans’ embrace of Haitian culture as either a loss or betrayal of the nation. DDN authors believe that the problem lies with the Dominican masses that slumber in the face of Haitian penetration. Throughout this chapter, I present diverse examples to further supplement the various themes and show how in synch the writers are with each other, possessing minimal ideological differences.

*Alarmist Fears of Denationalization*

The DDN fears that Haitian immigrants’ rapid influx into the DR will *denationalize* (or Haitianize) the country. They fear that Haitian denationalization or

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20 Some of the DDN authors simplify “real” racism by simply locating it in the US Jim Crow South.
Haitianization will eventually lead to all of Haiti spilling onto the Dominican side of the island. Manuel Núñez, in *El caso de la nación dominicana*, for example says, “Sooner or later, the Dominicans and Haitians will find themselves within the limits of what today is the Dominican Republic” (198). If Haitians enter the DR then the borders will supposedly disappear, thus triggering the merging of both countries into one. Núñez, takes this notion a step further, and alleges that Haitians have not blurred the border, but have completely “erased” it (197).

The essence of the DDN’s beliefs is what I call *nationalist paranoia*. The crux of nationalist paranoia is the DDN’s fear of uniting both countries into one political entity. As a result of such fears, the DDN describes Haitian immigration as inherently imperialist. They base their suspicion on the notion that Haitians supposedly aim to merge both countries into one political entity so that they can dominate the entire island at the Dominicans’ expense. One keen example of the DDN’s nationalist paranoia is when Pérez, in *Santo domingo frente al destino*, states: “The forces that try to make our identity as a free and independent nation disappear, have in this moment more opportunities to provoke the definitive collapse of the Republic” (13). Such statements serve to incite Dominican militancy against Haitian immigrants by sensationalizing the possibility of the “collapse of the Republic”. To suggest that the Haitian presence within Dominican borders can and will destroy the DR reflects Perez’s refusal to acknowledge

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21 On 23 November of 2009 the newspaper the DominicanToday.com, published an article entitled: “France, U.S., Canada aim to unify Dominican Republic, Haiti, Gutierrez says”, just as the title implies that the US, France and Canada approached Haiti and the Dominican Republic with notice of a unification plan that has been in the making “for decades”. Both countries’—Haiti’s and the DR’s—presidents, however, rejected the foreign countries’ proposition of unifying both countries.

22 Moreover, the DDN refers to “Haitian imperialists” and others who support the alleged “Haitian imperialist cause” as *pro-Haitianists*. 
Haitians within Dominican soil as potential citizens of the Dominican nation. For Perez, Haitians can never become Dominican.

Furthermore, the DDN perceive Haitian immigration with suspicion. They use the term *pacific invasion*, or peaceful invasion/penetration, to further describe their interpretation of Haitian migration. The term depicts Haitian immigrants as “invaders” and a colonizing entity that peacefully yet persistently invades the DR. The DDN accuses the Haitian government of collaborating with undocumented Haitian immigrants, in furthering the imperialist cause through peaceful migration. As previously mentioned, the DDN fears that the so-called imperialist Haitian government is behind the spill-over effect leading Haitians to enter the DR. 23

1937

In 1937 Dictator Trujillo orchestrated a massacre that killed thousands of Haitians along the southern Dominican-Haitian borderlands. Trujillo considered the Dominican borderlands too heavily populated with Haitian immigrants. Haitians resided there as a result of the end of harvest season. Scholars claim that Dominican soldiers killed roughly

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23 As scholars, such as Sagas and Fennema and Lowenthal, have noted, within anti-Haitian discourse the DDN manipulates history by associating present-day Haitians with historical events. Such argumentative rhetoric functions to incite hostility against Haitians. For instance, much of the DDN’s tirades against Haitian immigrants depict them as intentionally blurring the borderlines so that they can re-capture, re-live, and extend the 1822 episode into the present; thus, the term invasion. Concomitantly, the DDN authors acknowledge that even though some characteristics from the colonial era persists among Haitians, present-day Haitians, unlike the Haitians of times past, enter the DR peacefully and not militarily. The DDN displays selective memory when interpreting Haitian migration.
15,000-25,000 Haitians, men, women, and children. The DDN justify the massacre, arguing that the quantities of Haitian immigrants were unbearable and their migratory influx was uncontrolled.

Carlos Cornielle, for example, in *Proceso historico dominico-haitiano: una advertencia a la juventud dominicana*, manipulates history in order to present the DR as “the victim”. He sets out to cleanse the DR of any accusation of genocide by downplaying the 1937 massacre. Siding with the regime he states that, “There was no such killing. The Dominican people are patriotic, courageous but compassionate” (254-255). To further substantiate his argument, Cornielle cites Haitian officials who downplayed the “incident” at the borderlands in order to reinforce the notion that critics over-exaggerate the 1937 event. Cornielle even reports on his visit to the borderlands in 1937, immediately prior to the massacre, alongside Trujillo. He recounts that in the borderlands Haitians illicitly controlled the borderlands and stole Dominican farmers’ animals and crops. Dominicans, supposedly, found themselves voiceless, without rights, and incapable of confronting the Haitians; therefore, Haitians brought the slaughter on themselves.

Pérez also strives to exonerate the Dominican people from having partaken in the massacre. He argues that not only did Haitians steal from Dominicans, but also physically assaulted them (93). Citing a document of the era, he writes,

Haitians not only dedicate themselves in that region to the theft of horses, cows, pigs, chickens and other domestic animals and standing crops but seized sticks and machetes from the dispossessed owners trying (to
However, in attempts to “save-face” he states “those painful occurrences [i.e., 1937] should never have occurred” and he pinpoints Trujillo as the sole person to blame (95). Perez cites one of Trujillo’s speeches given in 1955 where Trujillo says, “‘all that has been done by the Government since 1930, I am the only one responsible’” (99). As such, Perez blames Trujillo alone for the attacks.

Balaguer also justifies the genocidal attack claiming that Haitian theft in the borderlands was extreme to the extent that “eradication is not one of those tasks that could be easily accomplished without bloodshed” (76). In fact, Balaguer refers to the Dominicans who sided with the Haitian government in 1937 as traitors; blaming such betrayal on the economic relationship, consisting of trade between both parties in the borderlands, as the primary reason why some Dominicans stood in solidarity with Haitians (48).

Why would these anti-Haitianists want to bring up 1937 as a point of contention? The 1937 massacre was the greatest anti-Haitian act, mandated by any Dominican government, ever. The human slaughter exemplifies an extreme measure executed by the Dominican state. Exonerating Dominicans of such crimes makes Dominicans appear more ethical and redeems them of appearing racist. Critics often highlight 1937 as a classic example of offensive Dominican anti-Haitianism. The DDN, however, interpret the slaughter as defensive and necessary to preserve the nation. Since, the DDN cannot
allow Dominicans to appear offensive or racist, they strive to make Dominicans appear as “victims”. Labeling the other as the offender justifies one’s reaction in self-defense.

Cultural Clashes and Racial Differences

As various studies indicate, Dominican anti-Haitianists are inclined to present Dominican culture as diametrically opposed to Haitian culture. Dominican anti-Haitianism holds European culture, including European colonial thought, as the standard by which to measure Haitian culture. As is well known throughout Dominican-Haitian studies, the holy trinity of Dominican anti-Haitian prejudice is based on differentiating both peoples on account of: religion (Christianity vs. Vodou), culture (Hispanic heritage vs. African heritage), and language (Spanish vs. Haitian Creole). With this being said, the DDN nevertheless denies that a racial prejudice influences their perspective. For example, Pérez repetitively states that Haiti and the DR are completely different in cultural terms. The only similarity between Dominicans and Haitians is that they share the island (11-12). Speaking as a spokesman for the entire country, Pérez says that the DR:

feels like it is a community of Hispanic origin above all, with its customs and traditions, its religions, its idiom and in general its culture of centuries in constant relation with the European civilization. In these sentiments there is never the slightest wavering. (Pérez, 29-30)

24 I.e., Dominican culture is equated with European culture and therefore more advanced, and Haitian culture is associated with African culture and thus backward.
Concomitantly, Balaguer bolsters Perez’s argument by praising cultural “barriers” such as language for reinforcing the separation of both peoples. He says,

Language and Hispanic tradition have been since colonial times barriers that have served as defense against the terrifying wave of color against the spitting forces who since 1795 have been invading Dominican territory in an uninterrupted and systematic manner. (Balaguer, 63)

His depiction of Haitian immigrants as a “terrifying wave of color”, Balaguer implies that Dominicans are white, or at least whiter than Haitians. Balaguer’s normalization of whiteness, evident in how he refers to Haitians’ skin color as “terrifying”, denotes his overall xenophobic and racist anxieties about Haitians.

Similarly to other anti-Haitianists, Balaguer portrays the stream of Haitian immigration in the DR as consistent, persistent, and organized. By this logic, the antidote to this “social dilemma” is to ensure that Dominicans psychologically cling to European culture as much as possible thereby facilitating Dominicans’ rejection of Haitian immigration. Dominicans’ embracing European culture facilitates their perceiving Haitians as their other. Balaguer believes that Dominicans are to shun Blackness, its biological and cultural implications, in order to preserve themselves from their neighbor invaders. Balaguer fails to acknowledge that Haitian culture, too, is influenced by European culture. Núñez supplements Balaguer’s argument when he claims that:

The events of Dominican life cannot be explained without geographical determinism. The Dominican Republic and Haiti are separated by various
frontiers: language, culture, manners of living, the aspirations of each country, the religious values, the tradition of its peoples. But also by the human levels of development, the demographic density, the possibilities of the territory and the national identities of all of the countries. (xvii)

Nunez extends the conversation past the cultural and inserts notions of poverty (i.e., “human levels of development”) and overpopulation (i.e., “demographic density”) to signify other factors that further differentiate Dominican culture from the Haitian.

Pérez, too, contends that Dominicans are members of a definitively Spanish culture. Dominicans particularly express this in their preference for immigrants that also express a cultural inclination towards the European. He describes Haitian immigrants as “uneducated, without the most elementary attributes of civilized men, devoted body and soul to witchcraft and to cults that contrast with the life of the Dominican and that constitutes an insurmountable obstacle to the coexistence between the two peoples” (135). Pérez alleges that the Dominican bias against the Haitian is not on account of race but culture, despite the fact that Dominicans cling to a racialized definition of Dominican and Haitian culture. Pérez provides the example of the English-speaking Blacks who migrated to the DR during the colonial era. Dominicans, he argues, perceive these black immigrants as “normal” and acceptable in comparison to Haitian blacks (132-133). In other words, Blacks are accepted in the DR, so long as their culture emulates European culture. Apparently, the only blacks that do not qualify are Haitians. Pérez’s example is an attempt to exonerate Dominicans from accusations of racism towards blacks.

The DDN profusely attacks Haitian Vodou and suggest that it is one of the primary reasons that make Dominican and Haitians culturally ill suited, and by extension
Haitian immigrants an unwanted people in the eastern two-thirds of Hispaniola. Clearly, the DDN refuses to acknowledge the African heritage of Dominican culture. As previously stated, they instead side with the European. As is customary of European colonial thought, African religions are vilified and associated with the diabolic as Dominican anti-Haitianists do so with Vodou.

Cornielle literally defines Vodou as a “negation of God” (74). By his logic, if Haitian Voodou is “anti-God” then it is inherently considered inferior to Dominican Catholicism, which is pro-God. Although Cornielle believes Vodou is diabolical, he grants this alleged inferior religion mystical power. Although he interprets Vodou as less culturally valuable and predisposed to malicious effects, he unwittingly empowers Vodou by depicting it as sufficiently powerful to obliterate Dominican culture.

*Cultural contagion* is the DDN’s fear that Haitian culture is capable of dominating Dominican culture. *Cultural contagion* refers to the DDN’s exaggerated fear that Haitian immigrants’ cultural customs will automatically, almost magically, transfer onto Dominicans. Thus, cultural contagion discourages Dominicans from embracing their own Spanish-based culture. Cultural contagion often emerges in anti-Haitian Dominican discourse, ironically, portraying Dominicans with little to no agency. Dominicans are portrayed by the DDN as voiceless passive bystanders with no say-so over whether to engage, embrace, or even acknowledge Haitian cultural customs. It is important to pinpoint that Pérez disagrees with the notion of cultural contagion. He argues that Haitians’ habits are “unbearable for Dominicans” and that Dominicans, as such, find Haitian customs intolerable to the point where they “prefer any sacrifice than
cohabitating with Haitians” (112). Pérez stance is essentially a contradiction inherent within the DDN ideology.

Cornielle believes that legally prohibiting the practice of Vodou on Dominican soil counter-acts Haitian cultural contagion. Cornielle encourages the legal prohibition of Vodou on Dominican soil because it affects Dominicans’ “free and independent thought” that the mistrustful Haitian immigrants “want to intentionally violate” (74). According to Cornielle, the Haitian presence caused cultural contagion, evident in Dominicans’ practice of Vodou. For Cornielle, Vodou is one of the many social ailments imported by imperialist Haitians that the DR must rid itself of. Cornielle’s imagination suggests that Vodou is adequately powerful, if unchecked, leaves the DR vulnerable to the “forces” of denationalization. In other words, Dominicans will become comfortable with the “unholy religion” and begin to see an extension of themselves in their long-standing neighbor-enemies, the Haitians, leading to the eventual collapse of the actual borders and in turn to the Dominican nation.

Cornielle furthers the argument by alleging that Dominicans’ embrace of Vodou is a violation of Dominican customs because such actions pay homage to Haitians’ ancestors who wanted to unite the island in the 19th century. Cornielle ends this argument by claiming the unimaginable. He promotes the white man’s burden as a beneficial service for Africans25. Despite his professing this in the latter 20th century, Cornielle

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25 The “white man’s burden” is a phrase that refers to how European colonialists envisioned their colonial quest as a civilization project necessitating the cultural and physical subordination of Africa and Africans alike—i.e., a racist justification for the conquering of African peoples emanating from their Eurocentric imagination.
argues that slavery was a civilizing project for Africans because although “they lived in the African jungles, they lived better although enslaved, in the jungles of the island of Tortuga” (95). For Cornielle, if Dominicans embrace Voodou they essentially are going backwards in time by embracing an “uncivilized” culture.

Despite the fact that Cornielle is not white, but of mixed black and white ancestry, he clings to colonial depictions of blacks when he states that European culture is civilizing for Africans because their African religious practices feature questionable “rituals and craving for white humans” (95). Despite his own African heritage, Cornielle does not see himself as fitting these stereotypes, for his meager European ancestry, in addition to his European cultural allegiances, redeems him from being a “savage”. Earlier in the theory section I briefly discussed the Afrocentric term *dislocation*. Dominicans, like Cornielle, and the rest of the DDN authors, find Dominican dislocation perfectly normal and essential to Dominican identity. Clearly they profess European as the higher culture and the African the polar opposite. The DDN refuses to even acknowledge the European influences of Haitian culture, purposely ignored for the sake of maintaining their DDN beliefs. For the DDN Haitians are too African, African beyond “repair”.

According to Cornielle, Africans are time-warps lacking development leaving the reader to question his argument that the white man’s burden was ever effective for Africans at all. He states, “surging from the jungles of Africa where they were captured by force to be brought over and sold […] those people have not evolved at all” (Cornielle, 102). Instead, he suggests, that modern day civilizing forces should enter the “jungles of Haiti” to reinforce the project of “civilization”. For Cornielle, Haiti, like Africa, contains jungles. The word jungle suggests a total lack of western development
and a backward primitiveness. The “civilizing project” will include, meanwhile, heavy dosages of Christianity. His notion of evolution is paralleled with European culture, for emulating European culture will automatically grant one “civilization”. For Cornielle, European culture is the only entry portal into civilization and progress and all that these ideals imply; for example, humanity, beauty, knowledge, culture, redemption from ignorance, etc.

Cornielle makes it clear that he is not referring to all Haitians. The light-skinned elite are free from blame. Interestingly, the white Haitians are granted a pass meanwhile black Haitians are not. He describes the light-skinned Haitian elite as “mestizos who have achieved a determined grade of culture” (Cornielle, 102). We can infer from Cornielle’s line of thinking that Black Haitians do not “progress” in spite of the world’s “advancement” since the Haitian masses continue to live “in certain primitive form on account of their religion which is Vodou” continuing to “offer human sacrifices in order to obtain mystic objectives” (102). He blames Vodou for retarding the “progress” of Haitian culture and causing Haiti’s current economic and political plight.

Similarly, Pérez envisions Dominican culture as superior to Haitian culture. To further drive home the point, he makes the following claim:

The Dominican people generally have a cultural level in its great nucleus of the people certainly comparable to the great majority of the countries in America, where the Hispanic heritage predominates that gave us origin and reason for being; meanwhile amongst the Haitian people the cultural level is the lowest of America because African heritage predominates amongst its greatest masses, its customs, habits, language, religion and traditions are totally distinct from our people. (Pérez, 132)
Yet, Perez denies race plays any role in his perception of Haitian culture and immigration. To say that Haitian culture is “low” as a result of its African background is patently racist. Yet, he redeems Dominican culture because for Pérez the DR lacks African customs.

Balaguer portrays the neighbor country as completely saturated with Vodou from the top-down. In a colonial tone, Balaguer also depicts Vodou as diabolical, saying that Vodou is, “in great part demonic, eminently converts them into superstitious beings” (201). In fact, Balaguer claims that Haiti’s government officials practice Vodou, as well. Even though certain Haitian intellectuals like Jean Price-Mars profess Haiti to be a Catholic country, Balaguer dismisses such claims as folly because Catholicism supposedly does not hamper the black Haitian popular class from practicing Vodou (203). Balaguer argues that it is because Haitians are a black people that they are naturally attracted to Vodou; for “Vodou and magic are in Haiti, a product of the race, inseparable from their ancestral essences” (205).

