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Anti-Haitianism: A Study of Racialisation in the Dominican Republic

Introduction

This essay aims to analyse the concept of racialisation within the Dominican Republic. To establish an essay analysing the extent of racialisation within the Dominican Republic, it is firstly important to define what race is. According to Dikotter (2008), race originally referred to 'supposed' biological differences between groups of people. Basing the concept of race within scientific discourses resulted in a complex explanation of race relations as it was not based upon scientific fact. Dikotter (2008) determines that race is a social construction, following his own concept of the interactive model, he argues that racism is built upon individual localised histories. Racism is a global issue existing in a variety of forms in every country around the world, and many global institutions and governments are aiming to reduce and prevent racial discriminations across both nations and the globe. The 'World Conference Against Racism' conducted in 2001, was a large scale contemporary effort of over 250 nations to combat racism across the world (Law 2010).

There are several nation states that follow a post-racial view, a view that their country or society has outgrown racial discrimination and it no longer exists within that country (Law, 2010). Within the Dominican Republic, a small Caribbean nation on the island of Hispaniola, there is a strong stance of denial of any form of racism existing in the country. This post-racial position could be evident of changing attitudes and opinions within the Dominican Republic, on the other hand, it could also be exemplary of a nation state enforcing racialised, hegemonic views. The Dominican Republic is a complex example of how 'race' as a concept, works not only through the colour of an individual's skin but through ideology and how an individual may define their own identity. The aim of this article is to examine racialisation within the Dominican Republic with the intent of adding to the increasing knowledge of racialisation in countries across the globe, in the hope of contributing to combatting racism. Anti-Haitianismo is a concept of Dominican state ideology that involves racial discrimination and stigmatisation towards the Haitian population (Tavernier, 2008), a country bordering the Dominican Republic o the island of Hispaniola. Racism in the Dominican Republic is heavily influenced by westernised racism, through discrimination of black populations, however it has been explicitly shaped by Americanised cultural ideals and negro-phobic attitudes.

First to be discussed in this essay is the government's attempts at establishing borders and frontiers as a way of defining Dominican territory and developing segregation between the Haitian and Dominican population. This segregation also propelled more racial discrimination from the Dominicans and left much of the population of Haiti in poverty (Haiti Partners, 2015). The history of the spatial segregation between the two countries will be analysed, as well as looking into contemporary establishments of borders and whether they have changed over time. Secondly, the use of violence will be explored, the Dominican population fears that Haitian's are a threat to their national identity. They use this fear of the Haitian threat to nationalism as a justification of their racial hatred and violence towards anyone of Haitian descent. This section will cover how Haitians are seen as a threatening resistance group to the Dominican white ideology and the different types of racial violence that are used against them to remove the Haitian black influence. Looking into historical perspectives relating back to the Trujillo era, this allows as an explanation as to how histories can impact on contemporary ideology and attitudes, giving example to Dikotter's interactive model (2008). The final two

dimensions will consider a state versus agency debate, looking into citizenship and social exclusion. The first section will look into state projects and policies enforcing their restrictive citizenship laws and how racialisation can be enforced by state ideology through both implicit and explicit anti-Haitianism driven policies. The second section will consider counter narratives aiming to tackle and remove racial inequalities towards the Haitian population. It will also analyse how racism towards the black Haitian community has restricted them of several civil and human rights, highlighting the extremities of the impacts of racialisation on a population. This essay will argue how racialisation still exists in the Dominican Republic and as evidenced by several biographical viewpoints, news articles and Dominican laws, this contemporary war on citizenship and racism does not seem to be decreasing. To finalise, this essay will look at the prospective future of racialisation in the Dominican Republic. After reviewing all the evidence given in the essay, the article aims to predict what the potential future has for the Dominican in combatting racism and whether racial discrimination towards the Haitian population can be overcome.