Núñez worries that some Dominicans now embrace Haitian culture. Vodou infiltrated Dominican carnivals to the extent that Dominicans now interpret it as “a Dominican syncretism”, as it is a natural component of the Dominican cultural fabric (Núñez, 57). Dominicans’ fascination with Vodou “reveals fanaticism against what we have been” (Núñez, 57). For Núñez, similar to Cornielle, when Dominicans embrace African culture they reject themselves, and essentially their heritage, which is “primarily” Hispanic.
“Gaga” music, which is a Dominican derivative of Haitian “rara” music and is often played in carnivals, is incorporated into some Dominican musical art forms. For Núñez,

These moments of glory for gaga coincide with the rebirth of the idea that Dominican culture should dehispanicize itself and that the African should predominate within the national junction. This return to Africa proclaimed with beating drums by the anthropologists and folklorists, is represented as a form of racial consciousness. (60)

Núñez disagrees with this type of “racial consciousness” because the “adoption of Haitian immigrant religious systems could split the values, habits and form religious enclaves, and is thus capable of fragmenting the popular religion” (60).

Aside from Vodou, carnivals, and gaga music, Dominicans now imitate and sell Haitian artwork. Perez and Núñez argue that Haitian artwork infiltrated the DR and as a result displaced traditional Dominican art. Haitians succeeded in creating a profitable business of selling their artwork on Dominican soil. Since they sell their artwork at considerably cheaper prices than Dominicans, traditional Dominican art wanes. Supposedly, well-known Dominican artists now produce paintings depicting Haitian life as opposed to the Dominican. Núñez claims that such problematic paintings, supposedly, depict Haitians as Dominicans’ African ancestors (62).

Núñez, as is typical of the DDN described thus far, believes that the Dominican masses are not anti-Haitian enough, for the country as a whole is allegedly in a “stupor” and allowing Haitian immigrants to enter the country. He provides a metaphorical
argument that describes how Haitians use “a poison” that when “extracted from the globe fish” eventually partially paralyzes an individual and turns him/her into a zombie (63). This “zombie” becomes extremely subservient to his/her Haitian master. For Núñez, pro-Haitian forces wish to impose policies “that impairs Dominican sovereignty” leaving the Dominican nation in a state of “zombification” (63).

On Language and Other Cultural Anxieties

Núñez demonstrates his preference for European cultural values when he claims that European languages, because they are written, unlike African national languages which supposedly remain unwritten, alone hold insight into human history. According to Núñez, since African languages are primarily oral they are then “useless for humanity”. Haitian Creole, Núñez contends, like many African languages, has published little literature. For, “there are no libraries or books [written] in the national language, neither do they divulge scientific information nor have they treasured the past of humanity” (Núñez, 100). Núñez does not provide evidence that the entire continent of Africa has never produced “scientific” literature worthy of international recognition. Embedded within his argument is that the colonizing countries since the Columbus age are the global leaders of progress for all humanity. In fact, the country whose national languages are non-European “cannot afford the development of education, without attaching them to one of the great languages of culture: English, Spanish, French, German, and Russian” (101). Clearly, Núñez equates civilization and progress with European culture via languages. He furthers his argument by disparaging Haitian creole, for
Haitian creole is a *ghetto* language. Therefore, Haiti is obligated to adopt a foreign language that would tie it with the contemporary world. French carried on the function of a guide, one of the principal languages of culture of the world. Language of creation and of scientific translation, language of rich literary past and of knowledge, language of information, in which a torrent of cultural and scientific exchanges are actualized. (Núñez, 100)

According to Núñez, cultural conflict also stems from Haitian immigrants of second-generation onward resisting “giving up” speaking creole in the DR. He adds that many Haitians protest the DR’s “celebration of their historical symbols” based on the expulsion of Haitians in 1844 (103). Núñez contends that since the DR attained its independence from Haiti and not from a European power, second and third generation Haitians are troubled by the DR’s “flag, hymn, celebration of the battles of Independence, patriotic ceremonies of remembrance by the founders of the national State, exaltation of our cultural and historical monuments”, which symbolize Dominicans’ celebration of their separation from Haiti (103-104). Núñez believes that Haitian descendants feel a sense of rejection by these symbols and if these particular Haitians are acknowledged as a minority within the DR and by extension given a voice, then Dominican symbols will become abolished and Dominicans will lose their Dominicanness. For Núñez Haitians are capable of destroying the Dominican nation from within, therefore Haitians cannot become Dominican because Haitians are reluctant to assimilate and ardently cling to their Haitian heritage.
On Stereotypes

The DDN promotes a series of stereotypes that depicts Haitian immigrants as possessing a pathological culture that is infectious and disrupts “traditional” Dominican culture, which the DDN strives to preserve. Earlier, I mentioned the notion of cultural contagion, which provides insight into the DDN’s anxieties. For the DDN ascribes Haitian culture not only pathological traits, but also mystical attributes that erroneously exaggerate stereotypes of Haitians within the Dominican imagination. Ironically, the DDN depicts Dominicans as if they have no agency and automatically take on Haitian cultural traits by simply being in close proximity to Haitian immigrants. Balaguer, for example, insists that Haitians should be kept out of the country because their “low-standard” customs transfer onto Dominicans. For:

Contact with the negro has contributed, without any doubt, to the relaxing of our public customs. The Dominican peasant’s morality, in rural areas where he has mainly interacted with Haitians, tends to visibly descend to locate himself to the standards of his neighbors. (Balaguer, 45).

Balaguer, like other members of the DDN, and as many scholars have noted, continuously generalizes Haitians in his depictions.  

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26 Gellner, for instance, notes that essentialism takes effect “When nature is employed to account for behavior, the idea that this behavior is unchanging, and therefore unchangeable, accompanies it. Identities are, in this perspective, constructed around an essence which cannot change” (12).
Cornielle, meanwhile, speaks of Haitians as if they are the only people on the island descended from Africans. For Cornielle, present-day Haitians have inherited no positive traits from their African ancestors. Cornielle alleges that Europeans kidnapped “cannibals” who were in “reality savages brought out by force from the jungles, some domesticated, others crude in their appetite, and who have transmitted not only their rituals to their prolonged descendants, but also their cannibalism which has been projected up until our days” (Cornielle, 85). Cornielle does not ask the so-called advanced peoples of Europe would spend their energies importing Africans to the West. In order to normalize cannibalism, one stereotype European colonizers invented in order to denigrate Africans, Cornielle associates black Haitians with the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin. Amin, who, Cornielle contends, “kills church ministers, eats their livers, according to the universal press, to strengthen himself”, is an example of how Africans/Haitians are naturally predisposed to cannibalism (147).

*The Haitian Breeder*

Aside from cannibalism, Haitians also “import” other problems. According to the DDN, Haitians’ fertility is deemed problematic due to its “excessiveness” whether in Haiti or in the DR. Since Haitians supposedly reproduce “in abundance”, Cornielle

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27 The reader should note that Cornielle is the only DDN that refers to Haitians as cannibals.

28 Interestingly, Greatereaux, unlike his fellow anti-Haitian compatriots, diverts from the stereotype that postulates Haitians as a naturally highly fertile people (breeder stereotype) due to their African background.
proposes that, like Dominicans, Haitians should voluntarily opt for “sterilization” (304). Pérez agrees with Cornielle and claims that Haitians are an immoral promiscuous people (73). Such promiscuity purportedly leads them to procreate at fast rates. In this next passage Pérez describes Haitians as ignorant, irresponsible parents, and an over-sexed people:

In efforts to alleviate that excessive population, birth control has been thought about, but who can speak to those people of this?; in the first place, because they will not understand and because whatever propaganda made to that effect, would be ineffective, as it is a country formed by non-literate peoples and would not be able to understand a system or program one wishes to subject them to, …., that by their generally being catholic in their way, with their dosage of voodooism, the practice of any contraceptive method would be unacceptable. Only the natural regulation produced by their high rate of infant mortality, has managed to maintain in the actual limits of the population of that country, neutralizing in that way its excessive numbers of births. (Pérez, 74)

The first line of the aforementioned quote indicates that he perceives Haitians as a stubborn people when it comes to comprehending birth control and that the notion of birth control in Haiti is, overall, a lost cause. His ideological European-colonial inclinations fully emerge when he aligns literacy with critical thinking skills. Such line of thought suggests that since the majority of the country is illiterate, the majority of the country is also intellectually challenged. Vodou, in addition to Haitians’ style of practicing Catholicism, is blamed for disrupting Haitians’ ability to further comprehend

Acknowledging the effects infant mortality rates have on Haitian births, Gratereaux actually admits “that the population growth rate, has been lower in Haiti than in the Dominican Republic” (213).
the ‘value’ of birth control. Yet, infant mortality is credited with preventing the population from growing further.

The DDN also argues that Haitians import diseases that the Dominican government has to go out of its way to eradicate, posing an economic burden for the DR. Most importantly for the DDN, however, is the diseases’ ability to contaminate Dominicans. Perez suggests that Haitians import diseases such as AIDS. In fact, he describes AIDS as having “chosen the Haitian people” (75). His associating Haitians as the primary importers of sexually transmitted diseases refers back to his stereotyping Haitians as sexually uncontrolled and promiscuous.

Balaguer, in tune with Perez’s, states the following:

The population’s density tends to grow rapidly under the influence of the following causes: a) the fertility relative to the negro; b) the primitive conditions that single out low social levels of a considerable part of the Haitian population, and c) the resistance opposed by the physical strength of the negroes towards diseases, which diminish the mortality rate despite the sanitary deficiencies in which life progresses amongst the rural masses of the neighboring country. (35)

For Balaguer, Haitians have the advantage of having high reproductive rates. He links blackness directly to fertility. Because Dominicans are not as phenotypically dark as Haitians they are, by his logic, less fertile. Poverty, in addition to blackness, also leads Haitians to reproduce. Haitians, whose bodies are ridden with diseases, possess the natural resistance to diseases, which according to Balaguer they can naturally overcome. Haitians’ natural physical abilities supposedly thwart their mortality rates.
Balaguer also associates Haitian fertility/sexuality with diseases. Such diseases hinder the DR from being more socially on par with the rest of the West, so Haiti is perceived as a social hindrance for the DR. Undocumented Haitians are blamed for importing outdated diseases that the DR already eradicated in times past. Therefore, certain diseases become automatically stereotyped as “Haitian disease”. In fact, Balaguer blames not only sexuality as a venue of contraction, but also Dominicans and Haitians’ commercial interactions (49).

Haitian women’s sexuality, in particular, Balaguer alleges, is a source for contaminating the Dominican nation. Haitian women are, supposedly, by Balaguer’s logic, plagued with STDs that they pass on to Dominican men. The possibility of Dominicans infecting Haitians eludes him. In a patriarchal manner, he only blames Haitian women of promiscuity and not their Dominican male partners.

Núñez, for his part, attributes Haitians’ illnesses to poverty. He argues that since Haitians in Haiti “eat dirt”, they often incur intestinal illnesses (93). Aside from this they also spread malaria. Núñez contends that Haitians’ diseases cost the DR money not only in eradicating it from the Haitian population that also infects the Dominican, but most importantly European tourists.
The DDN’s Denial of Racism or Dominican Ethnicism in Action

The DDN denies that they are racist against Haitian immigrants. Instead, they argue that historical, cultural, and economic factors make it impossible for Dominicans to share their country with Haitian immigrants. For example, Gratereaux argues that, “differences between Haiti and Santo Domingo are not racial. They are historical, linguistic and cultural” (19-20). In order to reinforce their claims the DDN proclaims that Dominicans too are of African descent, but only culturally different from Haitians. By their logic, they cannot be racist against another group of black people simply on account of their race because Dominicans too are black and that would mean that Dominicans then are against themselves. In turn, the DDN reverses the accusations and counter-charges critics who incriminate Dominicans of practicing anti-Haitianism by accusing them of being the true racists, of being anti-Dominican.

Gratereaux argues that black Dominicans, unlike their black Haitian counterparts, are detached from Africa and lack a romanticized yearning of a return to a mythic utopic motherland (209). Dominicans, he argues, do not suffer from the duality that is typical of other blacks who affirm their black identity (i.e., being torn between the West and Africa). The cause, for him, supposedly lies within the confines of history that dictates that the colonial nature of Santo Domingo prohibited Dominicans from having a Black identity. In attempts to normalize Dominicans as a biologically Black but culturally Hispanic people, he gives the example of black Africans in Africa who also demonstrate
a disconnection from African culture and instead choose to embrace an Arab-Islamic culture (207).

Besides exonerating Dominicans of racism, Gratereaux reverses the racism and argues that Haiti, as opposed to the DR, is the country that is truly racist. Rhetorically, Gratereaux asks, “How come in Santo Domingo there has never been a racial war?” “How come Haiti has had various racial wars?” (125). Gratereaux believes that the DR is a racially harmonious country, unlike Haiti. He writes, “Of all of the biracial countries in the Antilles, Santo Domingo least retains racial prejudices” (Gratereaux, 215). To further bolster his claim that Haiti is structurally saturated with racism Gratereaux argues that Haitian history is plagued with anti-white racism. He emphasizes the decolonization process as fomenting anti-white prejudice and that Haiti was founded on that basis. Gratereaux questions the usefulness of Haiti’s negritude because “In spite of that radical attitude they have not been able to diminish the poverty or develop their political institutions” (249). His line of thinking suggests that perhaps if Haitians were as racially mixed as the DR they then would be able to uproot their country from the clutches of poverty.

Cornielle too denies that racism has any influence on his anti-Haitian immigration stance. He argues that he is not against Haitians for being black:

but to the constant threat by those who wish to repeat the 22 year oppression and in this time in permanent and definitive form; it is not about Negroes, because we too in the same manner have our negroes whom we love, but it is about dominicanidad, which we must not give up. (96)
Cornielle exonerates the DR because in comparison to other countries in Latin America such as Cuba and Venezuela, the DR is allegedly “free” of racism. He believes that Haiti, on the other hand, breeds racists like Haiti’s giant intellectual Jean Price-Mars, who “aspires towards a Dominican slaughter” (254-255). Dominicans, do not mind living on the same island as Haitians so long as each country remains in their own land-space.

Perez, like Gratereaux and Cornielle, argues that Haiti has been saturated with racism “since before the founding of the Republic” (131). In comparison, the DR is a multi-racial society where all citizens live harmoniously. Interestingly, his statistics say that whites make up a smaller percentage than blacks, but he contradicts his statistics by saying that Dominicans and whites make up the majority of the population. Perez attempts to make the DR whiter than it actually is, as a way to make the DR appear phenotypically different (whiter) than Haiti.

Balaguer’s arguments, likewise, contain a blatant contradiction. He claims the DR is not racist, yet he openly says that he opposes Haitian immigration because their presence further blackens the country. Supposedly when Haitians “remain in Dominican territory, many of those individuals have children and increase the country’s black population and contribute towards corrupting the ethnic features” (41). Balaguer also writes that “in Santo Domingo there has never existed nor exists racial prejudices” (46). His perception of racism is clearly limited, because he believes that genuine racism only emanates in racial caste systems or in social structures such as the US Jim Crow South. As Garner says, “A common misperception of racism is that it is only the severe examples that constitute the whole, in other words only violence, verbal abuse and
deliberate segregation are actually racist; nothing else counts” (5). Besides, for Balaguer, “It would be childish to deny that a great part of our population is black and that in their veins circulate like they do with the majority of Haiti, the same African blood” (Balaguer, 189).

Meanwhile, Balaguer acknowledges that Dominicans are of African descent and oftentimes practice Vodou, although not as deeply Haitians. One can clearly see the eugenicist influence in his ideas when he attributes Dominicans’ attraction to Vodou as a result of their African ancestry. He writes:

Even though in Santo Domingo it does not manifest, the same degree as in Haiti, that attraction towards magic, it cannot be denied amongst the majority of Dominicans [because] there also exists a superstitious base that cannot be explained but as the presence in our blood of the characteristic primitive features of the African race. (209)

Contradictorily, Balaguer argues that African heritage has had little influence on Dominican culture even though their African bloodline causes them to engage in “Africanisms”. He believes that the more Dominicans distance themselves from Haitians, the more they take the path towards improving their “race”. Balaguer believes that Dominicans and Haitians are biologically different because Dominicans are a “mestizo” people with “finer” physical traits than their Haitian neighbors. Dominicans are also different from Haitians “because the existence in their veins of black blood is lesser […] than the number of generations through which that progressive refinement has taken effect” (189-190). In other words, whiteness purifies the race and, essentially, genetically
makes Dominicans stray further away from naturally enacting African cultural customs.

Similar to DDN advocates, Balaguer also reverses accusations of racism and pinpoints Haiti’s historical evolution as the chief source of racism on the island. In fact, Balaguer’s title, The Backward Island, metaphorically refers to his interpretation of Haiti’s social structure. According to Balaguer, the Haitian mulatto elite do not have the black Haitian masses best interests in mind. Balaguer suggests that Haiti will be better off with black Haitians running the country since black skin and African heritage automatically guarantees alliances among blacks. Ironically, Balaguer suggests that blacks can indeed run their own countries without the help of whites indicating that he flips the concept of the white man’s burden on its head. Unlike Cornielle, who alleges that white Christians need to invade Haiti to civilize black people, Balaguer actually believes that blacks can, in fact, govern their own countries. At this point, Balaguer strays from traditional colonial thinking. European colonizers often believed that it was their duty to conquer and dominate non-whites, because their Christian God supposedly wanted them to. Balaguer, however, fails to recognize that the Dominican elite is also considerably whiter-skinned than the Dominican popular class of darker hue.

Núñez, however, challenges notions of black unity because according to him, in the DR race is nonexistent. For Núñez, the DR is a “race-less” society that “transcends” notions of race and/or racism as a result of the multiplicity of hues and races that make up the Dominican population (Núñez, 22). Núñez believes that, “The constitutional principles of our nation are based on the equality of all Dominicans, without regard to race nor religion nor ideology” (61). He counter-argues Jean Price-Mars, a Haitian intellectual, who alleges that Dominicans are similar to Haitians on account of their
blackness. For Núñez, blackness is no reason for Dominicans and Haitians to unite, especially because both peoples have different cultures. If Dominicans adhere to criticism against anti-Haitianism, then the DR will find itself fractured by rivalries between racial groups as is evident in the US and Haiti (Núñez, 61). Núñez prefers to preserve the racial status quo.

Like other DDN writers, Núñez contends that Dominicans are detached from a “black identity”. For Núñez, biological blackness does not necessarily mean one has to embrace black culture. In fact, what makes Dominicans who they are is their rejection of it, especially since the DR was supposedly founded on these principles in 1844. As a result, Haitians’ are not the DR’s brothers. Therefore, Dominicans are not their Haitian neighbors’ keepers.

Núñez alleges that the only racism on the island is anti-Dominicanism. He describes anti-Dominicanism as Haitian immigrants taking jobs away from Dominicans and critics accusing the DR for “practicing” racism or anti-Haitianism (83). Similar to the other writers, he reverses accusations of racism and argues, “Today the illusion that is sold is that the Dominican Republic could transform Haiti. They develop stereotypes to morally lynch Dominicans who resist the decline of their nation” (Núñez, 98-100). This quote is reflected on his book’s title, The Decline of the Dominican Nation. The real anti-Dominicanism, Núñez contends, is when critics defame defensive Dominican nationalism as trujillismo (155).
For the DDN, the Dominican youth are also at stake for preserving the Dominican nation. Gratereaux, for instance, argues that the upcoming Dominican generation has grown to resist anti-Haitianism. They now dismiss Batlle and Balaguer’s ideas on account of their antihaitianismo. For Gratereaux, Dominican children are failing to realize that anti-Haitianism did not commence with the likes of Batlle, Balaguer, and/or or Trujillo; instead, anti-Haitianism has been a constant and essential ingredient to Dominican identity since colonial times. In fact, he claims that Dominican youth are indebted to political figures like Balaguer and Trujillo because they are to be credited for placing the DR on the path towards “civilization”, especially through their construction of infrastructure, and their importation of technology, etc. By Gratereaux’s line of thinking, if the DR wants to remain on the path towards “civilization”, then it must embrace anti-Haitianism. Without anti-Haitianism the DR can and will fall asunder.

In Cornielle’s book *The Dominican-Haitian Historic Process*, the sole objective is to warn Dominican youth of their precarious state as a result of the massive influx of Haitian immigrants. The author fears that even “Dominican citizenship” is at risk and the DR is liable to become Haitianized if Haitian immigration remains unchecked. This book is an attempt to pass onto Dominican youth an intergenerational antihaitianismo. Cornielle calls on the Dominican intellectual community, at least those “with sincere love of country, ..., to make an urgent warning to Dominican youth” because Dominicans “are under the constant threat that obliges us to cleanse our territory of all foreign interference” (106). The youth is to take charge “because that youth, is of the same stock
as those who signed the Act of Separation, because they have the same … burning sentiments of those who were our grandfathers” (114). Cornielle believes that revamping Dominican nationalism amongst Dominican youth is the path towards preserving dominicanidad, informing us that “Our youth sleep, sleep a lethargic and profound dream, believing in the word “brother” when a Haitian speaks, while not knowing that they are descendants of cannibals dressed as humans” (151-152). Cornielle’s message to the Dominican youth is clear: Haitian immigration is a “cancer that has metastasized, which is, without the slightest doubt, the Haitian problem; now they [Haitians] have aspired similar to Dr. Francois Duvalier […] that we return to them 700 square kilometers [of land]…” (177-178).

Not only does Cornielle present Haitian culture as an unwanted, contagious disease, but also he compares it to illicit drugs (73). The DR has been struggling with the influx of drugs. Drugs, he contends, like Haitian immigrants, have infiltrated the country and damaged a great portion of the Dominican youth. Yet, “another drug” has infiltrated the DR to the extent that even Dominican priests abuse it. That drug is “fetishism, the primitive African witchcraft, superstition and various wrong and schizophrenic tendencies that live among the Haitian people, since they left the jungles of Africa” (73). That drug supposedly affects the mind similarly to how drugs affect the body, which is why Dominican children must be protected from such influences (73).

For Núñez, the literature utilized in schools to teach Dominican children about Dominican-Haitian historical relations is also problematic. Dominicans and Haitian historians alike, interpret Haitian history from a romanticized and glorifying standpoint; for,
The historians have beautified the 1822 occupation, wearing the garb that crave Caribbean unity. In this manner, the suppression of our own government’s rights is suppressed. Those who think this way, analyze the acts with the points of view of the invader; they side with the aggressor nation. (73)

Núñez contends that school textbooks have altered their approach towards describing the 1822 period. Liberal descriptions alter “‘Boyer’s invasion’ and converts it into the ‘occupation’ and in the extreme case is referred to as the ‘separation’” (Núñez, 13). For Núñez, Dominican scholarship is now more focused on “liberating itself from the hypothetical anti-Haitian prejudice that the Haitian historian Price Mars has imposed on us, rather than examine at base the historical facts” (Núñez, 21). Liberal Dominican scholarship has purportedly strayed to the extreme to where it now romanticizes Haitian history at the expense of the Dominican interpretation of history that hones in on justifying anti-Haitianism; “A common myth of Dominican historians consist in sustaining that Boyer put an end to racial discrimination, when in reality what he did was inaugurate another form of racial contempt, covered in the fringes of negritude” (220).

*Haitianophiles, Nation Traitors, and the Destroyers of the Dominican Nation*

Today the DDN posits that Dominicans are sympathizing with Haitian immigrants. Perez, for example, believes that Haitians are not the only problems for Dominican-Haitian relations. Some Dominicans aggravate the situation endorsing “the integration of both island countries, despite their manifested differences” (Perez, 13).
Similarly, Gratereaux acknowledges that Haitianophilia, which is the opposite of anti-Haitianism, is growing amongst his own people.

On the other hand, Haitians in Haiti, the DR, and the Haitian diaspora are oftentimes in cahoots with non-governmental organizations. Often, these Haitians are highly vocal about protesting Haitians’ mistreatment in the DR. Many non-governmental organizations that were originally headquartered in Haiti have transferred into Dominican territory. According to Núñez, Haitians:

obtain conjuncture victories from important sectors of the International Community for their purposes to colonize the Dominican Republic. They maintain within their diplomatic body their best intelligentsias laboring as if the Haitian misfortune were the Dominican Republic’s internal problem; they combat on all fronts with a unique policy, coherently, whose goal is to establish in our country a Haitian minority, endowed with all of the rights, protected by an International Statute, organized by the pro-Haitian NGOs established in the country, and converted in the horse of Troy of a complete implantation. An electoral force that would influence the national elections, which the migratory policies would have to be negotiated with, that would oblige the parties to seduce it to reach power, that would avoid the repatriations with those undocumented foreigners and would tear the Dominican State to shreds. (xv)

As previously mentioned, Núñez believes that Haitian immigrants, if allowed to remain within Dominican territory will become increasingly assertive and make demands. Such demands, from Núñez’s standpoint, can break up the DR. If their presence is left unchecked, Haitians will eventually “call the shots”, controlling Dominican domestic-political affairs; thus, Dominicans will as they have long feared, lose their country to
Haitians. Haitian sympathizers, or Haitianophiles, accuse Dominicans of racism for being unsympathetic towards Haitian immigrants. Núñez writes:

The[ir] teachings against the national ideal leads these ideologues to blame the Dominican of racism. According to them, the Dominican is racist because he resists haitianization. To liberate oneself from racism one must permit that the Dominican territory become hatianized. Give them the budget to our hospitals to their mere sick and child-bearing women. Distribute our national rights amidst the enormous masses of illegal population, the greatest that a poor and Third World country has suffered. In other words, put in the hands of that population the possibility of electing and of being elected; and when that does not happen, suffice it to say, when we have demolished the attributes acquired in 1844, we shall be close to winning the skies, we would have contributed towards the elimination of that lethal sickness called the antihaitian prejudice. In all that farce, the only prejudice that can be seen is the antidominician prejudice. Displaced from agriculture, evicted from the construction companies, detached from countless activities in which he had precedence, the Dominican who sees his forms of existence be degraded; is viewed as discriminating in his own territory. Because the abundant presence of the neighbors constantly degrades their livelihoods. (24)

Anti-Haitianism reached a peak with the founding of the Dominican nation in 1844. Núñez believes that there is no benefit to not being anti-Haitian, and he sarcastically argues that Haitianophiles believe that once anti-Haitianism disappears that Dominicans “shall be close to winning the skies, we would have contributed towards the elimination of that lethal sickness called the antihaitian prejudice” which he calls a “farce”. Instead, he argues that the real problem is anti-Dominicanism because for Dominicans to concern themselves with people who they are not obligated to is a disservice to the nation and an abandonment of nationalist tradition. Supposedly Dominicans who express antihaitianismo are vilified by Haitianophiles, who refer to them as “Nazis” (199). Those who refer to Haitians as “a problem” is because they are racists and xenophobes. This
blackmail leads us to the following syllogism; either one backs Haitian immigration in the country—position of the old leftists, of the paid NGOs by international organisms—, or one is racist, an *antihaitiano*, that should not even deserve the air he breathes” (199).

Núñez believes that the rights Haitians demand from the DR are the rights they should demand from their own government. As the quote above reflects, he believes Dominicans are not responsible for Haiti’s plight, and that Dominicans’ problems should be prioritized above Haitian immigrants’ rights. Supposedly, “the church and the Haitian Left, international organisms”, are the main institutions to blame for defaming the DR (Núñez, 49-51).

*The Economic Peril*

Dominican nationalists claim to know why Haitians migrate towards the DR. Aside from geographic convenience, Balaguer, for example, argues that because Haitians reproduce “with the speed similar to…vegetable species” (36) a natural spill-over effect ensues. Furthermore, Haiti’s economic situation encourages Haitians to seek for work in greener lands. The DDN, however, takes different approaches towards examining the dangers of allowing undocumented Haitians from working in the DR.

As previously mentioned, Gratereaux fears that Dominican dependency on Haitian labor can lead to the Haitian government, eventually holding leverage over Dominican society. Cornielle, however, believes that the Dominican poor are finding
themselves dispossessed and will eventually rebel. Such rebellion can, in turn, become a form of leverage. He writes that Haitians,

would provoke a political stagnation, the [Dominican] poor coming from the provinces would see themselves stripped, at not being the actors of production, of their main instrument of pressure; the process would rupture the strengths of the rural Dominican organizations; the dependence would shatter in turn our sovereignty and would result in political blackmail. (Cornielle, 48)

On the other hand, Cornielle and Balaguer express concern with Dominicans and Haitians engaging in informal trading or exchange of goods. Balaguer fears that the Haitian presence automatically causes cultural contagion for Dominicans. Cornielle, however, believes that informal trade between both parties “leads to integration; we shall never open the borders, because it is to open the door to a one hundred-headed monster, that aspires to swallow all of the national territory” (144).

Employment typically plays a vital role in most discourses centering on immigration. Cornielle argues that Dominicans are not being loyal to their Dominicanness (that is Dominican nationalism based on anti-Haitianism), especially, if Dominicans permit undocumented Haitians to take away their jobs. Cornielle is essentially inciting Dominicans to repulse Haitian immigrants. He contends that if the DR continues to allow Haitians to work, then the Dominican population will find itself increasingly unemployed (Cornielle, 144). Allowing Haitians to enter the country under the guise of laborers paves way for invaders who will “occupy us slowly under the appearance of hunger”. Cornielle asks the Dominican reader, “Does being a Dominican,
mean that we should allow foreigners to take positions and jobs away from Dominicans? Is it not the main duty of the state to fight for the happiness of its citizens?” (148-149). Cornielle repeats insistently that Dominicans should not allow others to enter their country, especially if it is at the expense of their own livelihoods.

Perez contends that the DR is already under financial constraints. He believes that it would be “almost suicidal” for Dominicans to be “forced to provide aid to another beyond their means and resources” (63). Since, as he believes, Haitians are sources of cheap labor for which Dominicans have to compete with who are now “dominating, so to speak, the labor sector of the sugar industry, the collection of agricultural commodity, the construction industry” (11-12). Perez maintains that Dominicans are barely surviving; therefore, it is unthinkable for them to provide Haitians with sources of income (112).

“Solutions”

The DDN seeks to provide solutions to the “Haitian problem”. Cornielle, for example, suggests that Haitians should be transported to a colony like Liberia, especially “those elements of Haitians who live in tribal conditions” (113). He also suggests “the Dominican government should displace all foreigners who do not legally reside in the country, especially the Haitians” (148). Another suggestion he makes is for the US and the UN “to raise the standard of living of that poor country”, because a wealthy Haiti means “less problems the Dominican Republic will have, and the massive influx of Haitians would disappear” (148-149).
Perez, for his part, urges that Dominicans should exhaust all peaceful means towards solving the Haitian immigration crisis before engaging in any “act founded on the right of legitimate defense” (64). He also suggests that Haitians should immigrate to countries that would take them in. Ironically, Perez calls on foreign powers to intervene, even though he rejects foreign powers’ requests of merging both countries. Perez calls for the immediate end of Haitian labor and for Dominicans to be their replacement (113). These Dominicans should be provided with salaries, housing, decent public services, etc (144-145). The Haitian migratory process should be curtailed because it “strangle[s] national life” (Perez, 126). In the last pages of his book, Perez calls for the following: the Haitian government’s cooperation with the Dominican government “in all matter relating to […] the border”; seeking assistance from the international arena; closing of the border to stop illegal immigration and the importation of illegal goods; create a “mesh” in areas where the borders are most open along with situating heavy military presence in these areas; Haitian braceros would be “subject to strict terms of an agreement between the two governments to ensure through an effective system, the best treatment for them and to ensure their repatriation”; and, “Organize an effective and humane system” of deportation to all illegal Haitians residing in the Dominican Republic (270).

Balaguer offers a series of solutions to further improve Dominican-Haitian relations. On page 74, he makes it clear that, “There is no reason […] to oppose for a country to hermetically close its borders to immigrants capable of provoking a decrease in the standard of morality”. Towards the end of his book he calls for a Caribbean confederation “a parallel constitution that would guarantee that existence in the entire island of a democratic regime that is fundamentally identical in both countries” (220). In
essence, Balaguer advocates for an “Antillean confederacy” (223). Similar to Perez, he also calls for the international community to step forward and play a role in remediating Haiti’s public school and health system in addition to political instability (219).

Meanwhile, Núñez calls for the deportation of all Haitians, because:

It is about dignifying the life of the Dominican, of reconciling him with his territory and the possibilities of his culture. It is about a new ideal in which education, the sense of national community, the psychological necessity to survive would forge a fraternity. Loyalty to a historic tradition, to linguistic and cultural heritage legitimates. (167)

Núñez believes that the DR must rid itself of all Haitians because Haitian immigrants are nothing more or less than “men who attack the cattle herds”, “the pregnant women who lay in whatever hospital bed in the border cities to declare their children as Dominican; the contrabandists of weapons and drugs; the tonton macoutes, the old torturers, the peddlers and the prostitutes” (197). If Dominicans continue to allow Haitians to enter and settle on Dominican soil, “Sooner or later, the Dominicans and Haitians will find themselves within the limits of what today is the Dominican Republic” (Núñez, 198). Further evidence of Núñez’s paranoia:

if no one detains what is now produced without apparent pitfalls, we will reach a point of no return. That day the national frontier would have disappeared. Both countries will debate for jobs, for land ownership, for political control. One of them, infected by their struggles, by the sentiment of guilt that the intellectual elite have created for them; and the other cohesion by prejudice, by the negrocentric sentiment, by exploitation and by the spiritual belonging to the neighbor State. (198)
In the next chapter, ordinary Dominicans demonstrate that today they embrace and yet reject particular aspects of the DDN’s philosophy. They, nonetheless, strongly believe, for example, that Haitians born in the DR ought to receive Dominican citizenship and Haitians should not face forcible deportation. The DDN’s philosophy, apparently, has thus failed to fully trickle down onto ordinary Dominicans. The Dominicans of my sample even report that US culture is more influential over Dominican culture than Haitian culture, ultimately dissolving the DDN’s arguments about cultural contagion.
CHAPTER 3

NATIONALIST PARANOIA, THE “MARRYING-DOWN” COMPLEX, AND CONTRADICTORY CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG EVERYDAY DOMINICANS

In this chapter I demonstrate how everyday Dominicans simultaneously embrace and reject aspects of the DDN’s philosophy. The majority of Dominicans I encountered in the city of Santo Domingo believe that the Haitian migratory influx is out of control and that there are too many Haitians residing in the DR. Yet, unlike the DDN and Dominican Constitution (as the net chapter will show), the majority of Dominicans in my sample believe that citizenship should automatically apply to Haitians and their children born in the DR. Moreover, Dominicans also generally disagree with the notion of forcibly removing Haitians from the DR. Such contextually radical notions suggest that, even though Dominicans view Haitians as a threat in various ways, they do not fully embrace the DDN’s philosophy. I found that Dominicans who reject aspects of the DDN’s philosophy do so as a result of their empathizing with Haitians and their plight. In fact, some Dominicans even expressed willingness to marry Haitians if the opportunity presented itself, because as one lady stated “Love has no borders.” This chapter, in addition, discusses various related attitudes I encountered during my stay in the DR for the summers of 2010 and 2011. For my research I surveyed approximately 76 Dominicans and interviewed approximately 30 Dominicans as part of my focus group. As a result, the following themes emerged: nationalist paranoia, the “marrying-down” complex, contradictory consciousness, and challenges to anti-Haitianist DDN
philosophy. In the sections to come I explicate my observational narratives in relation to the themes just listed.

Nationalist Paranoia

Dominican nationalism, as expressed by the DDN, is based on an anti-Haitianism that promotes notions of Dominican superiority (racial, cultural, etc.,) over Haiti and Haitians. The DDN positions the illusion of what defines Dominicanness in complete opposition to Haitianess. Anti-Haitian-based Dominican nationalism posits Catholicism, Hispanic culture, and Spanish language as the major cultural barriers and differences that justify the exclusion of Haitians from benefitting from the joys of Dominican society. The immediate expulsion of all Haitians is its primary mandate, for Haitians disrupt Dominican society as a result of their racial and cultural differences from Dominicans. In an article entitled: “Hispanidad as Ethnic Myth and the Anti-Haitian Nation: An Ethno-Symbolic Approach to Understanding Dominican Identity”, Wiggington argues that Haiti, and all of what the DDN claims “comes” with it, is necessary for anti-Haitian Dominican nationalism to sustain itself. She writes, “the Dominican Republic may recognize its profound anti-Haitian sentiments and also recognize that they could not be Dominican themselves without having Haitians present as a point of polarity from which to describe their own identity, their ethnic myth of hispanidad” (58). In fact, she adds that Dominicans need to keep the Haitian presence in the DR because “a Haitian presence in
the Dominican Republic is precisely what creates a need to assert Dominican national identity manifested as hispanidad”.