The establishment of borders as a way of defining Dominican territory and increasing segregation between the Haitian population and the Dominican Republic.
This first section will explore how developing both physical and non-physical boundaries between two nations and two social groups is evidence of racialisation within the Dominican Republic. When discussing the concept of borders, it can be acknowledged that in this context there are political, economic and cultural boundaries separating the two countries (Augelli, 1980). Defining borders between two countries develops a national segregation which can further propel any existing hatred or hostility towards the other (Alesina and Zhuravskaya, 2008). Often, the centre of this hostility boils down to the fear of the differences between each other, described in racial discourse as the fear of 'the other' (Rundell, 2004). Spatial segregation between the Dominican Republic and Haiti stems back many centuries however one of the most significant periods in time was 1844, when the Dominican Republic declared a 'War of Independence' from Haiti on the island of Hispaniola. As determined by Hancock (1905) this can be viewed as a result of the 'refusal of the White Dominican to be governed by the black Haitian' (p.50), explicitly highlighting racism as an underlying theme to the segregation of the two countries. As a result of this, the Dominican Republic developed their own nation state government and were no longer ruled by an all-black government (Torres-Saillant, 1998). Therefore, forging the beginning of a white ideology ruling across the country heavily influenced by Hispanic neighbouring nations and the increasing forge of westernisation as a result of globalisation.

As evident from historical analyses on the Dominican independence war, there has been ongoing segregation between both Haiti and the Dominican Republic for many centuries, and this is still existing in contemporary society. Augelli (1980) suggests that across history there has been a constant state of a lack of stability between the borders separating the Dominican Republic and Haiti. This was a result of their cultural and economic differences resulting in the fear of the other and the urge for distinction from those different to themselves (Rundell, 2004). As an emerging state, resulting from the war of independence, the Dominican Republic had yet to define a strong governmental policy to explicitly define the borderlands of the Dominican Republic to separate themselves from Haiti. One of the most extreme and horrifying political attempts at defining a frontier was conducted by Rafael Trujillo. From the start of his dictatorship in the early 1930's until his assassination in 1961 (BBC News, 2011) he aimed to enforce a restrictive boundary between the two countries to confine anyone of Haitian descent or heritage to Haiti and cut the flow of migration of Haitians to the Dominican. To cut all migration from Haiti to the Dominican Republic, the dictator conducted a mass killing of all people either Haitian or of Haitian descent living along Trujillo's projected Dominican border. This was later nicknamed 'The Parsley Massacre' as it was based on a Spanish pronunciation of the word 'parsley', those who failed to pronounce the word with a Spanish trill were viewed as Haitian and thus were killed. Due to economic and cultural dominance (Augelli, 1980), the Dominican state has the highest power and can

therefore enforce their control on establishing the borders which separate the Dominicans from the black Haitian population. State violence is a form of extreme power control that initiates and defends national boundaries, 'racialised identities and spatial proximity to Haiti are paramount' in the views of the Dominican state (Howard, 2007:31). By creating spatial boundaries between the two countries, the Dominican state can expand and develop itself as a Westernised community following both the American and European influences (Human Rights Council, 2008), separating itself from the black identity and negative connotations associated with Haiti.

A second analysis of the reasons for segregation from the Haitian population follows Park and Burgess' (1921) work which explores how social organisation into categories of race is often a result of the competition for spatial territory. As evaluated in this section of the essay, it is clear that the Dominican economic power allowed for them to establish their territory. According to Augelli (1980), negatively described 'land-hungry Haitians' (p.22) spread themselves across the Dominican boundary line to escape from poverty stricken Haiti and find migrant work. Around the 1920's migrants from Haiti worked in the Dominican Republic on plantations, they became marginalised as the largest migrant group in the Dominican (Minority Rights Group, 2016). It could be argued that since the segregation of the two countries, the economical downfall in Haiti has resulted in a population of people largely dependent on the Dominican for economic labour. The increasingly strict structure of the borders and laws of citizenship means that the chances of employment and escaping poverty for the Haitians is decreasing.

The physical and non-physical boundaries separating the two nations is implicitly racialised, as it bases restrictions on Haitians due to their threatening black identity and black ideology. The segregation of the two countries is based on racialisation, divided by their racial and cultural differences. Through this racialised segregation there are several restrictions put onto Haitians such as the lack of access to employment in a successful economy and loss of family connections for Dominicans who are of Haitian descent as they are forced to leave their home in the Dominican to live in Haiti. The importance of creating boundaries to separate the two countries is described through the state's aim to control immigration, allowing the Dominican Republic to flow towards a more Westernised nation. Controlling immigration will be discussed further on in the essay as it is an important theme in racialised Dominican policies and affects much wider issues of human rights as well as discriminatory discourses.

In the Trujillo era, a boundary agreement was determined between the two countries, concreting a 'definitive border between the Dominican Republic and Haiti' (Lancer, no date). This highlights the states role in enforcing a physical and legal barrier based on race. The enforcement of borders between Haiti and the Dominican Republic is explicitly evident of the existence of racialisation on the island of Hispaniola. This is due to the restrictions on those who are not Dominican and who do not view their identity as 'white'. The two countries are segregated by their willingness to accept a white identity; this is representative of a hierarchy of aspirational whiteness and is the basis of the government ideology of anti-Haitianism.

An interesting non-materialistic perspective on the concept of boundaries is drawn by Dikotter (2008), who claims that race is socially built upon supposed biological boundaries between human beings. In order for the Dominican population to separate themselves from the black Haitians, they point out these biological, physical boundaries separating the two groups. This leads on to the next section of the essay which discusses how the Haitian population's black race is regarded as threatening to the Dominican identity, consequently illuminating why boundaries must be drawn. It appears evident that spatial proximity from the Haitians was important for the Dominicans for two reasons. Firstly, to distance themselves from the black identity and black culture and secondly to gain and establish their economic power.

The fear of the Haitian population as a potential threat to the Dominican identity as a justification for racial hatred and violence

In this section the complexity of the Dominican identity will be explored, highlighting the rejection of blackness and the the aim for a Hispanic, white national identity. Further on, this section will analyse how 'racialisation [is] a motivation for violent behaviour' (Howard, 2007: 726). The motivations behind this can relate back to the previous section of the essay, regarding borders and segregation and how the use of state violence can be territorially motivated. As noted by Howard (2007), Latin America is one of the most violent territories in the world, therefore violence can become commonplace to those who live there.

This section will firstly discuss what the Dominican identity is and the Dominican government's attempt to recreate their national identity through the influence of the Western sphere. Their main aim is to remove the 'black' identity imposed by Haitian's and to have a Hispanic identity with the aim of Americanising the society to follow the rest of the Western world (Alesina and Zhuravskaya, 2008). As a result of this it is not only skin colour that is valued by the Dominican state but also cultural identity, Candelario (2007) defines how a high social status allows an overlooking of skin colour to define an individual's identity. This leads to Candelario's (2007) discussion on the the concept of a negotiated identity, where the Dominican identity discourse deems Dominicans as 'racially Indian but culturally Spanish' (p. 2), therefore white. Also black people who are seen as cooperative with the American identity are considered white from the ruling state perspective (Moya Pons, 1986 cited in Candelario, 2007). This is evident of the ingrained ideology from Trujillo who aimed for a Westernised, Hispanic nation. Patriotism can be another way that individuals may define their identity through their passion for their nation instead of their physical skin colour (Fortier, 2005), in the case of the Dominican Republic, their passion for a whiter identity and nation. This is also evident in the biographical article by Salaam (2012), highlighting the use of language as a way of determining an individual's skin colour and therefore their identity. Within the Dominican Republic they do not describe themselves as black but use other words such as 'morena (brown), india (Indian), blanca oscura (dark white), trigueno (wheat colored)' (Salaam, 2012). Of those individuals who resisted white ideology, they were deemed 'black', which had negative and 'evil' connotations (Candelario, 2007: 3).

Moving on to the discussion of violence, Breuilly et al (2006) argue that the 'justified' reasoning behind the concept of ethnic cleansing is due to threat to the state and power, therefore in the context of Trujillo's massacre it can assumed that the Haitian's present a threat to Trujillo's governmentality through their resistance of the white identity. The threat of the Haitian population for the Dominican government is that they posed both a political and ideological challenge to the Dominican's aspirational white-supremacy (Candelario, 2007).