The DDN posits that the Haitian presence in the DR is uncontrolled and essentially a dangerous threat to Dominican nationality. Such belief is directly tied to the DDN’s fear of losing the country to Haitians. Through my survey I found that there are similar attitudes that exist at the top and bottom of Dominican society. For instance, the majority of my survey’s respondents believe that the Haitian presence in the DR is a problem (74%) and that Haitian migration is uncontrolled (75%). In fact, 92% of respondents agree that there are too many Haitians in the DR. Approximately, 54% of respondents believe that the Haitian presence in the DR threatens Dominican national security.

While conducting research in the DR, I sensed nationalist paranoia among many Dominican respondents. The nature of my survey questions triggered such reaction. Many asked me if I personally support the merging of both countries. In fact, many respondents reported that anti-Haitianism in the DR does not exist, unlike anti-Dominicanism. As one Dominican man told me, “In this country there is no antihaitianismo, there is only anti-Dominicanismo”. He defined anti-Dominicanism as foreigners hampering the DR’s sovereignty as a result of their (foreigners’) sympathetic stance towards Haitian immigrants, because as he told it, “the Dominican Republic is not obligated to take in Haitians”. This gentleman backed his claim, stating, “look around, Haitians like it here. If Dominicans were really anti-Haitian there would not be so many haitianos here.” This same man next pulled out his cellular phone and called one of the DDN writers studied in this project, whom he directly introduced me to. This man, a
government employee that is obviously well in tune with the DDN literature stands out for me because of his willingness to justify *antihaitianismo* to me.

While in the DR, I also met other Dominican chauffeurs who informed me of their support of conservative nationalist political parties. In fact, these men cited Vincho Castillo’s political party, FNP, Fuerza Nacional Progresista, known for taking a hardline stance against Haitian migration. Vincho Castillo is an elderly politician that worked for Trujillo during the dictatorship. It was their way of showing me that they keep up with immigration issues affecting the DR in relation to Haitians, so they seek conservative outlets as sources of information. When I approached a group of chauffeurs for local politicians, their first words were, “We are just waiting for the government to give us the ‘go’.” I asked them, “What do you mean, the ‘go’?” They nonchalantly replied,

> We go along the ideological lines of Vincho Castillo. We do not have a problem killing every Haitian man, woman, and child. We just want them out. We are only waiting for the government to give us the word! We want them out.

These Dominicans believe that there are too many Haitians in the DR. So, their solution to Haitian immigration is to send out a violent message—death.\(^{30}\) Although they did not know me, they expressed no qualms in telling me that they wished to murder Haitians. In fact, without my even beginning the survey, they automatically and speedily articulated all of the questions that reflect the concept of nationalist paranoia (see Appendix A). Their deliberate and immediate explanation of how they interpret the Haitian migratory

\(^{30}\) The 1937 slaughter resonates with such arguments.
presence as a problem reinforced how my survey encapsulates the issues that revolve around Haitian immigration in the DR. Since nationalist paranoia is one of the DDN’s primary features concerns I speak of a marriage metaphor, for whether Dominicans would or would not marry Haitians, to demonstrate how Dominicans engage and/or reject the DDN’s philosophy on a personal level.

*Dominicans and Marriage: To Marry Up or to Marry Down?*

Similarly to the DDN, many Dominicans in my sample would never marry a Haitian, since doing so means “marrying down”. According to Joseph Healey, “social distance scales” show

the degree of intimacy that a person is willing to accept in his or her relations with members of other groups. On this scale, the most intimate relationship would be close kinship, and the most distant relationship would be exclusion from the country. (29-30)

The data I collected demonstrates that among Dominicans I surveyed almost half 46% were split in their willingness to marry a Haitian. The significance underlying Dominican-Haitian marriages is that it is directly related to the concept of merging both nations. Nationalist paranoia makes the alarmist call to take a defensive posture against

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31 Due to the unique history of the DR and Haiti, I will not delve too deeply into literature on “marrying down”. I believe that much of the literature on marriage fails to capture Hispaniola’s special issues.
a potential Haitian invasion. A potential fusion can only mean a “forced marriage” for Dominicans, whereby marrying or merging with Haiti is synonymous with “marrying down”.

Moreover, the DDN must ensure that Dominicans see Haitians as their other, for if Dominicans fail to do so then they may grow to perceive Haitians as possible marriage partners. For the DDN, Dominican and Haitian intermarriages are a threat to the cohesion of the Dominican nation. In chapter 1, I mention Luis Julian Perez’s argument that when Dominicans marry Haitians and remain in Dominican territory then that in turn encourages the Haitian party’s family and friends to migrate to the DR, thus the alleged blurring of the borderlines. Julian Perez further alleges that Dominicans’ comfort levels with Haitians would increase to the extent they will eventually grow to embrace Haitians’ cultural customs (i.e., cultural contagion), which the DDN interprets as the antithesis of dominicanidad/ Dominicanness. Matthijis Kalmijn, in an article entitled “Consequences of Racial Intermarriage for Children’s Social Integration,” makes a similar statement, but for the US context, which nevertheless applies here:

Intermarriage has long been considered a core indicator of the integration of ethnic and racial minorities in society. The most important reason for this is that when members of ethnic and racial groups marry with other groups, this is a sign that these groups accept each other as equals. Intermarriage is also considered important, however, for its potential consequences. Intermarriage may reduce group identities and prejudice in future generations because the children of mixed marriages are less likely to identify themselves with a single group…. Finally, high rates of intermarriage make it more difficult to define who is belonging to an ethnic or racial group and this by itself could also weaken the salience of ethnic and racial boundaries in society. In short, ethnic and racial
intermarriages are not only considered a reflection of integration in society, they may also contribute to integration. (Kalmijn, 271)

A “marrying-down complex” exists among many of my sample’s respondents. The “complex” in question resonates with the DDN’s nationalist paranoia, but expressed on a grassroots level. The DDN’s nationalist paranoia suggests that the DR’s merging with or “marrying” Haiti would result in taking on an alleged country that they consider an economic burden with an inferior culture as a result of its African heritage. The Dominican respondents who expressed disdain for marrying a Haitian reflect nationalist paranoia on a personal level. Refusing to marry a Haitian based on preconceived racist notions is enacting or demonstrating dominicanidad, Dominicanness as defined by the DDN. The implications underlying a Dominican marrying a Haitian is that the Dominican is formally embracing African heritage, poverty, and the other stigmas that the DDN attaches to Haiti and Haitians. In essence, marrying a Haitian means straying away from Dominicanness, thus a betrayal to the Dominican nation.32

Item 22 asks, “If the opportunity presented itself, would you marry a Haitian?” (see Appendix A). The slight majority responded “no” 53%, while 46% said “yes”. Dominicans who expressed disdain towards marrying Haitians did so along the ideological lines of citing stereotypes to justify their answers.33 Comments such as “those

32 In item 21, respondents reported on the nature of their contact with Haitians. None of the respondents claimed any Haitians as boyfriends. Respondents claimed as second to lowest to having a Haitian spouse, followed by family member, and girlfriend. Dominicans claimed their highest forms of contact with Haitians, respectively, as friends, neighbors, and co-workers, followed by classmates. Approximately 12 respondents claimed no contact with Haitians in any manner. This shows that Dominican-Haitian spouse level in addition to romantic involvement is low on the Dominican priority list.

33 The respondents also responded as to whether they would or would not marry a Haitian.
people” indicate that there is an “us” versus a “them” phenomena at play. Cultural implications that denote Dominicans’ perception that their culture is the more superior and the preferable culture are embedded within many of these statements.\(^{34}\) As one person stated, “I have no other focus. \textit{Yo hasta soy racista.} I am even a racist.” Other respondents also explicitly stated that they are racist and/or simply do not like Haitians, without going into great detail. Many of these respondents failed to clarify the various characteristics of Haitian culture that make it undesirable. One Dominican alleged that he “only want[s] Dominican culture” without defining what constitutes Dominican culture. In fact, he did not want to prolong the conversation any further (possible discomfort). Yet, two Dominicans in particular burst into a flurry of uncontrollable laughter when asked if they would marry a Haitian. One of the respondents said, “Could you imagine? \textit{Me? With an haitiano?}” Such statement shows that the person could not fathom taking the question seriously—and “Me?” shows how she views herself as superior—since it automatically warranted a “no” response amidst a flurry of laughs.

When I asked the aforementioned cohort of chauffeurs if they would marry a Haitian, the men burst into laughter and one of the men went on to joke about Haitians and their smell. He told a “joke” in story form that made his friends laugh. In his story a Haitian woman, supposedly, aggressively pursued a Dominican man for sex. She approached the man, and stood before him with her legs open. She pointed at her vagina and told the Dominican man “I have the strength of 7 horses within me, I cannot contain myself so sleep with me.” The Dominican man replied to the Haitian woman, “Well, it smells like one of the horses died inside of you.” The Dominican men burst into laughter,

\(^{34}\) As one Dominican mother made it clear to me, stating, “I do not like that culture.”
as one of the men clapped as he laughed. Such story shows Dominicans celebrating their Dominicansness at the expense of Haitians, particularly the black Haitian woman. This story also alludes to stereotypes that depict the black Haitian woman as sexually aggressive and in pursuit of Dominican men. In fact, her sexual appetite is animalized, thus her body smelling “like a dead horse”. Through the telling of this “joke” or chiste we see how Dominicans celebrate the symbolic dehumanization of Haitians. By suggesting that a Haitian woman stinks also serves as a warning for Dominican men to distance themselves from Haitian women. Such a story echoes the DDN’s beliefs, especially Balaguer’s, regarding blacks’ naturally over-sexed bodies deriving from their blackness. This “storyteller” provides insight as to how Dominicans utilize anti-Haitianism to entertain friends, while simultaneously functioning to solidify their bond as Dominicans that differentiate them from their historically ordained other, Haitians.

On the opposite end, I encountered Dominicans who would consider marrying Haitians, but only under certain circumstances or conditions. Many Dominicans expressed willingness to marry Haitians, but only if the Haitian person is financially well established. As one Dominican man said, “Depends, not for love, but for lunch. And with a white Haitian that is a doctor.” He was very particular about the type of Haitian he would marry. Gerald Murray, in a 2010 report he submitted to the Pan American Development Foundation entitled “Dominican-Haitian Racial and Ethnic Perceptions” makes a clarifying point stating that,

The rule to ‘improve the race’ by strategic attention to the skin or hair of one’s potential mate is a fragile rule, a mere social guideline, that is
frequently violated. Most violations are driven by economic calculations. The imperative to mejorar la cuenta bancaria—to improve one’s bank account—is much stronger than the imperative to improve the raza. (17)

For a Dominican to considering marrying a Haitian under the condition that the Haitian person provides financial security indicates that marrying down—racially—is irrelevant once the appropriate finances are present; money “whitens”. Access to financial resources provides Dominicans with a better quality of life even if with a Haitian spouse. As Sagas states, “To illustrate this stereotype, a Dominican woman who marries a Haitian man is commonly seen as lowering her standards and fouling herself by sleeping with a Haitian (unless she happens to marry a wealthy, upper-class Haitian, of course)” (“Black but Not Haitian…” 334). The bigger question to ponder is if Haitians hold potential Dominican mates to the same standard.

Sheridan Wigginton in, “Character or Caricature: Representations of Blackness in Dominican Social Science Textbooks”, describes how Dominican children are socialized to marry lighter-skinned people in order to “advance” in society. Wigginton examined elementary school “social science textbooks” in the Dominican public schools (191). She found themes throughout the textbooks on how Dominicans view “‘blackness’ and how it is portrayed as a part of national identity and ethnicity” (191). The textbooks are saturated with messages that: portray “blackness” as the “less desirable social status” and whereas the concept of “blancamiento” is promoted instead. Blancamiento refers to the notion of intergenerational “whitening” through inter-marriage and procreation with lighter-skinned folk (191). Wigginton found that:
The newest textbooks adopted in the Dominican social science curriculum seem to reflect a stereotyped devaluation of the African-descended population in the Dominican Republic. Although an attempt is made to include that population in the texts, the portrayal is often based on culturally held stereotypes about the severely maligned Haitian population, who many Dominicans perceive as a ‘too close for comfort’ representation of ‘blackness’. (197)

She also found that 2nd grade social science textbooks illustrate whites attaining more prestigious jobs than blacks. Wigginton argues that the texts set out to convey certain messages to socialize Dominican children’s perceptions on the appropriate roles people of certain “races” are to take in their society; for,

correlation between complexion and employment opportunities reinforces the impression that a more European physical appearance is to be associated with education and ‘white collar’ employment, while a more African physical appearance is to be associated with vocational training and ‘blue collar’ labor. (Wigginton, 201)

In other words, Dominicans are socialized since childhood to buy into the notion that upward social mobility in Dominican society requires culturally and biologically moving towards whiteness. According to Wigginton, “the ultimate goal is to obliterate blackness by intermarrying with lighter folk; for each generation should strive to create fairer complexioned future generations through careful mate selection” (204). Such notions reflect Balaguer’s arguments that suggest that Haitians blacken the country and therefore disrupt the nation. Wigginton’s research shows that, similar to Balaguer’s ideas, the

35 The image of the “traditional” Dominican woman is illustrated with light-skin and straight hair.
textbooks strive to indoctrinate Dominicans into believing that “African physical traits … no longer be a visible component of Dominican national identity and ethnicity” (Wigginton, 204).

In textbook accounts of slavery, anti-black Dominican writers like Marrero Arristy, Henriquez Urena, Jacinto Gimbernard and Bernardo Pichardo wrote texts siding with slave masters (Torres-Saillant, 45-46). During the Trujillo era, the regime endorsed racist reactionary texts for consumption in the classrooms:

For in embracing a book that allies with oppressive slave-masters against people who fought to dismantle the colonial system, Trujillo’s academics, whose job consisted primarily in safeguarding the continuity of the regime, did their best to preserve the dictatorship’s own oppressive model. (Torres-Saillant, 44)

Torres-Saillant argues that, Dominican history contains a history of resistance by enslaved Africans “in the colonial period that contemporary Dominicans could draw from to empower themselves in their unending pursuit of social justice and full citizenship in a truly democratic society”. He argues that, Dominicans are deprived from embracing this legacy against resisting oppression during slavery “because, for the most part, the history books used in the schools to educate the minds of the young as to the meaning of Dominicanness generally make no mention of it”. This history has been ignored because the conservative elite “has failed to regard” enslaved black people as the “progenitor”, meanwhile “while finding it natural to identify with the likes of” slave masters “as an ancestor root of Dominicanness” (Torres-Saillant, 42). After Trujillo’s death, 1961, the continuation of anti-black history texts persisted, where even one “history book” was
pumped into the “high schools” denouncing the DR’s “‘blackening’” from Haitian migrants (46). Dominicans’ racial socialization in the classroom is problematic because they “have learned to see slave-masters and planters as their ancestors. Thus, while they may note a slave rebel or a maroon indirectly coming into the picture, they do not regard the rebel or the maroon as a real agent of Dominican history” (Torres-Saillant, 57).

The significance underlying Wigginton’s study is that Dominicans are discouraged through institutional socialization from marrying darker-skinned people. Intergenerational whitening or blancamiento is the norm encouraged from the State, making the socialization process a top-down phenomenon. Murray, however, wrote an article entitled: “Dominican-Haitian Racial and Ethnic Perceptions and Sentiments” where he de-emphasizes racism’s influence on Dominicans’ perceptions of Haitians. In a section entitled “Improving the race” Murray says the following:

In terms of choosing a spouse, however, there is a collective preference among Dominicans to mejorar la raza (“to improve the race”) by marrying someone of lighter skin color, or at least not to damage the race by marrying someone of darker skin color. The academic accusation that this universally stated ideal indicates universal racism among Dominicans is ridiculous, since there could be no “improvement of the race” unless half of the race was willing to violate the norm by marrying someone of darker complexion. (17)

Murray fails to recognize the financial aspect influencing Dominicans’ decisions to marry. Some Dominicans would marry a darker person under the conditions that finances are provided.
Wigginton, on the other hand, argues that the overarching goal is still for Dominicans to continue to aspire for whiteness through marriage. According to the images she selected from the textbooks, Dominican children are educated to seek Dominicans that are light-skinned, since Dominicans will only accept ‘African features’ so long as they are not too pronounced.

Still, I met a group of older Dominican men and women over the age of 55 who made it clear to me that “las haitianas make better lovers than the dominicanas”. As one woman put it “they have been trained since birth to work their vaginal muscles. I do not know what it [the exercises] is called, but Dominican men like that. Dominican men sleep with them, but they marry us.” One of the men chimed in and said, “It’s true. I too have slept with par de haitianas/a few Haitians. They do make better lovers.” These interviewees, apparently, view Haitians as worthy of sex but not marriage.

As the conversation progressed, one of the women informed me of the high levels of Haitian prostitution in the city. This woman wanted to show me the backside of her neighborhood where Haitians lived in a building. A Haitian man rents an apartment and provides his Haitian compatriots ‘sleeping spaces’ for a nominal fee. According to the Dominican woman, the Haitian female sex-workers are in cahoots with the renter and they would offer sexual services to the men renting sleeping spaces. The Haitian women would supposedly receive bi-monthly payments from the renter for their services. 36 The topic of prostitution emerged without my raising it. Their depiction of Haitian women as

36 This woman also explained to me that on various occasions she witnessed immigration sweeps take place there. For immigration officials stripped Haitians of the work equipment (capital) that they personally purchased for their work. She expressed that she considered that unfair, that Haitians should be allowed to collect their belongings even though they are “illegally” residing in the DR.
better lovers due to their ability to work their vaginal muscles reduces them (Haitian women) to simply a sexual outlet of release for Dominican men. Such reduction, in effect, shuns Haitian women’s humanity. Ernesto Sagas in an article entitled “Black—but not Haitian: Color, Class, and Ethnicity in the Dominican Republic,” elucidates the two incidents I just described above. He argues that the ways in which Dominicans view Haitians are in essence gendered. Haitian men and women, alike, are stereotypically maligned in the DR on account of their sexuality, Haitian women are objectified as sexually promiscuous, prolific, unfaithful, unclean, and as practitioners of witchcraft. Moreover, unlike Dominican women, who are oftentimes visualized as gentle and docile (and even as somewhat ‘innocent’), Haitian women are seen as assertive, aggressive ‘pros’ who are in the Dominican Republic with the sole purpose of making money… a Dominican woman who marries a Haitian man is commonly seen as lowering her standards and fouling herself by sleeping with a Haitian (unless she happens to marry a wealthy, upper-class Haitian, of course). These views reinforce stereotypes about the supremacy of Dominican women over Haitians as wives and mothers and serve as additional reasons to ‘justify’ mistreating and violating the human rights of the latter. Gender thus becomes another tool in the hands of the majority to discriminate against the country’s largest minority. (334)

However, when I entered a Haitian neighborhood to conduct focus groups, Haitians immediately and continually informed me that many Dominican women traveled to Haiti to engage in massive prostitution. Despite the fact that I never brought up any topic related to prostitution, Haitians always brought up this topic when the survey question on marriage emerged. In fact, one Haitian man told me that Dominicans need to marry Dominicans and Haitians should only marry Haitians. Similar to the Haitians I met in the Dominican barrio, he too rubbed on his arm to emphasize skin tone differences. He
went on to inform me that Dominicans object to the Haitian presence in the DR, without taking into account that there are many Dominicans in Haiti, because whenever “you go to Haiti, you see Dominican prostitutes everywhere”.