Racialisation within the Dominican Republic stems from the Dominican aspiration of hierarchical, Americanised whiteness. Haitians are representative of the antithesis of this, they restrict the ideological goal of whiteness as they are resistant of denying their black identity. For the Dominican nation, blackness represents a lack of civilisation (Dorman, 2011), which could be why a westernised Dominican Republic want to segregate themselves from the concept of blackness. Therefore, the Dominican state want to distance themselves from what Haiti represents, blackness. The most devastating attempt at removing threats to the national identity was performed by then-president Rafael Trujillo in 1937. In an attempt to remove all Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent from the country he conducted a mass genocide named 'The Parsley Massacre', as discussed earlier in the essay. This followed a political enforcement of removing Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent from the Dominican Republic. The Parsley Massacre highlighted how stigmatising a specific cultural group makes it easier to dehumanise those who are representative of difference. Therefore, the killing of the non-humanised 'others' performed by the state seems less murderous as Dominicans did not view the Haitians as the same as them (Goffman, 1963). In connection with Goffman's

(1963) concept of dehumanisation as a result of stigmatisation, the Parsley Massacre can desensitise people to violence towards the Haitian people, therefore this is potentially increasing other forms of everyday violence towards the minorities. This is highlighted by Howard (2007) who argues that increasing and extreme violence and racial hatred performed by the state justifies any other individual violent attacks towards the Haitians, putting them more at risk. Foucault's (cited in Appelrouth, 2011) concept of power analyses how violence is used as a substitution for power, when state power is not enforcing enough. This could reason why Trujillo used such extreme techniques of violence to attack non-Dominicans in the Parsley Massacre, violence was a final resort where his ideology and racialised policies were failing to remove blackness. Arendt (1969) follows this concept, highlighting that 'violence appears where power is in jeopardy' (p.56).

The issue with racism within the Dominican Republic, is that 'race' isn't based on skin colour but on ideology and the mentality of how people view their own identity. Torres-Saillant (1998) highlights how biological skin colour and ideological (or social) skin colour are two different concepts. Torres-Saillant (1998) describes how ideology and the acceptance of the Americanisation of the country determines an individual's race and is reflective of the flexibility of skin colour in the Dominican Republic. Black individuals who view themselves as "black, but white with black" (Welles, 1966[1928], cited in Torres-Saillant, 1998: 2) are accepted within the Dominican Republic. This idea of a white inner identity highlights how 'whiteness' is an ideology in the view of the Dominican state, and not just a skin colour. This overall concept also exemplifies how race is a social construct (Law, 2010), an individual's race can be altered to suit the ruling classes and the context. Although, Dikotter (2008) critiques scientifically conducted discourses of racism, highlighting that 'socially constructed races have imagined boundaries based on biological characteristics'. Ferguson (2006) argues that the perseverance of racist attitudes within contemporary societies stems from the human instinct to 'fight racial outsiders' (p.1481). It can be argued that this may not be biologically instilled in our human make-up but culturally developed as an ideology separating different groups through the fear of the other (Rundell, 2004). Linking this back towards the Dominican state and their fear of the threat of the Haitian population, their justification of violence is to fight against those who may impinge on their society with an attempt to corrupt it.

Citizenship & Exclusion: State Projects
This third section outlines and analyses the structures of racial domination within the state and the impacts that state policies and racial ideologies have on the exclusion of the Haitian (and Dominicans of Haitian descent) population. This section is important in highlighting that many policies aiming to tackle racism primarily focus on individual racist attacks, and often fail to draw attention to the wider structural issues of racial harassment (Sibbit, 1997). As race is a social construction, it is based on ideology and reproduced through academic, political and social discourses (Law, 2010). Miller (2015) reports her own experiences of living as a black woman in the Dominican Republic around the time of the Supreme Court proceedings of the Sentencia 168/13 in 2013. This contemporary ruling highlights an ongoing battle for Haitians and black Dominicans to fight against, not only social racial attitudes, but state racism too. State politics is based upon anti-Haitianismo attitudes, however Miller (2015) notes how 'few dared to denounce it as racist', evidencing the power of the state ideology over the nation. The Sentencia 168/13 (2013) was a ruling from the Supreme Courts that invalidated the citizenship of all Dominicans whose parent's generation was born outside of the Dominican Republic after 1929 (Miller, 2015). Removing the access to citizenship from the tens of thousands of people that it affected, denies them of the documentation needed to exercise their civil rights such as access to higher education, the inability to register a child at birth and lacking the right to a nationality (Human Rights Watch, 2015; Tometi, 2015). Through this, the state are making these people both vulnerable and inferior to the rest of the island of Hispaniola as a result of racism. Law (2010) discusses how the concept of race has

been socially constructed within societies as a means of justifying hierarchies between different social groups and creating a sense of belonging or on the other hand, exclusion.

State policies within the Dominican Republic are implicitly representative of a highly racialised state. Since the Trujillo era, governments have followed his Americanised white ideology by instigating policies that nationalise the white identity. In 2015 the development of a new citizenship law restricted approximately 10,000 people of their citizenship. The Supreme Court rendered anyone without valid documentation as 'foreigners', denying many Dominican citizens of their Haitian descent of their Dominican identity (Human Rights Watch, 2015). Therefore, all foreigners became illegal individuals according to their new legal status. This exemplifies how within the Dominican Republic racism is both explicit and direct in its discrimination towards the Haitian and Dominicans of Haitian descent.

As previously described, Haitians are seen as a social and economic burden for the Dominican Republic, with government fears of a "pacific Haitian invasion" (Human Rights Watch, 2015). In the view of the Dominican population the Haitians are the cause of economic downturn; becoming the scapegoat of the Dominican economic suffering further stigmatises the Haitian and Dominican's of Haitian descent (Davis, 2012). Through scapegoating Haitians for the Dominican economic downturn it can be determined that Dominicans are projecting their economic suffering onto the black population, and gaining emotional relief through racist violence (Frost and Hoggett, 2008).

Some residents of the Dominican Republic support the ruling of deporting residents of Haitian descent who are considered undocumented foreigners. This argument is announced due to the economical reliance of Haiti on the Dominican Republic, there are fears that the Dominican Republic, still a poor country itself, will suffer further economic difficulties because of Haiti's dependence (Nichols, 2015). To counter this narrative, Nichols (2015) suggests that 'anti-Haitianismo has always been a political tool for scapegoating social problems' (no pagination). Zizek (1993) further enhances this idea by arguing that the root of racial hatred is often based on the construction of the ethnic other as damaging or depriving the majority group in some way.

Krohn-Hansen's (2009) work around politics within the Dominican Republic reflects this idea as it is suggested that although Trujillo's regime was a violent period in dictatorship, he still has a positive legacy for many members of the Dominican Republic population. These viewpoints suggest a mass Dominican stance alongside the government's anti-Haitianismo politics, reflective of the power of the state. However, this is largely problematic as it both stabilises and reproduces the anti-Haitian attitudes, resulting in an undefeated racialised ideology. A corrupt government is often the blame for a racialised state, Alesina and Zhuravskaya (2008) suggest that there is a correlation between the quality of a government and the amount of discrimination within that country. This insinuates a difficulty of attempting to overcome radicalisation within all countries that have a powerful racialised government.

Across all research regarding racism within the Dominican Republic, it appears apparent that the government have not appealed to any concept of racism existing within the country, therefore confirming their post-racial denial. This also highlights the extent to which anti-Haitianism has infiltrated and ingrained into all state concepts that it is no longer seen as racism.

Citizenship & Exclusion: Contemporary Narratives and Counter Attacks
The Naturalisation Law in 2014 (Human Rights Watch, 2015) was a negotiated response from the current president Medina as a humanitarian solution to the citizenship crisis (Canton and McMullen 2014), aimed to recognise any birth documentation of those who were born between 1929 to 2007. However, this Naturalisation Law is not actually based on being born

in the Dominican Republic, but based on the official registration of a birth (Open Society Justice Initiative, 2014). It was largely critiqued by countries across the globe for failing to find a successful solution to what had previously been life changing consequences for Haitians. By attempting to re-nationalise those who had lost their citizenship, due to previous racialised policies, it looked suspiciously like the government were trying to cover up an anti-Haitian ideological policy.