*Contradictory Dominican Consciousness*

When interviewing some Dominicans I noticed that some of their arguments’ were essentially contradictory. Some Dominicans’ arguments contradicted their actions. All the more shocking were the few Haitian interviewees that, like Dominicans, also opposed Haitian migration on account of there being too many Haitians in the DR and that the post earthquake immigrants pose an economic threat. The newer immigrants supposedly work for even cheaper prices, diminishing the older immigrant’s chances of earning higher wages. While in the DR I met a former mayor of a local province who told me that although he frequents Haitian women for sexual purposes, he nonetheless wants nothing to do with Haitians, otherwise. In fact, during his tenure as a mayor he led a ‘movement’ alongside local Dominicans where they would seek-and-destroy local Haitians’ homes. It was the former mayor’s way of ensuring that Haitians picked up and left the area. When I asked him why he would do this, he replied that the reason for destroying their homes is because “Haitians would defecate in plastic bags and launch them over the roofs of their shacks. Besides, they made the neighborhoods look ugly.” He finished the interview by stating the following, “[he looked around him] apparently, I will have to gather the men again and begin to tear more houses down because I am seeing
them rebuild *por allí* over there.”37 This politician’s actions are contradictory because on the one hand, he sleeps with Haitian women, and on the other hand, he destroys’ Haitians’ homes. Soliciting Haitian female sex workers further encourages Haitian immigration. This observation brings me to my next section where other Dominicans’ discourse fails to correlate with their actions in how they interpret and react to Haitian immigration.

I encountered a number of Dominicans who contradicted themselves. There were various instances where Dominicans expressed particular unfavorable beliefs about Haitians, but yet behaved differently. I refer to Dominicans’ inconsistencies between thought and action as *contradictory consciousness*. For example, I met one *Dominicana* who gave me a ride to a popular area of Santo Domingo. While driving me to this popular destination, she expressed that she is a member of a liberal Dominican political party known for opposing other well-known anti-Haitian political parties. I noticed that she casually referred to the Haitian migratory phenomenon as a “pacific invasion”; a term Balaguer often quotes in *La isla al reves*. In addition, this woman told me that she fears that the Haitian presence in the DR will eventually lead to the collapse of the border, with Haitians spilling into the Dominican side (another idea espoused by Balaguer). She further informed me that she believes the border should remain permanently closed to Haitians. Yet, while riding in the car with her, we witness Haitian teenage boys running from Dominican immigration officials. We do not know the reason for their fleeing; however, she points to them and informs me that she feels sorry for them. She speeds up

37 I drove around the neighborhood in question and did not see any visible signs of plastic bags on top of roofs.
the road, pulls over, and yells to one of the Haitian boys to jump in the back of the pick-up truck. She even told the young fellow to lie down so that the immigration authorities would not spot him. She helped this stranger, this Haitian boy, this alleged ‘pacific invader’ escape despite the fact that she speaks of the Haitian presence in the DR as an ‘invasion’, and although she fears the border will blur if Haitians continue to cross the border. She nonetheless helped this Haitian stranger escape the immigration authorities out of pity. Her actions contradicted her beliefs of Haitian immigration.

Healey explains that prejudice consists of two aspects, the cognitive and affective, which although not always aligned, oftentimes do correlate (25). The former consists of one’s thoughts and the latter, one’s emotions. His definition states, “Prejudice is the tendency of an individual to think about other groups in negative ways, to attach negative emotions to those groups, and to prejudge individuals on the basis of their group memberships.” A prejudiced person “thinks about other groups in terms of stereotypes” and/or “experiences negative emotional responses to other groups”. Dominicans’ contradictory consciousness emerges because cognitive and affective prejudice are also distinct and separate aspects of prejudice and can vary independently. One person may think entirely in stereotypes but feel no particular negative emotional response to any group. Another person may feel a very strong aversion toward a group but be unable to articulate a clear or detailed stereotype of that group. (25)

I also encountered “documented” Haitians who expressed animosity (similar to Dominicans) towards new incoming “undocumented” Haitians in the DR. Some of the
documented Haitians I encountered perceive the incoming Haitian immigrants as an economic threat to them, since undocumented Haitians are willing to work for lesser wages. Documented Haitians complained that the wages they worked for are already low enough (since they are Haitian) and that incoming Haitians take away any potential for the documented Haitians to obtain work at their current wages since the incomers are willing to work for even cheaper wages. The documented Haitians reject the incoming undocumented Haitians on account of competition.

One Haitian in particular, was a second generation Haitian who refused to say he was a Haitian. Instead, he described his parents as “the real Haitians”. I found him in El Conde, a popular tourist area of the DR. According to this man, “Haitians have to remodel the race, so they should mix with the Dominicans.” He pointed at a group of incoming Haitians and said, “Look at them. They are atrasados/backwards.” He later said that he opposed Haitian immigration because “ya hay desmasiado”/ “there are too many of them and they work for cheaper pay. I cannot paint houses for $300 pesos because another Haitian would do it for $100.” From speaking to this young man, I gathered that perhaps the younger generation of Haitians residing in the DR would become more distanced from the new incoming Haitians. This young man referred to his parents as the ‘real Haitians’ and pointed to Haitians nearby as ‘backward’. His solution to their backwardness is to ‘mix in’ with Dominicans. This Haitian, has essentially been steeped in Dominican anti-Haitian beliefs. Such acculturation indicates that a person steers

38 While in El Conde, I saw many Dominicans selling Haitian paintings, confirming Núñez’s statement. However, when I asked a Dominican why he sold Haitian art, he simply said, “because it sells.” He later remarked that he holds no personal interest in the art and is only interested in selling them. This Dominican man sells replicas and only does so not in the interest of promoting Haitian art, but only making a financial gain.
towards the society that is most liable to provide sustenance or a perceived improved quality of life. For this individual Dominican culture, as a result of its more prosperous society and economy, is preferable to the Haitian, which he sees Haitians fleeing from.

Concomitantly, he contradicts Manuel Núñez who argues that Haitians can never become Dominican because they are too attached to their Haitian culture. This Haitian man who, although claiming to oppose Haitian immigration, nonetheless regards Dominican culture the superior culture. His solution is for Haitians to “mix”. Mixing would require their moving in and acculturating into Dominican society, which in turn would require Haitians to lose their Haitian culture and embrace antihaitianismo. What we see here is a cultural contagion in reverse wherein the dominant Dominican society transfers its anti-Haitian bias onto Haitian immigrants and their children. The interviewees, like the man just described, want to “catch” Dominicanness because Haitianness supposedly does not lead to ‘progress’.

*Challenges to Anti-Haitianism*

As my survey shows, in certain instances Dominicans expressed ideas that ran contrary to the DDN’s beliefs. For instance, contrary to Balaguer, who alleges that Haitians blacken the country, 46% of Dominicans disagreed with the notion that Haitian immigrants represent a ‘racial threat’. Unlike what the DDN alleges with their nationalist paranoia, 54% of the Dominicans of my sample do not believe in the Haitian take-over. To top it off, 68% of Dominicans disagree with deporting Haitians by force. The
significance underlying the percentage is that Dominicans, unlike the DDN who proclaimed the 1937 Haitian massacre justifiable, refuse to engage in any similar actions. In fact, 66% of the Dominicans in my sample believe in granting Haitians born in the DR Dominican citizenship. According to DDN authors such as Manuel Núñez, it is impossible for Haitians to assimilate into Dominican culture regardless of whether they were born in the DR or in Haiti adding that Dominicans are not responsible for Haitians. The Dominicans in my sample show the opposite, for they do believe that Haitians born in the DR should automatically receive Dominican citizenship. To further challenge the DDN, 87% Dominicans of my sample do not believe that Haitian culture significantly influences Dominican culture, unlike American culture.

While traveling in the DR, I met some Dominicans who sympathized with Haitian immigrants. Their sympathy challenges the DDN’s antihaitianismo. As the respondents told me, some sympathized with Haitians because they are personally familiar with the immigrant experience or simply sympathize out of pity. One Dominican man told me “We treat them bad here, and I understand why they come here. And when we, us immigrants, go over there [the US] we get treated badly too. We can’t mistreat Haitians, because you know they are human.” I found that some Dominicans often made that claim “because they are human”, seemingly indicative of Dominicans’ awareness of the social hierarchy in their country that leaves Haitian immigrants to dangle from the bottom rung of the social ladder. In the DR, these Dominicans know that Haitians are people, but of a certain type—a lower class people.

One of the Dominican men, who partook of the chauffeur group (but from a distance) described earlier, said that he sympathizes with Haitians and that race is
unimportant for him. He told me that he does not care about race because “in the end, we are all the same”; for “Haitians are a docile people, and they come here to work, and if I were Haitian, I too would come here to work as well.” The driver continued, “You see, the people here who make all of the money are the politicians (as he pointed at his bosses’ Mercedes Benz). I really do not care about race. Haitians do not bother me.” He pulled two cédulas from his pocket and continued on,

I just came from the [cedula office] and got these two cards for two little Haitian kids that live in my neighborhood. I got it for them so that the police would stop harassing them. I also employ a little Haitian girl to help my wife around the house. I tell her to feel comfortable when in my house, to not be afraid to grab the remote control and turn the TV on. She is afraid sometimes. I can take you to where I am from. There is nothing but Haitians there. They work hard. I employ them because I know that they will work for cheap pay. I do not have a problem with those people.

This Dominican man assisted undocumented Haitians with obtaining identity documents in order to fend off the police. This one man’s narrative shows that he does not embrace the DDN’s philosophy because he employs Haitians and even assists them in settling in the DR, thus his employing the Haitian girl and his assisting the Haitian men in obtaining cédulas. To defend Haitians from Dominican authorities shows the extent to which this one man is willing to defy the law and allow Haitians to live in Dominican society. To point attention to politicians as the ones with all the power, thus money, shows his awareness of the DR’s social structure and its unequal nature.

Other Dominicans, too, demonstrated that they do not object to marrying Haitians for as one woman stated, “Love has no borders/El amor no tiene frontera.” Such response
signifies that the woman consciously acknowledges that the border and its political and symbolic implications will not pose a barrier for her. And when I visited a Haitian barrio, a Dominican man nearby told me that he believes Haitian women are more loyal than Dominican men. He went on to say that for him “Haitians are no different than an Americano.” Interestingly, he compares Haitians to Americans thus detracting any notion of Haitians representing a historical enemy as the DDN suggest. Both, woman and man, see Haitians as potential mates, demonstrating that the DDN’s philosophy has failed to permeate all of Dominican society.

Yet, the few Dominicans who expressed no qualms about marrying Haitians believe that “we are all humans” and that love “has no borders”. They expressed no denigrating stereotypes about Haitians and instead alluded to the “larger” picture of humanity. Their need to emphasize “humanity” suggests that in the DR Haitians are generally perceived differently, an “inferior” type of people.

I met a Dominican man who claimed to be a Rastafarian. When I questioned him about his Rastafarian background, he immediately recited Marcus Garvey rhetoric of racial separation. He told me that he embraces Garvey but at the same time ‘loves’ all ‘races’. Therefore, he holds no qualms about marrying a Haitian because he does not “base his Dominican nationalism off of antihaitianismo”. Interestingly, he informed me that he just returned from a week-long music tour in Haiti. While in Haiti, he said, that many Haitians threatened to kill Dominican visitors because of the ways in which their Haitian brethren experienced mistreatment in the DR. He went on to say “they suffer for their brethren’s suffering”. This man subsequently mentioned that Haitians do not want to be in the DR, but in their own country, because Haitians rather live ‘amongst their own’,

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and that Haitians only turn to the DR out of economic necessity. His views, drawing from his Rastafari background and allegiance to Garvey, directly challenge the DDN.

Murray de-emphasizes race’s role in Dominicans’ attitudes towards Haitians. Unlike his argument, I encountered many Dominicans that alluded to disliking Haitians on account of Haitians’ physical features. For many Dominicans referred to Haitians’ physical features as *aspero/* rough; meanwhile, Dominicans’ physical features were described in terms of *fino* or fine. As one man mentioned, “Want me to tell you the truth? I think that they are ugly because they are black and have strong features. But the black Dominican is different. We like them because they are like us and have fine features.” Unlike Murray, whose findings suggest that race plays an insignificant role in how Dominicans perceive Haitians, many Dominicans made it clear that Haitians’ physical features made them less attractive.39

When I visited a Haitian barrio in Santo Domingo, Haitians made it clear to me that “The darkest Dominicans [rubbing arm to indicate skin color] are the worst”. The Haitian women that I encountered in this marketplace told me that they experienced worse mistreatment from Dominicans that are dark-skinned than from any other Dominican. Such a suggestion alludes to notions of internalized racism where a person of dark skin loathes his or herself in addition to other dark skinned people. Sagas sums up the argument:

39 Murray denies racism in the following statement, “The tensions between Haitians and Dominicans are often analyzed within this racial-prejudice template. Dominican society is accused of racism, and Haitian migrants in the Dominican Republic are viewed as victims of this racism. This racial interpretation of intergroup tensions conflict with the evidence that emerged during the course of this research. […] In not a single case was the issue of their color raised” (3).
I have personally witnessed Afro-Dominicans deny vehemently that they are black while remarking: ‘Only Haitians are black.’ Not surprisingly, some of the most discriminatory attitudes towards Haitians are to be found among lower-class Afro-Dominicans, as they are the ones most likely to be confused with Haitians (and suffer the consequences of misidentification). (“Black but Not Haitian…” 332)

In this chapter I illustrated the extent to which the DDN’s philosophy is embraced and yet simultaneously rejected by a small segment of the Dominican population. The “marrying-down complex” synonymous with the DDN’s nationalist paranoia is an aspect of DDN’s philosophy that Dominicans embrace. The intermediate aspect between the DDN’s anti-Haitian philosophy and resistance against it are Dominicans’ contradictory consciousness where they may profess anti-Haitian ideals and behave in contradictory ways that defeats the purpose of anti-Haitianism. Lastly, I found that some Dominicans too reject anti-Haitianism by claiming to see Haitians as people worthy of marrying and defending before the authorities and by opposing forced deportation and recognizing Haitians actual Dominicans if born in the DR. In the end, this chapter demonstrates other ignored aspects in the majority of the literature that addresses Dominican-Haitian relations, especially the parts of contradictory consciousness and resistance against anti-Haitianism as the basis for Dominicanness. The next chapter, however, demonstrates how the Dominican government gradually increased the anti-Haitian stance evident in its legislature and waged a virulent structural backlash against Haitian immigrants and Dominicans of Haitian ancestry.
CHAPTER 4

THE DOMINICAN GOVERNMENT’S AFTERSHOCK IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE 2010 EARTHQUAKE

‘Dominicans are: All persons born in the territory of the Republic with the exception of the legitimate children of foreigners resident in the country in diplomatic representation or in transit.’ (Article 11 of the 1999 Dominican constitution, Open Society Institute, 3)

The Dominican Constitution, up until 2010, had historically bestowed Dominican nationality upon all individuals born in the country – except to the legitimate children born to foreign diplomats and to persons who were ‘in-transit’ at the time of the child’s birth. In addition, under Dominican immigration law, specifically Immigration Act No. 95 of April 14, 1939 and the Immigration Regulation No. 279 of May 12, 1939, ‘in-transit’ was defined to include those persons who entered the Dominican Republic with the main objective of traveling through to another destination outside the country, engaging in leisure or business travel and foreign diplomats. These laws were interpreted in a fashion so as to not apply the ‘in-transit’ language to those who stayed in the country more than ten days. Thus, children born to individuals staying in the country longer than ten days had a right to Dominican nationality. (Middleton, 87)

Immediately after the 2010 earthquake struck the island of Hispaniola, the Dominican government responded amicably by assisting the Haitian government and its citizens, even temporarily opening its borders. Subsequently, it deviated from this path and ventured on the contrary path that led to the creation of a new constitution, which drastically altered long-standing immigration laws. The Miami Herald’s Frances Robles reports that, “In January 2010, two weeks after the quake, a new constitution took effect, denying citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants” 40 The ‘new’ immigration laws

40 Up until the earthquake, the Dominican constitution immigration laws relied on the legal notion of jus soli. After the earthquake, however, the Dominican government deliberately eliminated the jus soli principle to determine a person’s nationality. Richard T. Middleton’s legal article entitled “The Operation of the Principle of Jus Soli and its Effect on Immigrant Inclusion into a National Identity: A Constitutional Analysis of the United States and the Dominican Republic” explains the differences between the terms jus soli and jus sanguini. Middleton explains that, “Jus soli (Latin for ‘right of the soil’) is a principle by which
strove to curtail the persistent influx of Haitian immigrants. Stephanie Hanes in *USAToday* assures us that, “The National Assembly said the change would ensure that a rush of impoverished Haitians fleeing the quake would not claim permanent residence in the Dominican Republic.” In this chapter I show that the anti-Haitian philosophy the DDN articulates manifests in the DR’s recently adopted immigration laws, producing a Dominican apartheid-caste system.