The Human Rights Watch (2015) discuss how the failure to allow Dominicans a nationality goes against their human rights; the right to a nationality. Interest in the Haiti and Dominican conflict has increased since it involved human rights issues (Black Immigration Network, [no date]). The loss of citizenship for so many people sparked global outrage, presented through the benefits of today's modern technology. The Twitter feed following the hashtag '#Rights4AllInDR' gives evidence to the global fight against racism in the Dominican Republic. This global support highlighted an attempt to fight against state power and a racialised regime. The reason for such a large global reaction, is due to the affect on human and civil rights for the residents of the Dominican Republic. A second trending Twitter feed '#YesItExists' exemplifies the Dominican post-racial denial of racism, with the pressure of outsiders to force the Dominican Republic nation to acknowledge and address their issues of racism. The significance of external input into Dominican issues demonstrates the extremities of racialisation within the country that need tackling. Politicians across the globe also got involved fighting against the racialised policies with president of the US, Barack Obama applying pressure to the government of the Dominican Republic to relieve the deportation ruling (Roberts, 2015).

In 2012, a census in the Dominican found that just less than 500,000 Haitian immigrants live in the Dominican Republic, of that population approximately 61% lacked any citizenship documentation (Castillo, 2016). These statistics give such a strong emphasis to the amount of people who, according to the Dominican law, are now considered foreigners in what they once viewed as their own land and home. After visiting the Dominican Republic to explore racialisation within the country, The Human Rights Commission, conducted in 2008, emphasised several suggestions to counter attack the racism experienced by both Haitians and Dominicans of Haitian descent. One suggestion was the importance of revising the Migration Law that currently stands, as a means of eliminating racial discrimination. Through revising racialised policies and creating laws based upon equality, any Haitians living in the Dominican can begin to experience equality.

Conclusion
Since the 'World Conference Against Racism' (2001) in Durban, global nations are striking down on racialised countries and ideologies to prevent discrimination and create equality across the world. This highlights a potential of external forces to put up a fight against Dominican anti-Haitian attitudes. The global outrage in response to the contemporary citizenship law, highlights the beginning of a global attempt at resistance against the anti-Haitian ideology in the Dominican Republic, it could be the spark that allows a freedom from discrimination for the Haitian population. The issues involved with citizenship in the Dominican consist of human and civil rights issues as well as racist discrimination. Therefore, inspiring more fight against the Dominican racist ideology of anti-Haitianismo.

Goldberg (2005) criticises the concept of racialisation, arguing that it simplifies complex wider social processes. Therefore, it is difficult to fix issues of racial discrimination and equality when they are built up from the wider social phenomenon of inequality. The theory of the 'rhetoric of descent' (Goldberg, 1992: 157), follows the debate that racialisation within the Dominican Republic is based on a historic, racialised divide between the Dominicans and the Haitians that stems back to colonialism and war in the 1800's. Therefore, we can question whether the Dominican Republic and Haiti will be able to overcome their hostile conflict if it is built on a long historical foundation of racism.

This case study aims to bring more information and analysis surrounding racialisation within the Dominican Republic, to add to the overall knowledge of racialisation across the globe with the hope of putting an end to it. As highlighted by January-Bardill 'the fight against racism begins with being informed' (2005: 1), knowledge of both racism and the countries in which it takes place, is important in attempting to overcome it. The importance of this case study is to highlight specifically how racism is still existing and often expanding across the world. As evidenced in this essay, racism is often reflective of historical events and ideologies, highlighting a long conditioning of anti-Haitianismo across the country. It is difficult to imagine that racism within the Dominican Republic can be overturned, especially when racialised policies affecting people's citizenship are still being implemented.

To conclude, looking at the trajectory of potential future developments in the racialised state, it is difficult to determine whether racial equality can exist with the island of Hispaniola. With anti-Haitianismo echoing throughout most past and present government policies, it appears that this racialised ideology is well established in all forms of the Dominican society. Following Trujillo's obsession for aspirational whiteness across the country, the Dominican Republic becomes increasingly Westernised and anti-black. Therefore, Haitian resistance to a white identity, in an already struggling economic climate may put the Haitian's at even more risk.

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