The concept of the Dominican apartheid-caste system aptly describes the problems Haitians and Dominico-Haitianos face while residing in the DR, immediately prior to and after the 2010 earthquake. This concept contends that Dominican law formalizes and enforces the DDN’s ideas. The recent legal changes in the DR’s

the right to nationality or citizenship is recognized to any person born on the soil of the related state, or what is referred to as ‘birthright citizenship’” (70). Yet, “jus sanguini (Latin for ‘right of blood’), is “an approach by which nationality or citizenship is determined by blood relationship to an ancestor who is a national or citizen of the related state”.

41 The new laws, instead, grant nationality to those that can prove that their parents are Dominican citizens. Hanes adds that the ruling “was also a response to a ruling by the Inter American Court of Human Rights, a regional body that acts on human rights issues for nations that belong to the Organization of American States, which concluded that the Dominican Constitution granted citizenship to Haitians here.”


The earthquake granted the DR the opportunity to officially put legal policies in place to halt Haitian migration. As ARchibold states, “Dominican officials say they have borne the brunt of both quake refugees and recent economic migrants, adding to steady flow of people from Haiti who have slipped through the porous border for decades to cut sugar cane, harvest coffee beans, work construction and do other low-wage jobs.” After the earthquake, Archibold informs that, the Dominican government’s resistance towards the Haitian influx motivated the International Organization for Migration to intervene. Their intervention consisted in paying Haitians to move back to Haiti under the conditions that they never return to the DR.


42The reader should note that in no way, shape, or form do I suggest that Dominican anti-Haitianism functions *exactly* as the caste system of India or Apartheid South Africa. However, what I am saying is that aspects of repression and social exclusion based on the DR’s notion of their “racial” superiority is present, reminiscent of the Indian caste system and South African Apartheid.

43 Dominicans of Haitian descent are commonly referred to as Dominico-Haitiano.
immigration laws strive to concretize Haitians and their descendants’ status as illegal and thus subject to exploitation, prohibiting them from partaking in the benefits of Dominican society.

Through the literary analysis of scholarly sources, related websites, and newspaper articles in this chapter, I demonstrate how the Dominican government’s reaction following the earthquake created structural barriers that impede Haitians and/or Dominico-Haitianos from attempting to maintain or obtain Dominican citizenship. I argue that the Dominican government’s reaction essentially adheres to the DDN’s philosophy of anti-Haitianism that calls for the elimination of the Haitian migratory presence in the DR. Vilifying Haitians and Dominico-Haitianos who previously held Dominican citizenship, in addition to creating structural impediments that further excludes Haitian immigrants from Dominican society, creates an underclass, one distinguishable through their darker skin tones and Haitian accents, among other social markers—separating them from the majority group.

_Haitians in the DR Prior to the Earthquake_

In the next sections I heavily rely on the Open Society Institute, a human rights organization that published an article thoroughly delineating the trajectory by which the Dominican government altered its laws and constitution. The Open Society Institute, in an article entitled “Dominicans of Haitian Descent and the Compromised Right to Nationality”, reports that the DR’s governmental opposition towards granting Dominico-
Haitianos citizenship consisted of a gradual process that accelerated over time. From the 1950s-1990s the Dominican government granted many Dominico-Haitianos Dominican citizenship (Open Society Institute, 4). Throughout those 40 years, many Haitian immigrants even used “workplace identity cards issued by Dominican companies that hired Haitian laborers” and other Haitian government issued documents as forms of identification with which to register their Haitian-descended children born in the DR as Dominican citizens (Open Society Institute, 4-5). In fact, the Dominican government even recognized them as Dominican nationals. Thus “from 1929 until January 26, 2010 the Dominican constitution granted Dominican nationality to all children born on national territory except for those born to diplomats and to parents who were ‘in transit’ at the time of their children’s birth” (Open Society Institute, 3).

In order for a person to obtain recognition by the Dominican State as a citizen, the Open Society Institute reports, “a child must first obtain a birth certificate from the civil registry agency. Parents must provide proof of their own identity and proof of their child’s birth” (3-4). Once a person reaches the age of 18 he or she is obligated to register for a cedula by presenting one’s birth certificate to a civil registrar. Cedulas are only granted to Dominican citizens. In the DR, without a birth certificate, one cannot obtain a cedula. Cedulas are important for a person’s livelihood in the DR for the following reasons:

44 Throughout that time period, the Dominican government relied on the 1939 Immigration Act, which defined “foreigners ‘in transit’” as “those who entered the Dominican Republic with the principle objectives of traveling to another destination, those engaging in business or leisure activities, and diplomats” (Open Society Institute, 3).
Cedulas are required to vote and to run for political office, to register for university education, to pay into the Dominican social security system, to open a bank account and acquire or transfer property, to apply for a passport, to make a sworn statement before the judicial system, to get married or divorced, and to register the birth of one’s children. (Open Society Institute, 4)

Without a cedula, it is practically impossible to make it in the DR. If Dominican authorities apprehend a person who lacks a cedula, that person is then subject to “fines, imprisonment, and even deportation” (Open Society Institute, 4).

Towards the 1980s and 1990s the DR’s tolerance for the Haitian migratory presence reached its peak. As a result, particular institutional sectors of Dominican society lashed out. The DR’s backlash grew evident in the barriers various “civil registry offices” across the DR erected for Dominco-Haitiano applicants (Open Society Institute, 5). Some offices increased the amount of documentation Dominico-Haitianos would need to provide in order to obtain a birth certificate. On many occasions, applicants could not obtain the documents in question, and many ended up without-birth certificates. Some civil registrars did abide by the law while the ones that refused to do so “abused it- in determining to whom they would grant Dominican nationality”. As a result, many Dominico-Haitianos fell under “illegal immigrant” status. Perhaps even more egregious are the numerous cases of Dominico-Haitiano applicants for Dominican citizenship who do possess and show proof of the mandated documents and are nevertheless rejected (Open Society Institute, 10). All in all, the Dominican civil registrar’s rejection of Dominico-Haitianos sends them the message that they are no longer Dominican or wanted in the DR.
Yet, the DR instituted still more bureaucratic barriers to hinder Dominico-Haitianos and/or Haitian immigrants from obtaining birth certificates. According to the Open Society Institute, the Junta Central Electoral (JCE) created Circular 017 and Resolution 12-2007 in order to hinder Haitians’ or Dominico-Haitianos’ ability to obtain pertinent documents such as their birth certificates. The former “memo” compels civil registries to not issue birth certificates to “foreigners” “due to worries that the original versions of these documents may have been improperly issued” (Open Society Institute, 13). The latter resolution, however, focuses on peculiarities such as “multiple birth declarations” on documents. According to the Open Society Institute Dominican authorities often cite both, Circular 017 and Resolution 12-2007 when justifying their rejection of Haitian petitioners.

After the year 2000, Dominico-Haitianos experienced a further increase of institutional barriers as many of the Dominican immigration agencies began to reject Haitian petitioners claiming that Dominico-Haitianos were technically ‘‘in transit’’ within the DR. The term’s meaning as described by law, which specified that a ‘non-citizen’ is ‘in transit’ if traveling within the DR for 10 days or less, was purposely ignored and misapplied by numerous civil registries. Ferguson, a critic of the DR’s treatment of Haitian immigrants, in Migration in the Caribbean: Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Beyond, argues that the phrase “in transit” prior to the 2010 constitution is a “loophole” in the Dominican Constitution. He explains that:

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45 The Junta Central Electoral, JCE, is the nationwide bureaucratic entity responsible for overlooking immigration proceedings.
a loophole allows the authorities to deny the children of undocumented Haitians such citizenship, since they are judged to be ‘in transit’. This exclusion, normally applicable only to diplomats or tourists, is cynically extended to undocumented Haitians despite the fact that many parents may have been in the country for years rather than the 10 days specified elsewhere in the Constitution as a reasonable period to be in transit. If Haitians are considered to be in transit, it follows, that their Dominican-born children are not entitled to Dominican citizenship. (21)

Thus, the Dominican government’s refusal to recognize the children of undocumented Haitians born in the DR as Dominican citizens casts a ripple effect affecting even those children’s children. 46

Still, critics argue that the issue is not only structural but fueled by racism because “Some [Dominican] agencies made clear that they would not register anyone who ‘looked like a Haitian,’ by which they meant anyone who had darker skin color, spoke with an accent, or wore certain types of clothes” (Open Society Institute, 5). Sheridan Wigginton, in an article entitled “Blackness as a barrier to citizenship and education: situating the example of Dilcia Yean and Violeta Bosico”, corroborates the Open Society Institute’s argument. Wigginton, too, contends that Dominican racism plays a crucial role in determining whether a Haitian will or will not obtain citizenship.

The prevalent anti-Haitian bias that shapes much of Dominican identity works to prevent civil registry officials from issuing birth certificates to those who, in their estimation, do not ‘look Dominican enough’. The

46 The Dominican government refutes criticism of its interpretation of the term “in transit” on grounds of the law’s antiquatedness (Open Society Institute, 5). In fact, the Dominican government alleges that the law’s actual purpose was intended for temporary Haitian laborers and not their permanent settlement in the DR.
strong influence of anti-Haitianism sets in place the prejudicial framework of perceiving and equating Dominican citizenship with a narrowly defined range of physical appearance – Dominicans are white; not black. The refusal by government officials to issue certificates to those who do not ‘look like citizens’ fully realizes that the negative attitude toward blackness that functions as part of the country’s working ethos of color and citizenship. (167)

Essentially, the Dominican government institutionalized a form of Dominican racial profiling, i.e., discriminating against Dominico-Haitianos on account of their skin color and ‘African’ features, in order to preserve their nation’s whiteness.47

Bridget Wooding, an expert on Dominican-Haitian border issues, in a 2009 article entitled “Contesting Discrimination and Statelessness in the Dominican Republic,” affirms that the Dominican government refuses to acknowledge children born in the DR to Haitian parents as full-fledged Dominican citizens, but instead officially recognizes them as Haitian citizens. The Dominican government believes that it is the Haitian government’s responsibility to grant Haitians born in the DR Haitian citizenship (Wooding, 24). The Haitian government, as evident in its constitution, however, does not grant citizenship to children of Haitians born outside of Haiti, thus Dominicans of Haitian descent in the DR are left faced what many sources call statelessness.

Middleton clarifies the meaning of citizenship and its value: “Citizenship is the apex of an individual’s legal membership in a state. Holders of this special status retain certain rights and privileges that are not afforded to non HOLDERS” (72). Citizenship is

47 Anti-Haitian racial profiling is not new to the DR, for in 1937 Dominican soldiers applied an oral test on suspected Haitians. Anyone “appearing Haitian” was asked to pronounce parsley or perejil. Those who pronounced the word without a Spanish accent faced immediate execution.
additionally “the driving force behind an individual’s sense of belonging and membership in a national community; it drives one’s sense of national identity” (Middleton, 74). The nation is the political glue that melds people of a given political community, as a result it “retains a discriminatory element”. Nations possess the advantage of utilizing citizenship, and all of its incumbent benefits, to shun others and keep others from feeling part of the political community at hand. The Dominican government’s rejection of Dominico-Haitianos on account of their skin complexion shows that it strives, in the Balaguer tradition (see chapter 1), to preserve the DR as a whiter nation than Haiti. In 2004, the Dominican government further entrenched this ideal by implementing a new law that directly targeted the Dominican-Haitian population, Law 285-04. Law 285-04 immediately ended Dominican jus soli, that is, the notion that when one is born in the DR, one is immediately and automatically granted Dominican citizenship. Instead, the DR shifted its stance towards *jus sanguini*, that is, when a person is born, a person automatically ‘inherits’ their parents’ nationality and citizenship status.

*Immigration Law 285-04*

According to the Open Society Institute, “In August 2004”, “the Dominican government adopted a new General Law on Migration (Law 285-04)” (7). Law 285-04 immediately ceased the jus soli notion, that people born in the DR automatically receive Dominican citizenship. The backlash effect of this law is that it was implemented retroactively. As a result, the children born in the DR of undocumented immigrants, due
to their parents’ non-citizen or resident status, faced “[exclusion] from Dominican nationality and would henceforth be considered as foreign residents”. The law essentially affects Dominico-Haitianos on a “multigenerational” level, leaving the children of undocumented Haitians without nationality (Open Society Institute, 6).

The Junta Central Electoral, JCE, is accused of “applying the nationality restrictions imposed on ‘non-residents’ by the 2004 migration law to retroactively remove the nationality of Dominicans of Haitian descent born ten, twenty and thirty years before the law entered into force” (9). So, Dominico-Haitianos who up until 2004 stood on Dominican grounds as actual Dominican citizens and carried out lives as such, found themselves residing in the country of their birth as illegal immigrants due to their parents or grandparent’s lack of Dominican citizenship. 48 According to Middleton, Under General Law on Migration 285-04, children born on Dominican soil to ‘non-resident’ parents inherited their parents’ status and thus were denied Dominican nationality- despite the jus soli principle in the Dominican Republic Constitution. The law also required that ‘non-resident’ mothers would be issued ‘certifications of foreigner live birth’- a document that could not be used to obtain a Dominican Republic birth certificate from a civil registry in the country. (88)

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48 The 2004 law led Dominican authorities to reject many Dominicans of Haitian descent, who actually possessed Dominican birth certificates and attempted to apply for cedulas because “their parents were ‘non-residents’ at the time their births were registered and, as such, they never had the right to Dominican nationality”. Dominico-Haitianos also faced similar rejections when attempting to register their children for their birth certificate on account that “their parents’ (the children’s grandparents’) status” as genuine Dominicans was questionable.
As previously mentioned, without a birth certificate one cannot apply for a cedula. Without a cedula, one cannot thrive in the DR as a resident or citizen. Law 285-04 was simply a stepping-stone for the DR to increase its legal barriers against Haitians and their descendants, which is also evident in how the Dominican government altered its constitution in 2010. The Dominican government altered its constitution instituting antihaitianismo at the highest legal level; “What the new constitution has done is to transform the previous policies from an impermissible, unlawful practice—retroactive application of the 2004 migration law—into a constitutional policy” (Open Society Institute, 17).

After the Quake

On 26 January of 2010 the Dominican government implemented a “heavily revised constitution which effectively excludes Dominicans of Haitian descent—even those whose nationality was previously recognized by the Dominican state—from enjoying the right to Dominican nationality” (Open Society Institute, 16). The new constitution’s Article 18, defines “Dominican citizens” as:

49 Critics argue that the new constitution is saturated with ultra-conservative policies that not only exclude Dominico-Haitianos from obtaining Dominican nationality, but also bans same sex marriage and abortion, regardless of circumstance.
(1) The children of Dominican mothers or fathers;
(2) Those who enjoyed Dominican nationality prior to the entry into force of this Constitution
(3) Persons born on national territory, with the exception of the sons and daughters of foreign members of diplomatic and consular delegations, and foreigners who find themselves in transit or reside illegally on Dominican territory. Foreigners shall be considered as being in transit as defined in Dominican laws;
(4) Persons born abroad to Dominican mothers and fathers, regardless of having acquired, by virtue of their place of birth, a different nationality than their parents. Having reached the age of 18, they may express their will, to the competent authority, to assume dual nationality or renounce one of them;
(5) Whoever marries a Dominican, as long as they opt for their spouse’s nationality and meets the requirements established by law;
(6) Naturalized persons, in accordance with the conditions and formalities required by law.  

Article 18’s numbers 2 and 3 directly targets Dominico-Haitianos. The Open Society Institute criticizes the former on the grounds that the constitutional amendment is attempting to ‘save face’. Law 285-04 stripped former citizens of their citizenship. This ‘new’ law, however, does little to preserve the nationality status of Dominico-Haitianos who the DR, prior to Law 285-04, had recognized as citizens (Open Society Institute, 17). The Open Society Institute is correct in its analysis that number 3 of article 18 parallels “in transit” with “illegality”. In this new constitution, the use of the term “in transit” is purposely left “undefined [because it] permits ample scope for future manipulation of the constitutional provision on citizenship; the Dominican legislature can change the definition of “in transit” at will. This in turn invites arbitrary interpretation of the term and application of the exception”. In other words, this new constitution continues to practice the previous tradition where the previous definition of ‘in transit’, was not acknowledged.

50 I utilize the Open Society Institute’s translation due to its precision.
Aside from these constitutional changes, the Dominican government added other economic barriers that impede Haitians and their descendants from acquiring Dominican citizenship. The DR additionally instituted newer ways in which to ensure that the aforementioned persons find it more difficult to remain in Dominican territory. Since the passing of this constitution, the Dominican government requires Haitians and/or descendants of Haitians to pay various fees if they seek to reside in the DR. Such new legal requirements place a greater economic burden on Haitians wishing to enter or remain in the DR. Haitians’ inability to afford such exorbitant fees will impede their ability to enter the DR and/or afford the “path” towards Dominican citizenship. In essence, such actions resonate with the DDN-like perception that Haitians place an economic burden on the Dominican economy and the solution to such burden is to charge the “burdensome”.

According to the *DominicanToday.com* article “All About Immigration Regulation in the Dominican Republic,” former Dominican president Leonel Fernandez on 11 October of 2011 “signed a regulation” that “monitors the transit of foreign nationals in the country by requiring documents of entry and residency”.\(^\text{51}\) The new immigration laws target those who wish to become temporary or permanent residents more so than tourists. Foreigners who wish to reside within the DR must apply for “a residency visa via the Dominican Consulate in their country of origin.” Those who qualify for a “residency visa” must be either married “to a citizen”, “Investors or retirees”, employed under “work contracts”, or “members of a religious organization coming to the country to carry out activities of a religious nature.” Since the DR is

\(^{51}\) http://dominicantoday.com/dr/business-and-pleasure/2013/1/2/46242/print
primarily Christian, Haitians who wish to offer Vodou services in the DR would most likely face outright rejection even though the recent law passed says that religious workers qualify for residency. The law, however, does not specify which sort of religious workers are allowed to apply for residency. Moreover, those who seek residency are required to file their paperwork with the assistance of an attorney (another cost). 

Foreigners, however, are obliged to renew their residency every year for “four years” and once they obtain permanent residency “every four years”.

Those who enter the DR under the premises of ‘investing’, however, are legally obliged to “invest a minimum of US $200,000.00 in an established company or organization that provides employment to Dominican citizens.” This is the Dominican government’s way of ensuring that Dominican citizens are employed before anyone else, especially Haitians. Ensuring that Dominicans are employed is the price a foreigner will pay for remaining in the DR, thus securing the DR’s Dominicanness. The necessity to impose such regulations shows that the DR fears that ‘others’ are economic competitors or take jobs away from Dominicans. As the article notes, immigrants who fail to abide by the legal stipulations are liable to undergo deportation. The Dominican government will also deport foreigners who either “enter” or “reside’ in the DR “illegally,” in addition to those who falsify documents to obtain “residency” status, enter the DR harboring contagious illnesses, and prove “involvement in illegal activities (drug trafficking, prostitution etc)”. Interestingly, the Dominican government is legitimizing at the state level some of the anti-Haitian stereotypes that the DDN promotes.

52 Luis Julian Perez made it clear that he feared Haitians would enter the DR and establish immigrant networks where they eventually create businesses that solely employ and service Haitians within the DR, thus the creation of a Haitian ghetto.
Fragomen, an international law firm specializing in immigration, corroborates the DominicanToday article reporting that those seeking Dominican residency for both “temporary work” and “permanent visa” are required to undergo “A new medical examination and [meet] insurance requirements”. 53 In fact, Fragomen reports, that “first-time applicants for temporary residence will be required to have a medical insurance policy from a government-approved insurance company”. Yet, those seeking a temporary stay under a work permit are “required to undergo a medical exam, and their local employers will be required to provide a sponsor letter, a contract signed between the employee and the local employer and a repatriation deposit”. Tourists, on the other hand, who also wish to extend their stay in the DR past “60 days” are obliged to submit to “a medical exam and [show] confirmed travel reservations or other proof of final departure from the Dominican Republic” (see Fragomen).

Haitian Illegality, the DDN, and Anti-Haitianism

The DDN’s definition of Dominicanness emanates from their brand of nationalism that is essentially anti-Haitian, which argues that the Haitian migratory presence denationalizes or Haitianizes the DR, thus fusing both countries. Furthermore, the DDN perceives Haitians and Dominicans as incapable of sharing the same country, due to Haitians’ defective culture that is reduced to: Vodou, promiscuity, uncontrolled ‘breeding’, illness, and their willingness to work for lesser wages, doing away with

employers’ necessity to hire Dominican workers. The Open Society Institute reports that “in the 1980s and 1990s”, “certain offices began requiring more official proof of identity”, i.e., an anti-Haitian backlash emerged via Dominican immigration institutions (5). Comprehending institutions’ rationales for erecting barriers against Haitian immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s requires contextualizing the events of the time.

The political climate of the 1980s and 1990s propelled the DDN to launch their anti-Haitian books at the Dominican public in order to revive the anti-Haitian spirit born with the founding of the nation. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Balaguer competed against Jorge Guzman and Salvador Blanco’s party (PRD) for presidency. In the 80s, Balaguer,

openly recognized African cultural and social influences. He made the change because, first, he followed two opposition party governments, those of presidents Guzman (1978-82) and Jorge Blanco (1982-1986), who had officially recognized the country’s African roots. Second, he was appealing for votes as he prepared for his reelection campaign in 1986. (Wilson and Kluck, 72)

Guzman and Blanco, who successfully and democratically defeated Balaguer, openly and proudly proclaimed as part of their campaign that the Dominican people are indeed of African descent. Their ideological stance symbolically thrashed the Balaguer and Trujillo ideological legacy. The 1980s-DR witnessed the return of Dominicans who had immigrated to the US and experienced the Black Power movement. Their return led to their spreading the newly encountered racial-ideological influences. As Wilson and Kluck state, these ‘Black Power Dominican’ returnees, brought “a new level of racial
consciousness to the republic because they had experienced both racial prejudice and the black pride movement”.

As a result, in 1980 Cornielle published his book *Proceso historico dominico-haitiano: una advertencia a la juventud dominicana*, an anti-Haitian backlash that called for the immediate expulsion of Haitians, in attempts to fuel the dormant flames of anti-Haitian sentiment amongst the Dominican popular class. In 1984 Balaguer published *La isla al reves*. In 1990, a few important incidences also occurred, marking this year “special” in the world of anti-Haitian writers. In 1990, Balaguer won the Dominican presidency and Manuel Núñez published the first edition of *El ocaso de la nacion dominicana*, while Luis Julian Perez published *Santo domingo frente al destino*.

Moreover, 1990 marks the year when Haitian politicians with considerable popular influence vociferously emerge, rupturing the Dominican political scene. In 1990, Pena Gomez, a dark-skinned politician of alleged Haitian ancestry whose parents were victims of the 1937 massacre, attempted to run for presidency of the DR. In reaction, a

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54 Critics contend that *La isla al reves* is nothing more than a modern day rendition of his earlier work *The Dominican Reality*, which Balaguer wrote to excuse and exonerate Trujillo’s mandated 1937 Haitian genocide.

55 Núñez reprints the second edition in 2001 in response to the massive backlash he received from Leftist Dominican thinkers.

56 When Peña Gomez, a dark skinned politician, of alleged Haitian parentage, attempted to run for the presidency, his opponents accused him of being Haitian (see Sagas’ *Race and Politics*… and Howard’s *Colouring the Nation*). Videos were played nationally and faxes were sent out in the capital defaming Gomez, accusing him of practicing Vodou, and plotting to unite the island (Howard, 175). Unsurprisingly, Balaguer’s political party is known for endorsing this blatant form of antihaitianismo. According to Sagas, “Peña Gomez’s enemies also spread rumors that … he would avenge the 1937 Haitian massacre, that he would allow thousands of Haitian migrants into the country, that the Haitian government supported him, and so forth” (Race and Politics 108). As a result, the anti-Haitian campaigns succeeded with the Dominican masses electing lighter-skinned Leonel Fernandez, as president (see Howard’s *Colouring the Nation*).
Dominican “birther” movement occurred where conservative political factors called Gomez’s nationality into question. Since, anti-Haitian standards dictate that Haitians cannot become Dominican even if born on Dominican soil, Gomez’s opponents depicted him as not Dominican and/or too Haitian. De-emphasizing Gomez’s Dominicanness functioned as a strategic maneuver to compel Dominicans to remain loyal to the Dominicanness that the anti-Haitianists, since the founding of the DR, worked so hard to preserve.

Consequently, Balaguer enacted a political strategy to politically annihilate Gomez’ chances of taking reigns of the DR via presidency. The old Dominican politician fomented a racist presidential campaign, appealing to the country’s sense of nationalist paranoia (Howard, 167). He used nationalist paranoia to his advantage proclaiming that, through Gomez, Haitians would take over the DR as in 1822, get revenge for 1937, and make the entire island theirs to rule (Sagas Race and Politics..., 108). In 1994 Haiti was occupied by the US. As a result, the DR feared a massive “exodus” from Haiti since “An imminent invasion of Haiti by the United States provoked fears of a Haitian ‘avalanche.’” (Howard, 167). Furthermore, Dominican politicians heightened the paranoia by insinuating that such an “avalanche” would import “AIDS”. To further exacerbate national fears of merging the island, Pena Gomez’ opposition also questioned his ties with former Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide “amid claims of an international conspiracy and foreign meddling in Dominican affairs” (Howard, 167-168).

57 Interestingly, foreign powers such as the US approached Balaguer, the first out of all Dominican presidents later followed by Fernandez in 2009, proposing the merging of both countries (DominicanToday.com, “France, US, Canada…”). Both, Balaguer and Fernandez, as expected declined such offer.
Jean Bertrand-Aristide, upon assuming the Haitian presidency in 1999, gave an international speech where he accused the DR of violating Haitian cane cutters’ human rights (Sagas “An Apparent Contradiction…”). In retaliation to both politicians, Pena Gomez and Aristide, Balaguer deported Haitians by the thousands. 1996, the last and final year of Balaguer ever holding presidency in the DR, Gratereaux closed the circle of anti-Haitianism by publishing *Un ciclon en una botella*.

The DDN’s ideas serve to sustain anti-Haitianism throughout the DR. For instance, Balaguer not only took a stand against Pena Gomez and Aristide, but his book backed his actions, cementing his beliefs in written form in the spirit of *antihaitianismo*. Furthermore, other politicians, such as the political poster children of *antihaitianismo*, Vinicio Castillo, who also descends from the Trujillo regime, and his 2 sons, who are also politicians, continues to support and stand beside the DDN. The Castillos’ popular TV programs, websites, conservative nationalist political party, newspaper appearances and opinion pieces serve as a constant reminder to the Dominican public that Dominicanness

58 These allegations threatened the Dominican Republic’s certification “for the US Generalized System of References”, where if the DR would have been rejected; it “would have certainly meant economic disaster for the Dominican Republic, as the GSP guarantees preferential access to Dominican products into the US market” (Sagas, “An Apparent Contradiction?…”). Balaguer counterattacked the Haitian president, by decreeing “Law 233-91” deporting “all, illegal Haitians under the age of 16 or over 60” (Sagas, “An Apparent Contradiction?…”). The Dominican military robbed Haitians of their possessions while deporting Haitians from the DR.

59 Gratereaux’s *Un ciclon en una botella* constantly reminds Dominican readers that race does not affect the Dominican-Haitian situation and that both peoples cannot live in the same country simply due to their extreme cultural dissimilarities.

60 Listin Diario published an article entitled “Pelegrín cree Haití colapsó por silencio ante suproblemática”, announcing that Pelegrin Castillo wrote a new book on Haiti entitled *Haiti y los intereses nacionales, Haiti and the National Interests*. Federico Gratereaux opened the conference by introducing Castillo to the public. Gratereaux is seen on the article’s picture. Manuel Núñez is mentioned as present to the event, although he does not appear in the picture. http://www.listindiario.com.do/la-republica/2012/2/23/222773/Pelegrin-cree-Haiti-colapso-por-silencio-ante-su-problematica
is to remain associated with European culture and Haitian with the *other* culture that holds the DR back from “progress”.  

61

*The DDN’s Philosophy Echoed in Dominican Legislature*

The increasing Haitian presence, in conjunction with the DDN’s books, political events, and influence over Dominican media, awakened the DR’s fear of the Haitian spillover effect possibly denationalizing the DR. As previously explained, the DR expanded its anti-Haitian policies through a gradual process whereby the government implemented laws in a retroactive manner that dispossessed Dominico-Haitianos of their citizenship.  

62 Haitians, alongside Dominico-Haitianos, continually face the pressure of possible deportation. The laws enacted to curtail Haitian immigration are in tune with the DDN’s philosophy that clearly argues it is not in the DR’s best interest to accept Haitian immigrants, since doing so will merge the border. Besides, the DDN believes that Haitians are culturally inept and therefore can never become Dominican.

Thus, Dominican government has strategically and consistently instituted laws that hamper Dominico-Haitianos from remaining in or entering the DR. The DR’s implementation of laws after the 2010 constitution that rejects those who are ill, for


62 It is of no coincidence that the anti-Haitian backlash from the DDN writers and immigration civil registrars occurred around the same time.
example, suggests that the DR considers Haitians an economic burden and a threat to the rest of the Dominican population. Thus, the Dominican government’s solution is to demand that immigrants obtain health insurance. Such a stance, synonymous with the DDN’s philosophy (especially Balaguer), inherently implies that blackness naturally engenders promiscuity, high fertility, immorality, illness, and poverty. Moreover, health insurance requirements serve to offset the alleged high costs of Haitian women giving birth in Dominican hospitals, i.e., the DR is no longer tolerating Haitian “anchor babies”. To ensure that Haitian children remain “marked” as such, the DR, as previously mentioned, grants Haitians a document of foreign birth of a different color, distinguishing it from a Dominican birth certificate. Such requirements follow Manuel Nunez’ line of thinking that Haiti is responsible for Haitians and not the DR.

Clearly, the DR only wants Haitians in the DR to exploit for their labor since the government added to its laws the obligation of foreign workers to enter the DR with evidence of employment, health insurance, and proof that their repatriation is financially covered. Requiring residents to “check in” with Dominican authorities once a year also indicates that the DR wants to constantly and continually control the movement of Haitian bodies on Dominican soil and prohibit residents from growing “comfortable” enough to permanently settle within the DR. This is the DR’s way of further controlling the “Haitianization” of the nation. The heightened security, via legislation, sends Haitians

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63 On 30 January 2013, the DominicanToday published an article highlighting that “various departments and programs have spent RD $1.04 billion to treat 1.8 million patients who come from Haiti to its facilities nationwide”. The money is used for “emergencies, registry, lab tests, births, C-sections, teen pregnancy control, major surgery, imagery and transfusions, aside from the around RD $1.92 billion in the cost of drugs, patient transport, and first level vaccination services.”
the direct message that they cannot become settlers or citizens, and does not and will never belong in the DR. In fact, the DR’s new legislation grants it the power to arbitrarily terminate any Haitians’ residency.

The typical poor Haitian immigrant is liable to encounter a costly, arduous, and discouraging process when attempting to apply for Dominican residency. Considering the laws currently in place, only wealthy Haitians would find it easy settling in the DR, reverting back to what the DDN says about the Haitian elite, whom they favor as a result of their whiteness, European cultural inclinations, and wealth. Such notions also resonate with my Dominican interviewees, who said that they would only marry wealthy Haitians, thus the DR is willing to “merge” only under the conditions that Haitians’ wealth is equivalent to “marrying up”.

In essence, the DR is out to concretize a highly controlled permanent underclass [e.g., caste or apartheid] as the out-group that they can exploit and whose presence they control within their borders and laws. Although the DDN claims that the real racism exists only in the Jim Crow South, without acknowledging that the Jim Crow South instilled laws that disenfranchised African Americans, the Dominican government too disenfranchises Haitians and Dominico-Haitianos by stripping them of their citizenship and propping up laws to prevent their children from obtaining and maintaining it, once they saw that the Haitian presence in the DR was no longer to their benefit.

64 Most jobs in the DR offered to Haitians are sites of employment that pay a pittance and sometimes employers refuse to pay them and instead they call immigration officials to deport the workers on payday. I met Haitians in a Haitian barrio while traveling throughout the DR who confirmed this. Sidanius, Pena, and Sawyer also reported similar incidents in their 1995 study showing that since the 1990s this behavior, in part by Dominican employers, persists.
The Dominican paths to residency or citizenship are inundated with bureaucratic impediments that serve to prohibit a particular type of Haitian from entering or remaining in the DR, the black and poor. Haitian workers enter the DR under temporary work contracts and those seeking residency are required to apply from their home countries. Since many Haitians cannot afford to pay for the constant application and renewal of those applications, many would become discouraged or seek the illegal route to immigration and settlement.

As a result, a form of apartheid-caste system unique to the DR becomes evident when one considers how race affects the more recent Dominican legislature. Dominico-Haitianos are now required to prove that their parents are Dominican. Now Dominicismess requires heredity or proof of lineage, similar to how a caste system functions. According to Jayaram V, a caste system stems from “a division of society based on occupation and family lineage”. The “Chandalas”, are known as the untouchables. In Hindu tradition, Jayaram V reports, the untouchables are considered a people who performed the unclean work and therefore stigmatized as “impure”. The untouchables are stigmatized and marginalized due to their “religious practices” and “unclean habits”. Haitians, are similarly considered in the DR as an “impure” people due to their association with Vodou, hyper sexuality, and their willingness to perform the disparaged labor that Dominicans refuse to do. In fact, many Dominicans in the DR consider occupations such as cane cutting and construction labor as “Haitian work”. Dominicans, due to their interpretation, “Haitianized” such jobs.

66 http://www.hinduwebsite.com/hinduism/h_caste.asp
Furthermore, the DR’s demands that Haitians travel throughout the DR with specific documents that contain expiration dates resonates with travelling passes Afrikaners required of South Africans during Apartheid. Kellet, Mothwa, and Napier, in “No place like home” describe South African Apartheid as “Apartheid controlled every aspect of black people's lives in South Africa. Strictly enforced legislation prescribed who could live in which parts of the country and the type of work they might do.” (35). Dominican apartheid, nevertheless, entitles the Dominicans state to determine who is and is not a Haitian through racial profiling. Dominican racial profiling distinguishes Haitians from Dominicans on account of the former’s “different physical appearance”, i.e., skin tone, hair texture, speech. As a result, Dominican authorities technically legalized racial profiling through their new laws.

Further indicative of apartheid in the sense of exclusivity and dictating who gets to enjoy the benefits of Dominican citizenship, pregnant Haitian women attempting to enter the DR are subject to interrogation about their health insurance status and liable to face similar treatment as if they were carrying a contagious disease, and therefore possibly face rejection for attempting to enter the DR or acquire residency. The Haitians who do manage to give birth in the DR are currently granted different forms that record their births but these forms are different than the “typical” birth certificates granted to Dominicans. As stated earlier, these forms are even different in color, also indicative of legally separating Dominico-Haitianos from the rest of Dominican society. Rosario Espinal, a Dominican political sociologist, in an opinion piece entitled “Anti-nationalist nationalism”, contends that the Dominican “constitution creates an apartheid situation that is very prejudiced because there’s a mass population that will
live without the fundamental rights to an identity”. The DR’s refusal to acknowledge a particular group of people as citizens or people with rights worthy of respecting is indeed characteristic of apartheid.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

Throughout the last 30 years, the DR’s treatment of Haitian immigrants and Dominico-Haitianos has shown symptoms of an apartheid-caste system in the making. Such a system serves to relegate an exploited dispensable group of people to a permanent lower class. The attempt to create a permanent underclass of Haitian immigrants and their descents intensified in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake. Such structural changes have left Haitians and Dominico-Haitianos in the DR facing structural barriers that impede their ability to remain in and/or assimilate into Dominican society. In this dissertation, I have shown the various ways in which the DDN’s ideas are shared among ordinary Dominicans and were reflected in recent legal developments. Yet, everyday Dominicans embrace and simultaneously reject particular aspects of the DDN philosophy, while the recent legal changes only reinforce the DDN’s ideas on a structural level.

This dissertation essentially analyses the work of several Dominican writers, ordinary Dominicans and Haitians, and immigration laws in order to diagnose a racial problem emanating from geopolitical conflict and the tumultuous history between Dominican and Haitian society. The problem is a larger reflection of what blacks do to other blacks within the African Diaspora as a result of European colonialism. As such, this dissertation has explored the following questions:
1. How has anti-Haitian sentiment been expressed for the last 30 years in the Dominican Republic?

2. Which group or groups of Dominicans specifically express these attitudes?

3. Since conservative nationalist elites are the vanguard (the leading voice) for expressing anti-Haitian attitudes, through which media have they expressed these attitudes?

4. How have Dominicans’ attitudes been impacted by the earthquake and its aftermath?

In order to answer these questions I surveyed and interviewed Dominicans and Haitians in the DR and analyzed newspaper articles, scholarly journal articles, and books. I coined the term Defensive Dominican Nationalism (DDN) after conducting content analysis on: Carlos Cornielle’s (1980) *Proceso historico dominico-haitiano: una advertencia a la juventud dominicana*; Joaquin Balaguer’s (1984) *La isla al reves*; Luis Julian Perez’s (1990) *Santo domingo frente al destino*; Federico Gratereaux’s (1996) *Un ciclon en una botella*; and Manuel Nuñez’s (2001) *El ocaso de la nacion dominicana*. I specifically selected these conservative Dominican writers because other critics pointed them out as the most vocal anti-Haitianists of the latter 20th and early 21st century and because they left their mark (of influence) in the Dominican political scene, in addition to the Dominican media.
In the last 30 years, anti-Haitian sentiment in the DR expanded throughout a plethora of outlets and venues, such as: literature, newspaper articles, press conferences, political parties, legislation, and everyday Dominican’s discourse and actions. Defensive Dominican nationalist (DDN) writers, indeed, are at the forefront of this expression. In the 1980s and 1990s, the production of DDN anti-Haitian literature skyrocketed and strove to incite the Dominican masses against Haitian immigrants and Haiti. The literature in question, analyzed in chapter 1, depicts the Haitian migratory flow as a “peaceful invasion”, a form of Haitian imperialism whose goal is to ultimately de-nationalize the DR through its “Haitian-ization”. The writers sought to use the notion of the potential merging of both the DR and Haiti (nationalist paranoia) as a scare tactic to further encourage the Dominican masses to oppose Haitian migration. The anti-Haitian literature produced by conservative writers, consisting of professors, politicians, and journalists, promoted a defensive ethnic nationalism where they depicted Haitian people’s culture as inferior and potent; powerful enough to obliterate Dominican culture. Furthermore, the DDN presents the Dominican masses as passive bystanders lacking agency, who passively allow Haitians to enter the DR and willfully succumb to Haitians and their culture. The DDN writes with intentions to incite Dominicans to take a hardline stance against Haitian immigration, thus securing Dominican culture from dissolution in addition to the reinforcing the border (in addition to the cultural border) separating both countries.
The DDN describes Haitians’ “peaceful migration/invasion” as part of their ploy to take over the DR, as part of their imperialist agenda, stemming from colonial times. Clearly, the DDN portrays Haitian culture as pathological and argues that the effect of Haitians’ “penetration” into Dominican territory results in a social ailment for the DR. The antidote for such ailment, of course, is deportation and ideally the permanent closure of the borders.

In order for the DDN to further fuel their justifications for antihaitianismo they depict the Haitian presence in pathological terms, as a social ailment. The Haitian presence in the DR, as a “social ailment”, supposedly unleashes itself on a physical, spiritual, and/or moral realm. The DDN accuses Haitians of importing diseases not only as a result of the poverty affecting Haiti, but also due to Haitians’ or black people’s “naturally oversexed nature” that leads them to “breed” and further exacerbate their poverty. The anti-Haitianists attribute this lack of morality to Haitians’ culture and especially religion, Vodou. Haitians’ so-called pathological culture, according to the DDN, is what maintains Haiti in perpetual political disarray and therefore Haitians are unwanted in the DR. The DDN therefore regard Haiti and Haitians as a social hindrance to the country’s steady pace towards “progress”.

As a result, the DDN attempts to deflect accusations of racism and instead claim that their arguments are culturally based and not racial. In fact, they reverse the accusations of racism and pinpoint Haiti and Haitians as the true racists infected with a history of colorism and racial divides in Haitian society since the founding the colony of St. Domingue. The DDN alleges that the Dominican-Haitian problem is not racial, but cultural because in the DR racism does not (and never has) exist.
The DDN relies on Dominican media to spread their ideas. Dominican national newspapers often allow writers like Gratereaux and Vinicio Castillo space to publish their writings. In addition, members of the DDN are often presented discussing Haiti-related issues, often from a negative stance, either on the front pages or in significant sections of Dominican newspapers. Aside from newspapers vocal figures like Vinicio Castillo are allowed airtime on Dominican television and radio. Balaguer, however, probably has received the most attention via Dominican media since he holds a lengthy record of presidency of the DR, during the Trujillo regime and 22 years afterwards.

In order to examine the extent to which everyday Dominicans and the DDN share ideas, I conducted a survey of Dominicans asking about their perception of Haitian immigrants and immigration overall. Approximately 62% of respondents reported that the media sources most likely to influence their perception of Haitian immigration are the television and newspapers followed by politicians 61%. The Dominican Catholic church influences the Dominicans of my sample the least at 42% (see Appendix A).

While conducting research in the DR, I found that ordinary Dominicans, too, express anti-Haitian sentiment. They express anti-Haitian sentiment either through discourse and/or action. A former Dominican mayor, whom I described in chapter 2, is a perfect example of a Dominican who expresses anti-Haitianism vocally but also through action. As part of his activism in defending the Dominican nation from the ‘pacific invaders’, he rallied the men of his community and led them to tear down Haitian’s

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67 Recently, the surviving members of the DDN presented a conference at a major Dominican university where Pelegrin Castillo announced his new book delineating how Haiti’s problems affect the DR. Gratereaux and Nunez were in attendance with Gratereaux appearing alongside Castillo in the article’s picture. http://www.listindiario.com.do/la-republica/2012/2/23/222773/Pelegrin-cree-Haiti-colapso-por-silencio-ante-su-problematica
squatter homes. I, however, encountered others who vocally expressed their sentiments and are only waiting to express their ideas through action. These are the chauffeurs to Dominican politicians I described in chapter 2 who claimed to follow the ideological lines of conservative politician Vinicio “Vincho” Castillo. These chauffeur reported to me that they are only waiting for the Dominican government to give them the legal permission, “the go” as they put it, to engage in action, i.e., the killing of any Haitian man, woman, and child in sight. Meanwhile, others simply expressed their anti-Haitian sentiment by refusing to interact with Haitians, stating claims such as “I do not like those people. I do not want anything to do with those people because I prefer my own culture”. Concomitantly, there were instances where some Dominicans claimed to find the Haitian presence problematic and incorrect due to their “illegality”, yet they did not want Haitians repatriated through violent means.68

Similar to the DDN are Dominicans who claim Dominican victimization in their efforts to reverse accusations of racism. Some reported that anti-Dominicanism is the real problem, because NGOs and other foreign organizations accuse the DR of racism, when the DR is supposedly not obligated to accept any Haitians. Furthermore, some Dominicans also provided other examples of anti-Dominicanism such as Dominicans, including Dominican government officials, receiving death threats from Haitians when travelling in Haiti simply because they are Dominican.

68 74% of Dominican respondents in my survey believe that the Haitian presence is a problem or that Haitian migration is uncontrolled 75%. In addition, the majority of my sample, 92%, believes that there are too many Haitians in the DR.
Dominicans also express their anti-Haitianism in their refusal to consider Haitians worthy of marrying. Some Dominicans confessed that they are racist and rather avoid all interaction with Haitians; meanwhile, others laughed and admitted that they are superior to Haitians and equated marrying Haitians with self-degradation. In other words, for anti-Haitian Dominicans marrying Haitians means to marry down.

Some Dominicans, however, indicated that they would marry Haitians, but only under certain conditions. Many respondents reported wealth and whiteness as a requirement for their marrying a Haitian. Therefore, I believe that Dominicans’ refusal to marry Haitians is indicative of nationalist paranoia manifesting on the grassroots level. Nationalist paranoia, the fear of merging both countries, is echoed in Dominicans’ justifications for opposing marriage to a Haitian person. Underlying Dominicans’ opposition to marrying a Haitian is from their association of Haitianness with poverty and blackness, in addition to a plethora of stereotypes. So, anti-Haitian Dominicans believe that marrying a Haitian person automatically engenders rejecting or losing one’s ‘Dominican-ness’, which they believe is superior to Haitianess.

Nationalist paranoia not only resonates with ordinary Dominicans but also on the institutional levels of society, especially—the Dominican government. During the last 30 years, the DR has implemented a series of laws to hinder Haitians and Dominico-Haitianos from obtaining citizenship. The fact that one specific group is targeted and prohibited from benefitting from Dominican society is evidence of structural racism. Immediately after the 2010 earthquake, the Dominican government rushed to elevate its laws to the constitutional level. Such reaction stemmed from the fear that more Haitians would cross over to the DR and attempt to claim Dominican nationality. In fact, not long
before the earthquake the former Dominican President Leonel Fernandez promoted Jose Ricardo Taveras “to head the Immigration Agency […], a measure expected to tighten controls along the border with Haiti.”69

Prior to the 2010 earthquake, various Dominican civil registrars refused to adhere to the Dominican constitution and arbitrarily interpreted laws in their own manner. As a result, many Dominico-Haitianos ended up being stripped of their citizenship status, relegated to undocumented status. The creation of the new constitution further reinforced those Dominico-Haitianos’ illegal status. The passing of the 2010 constitution now requires that Haitians show Dominican authorities proof of a state-ordained identification, linking them with an employer that covers his/her health insurance and pre-paid repatriation fees. In addition, Haitians eager to enter the DR as residents are now required, with the assistance of a Dominican approved attorney, to apply for residency, submit to a medical exam, and meet certain requirements to prove that they are financially self-sufficient. In the end, the Dominican government is striving to ensure that Haitians no longer remain an ‘economic burden’ and only accept them in the country as a source of cheap labor.

The 2010 earthquake impacted many Dominicans’ attitudes about Haitian immigration. Approximately 79% of the survey respondents believe that the January 2010 earthquake affected the DR (see Appendix A item 20). Despite the increased influx of Haitian immigrants that the earthquake caused, the majority of Dominicans of my sample do not adhere to the DDN’s nationalist paranoia, in that they do not see Haitians

as attempting to take over the DR (see Appendix A items 2 and 8). The majority of my sample also does not believe that Haitians should be forcibly repatriated to Haiti (see Appendix A item 10) and agree that Haitians’ children born in the DR should be granted Dominican citizenship (see Appendix A item 11). In fact, 55% of my respondents even believe that Haitians economically benefit the DR (see Appendix A item 12). According to the Dominicans of my sample, cultural contagion is questionable since 87% believe US culture is more influential on the DR than Haitian culture (see Appendix A item 14); meanwhile, only 47% believe Haitian culture poses a cultural threat to Dominican culture (see Appendix A item 3). The fact that my respondents view US culture as more influential than Haitian culture says that Dominicans succumb more to American culture than Haitian.

Directions for Future Research

This work would benefit people studying the African Diaspora, Pan Africanism and geopolitics because it shows the extent to which members of the African diaspora separate themselves along colonially-driven ideological lines. Anti-Haitianism is essentially driven by patriarchy and as a result the theme of gender emerges. This work exposes a grand irony that, the DDN, an all male group, “genders” the DR as a female being “penetrated” by the male, Haiti. All of the primary voices claiming to represent the DR are male, and the main scapegoats from Haiti are female, i.e., the ‘breeders’ of the Haitian nation.
This work also exposes another theme, that of class. It seems as though the working and middle classes agree with elite racist Dominicans, but only up to a certain point. When/where the laws and Constitution got too repressive, the masses seem to feel some compassion towards the Haitian immigrants, possibly indicating that the earthquake revealed the fault lines of divergent class interests in the DR.

Intriguing aspects of this dissertation that require further investigation to better comprehend Haitians’ struggle in the DR consist of: Dominico-Haitianos that embrace antihaitianismo, Haitians’ survival strategies in the aftermath of the new 2010 constitution, Dominican and Haitian prostitution in each other’s countries, Dominicans who embrace Dominican-Haitian marital unions, as well as the Dominican and Haitian diaspora’s interpretation of Dominican-Haitian relations in the US and Hispaniola.

Final Words

In this dissertation I present the Dominican-Haitian dilemma as a case study demonstrating through its particularities reasons why peoples of the African Diaspora struggle to achieve Pan Africanism. In the Dominican-Haitian case, the DDN sees itself as the satellite of Europe and not of Africa, thus Dominicanness is defined by means of cultural dislocation. In other words, Dominicanness is fallaciously reduced to mean that Dominicans are primarily a Hispanic people with a Hispanic heritage as their primary cultural source, meanwhile acknowledging blackness as part of Dominican identity is out of the question. Concomitantly, the DDN defines Haiti as the DR’s other and Haitian immigrants along with their children as a social disease necessitating eradication from the
DR for the sake of preserving the Dominican nation. In fact, the real disease is *antihaitianismo*, evinced in how Dominico-Haitianos adopt it and use it against other Haitians. An example I include in chapter 2 is that of a young Haitian man I interviewed who said that Haitians are “backward”, meaning a people not in tune with modernity, and therefore should “remodel their race” by mixing in with Dominicans who by implication are culturally superior. Dominican society causes Dominico-Haitianos to ingest *antihaitianismo*, the real social ailment plaguing Dominican society, leaving Haitians to view the world and interpret reality through a racist lens.


“DR has lost capacity to absorb more Haitians, official warns”. DominicanToday.com


--. “Nacionalismo anti-nacional” Hoy. 18 October 2011. Web. 4 July 2013


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# APPENDIX

## SURVEY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Civil Status</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male (M)=50</td>
<td>Single 37</td>
<td>18-23 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (F)=26</td>
<td>Married 30</td>
<td>24-29 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total=76</td>
<td>Divorced 6</td>
<td>30-35 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Widowed 5</td>
<td>36-41 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42-47 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48-53 11</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54-59 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>60 &amp; Older 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Salary Configuration

in Dominican pesos

(36Pesos per US $1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary Range</th>
<th>Level of Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0-19,999</td>
<td>High school degree or less =1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000-39,999</td>
<td>Some university or university graduate =2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,000-59,999</td>
<td>Graduate school graduate =3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$60,000-76,000</td>
<td>=4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Do you believe that the Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic is a problem?
   Respondents who answered “yes” versus respondents who answered “no”.

   \[
   \frac{56}{76} (74\%) = \text{Yes} \quad \frac{18}{76} (24\%) = \text{No}
   \]

2. Of all aspects of the Haitian-Dominican relationship, which one do you think affects the Dominican Republic the most? These statements only require a “check mark”.

   Uncontrolled Haitian migration to the DR. \(\frac{57}{76} (75\%)\)

   Haitians taking up Dominicans’ jobs. \(\frac{32}{76} (42\%)\)

   Foreign powers attempting to unite Haiti and the DR. \(\frac{23}{76} (30\%)\)

   The use of Haitian-Kreyol in the DR. \(\frac{11}{76} (14\%)\)

   International organizations accusing the Dominican government of violating Haitians’ human rights. \(\frac{30}{76} (39\%)\)
Haitians born in the DR striving to attain Dominican citizenship. 21/76 (28%)

The January 2010 Haitian Earthquake. 29/76 (38%)

Other. 15/76 (20%)

3. The Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic poses a cultural threat to Dominican culture.
   Agree 36/76 (47%)  No Opinion 5/76 (7%)  Disagree 34/76 (45%)

4. The Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic poses a safety threat to the Dominican population.
   Agree 41/76 (54%)  No Opinion 8/76 (11%)  Disagree 27/76 (36%)

5. The Haitian presence poses a racial threat to the Dominican population.
   Agree 35/76 (46%)  No Opinion 4/76 (5%)  Disagree 35/76 (46%)

6. The Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic poses an economic threat for the Dominican people.
   Agree 52/76 (68%)  No Opinion 3/76 (4%)  Disagree 21/76 (28%)

7. There are too many Haitians in the Dominican Republic.
   Agree 70/76 (92%)  No Opinion 1/76 (1%)  Disagree 5/76 (7%)
8. Haitians in the Dominican Republic are trying to take over the Dominican Republic.

Agree 28/76 (37%)  No Opinion 6/76 (8%)  Disagree 41/76 (54%)

9. Haitians in the Dominican Republic are taking jobs away from Dominicans.

Agree 42/76 (55%)  No Opinion 2/76 (3%)  Disagree 31/76 (41%)

10. Haitians in the Dominican Republic should be forcibly deported back to Haiti.

Agree 19/76 (25%)  No Opinion 5/76 (7%)  Disagree 52/76 (68%)

11. Haitians born in the Dominican Republic should be given Dominican citizenship.

Agree 50/76 (66%)  No Opinion 2/76 (3%)  Disagree 24/76 (32%)

12. Haitians in the Dominican Republic contribute significantly to the Dominican economy.

Agree 43/76 (56%)  No Opinion 3/76 (4%)  Disagree 30/76 (39%)

13. The Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic has benefitted the Dominican Republic.

Agree 35/76 (46%)  No Opinion 5/76 (7%)  Disagree 35/76 (46%)

14. American culture influences Dominican culture more so than the Haitian culture.

Agree 66/76 (87%)  No Opinion 3/76 (4%)  Disagree 6/76 (8%)
15. Dominican television influences the Dominican perception of the Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic.

   Agree 47/76 (62%)   No Opinion 4/76 (5%)   Disagree 24/76 (32%)


   Agree 47/76 (62%)   No Opinion 5/76 (7%)   Disagree 22/76 (29%)

17. The Dominican church influences the Dominican perception of the Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic.

   Agree 32/76 (42%)   No Opinion 9/76 (12%)   Disagree 33/76 (43%)

18. The Dominican public school system influences the Dominican perception of the Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic.

   Agree 38/76 (50%)   No Opinion 8/76 (11%)   Disagree 28/76 (37%)

19. Dominican politicians influence the Dominican perception of the Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic.

   Agree 46/76 (61%)   No Opinion 6/76 (8%)   Disagree 22/76 (29%)

20. The Dominican Republic has been affected by the January 2010 Haitian Earthquake.

   Agree 60/76 (79%)   No Opinion 1/76 (1%)   Disagree 14/76 (18%)

21. As a Dominican, in what ways have you had contact with Haitians? Please select all that apply.
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<th>__classmate</th>
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<td>Employee=14/76 (18%)</td>
<td>Friend=40/76 (53%)</td>
<td>Spouse=2/76 (3%)</td>
<td>Family member=4/76 (5%)</td>
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22. If the opportunity presented itself, would you marry a Haitian?

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